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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Single Tax and Good Roads

Charles Henry Davis

Our Imitation Prosperity

Ellis O. Jones

Industrial Tyranny in Minnesota

Harrison George

Published Weekly

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November 10, 1916

Number 971 — CHICAGO — Volume XIX

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MARK TWAIN

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GOOD ROADS NUMBER—Part Two

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Vol. XIX CHICAGO, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1916 No. 971

Singletax and Good Roads

By Charles Henry Davis, C. E., President National Highways Association.

THE SINGLETAX AND GOOD ROADS EVERYWHERE.

By Charles Henry Davis, C. E., President National Highways Association.

We preach much of system, organization and co-operation, but we seldom practice them. That is to say, except in our private affairs. By diligent industry we earn our profits. We take our money and then bid it good-bye with a calm stoicism that causes two-third of the world to look on aghast. It is an amusing pastime. It carries with it all the delights of the unknown. Into the stock market we put our money, or more inevitably into the hands of the tax collector. We are happy we are rid of it. As for the money, it goes—whither? Doubtless into deserving hands. Doubtless it will return some time with attendant blessings, many and unexpected—unexpected because many disappointments have made us callous and cheerfully lenient. All of which affords an interesting subject for speculation of the inexpensive sort, and in the meanwhile we can return to our occupations and work diligently, scraping up some of the money we have thrown away.

Yet why? Simply because we lack system, organization, co-operation. As individuals we work well, as a people we are continually clogging the wheels. Our railroads we allow to be controlled by individuals. Other lines of industrial enterprise, equally essential to our whole people, we entrust to individuals, and they clash and squabble, whilst we sit cheerfully by. In other nations industries of national importance are run by the government. On the whole we object to this because it is "undemocratic." Yet there seem times when our democracy and state rights are hard to distinguish from plain selfishness.

Such is the case with our roads. From everywhere there comes a long, loud cry for roads, more roads, better roads, and, heeding the cry, we are trying to get them. This is how we are doing it: Everyone is building a road, the state, the county, the town. What the other states, counties and towns are doing does not interest us much. It does sometimes, in the Old Trails Road and the Lincoln Highway, for example, but generally we wish to show our independence and assert our right to what we call freedom. This we do by building our roads how we please and where we please, which may not be according to the best methods, or following the best general scheme of highways. Along such lines as these we spent last year $249,955,967 or more for road improvement throughout the country. This means that the people of the United States in their zeal for good roads and the results that good roads bring have paid in a single year more than two-thirds the total of money expended so far on the construction of the Panama Canal. Does the nation, as such, see material results from this vast expenditure? By these roads we are trying to build another sort of communication that is more vital to the future development of the country than any water route, because good roads everywhere have a vital importance for every citizen. With a whole nation so anxious for roads, the national roads should be properly built, built under one administration, and built where they will do the most good. In other words, good roads, roads that run for thousands of miles through state after state, are not the responsibility of the states, but of the nation.

Suppose the Federal Government did decide to build a system of national roads joining the West with the East, the North and the South, connecting every part of the country, as is the case with the national highways of Europe. History shows us this has been the case with nearly every first-class power. Would such a system of roads pay for the building, or even for their upkeep? A

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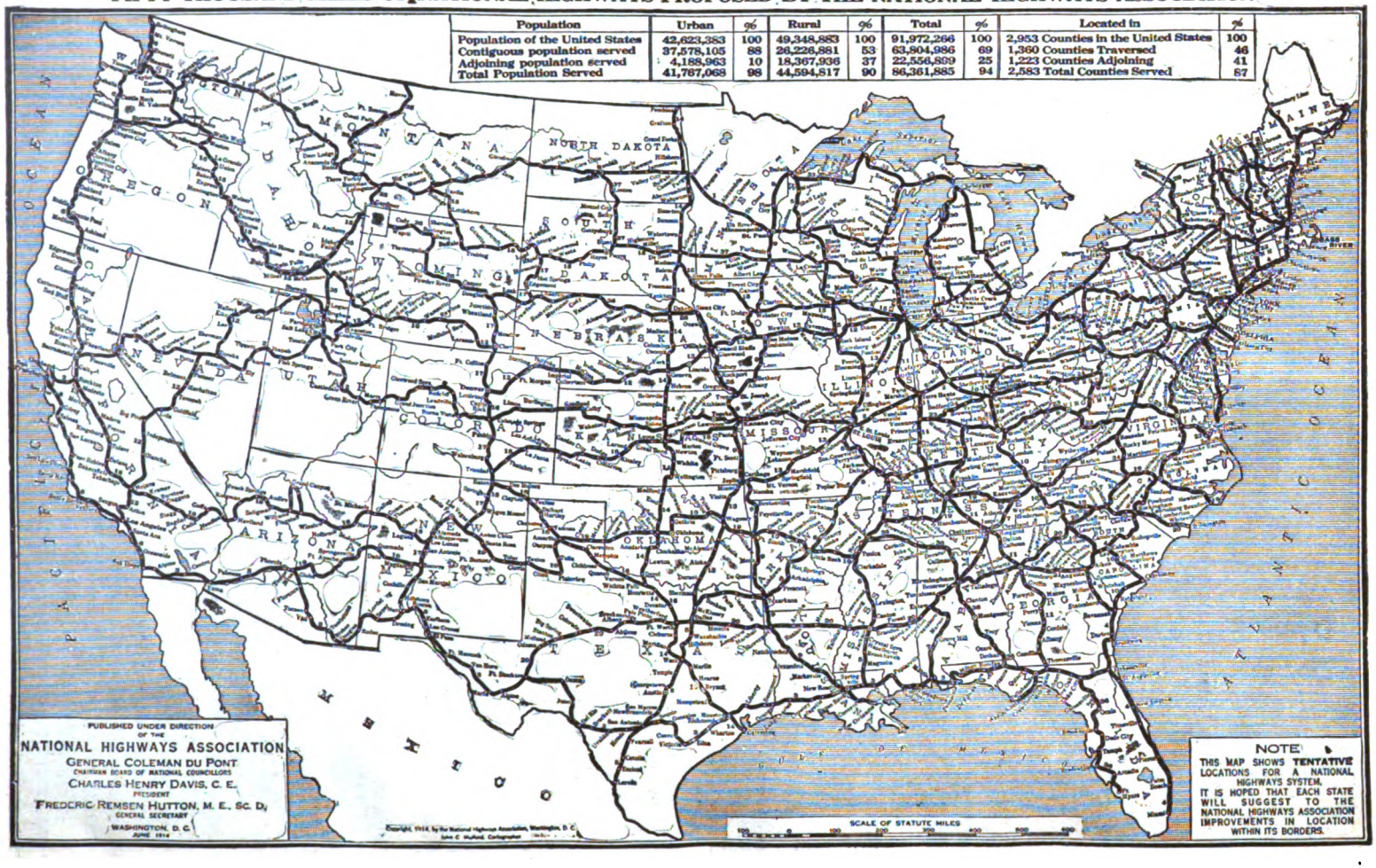
PANAMA CANAL vs. NATIONAL HIGHWAYS

You own the first. Do you want to own the second? They cost the same. How many people does the first serve? The second will serve 94 per cent of our people! This includes 90 per cent of our rural population

FIFTY THOUSAND MILES OF NATIONAL HIGHWAYS PROPOSED BY THE NATIONAL HIGHWAYS ASSOCIATION

Population	Urban	%	Rural	%	Total	%	Located in	%
Population of the United States	42,623,383	100	49,348,883	100	91,972,266	100	2,953 Counties in the United States	100
Contiguous population served	37,578,105	88	26,226,881	53	63,804,986	69	1,360 Counties Traversed	46
Adjoining population served	4,188,963	10	18,367,836	37	22,556,809	25	1,223 Counties Adjoining	41
Total Population Served	41,767,068	98	44,594,817	90	86,361,885	94	2,583 Total Counties Served	87



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short calculation shows that by a fair system of taxation they would not only do this, but would also be a very considerable source of national income. Such a tax system would be something like the much disputed Singletax, where land alone is taxed, regardless of buildings or improvements. Suppose the government built one hundred thousand miles of properly planned roads, and at the same time purchased, say, three hundred feet of land on either side. With good roads, ready for use all the year around, this land would be bound to increase in value and would be increasingly in demand in town and country. If the government leased this land on long rental, with protective renewal clauses (another form of Singletax), the cost of the roads and the land purchase would be soon paid. On the basis of one hundred thousand miles of road and bordering land, costing, say, twenty thousand dollars a mile, or a total of two billion dollars, a rental rate of $6.66 per acre would pay the interest on the cost of construction. But much would rent at vastly higher rates, enough to maintain the roads and reimburse the nation for the cost. In fact, and within a reasonable time, these roads should give the nation an income equal to its total annual expenditures. Considering that one hundred thousand miles of national highways would run through towns and cities where real estate is at a premium, our figures are well within the probable results. In addition, improvements would be stimulated everywhere. There would be no tax on buildings bordering the road. Merely on the land. And as a result the nation would receive more than enough to run its business for the people and thus become self-supporting, as it should. Other nations raise up to 40 per cent of their cost of operation out of profitable business done for the people. Why not ours, and thus reduce our taxes?

It seems a sensible way of solving the road problem, of solving it well and quickly. Otherwise, a few more years will see the expenditure of this same amount on road improvements, with the usual results, and one of them will be the absence of Good Roads Everywhere.

FOURFOLD SYSTEM OF HIGHWAYS

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS — STATE HIGHWAYS — COUNTY ROADS — TOWNSHIP OR TOWN ROADS

FACTS IN THE HISTORY OF ROAD BUILDING

Town or Township Roads Good roads were first built by the more active and prosperous towns or townships. The larger centers of population grew within their limits. This attracted the road traffic of adjacent communities. Such traffic did no help build or maintain the roads it partly destroyed.

County Aid This destruction resulted in a demand for county appropriations for road building. The moneys were first distributed among the towns or townships on some agreed plan, and were spent by them, or under the joint authority of county officials. Under these conditions most of such moneys went into politics, and not into roads, and there was no uniformity in construction or care.

County Roads As a result of this work, there was a reaction in favor of County Roads built and maintained by the county officials. Then, and only then, did the bulk of such appropriations get into roads, and there was a beginning of efficiency and uniformity.

State Aid But history repeated itself as between the counties. The more active and prosperous built and maintained good roads. These were again destroyed by the traffic from adjacent counties. This traffic did not help build or care for the roads it destroyed. There followed a State-wide demand for State appropriations toward road building. Again history repeated itself in the form of State Aid to the counties and towns, to be spent by them, or under joint authority of the State officials. And again most of such moneys went into politics, and not into roads, and lack of efficiency and uniformity persisted.

State Highways As a result of this waste, history once more repeated itself, and there was a demand for State Highways built and maintained by the State under its Highway Commission. Efficiency and uniformity were the result and the moneys went into roads.

State Highways
County Roads
Town Roads In those States which now have the best road systems we find, as the result of the above experience, a threefold system, each under the exclusive jurisdiction of its properly constituted authorities. This has produced the largest mileage of good roads for the least expenditure. It has brought efficiency and uniformity out of chaos, and the money has gone into roads.

National Highways
State Highways
County Roads
Town Roads The advocates of National Highways therefore claim that such a system, built and maintained by the National Government, is the only sane and logical course to pursue. They claim that this would result in a fourfold system, each under the exclusive jurisdiction of its properly constituted authorities. They further claim that not the least advantage to be thus gained would be that:

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS would act as State, County, and Town Highways within the localities through which they passed. Therefore, just so many less roads need be built and maintained by such communities. As a result, there would be more moneys available for the building of State, County, and Town Roads.

STATE HIGHWAYS would likewise act as County and Town Highways in the local communities through which they passed. The results and benefits derived from National Highways would thus be accentuated, and still more moneys would be available for the building of County and Town Roads.

COUNTY ROADS would similarly act as Town Highways, thus again taking a burden from the shoulders of the towns through which they passed; and, finally,

TOWNSHIP OR TOWN ROADS would be confined to those entirely within their borders and yet they would have as many other roads for local use as there were National, State, and County Highways within their limits, built without expense to the towns.

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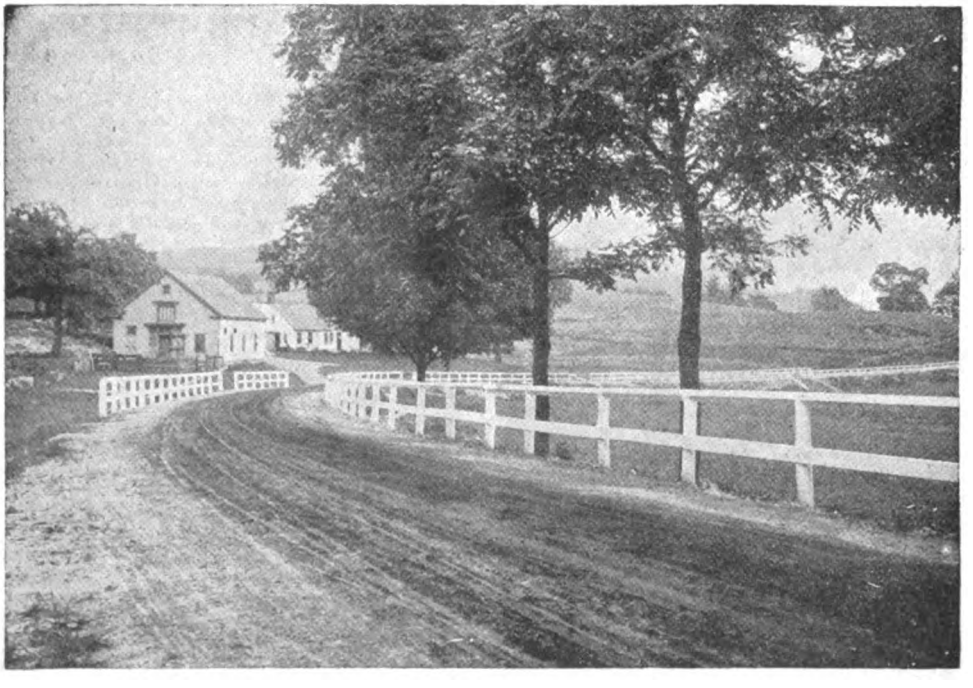
A COMMON THING—ABANDONED FARM ON A BAD ROAD
There Are Thousands of Them on Our 2,000,000 Miles of Poor Roads!

Fifty million country people—men, women, children—live on 2,000,000 miles of roads like this. They have the right to live on "Good Roads Everywhere." The Nation should give them "Good Roads Everywhere."



NO ABANDONED FARMS ON THIS ROAD OR ON "GOOD ROADS EVERYWHERE"

Give our people roads like this and they will "go back to the land." They belong there! They will be happy there! They will be prosperous there! And this is the only way they can be, continuously, both happy and prosperous.

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

CONTENTS.

Editorial 1059
Our Imitation Prosperity. Ellis C. Jones..... 1064
The Railroad Issue. Albert W. Jackson..... 1065
The Toll of Man. Edwin O. Carsey..... 1066
News of the Week..... 1067
Correspondence 1072
Books 1073
Singletax and Good Roads. Charles Henry Davis 1081

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

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, $1.50
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Now that the election is over it is highly advisable that we return to a normal state of mind as quickly as possible, and devote some of the energy and enthusiasm that have gone to electing public officials to shaping public opinion so that the officials elected will feel encouraged to do sane things. It must never for a moment be forgotten that we have popular government. Such bad laws as we have, and whatever administrative failures we endure, are due to the ignorance or indifference of the electorate. Efforts must be made with redoubled energy to awaken the people to civic consciousness. Little can be done during a political campaign, save to choose the lesser of evils; but once the election is past real political work should begin. The citizen realizes, when he reflects, that very little actual gain has been made toward giving to labor its share of increased production. A sympathetic understanding of his condition, a discreet avoidance of his prejudices, a simple explanation of the facts, and another worker is enlisted in the cause of economic freedom. S. C.

* * *

One of the campaign utterances of President Wilson that particularly aroused the ire of certain men, and caused them to wax indignant in their repudiation, was his reported statement that "You cannot worship God on an empty stomach and you cannot be a patriot when you are starving." It is interesting to note that the gentlemen most vociferous in their protests are as far removed from an application of the test as they can well be. Though they are eloquent in setting forth the blessings of poverty, they are heroically self-sacrificing in refraining from sharing these blessings. It may seem cruel, as well as unpatriotic and irreligious, but it is much to be feared that the campaign for the removal of poverty will be continued. S. C.

* * *

When the Chicago Tribune begins its next scare campaign for universal military service let a cartoon in one of its recent issues be flashed before it. The cartoon represented Uncle Sam asking President Wilson, "Just what nation wanted to get into war with us?" The inference is that none did, that we had but to mind our own business to stay at peace, and consequently no credit was due the President for keeping us out of war. That cartoon implied a confession of deceit on the part of the Tribune. It meant that the whole hysterical campaign for preparedness was a fraud and that the Tribune was aware of it even while it was taking a prominent part therein. The same applies to other preparedness organs which have approvingly reproduced the cartoon. S. D.

* * *

Alice Thacher Post made a telling point in her Chicago address when she answered the objection to an international tribunal similar to our Supreme Court that it would have no armed force behind it such as our Court has. She said that the decrees of the Supreme Court were not enforced by the army and navy, but by public opinion. The army and navy, she said, are not used for this purpose; and some decrees in the past have been defied by States or local authorities. A notable instance was that of a Georgia law declared invalid in 1832. But in spite of President

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Jackson's refusal to use the army to enforce the decree, public opinion finally prevailed. The same thing, she claimed, would happen in the case of an international court. Its decisions might sometimes be questioned by a nation, or even defied; but ultimately the pressure of public opinion would reduce the rebel to submission. Nothing has been made clearer in the present war than the interdependence of nations. The Teutonic allies are suffering far more from lack of trade than from the assault of armies. Had the nations of the world suspended commercial relations with Germany she would long ago have sought peace. And the fact that this passive resistance lies behind public opinion would make a resort to it rarely necessary.

S. C.

* * *

The hooting of ex-President Taft by a New Haven crowd was an act as disgraceful in principle as Taft's policy while Governor of the Philippines in suppressing free speech there. But while as disgraceful in principle, in degree the New Haven affair was less shameful than Taft's sedition law. In New Haven the act was only that of an irresponsible mob while in the Philippines Taft acted as representative of the American people.

S. D.

* * *

The complaint made by the president of a Parent-Teacher Club in a Chicago public school of the quality of work done by municipal dentists again bares the administrative difficulties to be met in bringing competitive interests under bureaucratic control. School teachers have discovered a connection between bad teeth and poor scholarship. Decayed teeth mean poor health, and poor health means lessened ability to study, which prolongs the school course. Statisticians have undertaken to prove that the slower progress of the child costs the State more than would a dentist to keep the children's teeth in good condition. But there is the question of administration. Good dentists usually have good practice, and do not care for a political job. Poor dentists, lacking private patronage, turn politicians. "Fillings over live nerves" and "pulling wrong teeth," and various other evidences of poor service, follow. It is only by the exercise of the utmost vigilance on the part of public spirited citizens that political service can be kept up to a reasonable standard of efficiency. It might be suggested as an alternative that doubling or trebling wages would enable parents themselves to employ good dentists. This may be added to the myriad other reasons why labor should have the full product of its toil.

S. C.

* * *

As chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, Congressman Burnett of Alabama has been introducing in each Congress drastic bills to restrict immigration. The war has practically brought about what the Burnett bill aimed to accomplish. One result is an exodus of Negro laborers from Mr. Burnett's State to take jobs for which European immigrants are ordinarily required. And there is great perturbation among Mr. Burnett's white constituents in consequence. Will he continue his efforts in the next Congress?

S. D.

* * *

Complaint has been made that the Rural Credits law is of no use because it will not enable the farmer who has nothing but his labor to borrow money, and that it is unjust because it discriminates between the urban and the rural citizen. While much might be made of both these points, it should be remembered that no law dealing with effects can go far or do much good. The Rural Credits law will tend to put the farmer more nearly on a footing with the city resident in regard to banking facilities. It supplies the legal machinery by means of which people in sparsely settled territory may avail themselves of the advantages of co-operative credit. The question of opening a field for the use of that credit is still to be met. The farmer will be able to get money cheaper. He will buy more land and more supplies, and this increased demand will send prices up. Let the Rural Credits law be accepted for what it is worth. It is a good thing in its limited field, and its benefits will extend as its field grows. The important thing now is to show the citizen the necessity, no less than the justice, of such changes in taxation as will leave privately created values in the hands of the individual, and take publicly created values for the use of the community.

S. C.

* * *

Progressive action was taken by the Farmers' National Congress which met at Indianapolis on October 20. Its action shows that its members have devoted considerable thought to good purpose on public questions. Among other matters passed upon was increase in farm tenancy, and as a measure to check that tendency these farmers urge that "the several States adopt a graduated land tax adapted to their peculiar conditions." More consideration of the matter will show those who voted for this proposition that the end desired can be secured more effectively by exemption of all personal property and im-

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provements and imposing, instead of a graduated land tax, a straight tax on land values only. That is the position of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, and of the Washington State Grange. That will relieve the farmer who has improved and cultivated his farm and also the tenant, while it would bear heavily upon the land owner who does not use his land. However, as adopted, the resolutions are as encouraging as they are creditable. S. D.

* * *

Regardless of the motive the rehabilitation of independent Poland is an act that should be welcomed. But the powers responsible are still lacking in their duty so long as they exclude from independence German and Austrian Poland, and so long as the Poles are not left free to form a government on democratic lines. Until that is done the powers are subject to the same just criticism as is due the United States, which, having expelled Spain from her colonies, still retains the right of intervention in Cuba, still withholds home rule and universal suffrage from Porto Rico, and still withholds independence from the Philippines. S. D.

Equality Before the Law.

The Associated Press reports that on November 5 certain persons, said to be I. W. W.'s, attempted to land from a steamer at Everett, Washington, and were forcibly prevented by a sheriff's posse. The account further states that persistence by the I. W. W.'s in their effort to land brought on a battle in which a number of persons were killed and wounded. If the Associated Press has reported the case correctly the sheriff was at fault and the I. W. W.'s were defending the cause of law against mob rule. It may be that the citizens of Everett do not like the I. W. W. or that members of that organization have not conducted themselves as they should. But that does not justify the unlawful measures taken to keep them out of the city.

* *

Suppose the situation had been reversed and that a mob of I. W. W.'s had kept out of the city some eminently respectable visitors, for no better reason than they feared lest these visitors might not prove agreeable to them. Is there any doubt as to the nature of the comment that would now be filling the press? Would there not be sweeping condemnation of the high-handed action, and would there not be a universal demand that all the power of the State be invoked to protect the visitors in their constitutional rights? And would not such denunciation and demands be justified? Yet what is the difference between a sheriff's posse or a "citizens' committee" which behaves in this outrageous manner toward I. W. W.'s and an ordinary mob which would act that way toward citizens or officials? If equality before the law is not a myth, the State of Washington will deal with this latest manifestation of mob rule in the same way that it would had the I. W. W.'s been the aggressors. S. D.

The Frame-Up Evil

The attempted frame-up by New York police against Bolton Hall is but one example of an evil that tends to create distrust of the motive in all criminal charges, which constituted authorities seem eager to prove. It furthermore justifies doubt of all evidence "discovered" by detectives against persons charged with crime. New York is not the only place where there is reason to believe the pernicious practice of framing up evidence exists. San Francisco has some cases on hand which will bear watching. These are the ones that have developed from the throwing of a bomb last July at the preparedness parade.

* *

The throwing of that bomb was a God-send to some interests desirous of discrediting or getting rid of certain labor leaders. It is customary, when an outrage of the kind occurs, to suspect labor leaders. And though these might reasonably be credited with intelligence enough to see that nothing could hurt their cause more than such an occurrence, yet the crime has been made a pretext for fastening suspicion upon the leaders most obnoxious to certain business organizations. One of these, Warren K. Billings, has already been convicted by a professional jury. That the verdict was not justified by the evidence is the natural inference to be drawn from the following account of the trial sent by the International Workers' Defense League:

Within the railing, on reserved seats, sat the main actors of this intense human play: Warren K. Billings, the first of the accused to be tried; District Attorney Chas. Fickert and his assistants, Brennan and Cunha; the attorneys for the defense, McNutt, Lomasney and Lawlor; and on the box-like bench, to the left of Superior Judge Dunne, the twelve men, "good and true," all retired business men, well known to the District Attorney for their loyal service in similar capacity on numerous previous occasions. The jurors, whose combined age was more than equal to five centuries, listened with varying degrees of attention to the straggling stream of witnesses—witnesses for the prosecution who testified under oath, so help me God, that Billings was in three different places at the same time, dressed

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in as many different suits of clothes. According to these witnesses, Billings was—between 1:50 to 2:00 p. m. on the fateful day of July 22d—on the corner of Steuart and Market streets, the place of the explosion, with a heavy suitcase, variously and positively identified as black, yellowish and as a small grip; Billings was, at the same time, on the roof of 721 Market street, over a mile from the scene of explosion, and he was also, at the very same time, talking to Policeman Earle Moore in front of 721 Market street, and also having a long conversation with Estelle Smith in the dental office of her employer.

The prosecution's identification of Billings was no less positive and sure than the establishment of his whereabouts. Estelle Smith, chief witness for the State, identified him by a "peculiar scar on his forehead," her certainty remaining unshaken even after it was proven that the only scar or rash Billings ever had was—on his knee. . . .

Equally protesting and confident was the other star witness of the prosecution, a certain McDonald, a man about town and a notorious dope fiend who, according to his own testimony, "as in a dream saw the suitcase placed on the sidewalk." Confronted by several witnesses who swore that he boasted of being well paid for his testimony, McDonald admitted that his hotel expenses were being paid by the police to "protect" him against the defense. . . .

At last came the turn of the defense. Witness after witness exposed the false network of the State's accusation against Billings. Reputable citizens, professional and business men, Grand Army veterans, participants in the Preparedness parade and members of patriotic organizations—total strangers to the accused—completely disproved the testimony of the prosecution. . . . The defense produced the man who had spoken to Officer Moore and whom the latter mistook for Billings. A youth on the roof of 721 Market street, resembling Billings, was proven to have been mistaken for the accused prisoner. It was a patient at the dental office who had held the conversation with Estelle Smith, attributed by her to Billings. Billings had no suitcase out that day, nor had he ever visited the place where Miss Smith was employed. Eyewitnesses supported by photographic evidence proved the accused to have been far from the scene of the explosion and in no way connected with it. Billings stood completely exonerated.

Nevertheless the jury convicted him. In addition to desire to please the prosecution the jurors may have been susceptible to the demagogic plea of the District Attorney in his closing speech: "You must convict this boy to wash off the stain on our flag." Whatever the cause of the verdict, the fact remains that so far from being a warning against crime it shows rather that innocence or guilt is immaterial before a San Francisco court when business interests desire conviction. S. D.

An Impregnable Nation.

The appeal of the Navy League of the United States for sustaining members indicates that its activities were not concluded with the Presidential election. The members of the League, acting on the motto, "the command of the sea makes a nation impregnable," declare that the "fight for national insurance has just begun," and call upon patriotic citizens to continue the work of preparedness. It is extremely doubtful if the response to this appeal will be as cordial as it has been. There is evidence that the ecstatic fervor that vented itself in spectacular parades has been subsiding. Thoughtful men and women are coming to realize that it is more important that we have a country worth defending, than that we waste our energies in mere defense. And they note that with rare exceptions the men most prominent in the Navy League are least conspicuous in establishing economic justice within the country. It is occurring to many minds that a naval establishment to command the seas, and a coast defense against foreign aggression are two very distinct things. A great navy is effective only so long as other nations do not combine against it. If the nations of Europe were to combine against Great Britain she would be starved into submission in a few weeks. But mined harbors and submarines can defy all navies. The difference in the two means of defense lies in the fact that a navy as large as Great Britain's would not give us security, and would quickly lead us into war; whereas coast defenses would give us security, without tempting us into a foreign aggression.

* *

The European conflict has demonstrated beyond any doubt that preparedness in the sense of great armaments does not keep nations out of war; that on the contrary, the greater the armament the surer will it force a combination of smaller nations into a still larger armament. This conflict has also shown that modern warfare is a question of mechanics and men. The machine shop is the real weapon. The nation that can turn out the most shells, and keep it up longest, will overwhelm its opponent. But machine shops are peace agents. They may forge the instruments of war in time of need, but their purpose is to supply the wants of the living. While they may be quickly converted into shell-makers, their regular output is the enginery of peace. What this nation most needs, therefore, is greater productive power; and the way to secure this greater productive power is not by laying burdensome taxes on industry to support a monster navy whose units are out of date as fast as built, but by removing the taxes it already bears. It should

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be the policy of our government to encourage the development of American industries to their highest power, not by tariff duties—which really hamper all industries using imports—but by exempting from taxation all productive enterprises, and taking for the support of governments, local, State and national, the land values created by the people as a whole.

* *

But the impregnable nation must have not only convertible machine shop capacity to turn out all the shells that can be used, but it must have a citizenry of the highest order to use them. This does not mean a nation of men trained to the use of arms, but a nation of men trained to the ways of peace. It means men and women of education, employed in mutual service, where each is conscious that the labor performed is fully requited, and where all feel that they have a stake in the country. A nation composed of a few very rich, and many poor is already rotting at the core; no amount of munitions, and no degree of enforced military training will save it. But a nation in which every man called upon to defend his home has a home to defend will endure to the end. The military weakness of this nation lies within, not without its borders. And it is due not to lack of armament, or military training, nor to foreign-born citizens, but to the laws and institutions that enable some to live upon the labor of others. Change these laws, restore to every man his birthright, give to each worker the full product of his labor, and we shall have citizens who will attack no country, and whom no country will dare to attack. Economic justice alone will establish the impregnable nation. S. C.

Henry Ford and Women's Wages.

All aspirants for universal fame will save themselves disappointment and mortification of spirit by withdrawing from the contest without more ado. They have no chance whatever in competition with Mr. Ford. First, he puts on the market an automobile so good and so cheap that any one who can afford to keep a horse and buggy can have a car. Then he sets the world agog by sending the Peace Ship to Europe. Before people recover from their amazement he establishes a minimum wage of $5 a day in his factories. And while they are yet wondering at his audacity, he caps the climax by announcing that hereafter women employes in his factories will receive the same wages as men. What will the man do next? There are but few things that can be done that will not produce an anti-climax. He might give his fortune away; but other men have done that. He might become President of the United States; but that is a feat achieved by some who have been quite insignificant. He might organize a great charity body to aid the indigent; that also has had its distinguished exemplars. He might do a number of things that would attract the attention of the world; but in them all he would be following, not leading, popular opinion. There is, however, an opportunity for distinction in the service of mankind worthy even of the bold initiative of Henry Ford, and his past achievements indicate that he is headed in that direction.

* *

Laying aside conjecture as to what Mr. Ford will do, and confining attention to what he has done, it may be said that the most far-reaching of his acts is his undertaking to pay equal wages to men and women. The doctrinaire will declare it is unfair, inexpedient and unscientific. He will attempt to show that men supporting families cannot compete with women at the same wages; he will show that only a few industries, or tax-supported employers, can afford such payment; and he will demonstrate that the vast oversupply of women workers can be used only at lower wages. All this is true in some degree; but it is met by the objection that the basic principles underlying our social structure are neither fair, expedient, or scientific. If natural law is to be disregarded in establishing injustice, natural law can also be disregarded in restoring justice. And though Mr. Ford's example in paying men and women alike for like service may have no more imitators than his setting up of a $5 minimum wage, it will have the same, and even greater, effect upon the imagination of the country. Men and women will ask themselves the question, why this discrimination; and their consciences will not let them rest till they find the answer.

* *

Why should not women receive the same wages as men for the same service? Why should they be signaled out as a proscribed class of human beings who must, because of that proscription, serve for less than another class of human beings? Is there any basis for it other than custom? Woman's activities have always been restricted to a certain sphere fixed by man. Who but man has said whether or not that condition was just? Slowly, but steadily, a new conscience is coming to life. It is reviewing the past; it is questioning the future. It will be quickened by Mr. Ford's example. Some men will resist for a time the still small voice, but ultimately they must yield;

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for that voice, at first so faint as to be scarcely discernible, becomes in time clamorous to a degree that drowns out all other sounds. Mr. Hughes, no longer ago than when he was Governor of New York, saw fit to veto a bill to pay women teachers in New York City the same salary as men. The bill afterwards became law. Mr. Ford, in speaking of his latest venture, said he decided to pay women and men alike after a conversation he had had with President Wilson. It would be very interesting to know what was said during that interview. The President has defended his foreign policies on the ground that there must be no geographical boundaries to human rights; he has defended his Mexican policy on the ground that the peon has a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and specifically on the ground that the 85 per cent of the Mexican people who have never had a chance because excluded from the land must be restored to their birthright; and he has defended the eight-hour law on the ground that labor must have its share in progress. It would be very interesting to know what he said that prompted Mr. Ford to extend the $5 minimum wage to his women employes. S. C.

A Boomerang Appeal.

The liquor interests of Missouri have fought Prohibition in a way that must create favor for that doctrine among forward-looking men. In order to arouse the prejudice of reactionary and unthinking voters against the Prohibition measure voted on this week, they have flooded the State with literature declaring that the effect of it, if adopted, would be practically the same as of Singletax. The argument was advanced on the assumption that Singletax would transfer tax burdens to the rural counties which are borne by the cities, and that Prohibition would have the same effect. If any voters have been influenced by that argument against Prohibition then Missouri Prohibitionists who were stampeded four years ago into opposing Singletax may now understand how unscrupulous was the misrepresentation resorted to at that time. They should also realize how they were betrayed by those Prohibition leaders who told them that the brewers were back of the Singletax movement.

* *

The liquor argument was to the effect that more money is spent by the State in the rural counties than these counties contribute in taxes to the State. The excess is said to come from liquor revenue derived from the cities. Since Prohibition would put an end to this revenue the rural counties, according to this argument, would either lose the benefits of the State's expenditure for roads and schools, or would have to endure an increase in taxation. If these expenditures are of any benefit to the localities at all, the local people can not escape paying for them in some form, even though distant people are taxed.

* *

The liquor literature took no account of what effect these expenditures have on local property values. It took for granted that liquor consumers of St. Louis and other cities ought to be forced to pay for schools and roads in distant localities. If that is the present practice in Missouri, and if Prohibition will put an end to it, then that is a point in Prohibition's favor. Such practice is not only an injustice to the liquor consumers, but is of no benefit to the people of the rural counties, except to some whose lands may be increased in value thereby. Increased land values make it harder for homeseekers in these counties to get farms, and increase the burden of rural renters. These are forced to pay to private individuals increased land rents and increased purchase price for enjoyment of schools and roads for which the State has put a tax on liquor. It would be better and more just to abolish the liquor tax and defray the cost of public benefits by a tax on the land values created by them. This would not necessarily be the result of Prohibition, Missouri's liquor interests to the contrary notwithstanding. But if assurance could be given that it would be, then many progressive citizens, opposed in principle to Prohibition, would be tempted to support it. S. D.

OUR IMITATION PROSPERITY.

There are a large number of people in this country to whose interest it is to have us believe a general condition of prosperity now exists. They may be referred to in brief as the makers of war munitions, but they also include every monopolist and speculator who has taken advantage of the European situation to raise prices at home and mulct the American consumer.

The organs in which these profiteers are influential accordingly raise a cry of "prosperity, prosperity." In particularizing on this prosperity, they point to our exports, they point to the fact that our industries are running full time, they point to the fact that prices are high, they point to the fact Wall Street is active.

But there is another view to take of the situation, a view which interprets these facts in quite a different light. There are many sane people in this country who cannot understand how it makes

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for prosperity at home to send a large proportion of our products away. This might increase the prosperity of the few who make the profits on these commodities, but those who find it increasingly difficult to acquire what they need of these products are of a different opinion. A prosperity that is based on sending more goods out than are brought in is a delusion.

The fact that our industries are running full time and overtime is likewise capable of two interpretations. When industries are running full time and overtime, it means that we are all working and working too hard. When people have to work too hard, they are not accustomed to think themselves prosperous. Prosperity connotes a bit of leisure, a surcease from toil, a surplus from former toil which permits one to pursue some of the joys of life and recreate himself. A prosperity that keeps our noses to the grindstone is a good thing to get rid of.

Then as to prices. Do high prices make prosperity? High prices make prosperity for those who get the prices and inhibit the prosperity of those who have to pay the prices. The prices of foodstuffs, building materials, coal and nearly everything we can mention have gone up. This means prosperity for the monopolists and the trusts that control these commodities, but it does not mean prosperity for the perplexed housewife whose husband does not happen to be a monopolist or associated with a monopolist, and who therefore finds it more and more difficult to make both ends meet. A prosperity that makes the many a prey to the few is no prosperity at all.

Activity in Wall Street does not prove general prosperity. It proves special prosperity. When a gambler wins, he is prosperous. When he loses, he is not prosperous. But there is more than that to the Wall Street situation. Wall Street is a barometer of the amount of wealth which the trusts and combines have been able to extract from the people. If prices of stocks go up, it means that a larger amount of value has been taken in one way or another from the people and that there is a prospect of extracting still more. If our economic system had been such as to leave this value with the people who produced it, then the people in general would have been more prosperous and this value would not have found its way to the stock exchanges for speculators to gamble over.

Let us have prosperity in this country. Let us have all the prosperity that we can get if it is a real prosperity that extends equitably to all the deserving members of the community, but let us carefully guard against a pseudo-prosperity. Let us not be too hasty to plume ourselves on possessing an imitation prosperity that brings drunken affluence to a few while leaving the many in a worse economic condition than they were before.

ELLIS O. JONES.

THE RAILROAD ISSUE.

In his speech at Shadow Lawn, September 23, discussing the problems connected with the recent threatened strike of railroad employes, President Wilson made this statement: "These men were dealing with one another as if the only thing to settle was between themselves, whereas, the real thing to settle was what rights had the 100,000,000 people of the United States. . . . The very difficult question which the American people is now face to face with, and which they are going to settle, is this: 'How are we going to organize our participation as a partner in the settlement of disputes between capital and labor which interrupt the life of the nation?' I invite all subscribers to suggest a method. . . . America is privileged to say to an organization of persons: 'You must not interrupt the national life without consulting us.'"

Agreeing with the President that the public has rights and that the life of the nation should not be interrupted by "disputes between capital and labor," we offer the suggestion that the public also has obligations, that it is chiefly responsible for the unjust social conditions which result in conflict and disorder, and if it insists upon industrial peace it should not be a sorrowful peace enforced upon cowed, dispirited and exploited workers, but the happy peace which always accompanies just conditions. The road to this peace is not a short nor an easy one; it is not even a peaceful one, but it is filled with bitter conflicts, for human greed has ever been ready to fight for the enslavement of the race, just as the oppressed are oftimes ready to fight for their emancipation.

The first step on this road to industrial justice and peace is a correct understanding of the problems to be solved. The President spoke of the unlimited suspicion and distrust which he discovered existed between the executives and some of the employes of the American railways, and that "the real problem of capital and labor was to bring the two sides to understand and believe in one another; that the problem of the next generation, if America were really to release her energy, was to be this real, genuine, fundamental, reconciliation between capital and labor."

Whatever misunderstanding may exist between capital and labor is clearly due to ignorance of the nature and function of capital. Every single-taxer knows that capital and labor co-operate naturally through the impulse of self-interest, since labor is made many times more productive by the use of capital, and capital is useless and inert without labor. But while there is no class hostility between capital and labor, there is an individual conflict of interest between capitalists and laborers, just as there is among individual capitalists or individual laborers, where in an open competitive market each capitalist and labor-

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er seeks to make the best bargain for himself. But these conflicts are not settled by force, any more than is the bidding at an auction.

Whence comes, then, the apparent hostility between capital and labor? Because the recipients of special legal privilege usually have acquired a large part of the capital, the privileged interests and the capitalists are generally confused in the popular mind. Privilege consists of legislative enactments permitting the monopolization of natural resources through the private appropriation of land values, the private ownership of public utilities, and innumerable restrictions upon the production and distribution of wealth, all of which give a few of the people the power to levy tribute upon the remainder. Legal privilege is the cause of all social injustice, which inevitably produces strife and disorder. Being inherently hostile to both labor and capital, privilege can never be reconciled to them. Privilege has no part in the production of wealth. It is graft—the taking of something and giving nothing in return. Now graft is not arbitrable in this sense, that while under compulsion we may permit the arbitration of the question of how much graft shall be taken from us, we are not going to be satisfied as long as there is any graft at all.

Just as the problems connected with chattel slavery could only be solved by the destruction of slavery, so the problem of securing social order and peace can only be solved by the destruction of privilege. Then the workers will be set free, and with the alternative of self-employment always before them, will be in a position to demand and receive the full product of their labor and satisfactory working conditions.

Nor will there be any need of labor organizations or strikes to accomplish this object. As a matter of fact, it will be impossible under such circumstances to hold labor organizations together, as is evidenced by the fact that in those English industries which at the present time are paying exceptionally high wages, on account of the war, the officers of the unions have great difficulty in persuading the members to keep up their dues.

If the repeal of privilege is the correct way to secure justice and peace, and strikes and the blind use of physical force is the wrong way, it may be asked, Are not the workers to blame for pursuing the latter course instead of insisting upon the former? Yes, but they are not alone to blame. Unless the spirit has been taken out of them by too long and too severe oppression, men will always rebel against injustice, but the form of their rebellion will depend upon their knowledge. No criticism will change the facts of human nature.

The privileged class cannot escape their share of the responsibility for the existence of laws conferring special privilege. But the public, which includes all classes, is wholly responsible for them and for all the consequences flowing from them. It permitted the making of those laws, and it has power to take possession of the government and unmake them. It can no longer pose in the role of innocent bystander that has no part in the quarrels between "capital and labor" and that ought not to suffer from them.

The duty of the public is plain enough—to some people. It should be plain to all, since the Singletaxers are shouting it from the housetops. But before performing its plain duty the public will try arbitration and compromise or physical force. I agree with the President when he said: "Arbitration is a word associated with the dealings of hostile interests. It is an alternative of war." Arbitration in industrial matters is not a principle, as Mr. Hughes and the railroads assert. It is merely an expedient for postponing the open conflict which inevitably will come unless there is steady and substantial progress in the destruction of privilege.

The Missouri Compromise postponed the settlement of the slavery question, but since there was no substantial progress made toward the elimination of slavery, it eventually had to be destroyed by a civil war. If we are to have arbitration of industrial disputes, let it be followed by radical action, looking toward the elimination of the cause of those disputes. All Singletaxers can rejoice that while much of the legislation of the present national administration has been of a palliative nature, some of it has been fundamental.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

THE TOLL OF MAN.

Six feet three—a goodly man,
With an iron arm and a cheek of tan;
With a fighter's jaw, yet a poet's chin:
A man to think, and work, and win.
A man to build a race upon;
Or redeem another, when that was gone!

Five feet seven—a weakly wretch,
Born of years to go and fetch.
A product, he was, through the ages down,
Of priestcraft, tax, and whip, and crown:
With his craven brow and his weakling's chin;—
A prey to appetite, vice, and sin,
"What is left," was written o'er him,
By the blue-blooded thieves who'd gone before him!

A million—strongest, bravest, best—
Went to death, at a king's behest.
The first one went—he was fair to hit:
The second stayed—he was unfit!
The Future Race—God! What of it?
The spawn of him who was unfit?

Five feet three—with blush descried;
Bred before its father died!
Unfit! Out, ghastly, babbling wretch,
To do more years of go and fetch!
To carry on, through the ages down,

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The priestcraft, tax, and whip, and crown!
Pay these billions! Build up this vault!
That is thy task!—but not thy fault!

ARTHUR EDMUND CARSEY.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week ending Tuesday, November 7, 1916.

Election Results.

The Presidency is still in doubt on Wednesday morning, though indications favor Wilson. Charles E. Hughes seems reasonably sure of 236 electoral votes and President Wilson of 242. States which will decide the result are North Dakota, California, Delaware, Kansas, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming and New Hampshire, casting 53 electoral votes. Returns on Congressmen are meager. Crosser and Gordon are reported elected in Ohio and Keating in Colorado. Buchanan of Illinois is in doubt. Favorable but not definite returns indicate election of Berger and Gaylord, Socialists, in Milwaukee.

California Returns.

Charles James, secretary of Los Angeles Singletax League, telegraphs The Public regarding the Singletax amendment under date of November 7:

Returns on amendment too meager to indicate result. Will not know definitely for several days.

President Wilson Against the Draft Clause.

A letter from J. P. Tumulty, private secretary to the President, was read by Allan L. Benson, Socialist nominee for President, at a meeting at Hobart, Oklahoma, on October 30. The letter was in answer to one from Benson to the President, inquiring about the draft clause in the Hay-Chamberlain army bill. The letter stated:

In reference to your letter of October 4 I beg to say that, as has been explained again and again, the clause referred to in the so-called Hay-Chamberlain army bill applies only in time of war. While the bill was certainly ill-considered in language the intention was not all what it is represented by its critics to be. I may add the President feels the language was too sweeping and he hopes to get it limited at the earliest opportunity.

[See current volume, pages 674, 949.]

Investigating High Prices.

The Federal Trade Commission, which has been investigating the high cost of print paper, announced on November 2, that its investigation shows the cost of production to be less than $1.65 per hundred pounds or less than the average cost in the last three years. Contract prices have risen this year from less than $2 per hundred to $3.50. Before issuing its final report the Commission will conduct public hearings of manufacturers and publishers.

* *

That the railroads are responsible for the rising price of coal is charged in suits filed in the Federal Court in Chicago on November 1, by two coal companies against the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and 141 other railroad companies. The plaintiffs charge that the railways are refusing to furnish cars and consequently causing a coal famine.

Bonanza Estate Valued.

An inheritance tax of $8,000,000 is the estimated amount to be derived by State and Federal Governments from the estate of the late Henry Miller, principal owner of the Miller and Lux corporation, said to own 14,000,000 acres in California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona and elsewhere. The value of the estate is put at $40,000,000. Lands in 18 California counties were assessed for taxation at $10,985,985. The real value of this property is $24,427,320. Many of these holdings are derived from Spanish land grants.

Farmers' Congress for Graduated Land Tax.

The Farmers' National Congress met at Indianapolis on October 17 to 20. Delegates from 20 States were in attendance. Among the speakers were Gifford Pinchot, Professor Henry G. Bell, National Forester Henry S. Graves, Professor Harvey W. Wiley, and others. Resolutions were passed advocating postalization of wire lines, equal suffrage, the defeat of the Shields bill, the Myers bill and Phelan oil land bill "unless amended to provide for recapture," and in regard to farm tenancy the following:

Resolved, That this congress views with alarm the increase in farm tenancy, recommends that the several states adopt a graduated land tax adapted to their peculiar conditions, in order to promote more and better farm homes, farm citizenship, and country life in general.

Radical Movement Among New York Negroes.

The Independent Political Council, a New York organization consisting mainly of Negroes who have broken away from the Republican party, has headquarters at 436 Lennox avenue. It has about 600 members and is working along radical lines. Statement by the president, A. Philip Randolph, and Secretary Chandler Owen appeared in an interview in the New York Call, in part as follows:

Rents and the high prices of food are the chief clouds on our domestic horizon. The rents are high because there are more people than there are houses. At least, this is true of the colored people, because they are limited to certain locations by the

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operation of a crystallized segregation rule. The high prices of food are not due, as the Republican orators tell you, to the absence of a protective tariff. The high prices are due to the scarcity of goods. We have 611 million bushels of wheat this year. It takes 630 million bushels to feed this country. Yet we have contracts to send away 400 million, which, of course, compels the advance in the price of flour, bread, etc. . . .

For high rents we would propose the Single Tax and Socialism. We would have the land taxed heavily, while the buildings are taxed lightly or exempt from taxation. This would force the land into use, which would give us more buildings and a competition which would automatically lower the rents. Each landlord with vacant houses would be offering attractive rates to get tenants into his houses.

But suppose the land held out for speculation were finally built up and the property occupied?

There is where Socialism must eventually come in to control the rent question. But one thing is sure: It is unnecessary to pray for lower rents, since the rents ascend as the prayers ascend, and the rents retain their ascent after the prayers have fallen. . . .

This "preparedness" is a Trojan horse. The issues, we are told, are Americanism and "preparedness"—whatever they may mean. But we do know that the $662,000,000 to be spent on "preparedness" this year will be paid by those of us least prepared to pay. Rockefeller, Morgan and Hearst will be the tax collectors who will get the money, but that is all. The tax producers are the real tax payers, and the tax gatherers can only gather what is produced after it is produced. . . .

We are not Socialists. We are not anything. We are enrolled Republicans, but we have no special sympathy with the Republican party. Our only object for so registering is that most colored men enroll as Republicans and we want to have colored candidates win in the primaries next year. You see, the Republican party is a religion with the colored man. He is deceived, duped and fooled by it. But he still licks the hand just raised to shed his blood. But, even if we were Socialists, we would have to blacklist those Socialists in Iowa, Kansas, Pennsylvania, etc., who have replied to the crisis that they favored segregation among races. There must still be independent choice among men in all parties.

[See current volume, page 997.]

Fight for Free Speech in Everett.

A riot resulting from suppression of free speech at Everett, Washington, took place in that city on November 5. Street meetings conducted by I. W. W. speakers have for some time been interfered with. On October 30 forty-five members of the order were forcibly seized by a so-called citizens' committee, loaded into automobiles, taken to a point south of town and then liberated and ordered to leave. In consequence a call was issued for a public meeting of the I. W. W. to take place on November 5 at the principal corner of the city. A steamer load of members from Seattle arrived on that date. The steamer was met at the wharf by a sheriff's posse which tried to prevent landing of the passengers. The effort of the men to disregard these orders led to shooting, in the course of which a number of both sides were killed and wounded. The steamer finally returned with its passengers to Seattle. Among the wounded is Sheriff Donald McRae.

No Referendum in Mississippi.

Through a decision of the Mississippi Supreme Court handed down on October 30, the proposed referendum on two anti-liquor laws passed by the legislature cannot be held. Under the I and R provision of the Constitution a referendum on these measures had been invoked and the measures were to be passed on by the people on November 7. An injunction was asked on the ground that the I and R had not been legally adopted. This was disapproved by the court in an earlier decision, but the main question as to legality of the Constitutional provision was not passed upon. This is also avoided in the present decision, which finds that these acts are not subject to the referendum simply because they were passed prior to the formal insertion of the I and R amendment into the Constitution, and consequently this amendment cannot affect them.

Death of Charles Scott.

Charles Scott, father of Alex Y. Scott, author of "Crimes of the Minority," and other Singletax literature, died at Rosedale, Mississippi, on October 26, aged 70. Mr. Scott was a prominent attorney of Memphis. In 1907 he was entered at the Democratic primaries as candidate for the nomination for Governor of Tennessee, but the contest proved unsuccessful.

Cuban Election.

A Presidential election took place on the first, with Mario G. Menocal, Conservative and present incumbent, and Dr. Alfred Zayas, Liberal, as contestants. Incomplete returns indicate the re-election of President Menocal, whose term expires May 20, 1917. He was inaugurated May 20, 1913.

A Canadian Experiment.

In expectation of a large immigration at the close of the war the government of New Brunswick has appointed an advisory board, and secured experts from the Dominion Agricultural Department to provide suitable settlement areas. United States Consul E. Verne Richardson, Moncton, New Brunswick, says of these plans:

The New Brunswick Government proposes that when a block of land is finally accepted, it shall be surveyed and laid out according to a special plan. The railroad will pass through it diagonally, and two main roads will cross it at right angles to each other. The railroad will serve as a base line for lots, with a corresponding line for the base on the other side of the block. Every farm will commence at the

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main road and run back to one of the base lines. No farm will have land on both sides of the track.

Each block or community is to have at its central point a model farm, managed by a practical farmer placed there by the Government. This farm will produce the seeds required by the surrounding farmers. Means of co-operation in buying and selling are to be provided.

The land in each community will be divided into sections ranging from 10 to 100 acres each. The Government proposes to sell these farms at actual cost, on easy terms. Each purchaser will be required to pay 10 per cent down, and will be given 20 years to clear the remainder. The Government will erect a house and a barn and dig a well on each farm. The purchaser will furnish his own implements, with the exception of certain special appliances to be shared by the whole community and loaned by the central model farm.

Sydney Honors Huie.

A dinner to A. G. Huie, Secretary of the New South Wales Singletax League, was given at Sydney on August 19. The principal speaker was the Lord Mayor of Sydney, R. D. Meagher, who presented Mr. Huie, on behalf of those present, with a beautifully illuminated address and a purse of £90. In his address the Mayor read a communication from Tenement House Commissioner John J. Murphy of New York inquiring about the new rating system of Sydney, by which all local revenue is raised by taxation of land values only. Such communications from the United States, the Mayor pronounced a compliment to Australia, and that the credit therefor was due "The indefatigable and indomitable will of Mr. Huie."

Continuing Mayor Meagher said in part:

I see a number of old pioneers of the Single Tax movement here to-night. I was telling my friend, the Rev. Mr. Beale, that I remember being at a lecture which was delivered in the Protestant Hall by Henry George. I remember the impression he left upon me when he told how the light first came to him as he was lying on the deck of a steamer, at that period of his life when he was seeking his fortunes in the gold regions of California. Mr. Huie is one of the early ones who had to fight against that huge barrier of prejudice which is rendered almost unscalable when the press puts misrepresentation on top of it. Mr. Huie has triumphed over that barrier. I am reminded of the dedication which Henry George has placed in his book, "Progress and Poverty."

> To those who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state, and would strive for its attainment.

I ask under what more glorious humanitarian flag could the sons of men bind themselves together to carry out the objective of the Prophet of San Francisco?

Although it was in the United States that this great doctrine was first evolved in the mature form, that that great economic reformer Henry George evolved it, we can have some idea why the roots have not taken fast hold of the soil when we know that in the United States Mammon is the great god, and the dollar is the most powerful motive. As an illustration of what I refer to, I may repeat a story which is told of one of Hearst's yellow newspapers, as they are termed, that sensational press which Hearst has. It is said that, next to the cub politician, the cub reporter is the most offensive individual you can have. A murder having taken place at the Adirondacks, the forest home of the millionaire class of New York, a cub reporter was sent out to give a description of the affair. He came back with a most graphic and Zolaesque account about the aged millionaire, who had been strangled by some ruffians that hoped to obtain his valuable collection of emeralds and other precious stones and whatever money there was in the mansion. After writing half a column of a very graphic character about the tragedy, the reporter finished up by saying, "The vile malefactors were balked in their fell design, because the deceased had removed to the institute his valuable collection of emeralds. He had placed his bullion the day before in the Manhattan Safe Deposit Bank, so the malefactors got nothing for their trouble and the deceased lost nothing except his life."

You can quite understand the difficulty which Henry George had in trying to transplant his theory in the United States. . . . The light which Henry George has left upon the paths of men has indeed been well reflected in the true and unselfish workers like the gentlemen we are honoring this evening.

> Never yet
> Share of Truth was vainly set
> In the world's wide fallow;
> After hands shall sow the seed,
> After hands from hill and mead,
> Reap the harvest yellow.

Those verses at the beginning of "Progress and Poverty" come back to us all. After hands of our children shall indeed reap a harvest of the golden cobs of knowledge and wisdom, of science and art and invention. And on those democratic foundations, based on the teaching of Henry George, they will rear a structure whose summit shall glisten in the radiant sun of Liberty. . . .

I have to hand a pocketbook to Mr. Huie which has a very velvet-like feeling and which contains a number of bank notes. I will ask Mr. Huie to accept it. I am sure he will find use for the contents. In conclusion I may say that I have seen Mr. Huie behind the Chair in Parliament House at one and two o'clock in the morning. I have seen him in the gallery of the Municipal Council, and I can only say that, if the Single Tax League had to pay the award overtime rates to Mr. Huie, it would be bankrupt. I have much pleasure in presenting to Mr. Huie on your behalf this beautiful illuminated address and purse of sovereigns. The address reads as follows:

TO A. G. HUIE, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—

On behalf of a large number of friends and citizens of Sydney, we wish to acknowledge the sterling services you have rendered to our City as Secretary to the Unimproved Land Values Rating League, and to congratulate you on the success of your efforts, which, combined with those of other enthusiastic workers, have resulted in the municipal rating being based for the first time in the history of the city on land values only.

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Your devoted, untiring and persistent work, in the face of determined opposition, has undoubtedly been one of the foremost factors in achieving this reform, and we desire to place on record our recognition of this fact, and to ask your acceptance of this address and accompanying purse of sovereigns as a slight expression of our esteem and appreciation.

We are, dear sir,
Yours faithfully,
R. D. MEAGHER, Lord Mayor of Sydney.
G. T. CLARK, Ex-Lord Mayor of Sydney.
L. W. ROBINSON, Mayor of Woollahra.
CHAS. SAVAGE, Mayor of Concord.
J. R. FIRTH, Mayor of Strathfield.
G. H. LONGMUIR, ALEXR. R. EASTON,
(Honorary Secretaries.)

Sydney, 19th August, 1916.

In reply Mr. Huie thanked those present, told of his conversion to the Singletax doctrine through accidentally coming across a copy of "Progress and Poverty" 27 years ago, described the difficulties of a candidacy for Parliament in 1894 in a sparsely settled but widely extended country district and continued in part:

I came to Sydney towards the end of 1898, but it was not until 1901 that I attended a Henry George anniversary in a room in the Queen Victoria Markets, one of Quong Tart's rooms. On that occasion we formed the present League and I was appointed honorary secretary. They did not ask me whether I would take the position; they simply appointed me. I took it and so I am here tonight.

We came to the conclusion early that the line of least resistance was the local taxation of land values. We went to the politicians of that day, and the most satisfactory answer we got was from Mr. Carruthers, now Sir Joseph Carruthers, who was then in the cold shades of Opposition. When he came into power he brought in the Local Government Act, and under that Act, throughout our municipalities and shires, the principle of rating on unimproved values was adopted. Sydney remained outside the operations of the Act. In 1908 Mr. Wade gave the City Council power to rate on the unimproved value of land, but he made one very serious mistake in exempting Government properties. That has held back the reform year after year, because a number of aldermen did not wish to sacrifice the revenue from the Government properties, as the general body of ratepayers would have to make it good. Of course, it was a splendid excuse. It suited them very well. At last, when we went to the electors in the latter part of last year, we made the pace so hot that a majority was elected pledged to the principle. But for all that, the old difficulty remained, the exemption of these Government properties would have been operative. It is true that the Premier had promised the City Council that it would lose nothing; but that was not a legal position. So, when our chairman of tonight became Lord Mayor of Sydney, he went to Mr. Holman, the Premier, and got a Bill to remove the difficulty. I think that quite a number of people fail to realize the importance of what the Lord Mayor did in that matter. Suppose, for instance, that Alderman Hagon had been Lord Mayor. Would he have gone to the Premier? He would have made as much as he could of the difficulty. If you will imagine that any other alderman had been Lord Mayor, I think you will see how greatly our difficulties would have been increased. The present Lord Mayor was the one with the prestige, the knowledge and the standing, who was able to go to the Premier and get the Bill; and so the last difficulty in the way of the adoption of the principle in the city was swept away. I should not omit to say that the Premier, Mr. Holman, should also be remembered in this connection for having met the wishes of the electors and the majority of the aldermen as put before him by the Lord Mayor.

Now as to the future. Again, the line of least resistance is local taxation. We must now endeavor to get the water and sewerage rates in Sydney and Newcastle placed on land values. . . . Quite a number of our country municipalities already rate on land values for water supply, and in a few cases for sewerage. We have made an excellent start. We have been to Mr. Cann, who has given us a very favorable reply, and we have since learned that the Cabinet is in favor of the introduction of a Bill this session. We are therefore very hopeful that something will be done. This question is not a party question; it enjoys the unique distinction of being on the platforms of both the Liberal and Labor parties. . . . Senator Grant came to me the other day with a scheme he has put before the Minister for Lands. This scheme is to enable people to secure land for homes on the Crown Land in Kensington. It seems that out there the Crown has a large amount of vacant land, and Senator Grant's idea is that it should be subdivided in quarter-acre lots and let on lease. I suggested to him that there was one essential condition necessary to make the scheme a success. All our leasing systems, both in this State and outside it, have failed to enable the people to secure what is called the unearned increment. When Mr. Beeby was Minister for Lands he paid a visit to New Zealand, and on his return he gave some striking examples of how leased land in the Dominion of New Zealand was yielding the lessees substantial amounts of unearned increment. The land was let on lease for lengthy terms, population grew, and the result was that the lessees were able to sell out at greatly increased prices. So I suggested to Senator Grant that there should be no fixed term for re-appraisement and no fixed rent. I suggested that while the rate of 2½ per cent on the capital value should be fixed, and was fair—and I understand that is what the Minister favors—the valuation of the land should not be fixed. The land should be valued by the Valuer-General in common with other lands in the locality, so that, from year to year, with the growth of the community, the rent will be calculated on the value as it increased. With a fixed term and rent if a tramway were constructed, and the land increased in value, that increased value would go to the lessees instead of to the people; but if the valuation is carried out by the Valuer-General, as in the case of other lands in the district, then, as the locality improves, and the values go up, so the revenue to the State will increase. . . .

What we need in this country is a policy which will make it necessary for those who hold land to put it to its best use or get out of the way and let someone else do it. This has become a matter of supreme importance. We have several hundred thousand men, either under arms or as returned soldiers,

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besides men who have not yet volunteered. We have an enormous loan expenditure for military purposes, to say nothing of anything else. With the completion of the war that expenditure must stop, even if the local expenditure goes on, and I think it is likely that that will have to slacken down a lot. What are we going to do with all these men? It is a question of supreme importance. We have only the one great resource left, that is the land. We have millions of acres which are scarcely used at all. We have over two thousand miles of railways which are running at a loss of over half a million a year simply for want of traffic. Our public policy must be directed to bringing that land into effective use, so as to make those railways pay, and to absorb this great volume of labor, to say nothing of immigrants who are probably wanting to come. We want to absorb this labor to enable the work of the community to be carried on. . . . So the taxation of land values should be adopted. It may be adopted, for instance, as a means of paying interest on the cost of the railways and tramways. . . . I feel quite sure that all of us who are here tonight will co-operate and help to bring about a further installment of those great principles so well put forward by Henry George, for the purpose of securing equal rights and opportunities to all men, so that they may enjoy the fruits of their labor, and be able to provide for themselves and those dependent upon them.

NOTES

—A complete skeleton of a pilotherium, a prehistoric rodent about the size of a black bear, discovered in Colorado, was given to the American Museum of Natural History in New York on November 6.

—Additional contributions to the national campaign funds were reported on November 4 by both political parties. These bring the total for the Republicans up to $2,012,535, and for the Democrats up to $1,351,248. [See current volume, page 1046.]

—Reverend Charles T. Russell, better known as "Pastor Russell," died at Canadian, Texas, on October 31, aged 64. He was founder of the International Bible Students' Association, an organization that has been conducting a nation-wide religious propaganda through moving picture shows.

—A United States collier will play the role of a Christmas ship by carrying 3,000 tons of food and 1,000 tons of clothing for war sufferers in Armenia and Syria. The ship, which is under the direction or the American National Red Cross, will leave New York about December 1, and proceed to Beirut, Syria.

—Preliminary statistics of the Department of Commerce indicate for the year ending July 31, 1916, a consumption by the United States of 6,397,613 bales of cotton and 890,911 bales of linters. The number for the preceding year was 5,597,362 bales of cotton and 411,845 bales of linters. The use of linters in the manufacture of munitions explains the increased consumption of that product.

—For giving information on birth control, Miss Jessie Ashley, lawyer and law professor in the New York University, was sentenced to $50 fine in the New York Court of Special Sessions on October 29. She will appeal. Mrs. Margaret Sanger was held for trial on November 6 by a magistrate on the charge of conducting a birth control clinic. [See current volume, pages 557, 564, 614, 989, 1023, 1049.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Why Delay Abolition of These Wrongs?

Portland (Oregon) Journal, Oct. 28.—Modern poverty is a social disease caused by two or three perfectly manifest blunders. One of them is the private ownership of our natural resources. This enables the owners to levy tribute upon all the rest of the population. Then there is the private ownership of such social necessities as water supply systems, lighting plants and so on. This imposes another heavy tribute upon the producing classes. We could enumerate a large number of these tributes, or taxes, which added together constitute a terrible drain upon the productive power of the country. As long as they continue unchecked the great mass of the producers will probably be obliged to live in poverty because the masters of opportunity will appropriate the bulk of the fruits of their toil.

Defects of the Electoral College.

Catholic Register (Denver), November 2: Another change in the Federal Constitution almost, if not equally, as necessary as the election of Senators by popular vote is the abolition of the electoral college. The method of electing our presidents is absurd, but this is not the worst charge that can be brought against it. In not permitting a popular vote for President, and compelling the voters to choose so many electors from each State, we offer an inducement for the corrupt expenditure of money in the doubtful States, especially in those States such as New York and Indiana, which are unfortunate enough to have a large number of electors. Money is concentrated on those centers. The campaign is neglected in other sections, and the whole effort of politicians and large business interests seems to be to capture the three or four pivotal States. Appeals to prejudice and passion and worse still, to the cupidity of voters in the doubtful States having the largest electoral vote leads to demoralization and corruption of government, and gives certain populous communities an undue share of power. The next great political reform will be the election of President by popular vote. The notion that we should elect our President by the indirect method is a survival of the superstition that the people could not be trusted to select the men that were best fitted to serve them. With the notable exception of Franklin and two or three members of the Constitutional Convention, the great majority of those that comprised that body were afraid of the people. They held secret sessions behind closed doors, and prohibited the publication of their proceedings. These were not published until years afterward, in the late 30's, when the Federal government, during Jackson's administration, purchased Madison's journal of the Constitutional Convention. It was a misfortune that Jefferson was in France at the time it was held. The best part of the Constitution, the amendments forced by Jefferson, was written into it afterwards.

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CORRESPONDENCE

INDUSTRIAL TYRANNY IN MINNESOTA.

Virginia, Minn., November 4.

At the invitation of Mr. Downing, the superintendent, the writer recently visited the workings of the Bennett mine on the Mesaba Iron Range of Minnesota.

It was the plain intention of Mr. Downing to absolve himself and his firm, a so-called independent concern, from the general blame and disgrace attached to all Mesaba Range operators as a result of the industrial tyranny brought to light by the recent miners' strike.

Giving this concern all due credit for the modern sanitary and safety devices used and the humane spirit Mr. Downing seems to have, together with the rates of wage paid, it was self-evident that this mine was what others in the district could be and were not; that the wage rate was only a reasonable compensation which others would not give and that altogether the miners' recent strike was for demands companies could easily grant and still make a good profit from their toilers.

In fact Mr. Downing would not allow the writer to publish an itemized statement of his wage scale showing an average daily wage paid of $3.45, saying that "the other operators might get sore about the comparisons to be drawn."

For men who do the hardest kind of labor in the midst of the danger and darkness of the mountain's belly, $3.45 per day strikes the writer as being inadequate enough. When you consider that these men must dig the iron ore which makes the machinery of the world and the skeleton of civilization, no one, outside the Steel Trust, will deny that these men are deserving of even more than the Bennett mine pays, let alone the unbearable conditions and pitiful wages they struck against last summer.

Affidavits are before me from which I draw the following extracts concerning wage conditions that brought about the strike. Comes, Matt M. ———, who swears upon oath "that he worked in the Alpena mine for the Oliver Mining Co. during 1915 and up to the strike in 1916; that his average wage during 1915 was about $2.23 per day; that the highest average ever received was $2.98, during February, 1916."

Comes, "Pete K———, being first duly sworn upon oath says that (reciting promises of raises not received) the average wage for men in the Shiras mine was from $2.35 to $2.60 per day and no more."

Comes, "John D———, being duly sworn, says that he is a miner of seventeen years' experience; that during the month of April, 1916, he worked at the Clark mine for seven and one-half days and was paid for his labor the sum of $12.70 and no more."

Dozens, yes hundreds, of similar affidavits show the insufferable industrial conditions these unorganized toilers struck against last summer. In answer to the strikers' demands the Steel Trust flooded the district with deputized thugs. An armored train was built for these worthies to use, and machine guns were installed to shoot down the citizen strikers. Official brutality rampant, beat, jailed and shot over six hundred men and women. The strikers were trying to keep the peace. But these paid troublemakers would not have it so. Leaving company ground they bulldozed and even killed citizens upon the public streets and private lots, invading homes to intimidate the miners back to work.

It was in one of these raids that a deputy was killed by one of his own drunken crew. Yet, besides the unarmed strikers who, at most, were defending their homes and persons, three strike leaders were gathered up at distant towns far from the tragedy and charged with complicity in killing the deputy. Altogether, one woman, four strikers and three organizers, Sam Scarlett, Carlo Tresca and Joe Schmidt, were indicted by what the Mesaba Ore, a local paper the Steel Trust cannot buy, called a "hand-picked grand jury." Rightly so, as it failed to do its plain duty by refusing to indict Nick Dillon, one of the gunmen in the affray, who, witnesses swore, went out of the house that day and deliberately shot and killed Thos. Ladvalla, an innocent peddler, standing in the road. Trials of these strikers begin early in December.

Such are the conditions labor faces in the industrial barony of northern Minnesota, under the control politically and industrially of U. S. Steel Corporation. And no one doubts, who remembers Homestead and McKees Rocks, that the Steel Trust will extend to these innocent working people no mercy that will not be forced from it and its official lackeys by the united protests of aroused labor.

HARRISON GEORGE.

THE FREE TRADE LEAGUE.

"My country is the world: my countrymen are mankind."—William Lloyd Garrison.

Boston, Mass., October 21.

The recent reanimation of the American Free Trade League has had no relation to the politics of the campaign; its active members belong to different parties, its newly chosen president, George Haven Putnam, having declared his intention of voting for Judge Hughes, while many of those who chose him for their leader are advocates of President Wilson. Whatever the result of the national election, after it is over, the League will be heard from in support of its principles, which must and will have a hearing at the close of the war. Everywhere the press and leading publicists are making known their sympathies with Lord Bryce's recent declaration that there must be no peace of arms, the sequence of which is a war of trade between nations, whether for revenge or for selfish protection. Some commentators have asserted that after treaties of peace, trade must be set "running in the old familiar ways." Now, in the first place, one of these "old familiar ways" included the German prohibitory tariff such as we free traders always held to be potential war, sure sooner or later to eventuate actually. It stands to reason that its restoration can not be allowed. Neither ought any tariffs be established from motives of revenge by other nations, it is urged, prohibitory to German industry. But what difference does the motive make if national selfishness is to set up old tariff walls or higher ones? In the United States and in Great Britain, as we know, and probably in all the neutral and belligerent countries, economists and statesmen are planning to recoup or defend themselves by tariffs

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wholly in the interest of their several national indutries and productions. Lord Bryce has nothing to say in deprecation of the proposed "Tariff Reform" in England for which, even the "Spectator," once the staunch Free Trade organ, now claims that the system of free exchanges can be laid on the shelf somehow without abandoning the great ideal!

No peace can be secured permanently unless the groups that settle conditions after the war are supported by a public opinion that will enable them to think and act internationally and to ignore the comparatively petty local interests which must pass through a period of stress and in some cases of distress.

The approach to the condition must of course be graduated with wisdom, but with clear foresight and determination, of an absolutely unimpeded world movement of men and of their goods, to be reached by definite steps within a reasonable period of time. This might have seemed an idle dream three years ago, but when the world's foundations are out of course and they must be built anew the time will have come for laying them securely. After our Armageddon—surely there will be a millennial opportunity.

ERVING WINSLOW.

BOOKS

A GREAT MAN STUMBLES.

Eternity. By Ernst Haeckel. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Published by the Truth Seeker Co., New York. Price $1.25 net.

In other times than these, Professor Ernst Haeckel of Jena might have been regarded as one of the most picturesque figures in Europe. The greatest among living biologists, he has now reached his eighty-third year with a record of work accomplished in scientific discovery such as few nature-searchers can show. But just as every living thing has been to Haeckel a fit subject of study, he himself presents to the student of the human mind one of the most curious of psychological problems. That it should be possible for a man's mind to develop healthily, normally, and to an extraordinary degree of efficiency along one line, and yet to be subject to a complete arrest of development in another direction, would seem incredible if proof were not furnished by the life-history of this remarkable man. His great early contemporaries in militant agnosticism, Tyndal, Huxley, Clifford, Ingersoll and others, have passed beyond the veil, and he alone stands like a peak of a submerged world preaching an outworn creed of barren materialism, in apparent unconsciousness that the speculative background of men's thoughts has entirely changed in the interval.

In the little book entitled "Eternity" bearing the date of October, 1915, Professor Haeckel, with all the näiveté of a youth who has just broken away from the trammels of orthodox creeds, administers resounding whacks on the back of a discarded theology, and heaps ridicule upon dogmas that have long ago been consigned to the intellectual scrap-heap. Indeed, if the reader were unaware that this book had been written by an octogenarian, the image would immediately suggest itself of a fledgling running off with the shell on his head.

To those who are familiar with "The History of Creation" or "The Riddle of The Universe," it is unnecessary to explain that the title of the new book refers only to the Trinity of the Monist faith, matter, energy and psychom which constitute the unity of "Substance." The universe in its totality is eternal, but its separate parts are impermanent and limited in duration. It is symptomatic of the partial atrophy from which the author has suffered that he appears to have no conception of eternity other than the heaping of years upon years. There is no hint of his having realized the suspicion that is haunting the minds of our deepest philosophers, that what we call time may be an illusion, and that eternity is to be conceived of as an intensity rather than an extensity; a quality rather than a quantity; a condition rather than a mere continuance. Another indication of the strangely immature side of this otherwise mighty intellect is shown in his refusal to admit the validity of subjective "experience" as among the data on which a philosophy of life may be based. "Many people," said Huxley to a friend, "believe things that are incredible to me, but in some cases I doubt their capacity and in others I doubt their honesty. In your case I doubt neither your capacity nor your honesty, and I want to know why you can believe doctrines which I cannot honestly accept." "I cannot tell," answered his friend, "unless it be that you are color-blind." Huxley, the implacably honest, was struck dumb and replied, "Well, perhaps that is so, and if I am color-blind I should, of course, be quite unaware of it." The great biologist is obviously unaware of his peculiar insensitiveness to those subjective experiences that come to other men and which force the conviction that they correspond to objective realities. The actions and reactions of "substance" are intelligible to the Monist philosopher, but he does not hear "the still small voice," he cannot see "the light that never was on sea or land," he feels not "the peace that passes understanding," and quite unintelligible to him is that orientation of the soul that Jesus spoke of as "The kingdom of Heaven," and to describe which he exhausted his marvelous gift of poetic imagery in parables of incomparable beauty.

But, like the insects that are said to carry their poison-bags concealed beneath their tails, the sting of this book is to be found in the appendix. It is sad beyond the power of expression that an eminent man of science should so far fall beneath himself as to indulge in a perfect riot of vituperation, couched in language that is molded upon the classic style of the Billingsgate fish-market.

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We could freely pardon the näive assumption that "the educated German is certainly less prejudiced and more capable of arriving at a fair judgment, etc.," and that "on the other hand the Englishman's vision is obscured by his egoism and megalomania," but when we read of "English religious practice being downright, deliberate hypocrisy," and of "the orgy of lies, calumny, deceit and hypocrisy in which England has indulged since the beginning of the war for which the pious Island State alone is to blame," we rub our eyes in shocked amazement. Nor does America or her President escape a share of the vilification which has been prepared for Germany's supposed arch-enemy. Mr. Wilson in his peace-speeches "goes to such lengths of political and religious hypocrisy as to yield in no respect to the English multi-million murderer, Sir Edward Grey."

It is surprising that a self-respecting American publisher was found willing to print twenty-five pages of the most childish and undignified mud-throwing that has ever been written. One closes the book with a sigh of regret for the time lost in the reading of it, though the regret is modified by the hope that it may bring home to us the terrible effects of international warfare in debasing human nature, in deflecting the powers of judgment, and in drying up the springs of charity.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

IRRELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY.

The Life and Exploits of Jehovah. By Henry M. Tichenor. Published by Phil Wagner, St. Louis, Mo. Pp. 222. Price $1.

This book has what many people would regard as an objectionable title. Yet the author means well. Commending his ultimate purpose, we must dissent from the method he has taken to accomplish the end in view. The religious tradition in the Bible is one that has passed through historical development from a lower to a higher faith, involving opposition to the usages of aristocratic Baalism, and issuing at length in a real democracy. Approaching his theme, however, in the spirit of Ingersoll, and writing in the style of Billy Sunday, the author has attempted to piece together a story on the basis of a compilation from what may be called the local-pagan-militaristic side of the Jehovah tradition. This, of course, gives a distorted, serio-comic impression which caricatures Hebrew history and makes that history just as unintelligible as does the "orthodox" view which the author derides.

Too late in the book (on the last two pages), the writer touches upon the sociological and economic side of the subject. When the human race began to form class distinctions, he says, the gods took upon themselves the image and likeness of the ruling classes. The common people—the exploited workers—would have no respect for the rulers and masters unless they were taught to worship an aristocratic deity. The world's toilers have knelt both to their masters and to the gods of their masters. But, perchance, the people, free at last from superstition and servility, will some day find a Divinity of their own—not a master-made myth with a flock of feathered flunkies flying around his throne, but One of us, working with us in the upward struggle—a splendid Comrade of ours, whose only wish is that we stand up straight and fearless, and labor with him in the immortal work of evolving a more beautiful world and a cleaner and better civilization.

The author, in his own way, handles the conventional view of the Bible as seriously as did our orthodox grandfathers. The difference is that where they took it literally, he makes a caricature of it, and overlooks the deeper ethical and spiritual values of the history. As a matter of fact, the Bible itself is the record of precisely the kind of struggle for which he longs—a struggle which has taken place in the past and which leads up to a similar conflict which is now going forward on the field of religion with growing intensity under a new form. This little book is one of the many strange signs of an unusual era; and while its method cannot be endorsed, its purpose and spirit are to be praised.

LOUIS WALLIS.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

El Primer Congreso Feminista de Yucatan. Convocado por el Governador del Estado, D. Salvador Alvarado. Published at Merida, Yucatan, Mexico. 1916.

The Specific Trouble with the World and Its Specific Preventive. By Franklin Hopkins. Published by Land Currency Advancers of America, 2 E. 23rd St., New York. 1916.

* * *

The labor of Great Britain is twice as effective now as it was a century ago, but the laborer is worse paid, fed and lodged than he then was, while the incomes of the landlord class have been enormously increased. The same fundamental causes exist here, and tend to the same results. They have been modified, thus far, by the existence, within or near our State, of large tracts of unimproved land, which the owners are anxious to improve or dispose of, on almost any terms. These are growing scarcer and more remote; they form no part of the system we are considering, but something which exists in opposition to it, which modifies it, but is absorbed and conquered by it. The notorious fact that they do serve to mitigate the exactions to which the landless mass, even in our long and densely settled towns and cities are subject, serves to show that the condition of the great mass must inevitably be far worse than at present, when the natural consummation of land selling is reached, and all the soil of the union has become the property of a minor part of the people of the union.—Horace Greeley in 1846.

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"Why did you pray so loud for a pony, Willie?" asked his sister. "God isn't deaf." "No," replied Willy, "but papa can't hear very well."—Chicago News.

The FREE TRADE BROADSIDE

a quarterly journal published in the interests of free trade, sent free to members of the American Free Trade League. In our campaign for new members we want to enroll a large number of readers of The Public. Membership is only $1. KENNETH B. ELLIMAN, Secretary, American Free Trade League, 120 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

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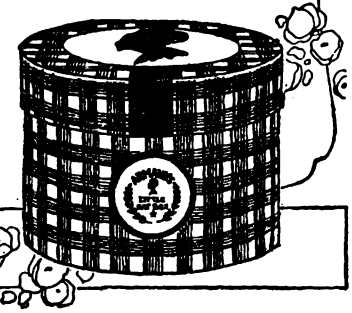

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RICHARD WARNER BORST, SACRAMENTO, CAL.

I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your journal, and the manner in which you present the principles of Fundamental Democracy so concisely that a busy man may get the maximum of facts in the minimum of time.

THOS. SLATTER, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

The old Public make-up was good enough for me. To me the new cover is only a slight obstacle intervening between myself and the good stuff which I know beforehand The Public always has. But if it will in any way add to The Public's popularity, so be it!

A. L. COLTON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Public: I hereby tell you I despise your new clothes. Old wine in an old bottle! You have not changed the wine and cannot, therefore why fuss with the fool bottle and take away my "menu," which added to my enjoyment there on the cover, as it were, of my weekly feast? But keep up the good work. Here's $3 to cover three subscriptions.

GEORGE HUGHES, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

The Public has always been so very welcome, and now that it has changed its appearance I think even more of it. It is the best journal I know of in the English language for the man or woman in a busy life, who desires to keep informed on the important every day public questions.

EUGENE FREY, ARGYLE, ILL.

The change in the typographical makeup of The Public is unquestionably an improvement. Your last paragraph encourages me to hope that there will be an end to the attempt to catch flies (chance readers of The Public) with vinegar when molasses is so much more attractive to them and quite as cheap. The older one grows, the more one sees to convince him that Truth is many-sided, and that antagonizing a man is not the best way to win his support.

ALLAN FARQUHAR, SANDY SPRINGS, MD.

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