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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

As the Campaign Closes

Victor S. Yarros

Open Letter to Gifford Pinchot

Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones

Published Weekly

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An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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EDITORIAL

Several States have the opportunity to secure or re-elect progressive governors. Arizona would do well to re-elect Governor Hunt. In Illinois as between Governor Dunne and his reactionary Republican opponent Lowden, there should be no hesitation on the voter's part to re-elect the Governor. New York has a chance to secure in Judge Seabury a Governor who understands the science of government. Iowa voters will fail to make the best of their opportunities if they should not elect E. T. Meredith; and the most desirable choice for North Dakota voters is unquestionably the progressive Republican nominee, Lynn J. Frazier. S. D.

* * *

4 Not all of the Presidential campaign is carried on in the United States. Mexico is made to contribute its share. Secretary Baker's declaration that Villista bandits are likely to attack American forces for the effect upon the coming election

may or may not have been warranted; but the spurious report purporting to come from General Carranza and two of his Cabinet Ministers lends color to the charge. As the American beneficiaries of Mexican privileges have left nothing undone to provoke intervention, in order to conserve their holdings, so the opponents of the Administration are not hesitating to distribute fake news reports for the purpose of winning an election. Statements that General Carranza is about to flee Mexico, that Villa has destroyed the government forces, that both of them are ready to fight the United States, and many other foolish emanations are appearing; but they are only for use before election. S. C.

* * *

There are thirty Democratic members of the present Congress who should not be trusted with power again. They are the thirty who brought about defeat of the definite promise of Philippine independence, and thus prevented an honorable fulfillment of the party's pledge. These men are Allen of Ohio, Beakes of Michigan, Coady of Maryland, Estopinal of Louisiana, Gallagher, McAndrews and McDermott of Illinois; Eagan, Hamill and Hart of New Jersey; Gallivan, Olney, Phelan and Tague of Massachusetts; O'Shaughnessy of Rhode Island, and Brucker, Carew, Conry, Dale, Driscoll, Dooling, Farley, Fitzgerald, Flynn, Griffin, Hulbert, Maher, Patten, Riordan and Smith of New York. Some of these, as Allen of Ohio and McDermott of Illinois, have not been renominated. The others should be defeated on November 7. There is nothing to be gained in electing Democrats unless they stand for democracy. S. D.

* * *

This country, if Republican campaign speakers are to be believed, is in a bad way. The cost of food is getting so high that the city people are in distress; and the Democratic tariff, by putting corn on the free list, is ruining the farmer. One class of citizens is clamoring for an embargo to keep food in the country, and another class is pleading for a protective tariff to keep food out of the country. The Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, Frank O. Lowden, is telling the farmers that a million bushels of Argentine corn

have been brought to Peoria, and that "preparations on a huge scale are being made for untold millions to follow." Corn for immediate delivery is selling in Chicago at \$1.09 a bushel; had it not been for the removal of the 15 cent duty by the Underwood bill, it might have reached \$1.24. It is with much feeling, therefore, that Colonel Lowden exclaims: "The only hope of the Illinois farmers lies in the return of the Republican party to power."

s. c.

* * *

In rejecting conscription Australian voters, both men and women, have passed with credit through a severe test. It required great moral courage for citizens of a country at war to antagonize the passion, prejudice and hysteria created by appeals of war-mad jingoes and interests profiting from war. Premier Hughes does not seem to have been above resorting to Rooseveltian campaign methods. In addition to this, there had to be met the efforts to influence public sentiment on the part of interests similar to those back of preparedness agitation in the United States, and the reproaches of misguided citizens who honestly believed opposition to conscription at such a time to be unpatriotic or traitorous. Nevertheless a majority refused to be stampeded into sanctioning a great wrong. The moral bravery of these voters has saved their country from a danger far worse than any that can be averted by a victory on the battlefield.

s. d.

* * *

The "People's Anti-Singletax League" of California seems to be in great doubt as to why it opposes the pending Singletax amendment. In a summary of objections published in the Los Angeles Times of October 21 its secretary, Mr. Philip D. Wilson, says that if adopted

Investors would shun all forms of property investments in this state. It would keep the large eastern loan corporations out of the State, and stop its development. It would be impossible to get a loan from any source to develop or improve property.

If these objections mean anything, they mean that money lending would be made so burdensome that no one would care to lend. Yet almost in the next breath the League announces:

The man with a million dollars loaned out could live at ease.

Now, if Mr. Wilson would only explain how there could be such a man when "it would be impossible to get a loan from any source," and then explain why this should be impossible when the lender can live at ease forever after, we should at least know whether the League holds that money

lenders would be driven away by too great hardships, or whether it holds that conditions would be made too attractive. The fact that it urges two contradictory objections indicates that it has no facts to base either upon.

s. d.

* * *

It will be gratifying should the returns justify the expectation of the Socialist party to elect nine Congressmen and one Senator. Congressman Meyer London deserves re-election and, if strengthened by the presence of a number of party associates, would exert a powerful influence for democracy in national legislation. The Socialists hope to elect to Congress in addition to London, Hillquit of New York, Berger and Gaylord of Milwaukee, Eugene V. Debs of Indiana, three of their nominees in Oklahoma and Congressman and Senator in Nevada. Allowance must be made for partisan enthusiasm in these claims. But democrats of all parties may consistently wish their confirmation on November 7.

s. d.

* * *

One of the remissnesses charged against the Administration is its failure to keep the party's promise to reduce the cost of living. There is a grain of truth in this charge, and a pound of error. The crop failures in various parts of the world that reduced the yield of wheat 7 per cent below the average, and 25 per cent below that of last year, cannot well be charged against the Administration by any one except a starving office seeker. Neither is it responsible for the war, which took so many men from productive fields, and set them to destroying wealth. An embargo might be put on exports, as some people have urged, but how many persons would accept that? We are accustomed to laws that raise prices; who would tolerate a law directly reducing prices? The Administration is to blame for retaining the duty on sugar, which adds a cent a pound to that very necessary article. But the one great thing necessary to reduce the cost of living is to shift taxes from production to monopoly. Neither of the great parties has yet ventured so far; but, judging from the President's utterances, the Administration is headed in that direction.

s. c.

* * *

A truly progressive platform is that of the Massachusetts Prohibition party. It declares that governments exist to secure equal rights and equal opportunity to all, endorses equal suffrage, the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, Proportional Representation, government ownership of public utilities, and "the gradual untaxing of improvements

on land." It is regrettable that a party with such a platform has so reactionary a national leader as Mr. Hanly, who has repudiated the popular government planks of the platform on which he was nominated.

s. D.

* * *

Belgians, Poles, Albanians and other dwellers of invaded European countries should read Mr. Hughes' speeches and learn that they are in luck. All the barriers placed in the way of sending them relief protect them from a flood of cheap foreign goods. But for these barriers they would be able to get food and other supplies with little or no labor. That would be ruinous, as any protectionist will tell them. Fortunately their conquerors benevolently refuse to admit the flood. That gives them a chance to produce their own supplies and earn good wages in doing so. Is there anything wrong with that argument? If so, then there is the same error in the arguments of those who are telling scare stories about a flood of cheap goods coming to the United States after the war.

s. D.

* * *

It is noteworthy that every progressive democrat in the present Congress has earned the commendation of so impartial a body as the National Voters' League. While noteworthy, it is not surprising. Congressmen who believe in democracy do not strive for election for the sake of getting office, but to bring about needed reforms. It is but natural that they should be numbered among the painstaking and industrious. The Congressmen whose re-election is especially desirable are Bailey of Pennsylvania; Crosser and Gordon of Ohio, Buchanan and Tavenner of Illinois, Nolan and Randall of California and Keating of Colorado. Lewis of Maryland has been nominated for the Senate and would be an important addition to the democrats in that branch. In addition to these there should be elected to the House of Representatives, Jackson H. Ralston of Maryland, George R. Lunn of New York, George B. Cotterill of Washington, Richard L. Jones of Minnesota, and no doubt others whose nomination has not been reported. The re-election in Indiana of Senator Kern is desirable, as is that of Senator La Follette in Wisconsin. It is no less important that there be democrats in both branches of Congress than that there be a democrat in the White House.

s. D.

* * *

The Presidential election should not overshadow the referendum to be taken in Oregon and California on a removal of the underlying cause

of poverty and unemployment. The proposition may be too advanced to be appreciated as it deserves in the year 1916. But whatever else the count of the votes may show the ultimate triumph of the principle has been hastened by the opportunity given to discuss and pass judgment on it. That result is assured.

s. D.

* * *

Of more than local interest would be the election in Chicago on November 7 of William A. Cunnea, Socialist candidate for State's Attorney of Cook County. Such a result is possible. Thousands of citizens who do not usually vote for Socialist candidates will support Mr. Cunnea. Conventional tests of good citizenship are alone enough to show the undesirability of the Republican nominee, who shares, moreover, with the present Democratic incumbent, Mr. Hoyne, the disadvantage of adherence to economic fallacies that has led the latter to use the power of his office in an absurd attempt to enforce the unworkable and iniquitous tax laws of the State. Mr. Hoyne holds to the idea that the threat of jail can reverse a law of political economy. That a more intelligent course may be expected of Mr. Cunnea is evident from his statement in the Tribune of October 25:

I agree with most people that the personal property tax, as at present assessed, simply levies a fine on the workingman who is thrifty. If he has bought, on the installment plan or otherwise, a piano, for instance, he is fined for making the purchase. My party, and myself with it, is inclined to believe that the Singletax on land values is the best way out of the tangle. Of course, if flagrant cases of plain perjury were brought to my attention I should give them careful attention. But I do not see myself running amuck in tax matters.

Under the circumstances the support of Mr. Cunnea is to be recommended.

s. D.

* * *

The increase of land registration under the Torrens system in Chicago is largely due to the efforts of Recorder James F. Connery. The burden on land transfers under the old system has been so heavy as to constitute a serious addition to taxes on improvements. The change is hurtful to a corporation which has a monopoly of furnishing abstracts of title, but is beneficial to the public interest. Mr. Connery should be re-elected to continue this work.

s. D.

* * *

Illinois voters who wish to see the Constitution sufficiently liberalized to place the State on an equality with its neighbors should vote "no" on the pending tax amendment. This amendment by limiting the classification of property for purposes of taxation to "personal property," instead

of "property," as endorsed by the people by an overwhelming vote, opens the door to the relief of corporate interests, and closes it to the workers and home owners. With this power in hand the beneficiaries, by controlling one-third of either house of the Legislature, can prevent the submission of any amendment to limit their control. If the amendment be defeated, these same interests will be disposed to unite with the rest of the electorate to secure relief for all. s. c.

Put None but Americans on Guard.

The closer some people back themselves to the solution of a problem, the wider appears to be the field before them for seeing false solutions. The editor of "Contracting" has his eye fixed upon turbulent workingmen as the chief cause of our industrial ills. He says:

As long as there are multitudes of untrained, unthinking, and irresponsible laborers led by selfish and irresponsible leaders who are unrestrained or imperfectly restricted by law or who break the law with impunity, so long will industrial, economic, social and political conditions grow worse.

Nor has the editor much hope from legislation that must be had at the hands of demagogues catering to these elements; nor from law administered by a judiciary that is willing "to frustrate justice and encourage anarchy by dismissing charges against those who riot and incite to riot." His hope lies in limiting the voting franchise. Instead of extending it to women, he would withdraw it from many who now enjoy it. So long as every adult male inhabitant of the country is allowed to vote, the ignorant and the criminal will neutralize the intelligent and the worthy. Continuing, he says:

This would be changed and tremendous benefits insured to all if suffrage were rigidly restricted by at least four provisions, i. e., American birth, educational requirements, property ownership, and decent moral character.

* *

Again is the fact demonstrated that history and experience mean little to some people. The full requirements for the franchise, as set forth by "Contracting," are met in the Russian nobility. They were met in only a little lesser degree in Adams county, Ohio, where wholesale bribe-taking was confessed by a large number of voters who were of American birth, had a common school education, owned property, and—up to the time of the exposure—were supposed to be of decent moral character. It is not necessary to hold up the native-born American to needless scorn. Neither is it well to assume his inherent superiority over the foreign born. A man may

perch high upon a family tree whose roots twine about Plymouth Rock, yet be false to all that America stands for; and the latest arrival at Ellis Island may rapturously treasure in his heart those very ideals. Not all scholars vote the same ticket, nor do all illiterates. Property owners, no less than those who have no property, divide on questions of public policy. And who has ever seen all the moral or all the immoral voters on one side? The great fundamental questions of state are simple in their nature; and for the same reason that justice is more likely to come from a jury than a judge, so are affairs of government better in the hands of all the people than when left to a selected few. s. c.

Campaigning with Poison Tongues.

Developments of the last few weeks make it easy to believe the intimation of Secretary Baker that a conspiracy to commit raids along the Mexican border has been entered into between Villa and enemies of the Wilson administration. Unfortunately it is very clear that some enemies of the administration, powerful enough to conduct a campaign, are not above instigating something much worse and more contemptible than a border raid; in fact, some person or persons, too cowardly to come out in the open, must be directing the circulation of a vile slander, in the hope of deceiving voters into opposition to the President. No Republican paper will publish the slander or hint at it. To do that would make a public challenge possible, compel admission of its groundless character and lead to disclosure of those responsible for its circulation.

* *

The method pursued is for Republican ward heelers to approach voters and whisper the slander to them. That is all. The person approached is depended upon to gossip with others. The story is expected to grow as it travels. That it happens to be a baseless falsehood does not matter. And in this way it is hoped to win an election, in spite of the fact that public interest clearly requires that it have a different result.

* *

There is no direct evidence connecting the systematic circulation of this slander with any campaign organization. But when a story that has never been printed suddenly begins to be spread secretly by Republican ward workers in widely separated parts of the country, it has evidently issued from a central source, to which these workers are accustomed to look for instructions. Would an agency that stoops to wholesale circu-

lation of anonymous slanders hesitate to conspire with Mexican bandits to inaugurate murderous border raids?

S. D.

A Voter's Predicament.

When has any class of citizens received such treatment as that of the Americans of German descent? Whether recent arrivals, or tracing their American ancestry back to the days of the Revolution, they have been reckoned as among the best elements in our population. If the first generation was disposed to cling stolidly to its language and customs, the second entered wholesouedly into the spirit of the new country. No one thought to question their allegiance; and, had such a question been raised, the mute records of the Civil War would have been the answer. Not only were the Germans of good stock, but they were the best part of a good stock; they had the spirit to come to America in quest of the liberty they had been denied at home. But the virility of the race, and the ties of language, literature and art, caused the expatriates to think kindly of the people at home. And as time wore on they forgot the oppression that drove them to seek new homes and treasured only the pleasant memories. They rejoiced in the rise of modern Germany, without counting the cost.

* *

Suddenly the war burst upon us. We remained neutral. The laws of nations and our treaty obligations required us to keep our ports open to both belligerents. But the British navy prevented Germany from taking advantage of them. The Entente Allies bought supplies from us; the Teutonic Allies could not. Thus the United States found itself involuntarily aiding the Entente. Our fellow citizens forgot that the war was brought on by the privileged classes, and saw only the German nation in a life and death struggle. It would be a strange heart that did not extend its sympathy. But matters were not allowed to remain in a natural state. Self-appointed leaders seized upon the occasion to arouse German sentiment in America; and misrepresentation was carried on until men and women who would have sacrificed their all for this country were made to appear as our open enemies. As if this were not enough, our Presidential election found the Republicans so devoid of issues that they seized upon this situation; and tricky politicians and ambitious German leaders effected a combination that has humiliated the German-Americans to the last degree. But these men and women are not so easily duped as that. They

have allowed themselves to be put in a false light; but when the test is made they will be found as true as they were in the Civil War. They have discovered the trick that has been played upon them, and the greatest of all the surprises of this election will be the number of German-American votes for the President who has tried to be just to all.

S. C.

The Cheap Goods Bogy.

A correspondent asks for comment on the following argument:

After the war business will be in a slump in Europe which will make labor very cheap. This will enable European manufacturers to undersell Americans and then our factories will have to close. Hence a protective tariff.

This argument is virtually the same as one that has been put forth in all seriousness by no less an individual than Charles E. Hughes, who also denies that free trade will cheapen goods. The assumption is unreasonable that after war business in Europe will be in a slump and labor any cheaper than it ever was. There will be a vast amount of destroyed property that must be replaced, which ought to create a great demand for labor. So far from causing a slump in business that should bring about the reverse. Moreover, the labor supply will have been reduced, and that must tend to increase wages. Europe will experience on a vastly increased scale what has occurred in every community after a great conflagration, earthquake or other disaster. A business boom and increased demand for labor resulted from the Chicago fire, the Johnstown flood, the Galveston hurricane, the San Francisco earthquake, and similar occurrences. The same is to be expected after the war in Europe.

* *

So far from having any means with which to flood us with cheap goods, it is more probable that Europeans will be in need of goods from outside. Their disabled and disorganized industries will not be in position to supply their wants. An increase of duties will make it more difficult for Europeans to pay for goods they will need from us. In order to pay they must send us labor products in some form, and if we will not admit these products, or if we make their admission difficult, we will injure our own business, besides putting ourselves at the mercy of the American monopolies which high tariff rates foster.

* *

For many years American goods have been sold in Europe in competition with the products of lower-wage labor. The reason is that American

labor and American methods are efficient enough to turn out more products with the same amount of labor. Higher wages in American industry does not mean higher labor cost, but the reverse. It is for that reason that Henry Ford, though he pays the highest wages, can turn out a cheaper automobile than his competitors. Experience shows that should European wages fall after the war, efficiency will fall also, and the ability of American labor to compete would be increased rather than lessened.

* *

But assuming, for argument's sake, that European manufacturers could undersell Americans, what of it? The fact that American manufacturers have, in the past, undersold Europeans in their own markets has not hurt Europeans. To pay for the goods productive work of some kind had to be done and men were needed to do the work. Every dollar's worth of wealth imported into a country requires performance of a dollar's worth of work to produce the equivalent for the imported goods. The same applies to imports into the United States. If Europeans were to supply us with manufactured goods on such terms that factories would not be needed here, there would be no less demand for American labor. It would be required to produce wealth in some other form to pay for manufactured goods. Otherwise the Europeans could not be paid for the goods they shipped to us. If that were true, they would not be shipped.

* *

Is it not appalling that a man considered by thousands, competent to be President of the United States, should solemnly assure us that people will be hurt if allowed to buy where they can get best value for their money? s. d.

Objections That Recommend.

In regard to the pending tax amendment in California, Clyde L. Seavey, head of the State Tax Commission, declares in a statement, reported in the Sacramento Bee of October 21, that its meaning is uncertain. Mr. Seavey seems to forget about its "uncertainty" in predicting the effect of its working. He begins by saying it is Singletax. If so, there can be nothing uncertain about it. The Singletax is a definite proposition. In discussing the measure further, he says:

It would, on January 1, 1917, relieve the railroads and other public service corporations, banks and insurance companies from paying nearly \$14,000,000 of taxes yearly to the State. It would relieve other corporations from paying yearly to the State over \$2,600,000 for franchise and license taxes.

If the amendment is Singletax, then it will not

relieve any franchise corporation of any taxes that will not be more than made up by taxes on its land value. Mr. Seavey seems to recognize this further on in his discussion, where he states that, if adopted, the measure "would impair the value of \$821,000,000 of public utility stocks and bonds." How could it do this unless it put on these corporations a greater burden than they are bearing now? The only change it provides is a change in taxation. So the only way it could have the effect Mr. Seavey predicts is through increasing the taxes of these corporations sufficiently to impair the value of their stocks and bonds.

* *

In addition, Mr. Seavey objects that the measure will exempt personal property and improvements, will deprive the State of revenue from the inheritance tax, and increase land value taxes to the amount of \$67,700,000. The measure cannot be so "uncertain" after all. And the results predicted by Mr. Seavey are far from evil. Taxes on personal property and improvements drive away capital and check industry. They ought to be abolished. They are taxes on labor. Taxes on inheritances fail to discriminate between property which the testator has acquired by his own labor and property not so acquired. They remedy no injustice. A tax is much to be preferred that will prevent the piling up of unearned fortunes to be bequeathed.

* *

Mr. Seavey declares:

The amendment proposes to take for public use the rental and site value of the land, which would leave no real value in the hands of the owner. These things it proposes to do immediately on January 1, 1917. This would mean an economic upheaval.

Is Mr. Seavey sure that an economic upheaval is not needed? He says himself:

I believe that many of the landholding evils that the proponents of this amendment seek to remedy should be remedied, but I do not believe in trying to cure a violent and long-continued headache by hanging the patient by the neck.

What are the evils that are sought to be remedied? The chief one is involuntary poverty which results from denial to workers of the right to use of the earth. The way to cure this evil, like the way to cure a headache, is to remove its cause. Workers are denied access to the earth because it is or seems to be to the financial advantage of owners to deny them. Mr. Seavey's explanation of the proposed amendment shows that it strikes at this cause, that it makes withholding of land from use unprofitable, and makes more profitable the putting of land to its best use. A measure that does that frees the earth to the use

of workers. It does away with involuntary unemployment. If that would be an "economic upheaval," would it not be a blessing nevertheless? Mr. Seavey's objections sound like thinly veiled recommendations.

S. D.

AS THE CAMPAIGN CLOSES.

An extraordinary campaign, a "campaign without a parallel," in the words of the New York Evening Post, is drawing to a close. Let us briefly review its several phases:

The First Phase. The Republicans and the majority of the "chastened" Progressives are anxious to prevent another three-cornered fight. Reunion is seen to be impossible under Roosevelt, and Hughes is selected. He had made no enemies; his judicial silence had been a virtue; he had a good political record, and was not too radical for the non-progressive Progressives or the reactionary Republicans. "The strongest candidate that could have been nominated," is the general verdict. "Now we may expect a clean, dignified and intellectual campaign," say many. "Prepare for a real, keen, educational debate of the issues!"

The Second Phase. Hughes disappoints many of his warmest admirers. He not only presents no issues worthy of the name, but descends to a low level. He makes dull, flat, uninspiring, unfair and abusive speeches. He displays amazing lack of honesty and breadth. He dodges—not artfully, but clumsily—every "dangerous" issue. He dares not utter one word that might offend the hyphenates of the unreasonable type, who threaten to "punish Wilson" for his stand on the Lusitania massacre. He is equally reluctant to alienate the extreme eastern pro-Allies who think Wilson has not done enough for France, England or Belgium, or that the Government hesitated, debated, wavered and waited too long before issuing an ultimatum to Germany. He indulges in sophomoric platitudes about "Americanism," and ostentatiously fails to follow Roosevelt's lead in connection with the attacks on Wilson's European policies. He sends laconic congratulations to Roosevelt, but refuses to specify or answer questions. Roosevelt's tirades make some Republicans shiver, but Hughes takes comfort in the thought that the majority of the "punish-Wilson" hyphenates are too angry and too rabid to stop to think, and that, in spite of Roosevelt, they will conclude to take a chance with the dodger.

With reference to Mexico, Hughes likewise refrains from advancing a single definite suggestion. He scolds, arraigns, denounces, rails, but becomes deaf and dumb when asked what HE

would have done in Mexico. Parrot-like, he iterates and reiterates the one meaningless phrase that he would have known how "firmly" to protect American lives and interests in Mexico. Does he mean that he would have occupied and policed Mexico, thus provoking war with all the Mexican factions? Does he mean that he would have taken Huerta to his bosom? No light on this is vouchsafed. Hughes, "the honest and downright Hughes," prefers evasion and silence to the risk of a plain answer.

To these "issues" he adds a few cheap, pinhead issues. Chagrin, disappointment and amazement in his own ranks. Protests pour in. Independent and Progressive papers openly express their disgust.

The Third Phase. The 8-hour law is sent by the tribal gods of the standpatters to put life into the bankrupt Hughes campaign. Hughes, having said nothing during the protracted railroad crisis, becomes as bold as a lion the moment the crisis is a closed incident. He vehemently assails the President, misrepresents the 8-hour law, slanders the railroad brotherhoods, talks of holding up Congress at the point of a pistol, sheds tears over the rejection of arbitration, angrily shakes his fist at "legislation without investigation"—in short, clutches wildly at a "paramount issue." Plutocratic Democrats and shaky Progressives—the latter forgetting the 8-hour plank of their own 1912 platform—make long faces over Wilson's "surrender," and solemnly pretend that they cannot vote for him, after all, since his action on this new issue causes everything else to fade into insignificance. Republican managers interview themselves and declare that all is over but the shouting. Hughes is as good as elected.

The Fourth Phase. Time passes. People tire of the 8-hour issue. Falsehoods concerning it are exposed. The public realizes that the Hughes campaign is a campaign of humbug. The Republicans, it is seen, could have defeated or delayed the 8-hour law, and it was their clear duty to oppose it if it was so wicked and abominable, and if a strike by the railroad brotherhoods would have been infinitely preferable to the Wilson "surrender." Hughes feebly replies to Olney that he doesn't believe in filibustering and therefore did not advise it. He adds that he was not bound to save the Administration from itself by defeating the 8-hour bill. The hollowness of this is apparent even to the weak-minded and credulous. The new "godsend" issue peters out. Labor resents the slanders and falsehoods and sophistry of the plutocratic press and its candidate. Hughes is

forced to protest that he is not opposed to an 8-hour day in hazardous industries. Roosevelt causes more shivering by his coarse and venomous abuse of the President for his alleged weakness and vacillation in dealing with Germany. Certain hyphenate editors recover a little sanity and advise staying at home on election day instead of voting for Hughes, the trimmer and dodger, merely in order to punish Wilson. Some German-Americans go further and announce their intention of voting for Wilson and his policy of patience, neutrality and vigorous but reasonable defense of the law and humanity.

And this is the phase we are likely to remain in until the end. The Republican campaigners are continuing to thrash the old straw. They are condemned to vagueness, shuffling and sterility. They can say nothing, they dare say nothing definite, for they need the votes of the hyphenates who hate Wilson because "he has done too much" as well as the votes of the irrational pro-Allies who think that he has not done enough to protect American rights against German frightfulness. They are reduced to equally hazy generalities concerning Mexico, for they dare not advocate invasion and war. They do not dare to frame issues. All they want is—votes. Let everybody who hates Wilson—be the cause what it may—vote for Hughes, and victory is certain. Hughes does not stand for anything and does not promise anything, and in the event of Republican victory he will be free to adopt any policy that may then suit his masters, the factions and cliques that control his party.

No one who is not willfully blind can deny that this is the actual situation at this time. Can the Republican-Roosevelt combination win on this negative and empty campaign record—a record without parallel even in cheap, selfish, ignoble and contemptible politics? You can fool all the people some of the time, said Lincoln. Can Hughes, the champion straddler, fool enough voters to defeat Wilson? We shall soon know; but the defeat of Wilson by a fortuitous and dishonest combination of discordant elements having nothing in common save the emotion of hatred, would be a painful exemplification of political and moral confusion, as well as of corruption, due to privilege and injustice in our social system. The result, however, would be neither astonishing nor disheartening. Radicals of breadth and intelligence have written much about the fatal political effects of economic subjection and industrial slavery. If Wilson is defeated by the votes of American farmers and workmen, he will owe his defeat

to the slow poison of protectionism and monopoly, not to the froth of the wild hyphenates. Are the farmers and workmen of the country so sordid, so benighted, so indifferent to peace, to progress, to liberalism, to democracy, that they will aid and abet the special interests in their desperate effort to recapture the government? Let us hope that the result on November 7 will furnish some reassurance as to the mental and moral state of our democracy at this time.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

AN OPEN LETTER TO GIFFORD PINCHOT.

Your letter under date of September 7, addressed to me as Editor of Unity, setting forth the reasons for your choice of Presidential candidate, with the request that I lay the same before my readers, has lain upon my table these many days and has been read many times. Your eminent leadership, which I have been glad to follow, your evident frankness and sincerity and the solemn issues involved, have commanded my thoughtful attention and at last called forth this reply, which is due to you and perhaps to my readers, for whom I have ever frankly worn my heart upon my sleeve. But, above all, it is due to the great causes which we all have at heart.

Like yourself, I am "neither Democrat nor Republican," and have not been for many years, though I cast my first vote for Abraham Lincoln, second term, on the battle line in Mississippi, in a ballot box resting on an artillery caisson. I, too, claim to be a "progressive," though I never could wear that party badge because it used a twelve inch rule in measuring its progress instead of a surveyor's chain, which was needed. It flinched and went wrong on what seemed to me to be two great profound issues in modern civilization; namely, the abolition, not the amelioration of war and the elimination of racial injustice. A "Progressive Party" that followed a belligerent leader, the champion of the "big stick," and that failed to stand aggressively for the rights of the colored man, vouchsafed by the constitution in all sections of the country, bargained, as I think, for the speedy demoralization that has overtaken it.

Further, I, like you, have had my disappointments in the Wilson administration. I was sorry he lent himself to the senseless fuss about the "21-gun salute" to the flag as an adequate cause for the foolish mobilization of troops and ships and the occupation of Vera Cruz. The pursuit of Villa and the costly mobilization of the National Guard on the Mexican border were, to my thinking, as unnecessary as they have been inefficient. I was both surprised and distressed at the final stampede of Congress for its, to me, unspeakably extravagant naval appropriation and its dream of an im-

possible standing army. It can only be explained as political expediency, and both parties quarrel like two drowning men fighting for a plank in deep water as to which should receive the credit. But you know better than I can know the subtle pressures and the fierce contentions that are known only to the politicians behind the scenes. I cannot enter into the perplexities and conflicting interests that beset a President. But over against these mistakes, as they seem to me, the responsibility for which is hard to place, stand the unquestioned, very important triumphs of Mr. Wilson enumerated by Dr. Eliot. He has stood unequivocally and effectively against war and its atrocities, and we have been kept out of the terrible embroglio in spite of the constant clamor of influential papers and politicians. For this I believe history will give him large praise. The hundred lives lost by the sinking of the *Lusitania* could not have been called back by sacrificing thousands of other innocent lives and the wasting of millions of property. The dignity of the United States could not have been maintained by the slaughter of more innocents. National honor is not established by the code of the ring. The standards of dignity for a democracy are those of the true gentleman. "No gentleman will insult me, no other can."

In response to the oft vaunted challenge of "What would you do if some one insulted your wife?" I reply, "I do not know, but I do know that I ought not to indicate my valiant loyalty by going out and finding some other man's wife and visiting upon her a like insult."

Because I think there is always an honorable way out of war which is always dishonorable, and because I believe it is the opportunity and duty of the United States to lead in the pacification of the world, a duty which in this tremendous emergency is pre-eminent, I am going to vote for the scholar, the thinker, the cosmopolitan in the White House, who has done so much to counteract the mad belligerency that has betrayed twentieth century civilization, exposed the superficiality of our "Christian" professions. This war is the awful harvest that comes from the vicious seed sown by the philosophers who teach that the final court of appeal in settling the disputes between nations is force, a method which has long been abolished in settling quarrels between individuals.

You call attention in your letter to the contradictions in Wilson's administration. Granted. David Starr Jordan well says, "No captain can steer a straight course through a rock strewn harbor," and when it comes to this, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." Politics never made stranger bed-fellows than those who are now trying to adjust themselves to the Republican cot.

You say you believe in "Nationalism." This is a catchy word with a dangerous connotation. The word of this century, the word of science, art and

religion is internationalism. "He knows no language who knows but one" is the dictum of the schools. By the same token we can say, "He loves no country who loves but one." The "safety, honor and welfare" of our country is inseparably connected with the safety, honor and welfare of all countries.

It is to me a cause of great humiliation that our country should gloat over a "prosperity" produced by the manufacture of munitions of war on the part of individuals regardless as to what limbs are to be shredded or what homes are to be shattered by the devilish output. My experience, during my recent trip abroad, does not justify your suspicion that "we are without a friend among the great nations of the world." The bleeding heart of Europe turns towards America. The war lords and munition makers, crowned heads and sword bearers may despise us—a gracious compliment that—but the people, the home-makers, and I have reason to believe the patient men in the trenches, the poets and the philosophers, the men of science and men of religion will love and praise increasingly those who have kept their faith in brotherhood and have set their faces unflinchingly against war, which is the "sum of all villainies."

Whatever the faults of President Wilson may be, he has maintained the academic dignity of a man of thought. If not through his word and work, then through those of his rivals, he has brought the eight-hour day to the front and greatly hastened its advance. He has lifted the child of the cotton mills and elsewhere out of its crippling slavery. He has incurred the displeasure and distrust of the capitalistic crowds who know of no higher appeal to the American voter than the argument of a "full dinner pail," and who in the face of these high issues are striving to inject into the campaign the obsolete clamor of "tariff protection," which as a political party issue is an addled egg in a last year's bird's nest. The intelligent in all parties agree that tariff intricacies can only be settled by a non-partisan commission of experts devoting themselves perpetually to the study of the problems involved.

These are some of the reasons why I, an independent like yourself, and a would-be progressive in American politics, am induced to vote for Woodrow Wilson for our next President.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES.

A CENTENNIAL UNHERALDED.

Unfurl the flags! Sound the trumpets! Beat the drums! Thunder, O ye Republican thunderers! Let Earth rejoice! What! Knew ye not? Asleep at the switch? Awake! Awake! It is the Centennial! This year of our Lord, 1916, is the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the American "Protective" Tariff—and ye knew me not.

The tariff-for-revenue dodge had been incorporated into the laws of the land almost coinci-

dentially with the Constitution, but the "protective" principle was not adopted until the year 1816. Two paragraphs, "reposing peacefully amid the din of battle and the shrieks of dying braves," in the pages of Fiske's history of these United States, tell eloquently the story:

The temporary suspension of commerce, through Jefferson's embargo and the war (of 1812), had forced the people to begin manufacturing on a large scale to supply their own wants. Before the embargo, all the cotton and woolen cloth, tools, china, glass and the like were brought from England; but at the close of the war hundreds of manufactories, encouraged by societies formed for the purpose, by prizes and special acts of the State legislatures, had sprung up, and most of these articles were manufactured at home.

Soon after the coming of peace the country was flooded with all manner of merchandise from England, and the people, seeing their new industries threatened, called upon Congress to protect by tariff laws what the embargo and the war had protected for them before. The response was the tariff of 1816, fathered by William Lowndes of South Carolina. By this tariff duties were raised to an average of about 20 per cent, and this not only greatly increased the revenue, but proved ample for protection, and the business of manufacturing increased and flourished throughout the land.

In the language of the poet, "great is Protection, and great is the credulity of him who would lift himself by his bootstraps."

* *

Far be it from us to cast aspersions upon those dead statesmen, our fathers. They did the right as they saw the right. They were patriots in freedom's cause, even though they thus inadvertently thrust upon their countrymen a persistent form of slavery.

Had some little bird but whispered into their ears, "*Stick to the industries which you can carry on most profitably and trade your natural products in the markets where you can trade to best advantage*; let factories come when they can come without subsidies; let their growth be natural, not forced; your people have a virgin continent, and cannot afford to become mechanics while vast natural wealth is at their command, and the world is crying for their raw materials; do not, therefore, devote your capital and labor to unprofitable industry while a world of wealth lies at your hands; let no privileged group fasten as parasites forever upon your industry, merely because the follies or exigencies of the past have fostered them"—had a wise little bird but whispered this, can we not believe that the intelligence and patriotism of that day would have grasped the thought and fought for it as they had fought for that other phase of freedom?

It is not for us, the living, to criticize those patriots for what they did or failed to do. "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great cause remaining before us, that from these hon-

ored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

The policy of unrestricted trade is as sound now as it was then. It is not lessened by a multiplication of the evils of Protection. The life of the "protective" tariff may be prolonged by seeming necessities of the moment, but its death is certain. Everyone knows that "protection" is merely another spelling of robbery. "Made in America, but sold more cheaply in Europe" is the jest of every street corner and country crossroads. And still the Civil War tariff-for-revenue, multiplied in many instances manifold, is the order of the day.

Why not celebrate the centennial by obliterating the thing from the statute books. We may have learned by the mistakes of our fathers.

HARRY W. OLNEY.

AD ABSURDUM.

A man, a citizen of the State of Washington, who thought it was a wicked, crying shame that the shingle industry was "unprotected," was accosted on the street by a well-dressed stranger who asked him for \$50. "Fifty dollars," exclaimed the citizen of the State of Washington, "Fifty dollars! I don't know you. Go and borrow from some of your friends." "Pardon me," said the stranger, "but I asked you to give, not loan. Give me \$50. I will spend it, put the money in circulation and increase the prosperity of the country."

The citizen of the State of Washington gave the stranger a look of scorn unutterable and went his way. On November 7 next he intends to vote for Charles E. Hughes, and a tariff on shingles.

* *

A man, a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, who earnestly and sincerely believes in "protection," was recently notified that he had inherited some valuable works of art from a distant relative in Europe. His friends came to congratulate him, but he said, "I cannot accept the legacy. I would like to, for it would benefit us in many ways, but I cannot accept it. If it is not right to buy the products of pauper Europe at prices that make them partial gifts, neither is it right to accept from Europe a gift in its entirety."

And he fell moodily silent, nor could his friends console him. On November 7 next he will vote for Charles E. Hughes and a protective tariff.

* *

A man, a citizen of the State of Louisiana, deplored the high cost of living. "It's a fright," he said. "By the time I get through paying for food and clothes and rent and taxes, I ain't got nothin' left." "Rent and taxes," said his friend, "why pay both? You get something in return for your taxes, but what do you get for your rent? Permission to live and to go to work, eh?" "Gwan,"

said the citizen of the State of Louisiana, "you're crazy as a bedbug on Singletax. It's monkeying with the tariff that's done it. What we want is a tariff so darn high that it will keep foreign goods out. Then a man will be able to get somewhere."

On November 7 next he will vote for Charles E. Hughes.

H. M. HADLEY.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE TO WOODROW WILSON.

It's all right for you to be wrong,
As long as you're wrong;
But it is wrong for you to be right,
As long as you're right.

To do a thing wrong is to do the thing right,
As long as you do it wrong;
But to do a thing right is to do the thing wrong,
As long as you do it right.

So, in order to be right you must be wrong,
For it is wrong for you to be right;
While you have a right to be wrong,
You have no right to be right.

HARRY P. PRINGLE.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week ending Tuesday, October 31, 1916.

The Presidential Campaign.

President Wilson in an address at Cincinnati on October 26 said in regard to the predicted economic struggle after the war

It is predicted that after this war is over, Europe will in some way overwhelm the United States by her economic power and her economic antagonisms to the United States. This opinion is obviously based upon singular and profound ignorance.

There are some 25,000,000 men under arms, or who have been under arms in this titanic struggle. From 40 to 60 per cent of the skilled mechanics of Europe have been called into the field. The business of destruction has been so successful that the materials of economic life have been destroyed upon an enormous scale.

And these gentlemen tell us that these nations that have spent their best blood and energy for this thing are in the meantime doing what? Creating great bodies of goods which they are going to ship to us and dump on us when the war is over.

Do they not know that the population that is not in the field is bent in all its concentrated energy upon one thing, namely, sustaining those who are in the field?

Are they producing the things that they have ordinarily sent to America in such abundance while they are in this death grapple that they are thinking of overwhelming America?

Why, my friends, we ought not to turn to these people in fear, but in sympathy.

It will be America's opportunity, but it will be her opportunity to do something very much greater than

that, for in the meantime look at the situation of the United States.

The United States has had an industrial and manufacturing revival in the last two years such as it never experienced before. And when men imagine that this is due to the trade created by the war they have not read the facts.

If you take the figures of our commerce you will find that the foreign commerce does not equal 4 per cent of the total and the exports in everything that goes to supply armies—munitions, draft animals, automobile trucks, food, shoes, clothes, everything that is needed by the commissary of an army—that all of these things put together do not constitute 1 per cent of the total of our commerce. Now is 4 per cent creating the 96 per cent? Is it reasonable to suppose that it is?

* *

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in an address on October 26 charged that the Lusitania note as originally written contained a postscript declaring that the warning to the German government regarding strict accountability was not to be taken seriously. This postscript, he further said, had been removed only upon the threat of Secretary of War Garrison to resign, and that its removal caused the resignation of Secretary Bryan. Lodge's story was at once denied by President Wilson, former Secretary Bryan and other cabinet officials. Nevertheless Senator Lodge reiterated the story, and was denounced as "beneath contempt" for so doing by former Assistant Secretary of War Henry C. Breckinridge, who had resigned with Secretary Garrison.

* *

A list of 31 authors and artists who have signed an appeal in Hughes' behalf appeared on October 26. They were: Hamlin Garland, Booth Tarkington, Irving Bacheller, Edwin H. Blashfield, Winston Churchill, Hobart Chatfield-Taylor, Jules Guerin, William Gillette, Robert Herrick, Burton J. Hendrick, Burges Johnson, Brander Matthews, William R. Thayer, Edward S. Van Zile, Barrett Wendell, Jesse Lynch Williams, George Ade, Rex Beach, James Barnes, Porter Emerson Browne, James H. Collins, J. Montgomery Flagg, Cass Gilbert, Robert Grant, Clayton Hamilton, Brian Hooker, John Luther Long, Julian Street, Charles H. Towne, Owen Wister, Henry K. Webster.

* *

Justice John Ford of the State Supreme Court of New York City, a lifelong Republican, declared in a letter to President Wilson that he will support him. Justice Ford was for a time editor of the official organ of the American Protective Tariff League, The American Economist, declares in its issue of October 28 that it can not understand his position. In his letter Justice Ford states:

This is an election which demands of every citizen the casting off of all partisan ties and a merciless search of conscience to determine how his vote may

unselfishly and honestly be cast to serve best the interests of the United States without regard to the effect it may have upon any other country or any foreign interests. I have endeavored to bring my mind to view the issues from such a standpoint and have concluded that it is my patriotic duty to vote for you.

In my opinion, it would be most unwise to change the national administration in the midst of this unprecedented world crisis. Moreover, I would be false to my lifelong allegiance to the cause of the plain people if I failed to support you, to whom is mainly due the list of progressive and beneficent laws enacted during your administration.

* *

J. W. Dawson, Republican nominee for elector in West Virginia, asked on October 24 that his name be withdrawn from the ticket because he has decided to vote for Wilson. In his letter of withdrawal he says:

I have read Mr. Hughes's public addresses with a great deal of anxiety; I do not find in them any good reason why we should change administrations at Washington at this critical period.

* *

At a non-partisan Wilson dinner in Portland, Oregon, on October 20, the following telegram from Thomas A. Edison was read:

Henry Ford, John Burroughs, Luther Burbank and myself, all Republicans many years, have concluded among ourselves that the interests of the United States of America will be best served by electing Woodrow Wilson President.

* *

A number of professional writers, headed by George Creel, have issued the following statement, dated October 26:

Not as partisans, but as believers in democracy, the professional writers who sign this statement have united in support of Woodrow Wilson.

He has proved honesty, honor and courage. Words and deeds alike attest his vision and idealism. More than any other man in public life he goes back to the Declaration of Independence for his faith.

Following an administration repudiated for its failures, captaining a political organization without constructive habit, and fought at every step by organized greed, his task has been further complicated by a war that made irresistible appeal to the sympathies and hatreds of the mixed population of the United States.

No President ever faced such a press of domestic and international problems; no President ever ran a more continuous gauntlet of attack and misrepresentation; no President ever achieved more tremendously.

Tariff revision downward, the child labor law, the Federal reserve act, rural credits, seamen's act, workmen's compensation, the Clayton anti-trust law, the ship purchase act, Federal trade commission, the Panama tolls exemption repeal, agricultural extension, good roads, Alaskan development by government railways, conservation, tariff commission and the eight-hour day—these things constitute a record of constructive legislation that is without parallel.

His foreign policies, bedrocked in honor, justice and patriotism, are vindicated by results. America is at peace. International law has been upheld, humanity and civilization served, and the horror of a world war averted. Concessionaires have been defeated in their program of Mexican conquest, and Central America and South America, ancient distrust now removed, are joined in the great Pan-American movement.

Never were issues so plain.

Woodrow Wilson stands for peace, justice, progress and undivided allegiance.

In the motley ranks of the opposition, held together by a common hate, may be found every sinister influence that bitter experience has taught the people to fear. High Finance, tariff monopolists, corrupt bosses, alien conspirators and disloyalists of every persuasion fight side by side under a candidate whose silence gives hope to every sordid and treasonable expectation.

Never was choice so plain.

It is between efficient performance and empty protestation; between Americanism and hyphenism; between equal justice and special privilege; between peace and war; between secret millions and faithful service.

It is not Woodrow Wilson who is on trial, but the people of the United States.

* *

Campaign contributions of both parties were made public on October 28, in accordance with the recent act of Congress. Republican contributions total \$1,667,757. Democratic contributions total \$1,006,283. The total number of contributors to the Republican fund is 22,226. The total number who have given to the Democrats is 41,882. Contributors to the Republicans of more than \$10,000 were as follows: New Jersey Republican state committee, \$25,000; R. T. Crane, Jr., Chicago, \$25,000; Arthur Curtiss James, \$25,000; George F. Baker, Jr., \$25,000; H. P. Whitney, \$30,000; Edward Harkness, \$20,000; W. R. Allen, \$20,000; Clarence H. Mackay, \$20,000; J. S. Bache & Co., \$15,000; William T. Clyde, \$15,000; A. D. Juliard, \$15,000; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, \$15,000. Contributing \$10,000—William B. Thompson, George F. Baker, William Wrigley, Jr., T. Coleman Du Pont, Mrs. E. M. Anderson, Thomas Cochran, Warren Delano, Mrs. Mary Lily Flagler, Henry Veeder, Gailem S. Stone, A. Monell, William H. Croker, J. and W. Seligman & Co., Mortimer L. Schiff, J. P. Morgan, A. T. Hert, Hornblower & Weeks, Lewis L. Clarke, F. B. Adams, Judge William H. Moore, Percy R. Pyne, F. M. Goldsmith, Louis F. Rothschild, J. B. Duke, Cornelius Vanderbilt, John N. Willys, Spencer Penrose. Contributing \$8,000—Henry C. Cochran for Union League campaign fund, J. Ogden Armour, J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. \$7,500—Ogden Mills. \$5,500—Edwin C. Holter. \$5,000—C. N. Bliss, Jr., J. Horace Harding, Robert Bacon, Robert W. Golet, Vincent Astor, H. P. Davison, Charles Steel, Francis L. Hine, W. N. Cromwell,

Edward Palmer, H. F. Sinclair, W. L. Harkness, Mrs. Henry R. Rea, W. Hinkle Smith, Theodore N. Vail, John F. Dodge, F. B. Keech, Adolfo Stahl, Felix M. Warburg, Uptown Dry Goods association, F. G. Bourne, George Lauder, R. L. Beckman, C. M. MacNeill, A. E. Charlton, L. G. Phitts, George S. Myers, C. S. Morey, W. H. Yawkey, Samuel P. Colt, Moses Taylor, E. R. Johnson, E. R. Stettinius, William H. Porter, James H. Wainwright, John W. Prentiss. The largest contribution to the Democratic fund was \$79,000 from Cleveland H. Dodge. President Wilson contributed \$2,500. Contributors of \$5,000 and upwards were: James W. Gerard, New York, \$7,000; John Barton Payne, Chicago, \$15,000; B. M. Winston, Chicago, \$10,000; Thomas D. Jones, Chicago, \$12,500; David B. Jones, Chicago, \$12,500; C. E. Davis, Chicago, \$15,000; Breckinridge Long, St. Louis, \$5,000; David R. Francis, St. Louis, \$5,000; M. N. Coolidge, Fitchburg, Mass., \$5,000; L. Doheney, Los Angeles, \$5,000; Jacob H. Schiff, \$5,000; R. J. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, N. C., \$10,000; Francis Burton Harrison, \$7,000; T. L. Chadbourne, \$15,000; Nicholas F. Brady, \$10,000; W. G. Sharp, Elyria, O., \$5,000; James C. Brady, \$10,000; Frank M. Patterson, \$6,000; John D. Ryan, \$10,000; T. L. Chadbourne, Jr., \$10,000; Charles R. Crane, \$15,000; Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee, \$5,000; Roger Sullivan, Chicago, \$5,000; Edward D. Hurley, Chicago, \$5,000; William A. Tilden, Chicago, \$10,000; W. C. Niblack, Chicago, \$10,000; Marcus Jacobowsky, Chicago, \$5,000; F. S. Peabody, Chicago, \$5,000.

A Quadrennial Balance Sheet.

A comparison of conditions with four years ago, prepared by Lee Francis Lybarger, is in part as follows:

Our total bank deposits for May 1, 1916, were over.....\$11,135,000,000
 An increase in 4 years of over..... 3,119,000,000
 Representing an increase of \$47 per capita.
 Our wealth has increased \$410 per capita.
 It is now estimated at.....\$228,000,000,000
 That is 12 billions more than the combined wealth of England, Germany and France.
 Total exports and imports to July 1...6,500,000,000
 England's total commerce for 1913.. 5,700,000,000
 Germany's total commerce for 1912.... 4,600,000,000
 Exports and imports under President Taft 3,857,000,000
 Increase of foreign commerce in 4 years, 72%.
 Prices have not advanced as much in this country as in Europe. Under the Underwood Tariff American manufacturers have sold from 10% to 50% higher in Europe than here. Under the Payne-Aldrich Tariff they compelled us to pay them from 10% to 50% more than they could get in Europe.
 Under Taft, 1912, our exports exceeded our imports by.....\$ 551,057,475
 This year our excess of exports over imports is 2,236,775,375
 That is an increased "trade balance" of 287%.

Our exports of iron and steel have increased105%
 Cotton manufactures.....108%
 Leather and manufactures....128%
 Automobiles and parts.....284%
 Chemicals, drugs, etc.....350%
 Wool manufactures.....1,400%
 Unfilled orders for U. S. Steel now double those of 1915.
 Our manufactures have increased 45%.
 Estimated value of manufactured products\$30,000,000,000
 Estimated total wealth production.. 45,000,000,000
 That this is a permanent prosperity, due to wise legislation, and not to the war, is shown by all the facts in the case.
 We export less than 10% of our total wealth production.
 Over 90% of it is consumed at home—war or no war.
 Much of our foreign trade is with nations not at war.
 Our exports of farm products alone for the 23 months of the war, down to July 1, 1916, were.....\$2,899,000,000
 Total exports of munitions for same period 535,000,000
 One is nearly 5 times the other.
 Our exports of manufactures are 7 times our munitions.
 Total exports of all products for same period\$6,837,616,580
 More than 12 times our exports of munitions.
 Our production of munitions is less than 1% of our total wealth production.
 Our loss in exports of cotton and tobacco alone, due to the war, is greater than our gain from the exportation of munitions.
 Total exports for year ending July 1, 1916\$4,333,658,865
 Exports for 1912, under President Taft 2,204,332,409
 That is a gain in exports of 96%.
 Our wealth has increased in the last 4 years\$41,000,000,000
 That is 20 times our increase of exports.
 Were our increase of exports pure profit, there still remains to be accounted for.....\$39,000,000,000
 For years we exported more gold than we imported, because we were in debt to Europe.
 This year our imports of gold exceed our exports.....\$368,102,605

Tax Reform News.

The California State Federation of Labor has issued under date of October 14 its recommendations on measures submitted to popular vote. It endorses the Singletax amendment known as amendment No. 5 and also the State Highway Act and the proposed amendment thereto, and the Direct Primary Act. [See current volume, pages 753, 953, 1001.]

* *

The Texas Singletax League in convention at Dallas on October 19 decided to urge upon the Legislature for submission to the people a state-

wide Singletax measure to be voted on in 1918. [See current volume, pages 418, 926.]

* *

The report of the Texas Land Commissioner J. T. Robison, published on October 20, declares that "Texas is Mexicanized with large land holdings," and that these will prove a millstone about the neck of the Government that will ultimately bury it in the maelstrom of an evil day to the country." He suggests as a remedy:

First, install a graded system of taxation to include all land of the same class, whether it be improved or not. In other words, that agricultural land be taken alike, whether it is tilled or not. In that way a "barbed wire fence" would not separate their value. Second, place a specific tax on land above a certain acreage and grade it after the plan of the Federal income tax law, regard being had as to whether the land be adapted to grazing, stock farming or purely agriculture. Third, enact an inheritance land tax law placing a specific tax on land inherited by one above a certain acreage, graduated according to the acreage plan of the Federal income tax law, consideration being given the quality of the land.

Ford Extends His Minimum Wage.

After a conference with President Wilson on October 24, Henry Ford announced that the minimum wage of \$5 a day to adult employes of his factory would be extended to women, and equal pay for equal work would prevail throughout his plant. He declared that the step was due to a talk with the President two weeks before.

The First Physical Valuation of Railroads.

The first official reports of physical valuation of interstate railroads were published on October 23. The reports related to the Texas Midland road and the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic. The latter road is capitalized at \$35,000,000 and could be reproduced, according to the report, for \$2,716,886. The value of leases to and from other lines added to the cost of reproduction make the present value of the total property \$24,154,998.

The Texas-Midland's investment in road equipment is \$3,474,491, and the cost of reproduction is \$3,382,004. It is capitalized at but \$2,112,000.

European War.

Verdun once more is a center of interest. A French advance on the east side of the Meuse penetrated the German lines on a front of four miles, and extended in the center to a depth of about two miles. Fort Douaumont, the Haudremont quarries, and the Thiaumont redoubt were included in the territory captured. More than 5,000 men and 100 officers were taken prisoners. All attempts of the German forces to recover the lost positions have failed. On the Somme front the Allies have continued to nibble at the German lines without making any great advances. The French

received a slight backset from a desperate assault by the German forces south of the Somme River. Heavy rains and mists have hindered operations on a large scale. [See current volume, page 1024.]

* *

The east front has seen much fighting during the week, for the most part favoring the Germans. The Russians in Galicia appear to be unable to advance, and the Roumanians have been almost entirely driven out of Transylvania. But since penetrating the passes into Roumania the German forces have been handicapped for lack of railroads, and are making little headway. The Roumanians now have the same advantage that the Germans had in Transylvania. General Mackensen has continued his advance in the Dobrudja territory, taking Chernavoda (Tchernavoda) where the railroad crosses the Danube, and driving the broken army of Russians and Roumanians northward toward the delta of the Danube. The Roumanians have destroyed part of the bridge across the Danube, which will render it impossible for Mackensen's army to cross the river until it has finally disposed of the remaining forces in Dobrudja. It is reported that although the Roumanians have plenty of men they lack the necessary big guns with which to meet the heavy artillery of the Germans. Premier Asquith announced in the British House of Commons that the Allied Powers were taking steps to relieve Roumania. Serbia and the Allies in the South are slowly making headway against the Bulgarians.

* *

An understanding between King Constantine of Greece and the Allies appears to have been brought about. The Greek government promises a sincere compliance with the demands of Admiral Fournet of the Allied fleet; effective maintenance of order in Athens and Piraeus; guaranty of constitutional liberty to Greeks through the operation of the legal functions of their government; and no opposition to recruiting for the Venizelist movement, which now is characterized as "anti-Bulgarian, instead of "national defense." The King has ordered a reduction of the Greek forces to 35,000 men, which removes the danger to the Allies of an attack in the rear. Italy continues an active campaign on the Isonzo front and the advance on Trieste, but has achieved no marked victories.

* *

Ten German destroyers and torpedo boats attempted a raid on the Channel line of communication between England and France on the night of the 26th. Berlin and London reports conflict as to the result, Berlin claiming to have sunk at least eleven outpost steamers and two torpedo boats. London reports the loss of one empty troop ship, one torpedo boat sunk and another damaged. The report claims two German torpedo boats were sunk and the rest driven off. Much

friction is apparent between Germany and Norway. Norway refuses to treat German submarines in her waters the same as other war vessels, and Germany has continued reprisals so energetically that it is reported she has already sunk one-seventh of Norway's shipping.

* *

Talk of two more years of the war is now heard. The heavy fortifications in the rear of the German defenses on the western front make it improbable, say critics, that the Allies can break through, or drive out the invaders. General von Hindenburg says Germany can hold her lines for thirty years. It is predicted that the Allies will continue to drive wedges into the German lines, after the manner of the Somme offensive, and depend upon attrition to wear out their opponents.

Mexico and the United States.

All news coming from Mexico at present is discredited on account of politics. Extravagant tales of Villa's doings have been contradicted in later dispatches. The Mexican embassy at Washington brands as false all reports reflecting on the stability of the Carranza government. General Carranza announced on the 26th that he would be a candidate for the Presidency in the forthcoming election. He said that the armed conflict in Mexico had ceased and that it is time to begin entering definitely on constitutional government. [See current volume, page 1023.]

* *

Charges circulated in the United States attributing to General Carranza and members of his cabinet, including Luis Cabrera, one of the three Commissioners to this country, sharp criticism of the Administration in its dealings with Mexico, were explicitly denied by all the persons concerned. The Mexican Ambassador Designate has arranged to officially make this denial to Secretary Lansing on the 1st.

NOTES

—Returns to date in the referendum vote in Australia on compulsory military service were: For conscription, 798,000; against conscription, 887,000.

—New York police on October 26 forcibly invaded the Birth Control Clinic conducted by Mrs. Margaret E. Sanger in Brooklyn, and arrested her on the charge of giving information on the subject.

—Pearson's Magazine has been barred from Canadian mails because the October issue denounced as a crime against humanity the refusal of Great Britain to allow American supplies to reach Poland.

—Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan, who is fifteen years, was officially proclaimed on the 30th. Announcement was made of his engagement to Miss Asako Ichijo, but the marriage will not take place for several years.

—The Illinois Supreme Court upheld on October 24 an ordinance of the city of Peoria compelling vaccination of children upon entrance into the public schools. Another decision upheld the right of the Chicago City Council to inspect the records of the Board of Education.

—The number of vessels passing through the Panama Canal during the first year was 1,317, with a tonnage of 4,596,644. The number in the second year, owing to the war and the temporary stoppage by slides, was 780 vessels, with a tonnage of 2,449,763. The number of American ships using the Canal during the second year, ending June 30, 1916, was 238, with a tonnage of 737,169. Of these 93 were in the United States coastwise trade, and 145 in the foreign trade.

PRESS OPINIONS

The True Source of Prosperity.

Ceres (California) Courier, October 12.—In this campaign, when our Republican friends are staking so much on "protection" to return them to power, they should again read the last speech made by William McKinley, just before he was stricken down by an assassin's bullet. He said:

Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets demands attention. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is essential to the continued, healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must find a vent abroad and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

No; California's prosperity is not due to the protective tariff but to our natural resources and enterprise and industry of our people, and the hot-house, tariff method of increasing that prosperity benefits us not at all in the long run. It is a delusion and a snare. Oppose it.

Unequal Sacrifices.

The Australian Worker (Sydney), September 21.—Consider the lopsidedness of it. An Australian private gets 6s. a day, 42s. a week, £9 2s. 6d. a calendar month, £109 10s. a year. Six shillings a day for taking enormous risks; for enduring prodigious hardships; for leaving, perhaps forever, those near and dear to him; for leaving the comforts, or comparative comforts of hearth and home. And the Shylock who invests £50,000 in the war loans receives £2,250 a year, £187 10s. a month, £43 5s. 4d. a week, £6 3s. 3d. a day. For what? For temporarily assisting, without risk, to defend his £50,000, and the rest of his possessions and privileges. He can still go on living in ease, and comfort, and safety. He can still keep on robbing the public (including the soldier's dependents) if he is a business man, and is built that way—and all the time he is drawing his £2,250 a year, which in the long run is paid by the public, and, of course, by the soldier who is getting 6s. a day.

Rural Credits No Help to the Landless.

Capper's Weekly (Topeka, Kas.), October 28.—The farm Loan Bureau at Washington has issued its answer to the question most heard in connection with the expected benefits to come from the new rural credits act: "How does this act help the landless man to get a farm?" The reply of the bureau is that this question has been best answered by Peter W. Goebel of Kansas City, this state, recently elected president of the American Bankers' Association. The answer was given by Mr. Goebel in Topeka at the hearings held here last month. What Mr. Goebel said was that the landless man, the tenant who desires to get hold of a farm, is to be aided by the banker through a second mortgage, the rural credit association holding the first mortgage. Mr. Goebel stated that he as a banker would cheerfully make the second mortgage loan—not, however, as a commercial banker, but as a banker doing that kind of business. First the tenant must find a banker willing to make him a 7 per cent loan on second mortgage for a period of 10 years or more. That is no small "if" in the tenant's way to independence. Next he must come with net assets of his team, cows and sows and farm machinery plus \$1,000 in the bank; or plus one-fourth of the price of the land. Now, the fact is that it is not this kind of tenant that the question relates to. The farm tenant who owns two teams, some machinery, cows, swine and \$1,000 in money in the bank is not the kind of tenant we are talking about. The question can not be answered. The act does not offer anything tangible to the real tenant in question, who is a man who owns a couple of teams, some cows and sows, who has \$200 in the bank and whose debts all assembled mount up to the \$200, if not more. For this man, who is nine tenants out of ten, neither the rural credits act nor Mr. Goebel can do anything.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FRAME-UP.

New York City, Oct. 24.

Bolton Hall, lawyer, author, millionaire, was framed-up in New York City, and charged with distributing pamphlets containing information on methods of birth control. At the time of the alleged happening there was a public meeting at Union Square Park, at which Hall was chairman, to protest on behalf of free speech and free press against the law which prevents the distribution of information on methods of birth control. At the end of the meeting pamphlets were distributed openly to the public.

A detective charged Hall with giving him a pamphlet and another detective corroborated him. Perfect case against Hall.

At the trial of Hall before the Court of Special Sessions, with Justices Herbert, Edwards and Kernochan, the two detectives, rough, loud-voiced, bull-necked, and positive, gave a perfect, detailed account of how Hall had handed to one of the detectives the Birth Control pamphlet, and the other was right by when it was done, and saw it all.

Bolton Hall, man of letters, scholar, economist, lawyer, the perfect gentleman, took the stand, ad-

mitted he had acted as chairman of the meeting of protest, but denied that he had given out any pamphlets. Ten other witnesses, business men, writers, engineers, clerks, and Emma Goldman, took the stand and denied that Bolton Hall had given out literature or pamphlets of any kind to any one at this meeting, and ten more witnesses were willing to testify. I also testified, that having been invited to talk at the meeting, but having declined, found on the Saturday of the meeting that I could attend, had gone to the meeting, and stood on an elevation about 10 feet from the automobile containing the speakers, and that I was above the heads of the crowd and could see the speakers and that nothing was in my way of clear vision. I also testified that as a lawyer I was interested in watching whether Bolton Hall, a lawyer, would deliberately break the law; that he was under my close observation during all the time the pamphlets were being given out and that he did not give any out.

Many witnesses were in court ready to testify to Hall's character and reputation as to truthfulness, but the Court decided it was not necessary to call them, there being "a reasonable doubt as to his guilt." He was therefore discharged. The court did not have the courage to say that they believed the detectives had tried to frame Hall up, and had committed perjury. Suppose Hall had not had funds to fight the case, or witnesses to prove his innocence, or had not been a man of international reputation? He might have been given six months on Blackwell's Island, a branded criminal.

The round-up and arrest of 200 I. W. W. strikers, charged with rioting, at Old Forge, Pa., was exposed the other day as a frame-up by an honest District Attorney named George W. Maxey. Men are in jails in many parts of the West, especially in California, where strikes have taken place, charged with murder, rioting, etc., and it is alleged they also have been framed-up. Many of them are without funds, or friends, and cannot make proper and adequate defense. The desire for convictions under all circumstances on the part of the police and District Attorneys had better be curbed, or society may reap a whirlwind. Labor leaders, I. W. W.'s, anarchists, strikers and strike leaders may begin to feel soon that if arrest and convictions follow despite innocence, why not be really guilty? The trial and acquittal of Bolton Hall should awaken the American public to a real danger.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

ILLINOIS IN THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

Hillsboro, Ill., Oct. 26, 1916.

Figuring out railroad and trolley connections from one county to another; motoring on rough roads in storm and sunshine; speaking as often as five times daily to crowds in villages and small towns; or holding meetings in halls and court houses—these are some of the commonplace incidents of a campaign tour in central and southern Illinois, beginning at Springfield, the state capital. We knew there was a good deal of Wilson sentiment in these parts of the State; and we wanted to help in the work of extending and solidifying it. Our operations are under the auspices of the Progressive Campaign Committee, whose Illinois headquarters are in charge of Mrs. Antoinette Funk.

We are in daily contact with people of all classes—farmers, organized labor, business men, bankers, educators, lawyers, ministers. Interest is growing all the time as election day approaches, and we notice an encouraging increase of women at our meetings. Newspapers give generous publicity, so that altogether, by the voice and the printed report, we are able to reach many thousands of minds.

One of the most significant things to be noted is, that those who say they are going to vote for Hughes do not have the fire and enthusiasm which marked the typical McKinley shouter in the memorable campaign of 1896. This absence of warmth on the part of open confessors is the inevitable accompaniment of a decreased Republican vote. There is nothing about the distinguished jurist that reaches the hearts of the people. A poll of the high school boys and girls in this trim little city disclosed seventy for Hughes and one hundred and seventeen for Wilson. The straw votes on the trains hereabouts generally go for the President by big majorities. There is evidently a strong undercurrent setting towards the new Democracy. It recalls the days of Andrew Jackson.

While Wilson does not gather to himself the idolatrous feeling which animated the supporters of Bryan in 1896, the popular backing commanded by the President is more solid and instructed than that which rallied round the champion of free silver. Probably both leaders—Bryan and Wilson—each of a different type—have been necessary to the re-vitalizing of the Democratic party. Bryan's heart is all right, and the people respect him still. But Wilson has the more trained and disciplined mind, with a longer intellectual reach.

That the people are doing some serious thinking in these last days of the campaign is quite clear. Wilson commands increasing support, not as a Democrat in the party sense, but as a man who stands above party and represents the sober second thought of average America. While the eight-hour law has helped him among the laboring class, it is not this that counts most with the far flung population of prairies and hills. The petulant cry of the Chicago Tribune that the nation is being painted yellow by the President is only an admission of defeat. The American people will fight in a worthy and just cause; but they want a bill of particulars. The majority of them are awake to the President's warning that intervention south of the Rio Grande spells merely the guarantee of American investments in Mexico. And before the people of the United States will jump to arms, they must have some higher and holier stimulus than the utterly cheap and sordid cry for protection of millionaire graft.

In the final stretch of the race, the issue of Peace and War forms the point of departure for discussion of all the other issues. Actual experience proves that the people are warming up to this as to nothing else. The popular imagination is fired by the picture of Europe writhing in the hell of a war that springs from aristocratic rule; while America peacefully struggles to liberate herself from the control of special interests. War, the excuse for aristocracy—the buttress of privilege! Military force, the foundation of monopoly! The campaign comes to an end with these vivid pictures in the foreground.

The people at large don't seem to know much about the pending Tax Amendment. A Democratic committeeman in one of the central counties told me that he had had a tip from the Democratic State Committee that it was a scheme of the big Chicago interests. The propaganda for the amendment has traded on the acknowledged breakdown of our present general property tax system without trying to substitute anything scientific for the hodge-podge revenue conditions prevailing in Illinois. It relieves improved real estate in such a way that land speculation will be automatically fostered by a lighter tax than that now resting upon vacant property. Hence, it will boost the price of such property, and make land correspondingly harder to purchase for legitimate use. The amendment is hasty and ill-advised; the people don't comprehend it; and the measure ought to be decisively defeated at the polls.

LOUIS WALLIS.

WILL PRICE

He understood. His was a rare, intuitive sympathy with the lives of those about him, which led him naturally to follow as his calling, architecture, the most human of the arts; and as his life work, the teaching of the science of political economy, the way in which men may best work and live together.

Seeing about him men, women and children crushed by the monopoly of land, the curse as well of their oppressors—the besotted favorites of privilege, his faith in the common brotherhood of all the children of the Common Father led him to preach, as Henry George preached, their common right to their inheritance—the Earth, the Gospel of the Singletax.

Enthralled with the vision of a humanity freed and glorified, he spoke as seer and prophet. And, like the Carpenter of Nazareth, as he preached, he wrought, working as a master craftsman, unequalled in our time, to realize even now in art that religion of beauty by which the soul of the people, when freed at last for self-expression, will some day worship.

His was the spiritual understanding, born of his own soul's simplicity, purity and sweetness, in which was neither bitterness nor unfriendly criticism, that the Master of the Universe weaves both evil and good into the ultimate beauty; and that sin is not part of the sinner.

He gave himself in love and service, joyous in the making of beautiful thoughts and things, desiring for himself only that which he desired for others.

Craftsman, teacher, friend, lover, he lives still in the lives of those of us whom he has so mightily influenced, and that influence will live on, when we have passed with him to "where beyond the voices there is peace." He understood. And we believe that still he understands.

KATHERINE J. MUSSON.
FRANK STEPHENS.

* * *

For myself I am certain that the good of human life cannot lie in the possession of things which for one man to possess is for the rest to lose, but rather in things which all can possess alike, and where one man's wealth promotes his neighbor's.—Spinoza.

BOOKS

TO AVOID FUTURE WAR.

The Restoration of Europe. By Dr. Aldred Fried. Translated from the German by L. S. Gannett, published by the MacMillan Co., New York. 1916. Price \$1 net.

Reading Dr. Fried's admirable essay, one recalls the drunken don picture in "The New Machiavelli," by Wells. The don had cast aside polite fiction, sentimentality and distorted vision, and, emboldened by wine, was giving the company the benefit of his clarified views as to the causes of political and social muddles. The world, he opined, is bound up in a conspiracy of jealousy and hate. "Hate's the drivin' force," he says. "Hate and muddy thinkin'. What's patriotism today? Hate of Int'loping foreigners. It's all hate. Hate from top to bottom."

Professor Fried maintains that the present war had its incipency decades ago, when, parallel with the growing interdependence of nations, rivalry and jealousy (fostered by protection it should have been added), were opposing factors. The years preceding the war were thus not years of peace, but of latent war. In all countries the jingo press, probably the worst danger of the age, unrestrainedly inflamed the worst passions of mankind and perpetuated the gospel of hate. The system of alliances, while the means of averting some wars, enhanced the ultimate danger of war, as it nourished suspicion and distrust. Hence, presently, international anarchy.

The cure and restoration of Europe, the author thinks, is to be found in an effort to get the will of the people of the world behind international cooperation, and he points to the Pan-American Union as an example of organization which European countries must follow if there is any universal desire to avoid a repetition of the present world war. He thinks that the machinery of the Hague Convention could have been used to settle the dispute that led to the war, had it not been for the apparatus of armament which had become so sensitive, that, although created to preserve peace, it was so prepared for war that when the dispute reached its climax, a postponement of even a few hours was impossible; a conclusion which is certainly borne out by a reading of the later chapters of Stowell's "Diplomacy of the War of 1914." The essay is a serious and important contribution to pacifist literature.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

RADIATION AND ABSORPTION.

Living the Radiant Life. By George Wharton James. Published by Radiant Life Press, Pasadena, California. Price \$1 net.

Twenty-two chapters on radiating good and evil from the personality and only one chapter on ab-

sorption seems relatively out of proportion in the radiant life, but when you understand that radiation and absorption are simultaneous functions, the difficulty disappears and the probability of the process becomes plausible.

"To radiate one must possess and to possess one must absorb," says the author. Following this line we may say that to radiate one must live and to live one must absorb from Nature's storehouse enough to maintain the physical and mental machinery in good working order. Otherwise radiation on earth as well as absorption will cease. The absorption from Nature's storehouse is obstructed by the monopoly forces of organized society so that the masses of mankind are overwhelmed and crushed by want and poverty and burdened by care and disease so that few can radiate in the way the brilliant writer describes.

It seems to be true, however, that even the poor and the oppressed do radiate the good, do serve one another in a large and generous way that is not within the conception of the rich. Radiation does not come from above, but only operates between equals, and the rich look down upon the poor. The poor give a service that is seasoned with love. The rich hand it down from their imaginary superiority as an antidote to uneasy consciences, superiority as an antidote to uneasy consciences, condoned.

Evil radiates as well as good. The example of a great fortune rapidly accumulated by the devious devices of modern financial and commercial machines may radiate evil enough to corrupt whole States. But in such cases the source of corruption is collective and not individual. This phase of the subject is avoided by the author. His attention is concentrated upon the individual. Such an avoidance lessens the value of the work in a condition where the collective functions of the social order are becoming so important.

But the book is well worth reading. The style is engaging, almost fascinating, and is an example of the wandering of a mind into democracy under the influence of human sympathy unaided by reason. So the cautious reader should follow it by copious extracts from Post's *Ethics of Democracy*, otherwise the mind may wander into a fog, where it will shy at the name of competition and seek repose in the shadow of the ghost of Malthus.

GEORGE V. WELLS.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Love for the Battle-Torn Peoples.** By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Published by Unity Publishing Co., Chicago. 1916. Price, 75 cents.

—**The Commonwealth of Nations. Part I.** Edited by L. Curtis. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$2.50 net.

—The Women Who Wouldn't. A Drama. By Rose Pastor Stokes. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1916. Price, \$1.25 net.

—A Conclusive Peace. By Charles Fremont Taylor. Published by the John C. Winston Co., 1010 Arch street, Philadelphia. 1916. Price, 50 cents net.

—Illinois State Insurance Report. Part I, Fire; Part II, Life. Rufus M. Potts, Insurance Superintendent. Printed for the State, at Springfield, Ill. 1916.

—Woman's Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment. By Henry St. George Tucker. Published by Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 1916. Price, \$1.35 net.

—The China Year Book. 1916. By H. T. Montague Bell and H. G. W. Woodhead. Published by George Routledge & Sons, London, and E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$3.75 net.

—Politics. By Heinrich von Treitschke. Translated from the German by Blanche Dugdale and Torbende Bille. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, two volumes, \$7.00 net.

—The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec. By Walter Alexander Riddell. Whole Number 174, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1916. Price, paper, \$1.75 net.

—Towards an Enduring Peace. A Symposium of Peace Proposals and Programs, 1914-1916. Compiled by Randolph S. Bourne. Published by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th street, New York. 1916.

Periodicals

Unity.

"Who Are the Makers of War," in Unity (Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago) for October 26, presents a most interesting composition on war by Bernhardt, Roosevelt, and Wilson arranged in parallel columns. The similarity between the utterances of General Bernhardt and Mr. Roosevelt is as great as the difference between those two and President Wilson.

The Searchlight on Congress.

The Searchlight on Congress for October, published at Washington by the National Voters'

League, gives the vote of every member of the House of Representatives on forty different questions, among them being the Child Labor bill, Military Preparation, Immigration, Rural Credits, Good Roads, River and Harbor, Railroad Strike and Woman Suffrage. There is also a report on the efficiency of the members.

* * *

"What's the matter with this sheet, anyway? That was a fine mess you people made of my ad. yesterday."

"What seems to be the trouble?" asked the editor anxiously.

"Read it and see," said the advertiser, and he thrust a copy of the paper into the editorial hands.

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FINANCING MURDER

\$15,000 PER CORPSE
5,000 PER CRIPPLE

Average cost of killing and maiming men in the European murderfest—a barbarous, disgraceful, precarious investment.

The Straight Edge Industrial Settlement is organized to promote useful co-operative industry. It makes men efficient and sets them free. Your money is safer than in financing murder or industrial slavery.

Straight Edge Co-operative Loan Certificates paid 14 per cent dividend to investors this year, besides a 10 per cent principal-reserve.

FULL PARTICULARS ON REQUEST

STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

FINANCING INDUSTRY

\$2,000 PER WORKER

Average cost of establishing a permanent job for a useful, self-respecting American citizen—a safe, sane, civilized and profitable investment.

100 Lawrence St., New York City

Truth

By WOODROW WILSON

I have such an inveterate confidence in the ultimate triumph of the truth that I feel, with old Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, that the truth is no invalid and you need not mind how roughly you handle her. She has got a splendid constitution and she will survive every trial and every labor.—To Associated Advertising Clubs, Philadelphia, June 29, 1916.

Books by

President Wilson

History of the United States. A New Popular Edition. Five Volumes.....	\$12.50
George Washington. <i>Illustrated.</i>	2.00
Congressional Government..	1.25
Mere Literature and Other Essays.....	1.35
The New Freedom.....	1.00
When a Man Comes to Him- self.....(cloth)	.50
On Being Human....(cloth)	.50

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"The Story of a Woman Pioneer," by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

\$1.50 Books

"The Ethics of Democracy." (Post.)
"Why War." (Howe). Also Howe's "Socialized Germany," and "European Cities at Work."
"A Strong Man's House." (A new peace novel by Francis Neilson).
"History of the Single Tax Movement in the United States."
"The Tariff, What It Is, How It Works, Whom It Benefits." (Lybarger.)
"The Mexican People; Their Struggle for Freedom."
"He Shall Speak Peace."
"Forty Years of It." (Whitlock.)

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"Joseph Fels, His Life-Work," by Mary Fels.
"My Story," by Tom L. Johnson.
"Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade," all by Henry George.
"The City, the Hope of Democracy." (Howe.)
"The Taxation of Land Values." (Post.) A fine cloth edition.

75c Books

"Lay Down Your Arms." (A peace novel which won the Nobel Prize.)
"Life and Love and Peace." (Hall.)
"Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce." (Post.)

50c Books

Six months' subscription to The Public.
"When a Man Comes to Himself." (Woodrow Wilson.)
"On Being Human." (Woodrow Wilson.)
"The Spirit of American Government; a Study of the Constitution." (Smith.)
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In ceaseless factory-din thundering apace,
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And yet, amid it all, he heard the moan.
When Riches made its golden bribe his own,
And Power trumpet-called him from the throng,
And soft, luxurious Ease, with drowsy song,
He was as one not hearing—save the moan.
Half the vast world he traversed in his quests,
As Galahad for the Grail, heedless of self,
Unresting, squandering time and strength and self,
Followed and sought and fought—and now he rests.
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the thermometer shoots to zero. He tried to shame these alms-givers into examining causes.

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