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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

The Presidential Election

Single Tax Campaigns of 1916

**Public Ownership of Public
Utilities**

Carl D. Thompson

Published Weekly

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One Dollar a Year

November 17, 1916

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CHICAGO

Volume XIX

ELLA FLAGG YOUNG

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Chicago Public Schools*

By **JOHN T. McMANIS**

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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EDITORIAL

Persons who like to translate emotions and sounds into terms of color should not overlook the hues of the Republican press during the recent campaign. It may be doubted if there was anything in the early post-bellum days, when "Southern War Claims" was a shibboleth and the "Bloody Shirt" a banner triumphant, to equal the color tones of this year. Lacking any campaign issue, knowing that the Administration had already fulfilled what the Progressive party had promised, and realizing the great popularity of the President, a large part of the Republican press engaged in a campaign of vilification that will require years to live down. It saw "red," talked "black," acted "yellow" and feels blue. s. c.

* * *

It is to be hoped that those over-zealous writers and speakers who have been maligning their country and its officials, in order that another set of

office holders might have the direction of affairs—and the emoluments—will do their mite toward setting the country right in the eyes of the world. It is an evil bird that fouls its own nest, but there are politicians who will betray their country, or resort to the vilest slander, if only thereby they may win a political triumph. Their extravagant mouthings may be taken seriously by less informed people, and innocent persons may unknowingly work injury to their country. The situation calls for education and rational instruction among the masses of the voters. Wisdom alone can meet this evil. s. c.

* * *

Once more language must be modified. "Congressman" is no longer sufficient to describe members of the House of Representatives, for the Sixty-fifth Congress will have a woman among its members. Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana has the distinction of being the first Congresswoman. Her advent will shock conventionality and upset tradition, but it will be one more fact to convince even the ultra-conservatives that the old order is passing. Miss Rankin will be followed by other Congresswomen; and the day is not distant when machine politicians will bid for the woman vote as they now do for the German, the Scandinavian, or other foreign vote. The new member announces that she is particularly interested in social welfare legislation. Where could she find greater scope for her talents? Her influence and that of the women who will follow her steps will lend the human element that heretofore has been lacking in lawmaking bodies. There will be the same distinct and definite gain from having women in Congress that there has been in having women in all other governing bodies. Woman, without more ado, should be accorded all the rights of man. s. c.

* * *

That President Wilson carried ten of the twelve suffrage States shows that women voters refused to be stampeded by the unjust appeal of the Woman's party to defeat him. The failure of another unjust appeal, the one that was made to voters of German extraction, is shown by a majority for Wilson in Milwaukee, although the Republican State ticket carried that city; and is fur-

ther shown by the fact that in Cincinnati Hughes received no more than the normal Republican majority.

S. D.

* * *

The attempt has failed to scare the voters into electing a reactionary President. Neither the bogey of foreign military invasion nor the still more silly cry about dumping of foreign goods turned from their purpose the voters of western states who sensibly hold social justice and avoidance of war to be the issues of paramount importance. These voters showed a commendable indifference to party lines in casting their votes. While they chose Wilson for President, they elected many progressive Republicans for other positions. Thus in Kansas they re-elected Governor Capper, in North Dakota they chose for Governor, Lynn J. Frazier, and in California they sent Governor Johnson to the Senate. What more is needed to show the politicians that to secure the support of these voters they must refrain from buncombe and reactionary policies?

S. D.

* * *

The Chicago Tribune lays the flattering unction to its soul that the States in which it circulates were carried by Hughes. It attributes this result to its campaign of abuse and its efforts to scare the voters with ghost stories. Unfortunately for the Tribune an analysis of the returns does not bear out its arguments. In Cook county, for instance, where it is best known, Wilson received over 100,000 male votes in excess of what he got in 1912, while the male vote for Hughes was but 22,000 in excess of the Taft-Roosevelt vote. Had more voters read the Tribune it does not seem probable that even the Sullivan organization would have given the county to Hughes.

S. D.

* * *

Truly the nations of the world are in a bad way. If we are to believe our friends the Protectionists, mankind will be worse off by far when peace returns than during the war. No sooner will fighting stop than Germany with all her ruthlessness will pounce upon the nations of the world, big and little, and take their trade away from them. Great Britain with her accustomed brutality is also going to seize the trade of these nations. And in so far as they are able, other countries of Europe, together with Japan are going to absorb all the trade of the world. Skeptics may dismiss it all by reflecting upon the catch query as to what would happen if an irresistible force met an immovable body. But more discreet persons, people who have the wrath of the gods of high tariff

before them, may well ponder their impending doom. What chance, they should ask themselves before it is too late, has a rich man with a beggar? How can a giant defend himself from a dwarf? By what means can a strong man protect himself from a cripple? In short, how can the wealthiest country in the world, enjoying the richest natural advantages, and having the most virile people, meet the competition of the less favored countries with their monstrous debts, and their crippled and depleted populations? Let no one smile at the question. There are persons, otherwise intelligent, who take it seriously. It almost won an election.

S. C.

* * *

A welcome prospect is that in the next Congress the balance of power between the two big parties will be in the hands of the Socialist Representative, Meyer London, and the other progressive independents. There is no good reason why Democratic Congressmen should not come to an agreement with these members on a progressive policy. Standpat Democrats might object, but progressive Republicans would be attracted. The situation is much more encouraging than it would be if there were a big majority controlled by a machine, regardless of whether the head of the machine were Champ Clark or James R. Mann.

S. D.

* * *

Predatory interests have some election results to rejoice over. Most notable of these is the defeat for re-election of Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania. "Bailey must be beat at any cost," was the word sent out to the political agents of Privilege. And that object has been accomplished. Occurrences of the same kind were the defeats of Tavenner and Buchanan for re-election in Illinois and keeping David P. Lewis from going to the Senate from Maryland and Jackson H. Ralston from entering the House. So far as Illinois and Maryland are concerned there is ground for the charge that the help of political machines labeled "Democratic" proved useful in accomplishing these results.

S. D.

* * *

The rising cost of living should be met by increased production. Increased production requires increased use of land. Increased use of land requires that landless men be given access thereto. The Crosser bill before Congress offers a partial solution. The measure is also needed to ward off unemployment. It should be passed without delay and without any weakening amendments. Failure to do so may put the Democratic party and the

National Administration in an embarrassing position long before the year 1920. s. d.

* * *

Man's inhumanity to man may be paralleled with Man's ingratitude for his natural blessings. Nature in some places is niggard with her gifts; in others she is liberal to the point of lavishness. Yet if one would see man at his worst it will be not infrequently at the very place where nature has served him most. The troubles between employer and employe in the Mesaba Iron Range are merely a repetition of the conflict in the various mining centers throughout the country. The Mesaba region is not only richer than others in iron ore, but the ore is more accessible than elsewhere. Measured by the gifts of nature in other places this is the richest of all. Yet men and women and children are suffering the hardships of war-stricken Europe in an effort to obtain a living wage. And the managers of the mines are resorting to methods that were used by the tyrants of other days. How long will the people of this country put up with such a condition of affairs? Did nature furnish the Mesaba iron for the men who own it, the men who dig it, or for mankind? If it was meant for us all, how long are we going to permit a few to quarrel over it? s. c.

* * *

There were many votes cast for the Prohibition amendments on November 7 in Nebraska and other States which would have been cast against them had not the influence of the liquor interest been thrown against progressive legislation. When, a few years ago, the Initiative and Referendum in Nebraska was at first blocked by the liquor men and later allowed to pass in a scarcely workable form, the speedy adoption of State-wide prohibition was made inevitable. In Missouri the silly appeal to ignorance and prejudice, by representing prohibition as equivalent to Singletax, resulted in reduction of the anti-prohibition majority of six years ago. Time and again has the liquor interest been warned of what must follow its foolish aid to privileged interests. The warnings were disregarded. Now half of the States of the Union are under Prohibition; and the end is not yet. s. d.

* * *

Though there is still lacking an approach to complete returns on the Illinois tax amendment, it seems reasonably sure that it has been defeated. For once a good result may have come from the bad provision of the constitution which requires a majority of all voting at an election to carry a constitutional amendment. In

Chicago 113,000 voters marked their ballots "No." Many of these, perhaps the greater part, would have voted "Yes" on an amendment opening the way to complete reform. But they object to a fraudulent measure that will obstruct further changes. Perhaps the Civic Federation, the Real Estate Board, Taxpayers' Alliance and members of the Deneen Tax Commission realize now that when the people asked for classification of property they did not ask that it be restricted to meet the wishes of stock and bondholders only, or of big real estate owners. s. d.

* * *

Neutrality never satisfied partisans for the reason that each insists that the neutral shall favor its cause. Germany was offended by the United States because this Government insisted that submarines should observe the recognized law requiring visit and search, and respect the right of noncombatants to travel on merchant ships even though they carried munitions as freight. Great Britain objects to the ruling of this country that classifies a submarine as a war vessel, privileged to enter and leave the harbor of a neutral according to the law of nations. The departure from our shores of a vessel carrying 353 passengers and 18,000 tons of munitions presents this dilemma; if the submarine, U-53, meets her in stormy weather she cannot be destroyed without drowning noncombatants; and if the United States had accepted the British contention and interned the U-53 when she entered Newport, there would be no danger from that submarine. When these warring nations recover their normal state of mind they will realize that either they must abide by the law, or surrender the right of protection from the law. And they will thank this country for the position it has taken. s. c.

* * *

The Fates are cruel. Not content with depriving the Republicans of victory, they must needs play with them, dangling the laurel assuringly before them, and then snatching it away at the very moment they thought it firmly in their grasp. It was not enough to keep them from the Presidency, but they were kept from it by rending the country north and south, as well as east and west, and taking their cherished West. And then, as if to rub salt in their wounds, the militarists abroad abandoned them. For months the Republicans have kept up their clamor for preparedness. Employers have intimidated employes into taking part in parades, pacifists have been labeled as traitors, and all who questioned the wisdom of adopting universal military service

have been denounced as "yellow." Yet, at the very moment when their countrymen turned them down, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, speaking in the name of the country of all countries that has been supposed to stand for militarism, announces that Germany will be glad at the close of the war to join a league for the enforcement of peace. The President, who has been denounced as the laughing stock of all Europe, who has bungled in all foreign relations, and who has made the name American a hissing and a byword throughout the world, numbers already among those endorsing his proposal of a League for the Enforcement of Peace the British War Minister and the German Chancellor. Truly, the Fates are cruel to the Republicans.

S. C.

* * *

In barring the Hearst papers from Canada the Dominion government may have displayed good literary taste, but it has shown very bad democracy. There is little to be said in favor of these papers, but at their yellowest their policy does not deserve worse condemnation than is due the Canadian government for its despotic action. It has done little injury to Mr. Hearst, but it has dealt a severe blow to the rights of the Canadian people.

S. D.

* * *

The first bill to be introduced in the autonomous legislature of the Philippines created by the Independence Act, is to repeal the infamous law against freedom of expression imposed on the islands by the Taft Commission. Its prompt passage will not only abolish a great wrong but will serve to demonstrate that the Filipinos are fitted to give lessons in government to American communities that submit to censorship.

S. D.

* * *

If the fact that all self-supporting consumers of wealth are employers of labor could be made clear to some people, they might be better able to understand why higher wages alone is not sufficient to solve the labor problem. Higher wages to meet higher prices, and higher prices because of higher wages, result in nothing more substantial toward progress than a pup's chasing its tail. It is even less. For while same degree of advancement of wages and prices might appear to leave their relation with each other undisturbed, the very fact of the advance tends to stimulate land speculation; and the speculator, eager to increase his toll from production, holds more land out of use, and forces labor upon less productive land. Not only does the arbitrary advance in wages secured by labor organizations do them

little good in the end, but by increasing prices it bears heavily upon unorganized labor. Wages can make no considerable and permanent gain over prices until land speculation is stopped, and community-made values are turned back to the community.

S. C.

* * *

Real estate advertisements now show frequent recognition of the fact that private appropriation of land values is taking wealth produced by others, without giving any return. The following in a Chicago street car advertisement is an example:

Why stay poor always? Thousands of others have started small, bought Chicago real estate and let Chicago work for them. Look at them now.

A similar statement would be as true of every other city in the United States. Why should any of them work to enrich a few landowners? Why should not those who produce take their product themselves? It would require a change in the laws to do this, but why delay the change any longer than is necessary?

S. D.

Cuba's Predicament.

The confusion and uncertainty attending the recent Presidential election in the Lone Star Republic turns thought to the mischievous tie between that country and the United States. The right of intervention in Cuban affairs, which the Platt Amendment conferred upon the American Government is a constant menace to the peace of the two countries, and a temptation to rogues and adventurers in both of them. Unprincipled politicians in Cuba—and it may be safely assumed that the island republic shares this pest in common with other countries—have it in their power to bring about the intervention of this country by creating a local disturbance that threatens American investments. The very fact that they have this power will enable them to use it for the purpose of wringing concessions from the dominant parties. Crises in local affairs may arise at any time when the party in power will be confronted with the dilemma of yielding to the unjust demands of politicians, or submitting to foreign interference.

* *

This unjust power is also a danger to this country. It will be recalled that when Cuban sugar was given a preferential duty by the United States land in the island advanced in value. If the preference were made one hundred per cent, instead of twenty per cent as at present, Cuban sugar lands would advance still further. It is quite clear, therefore, that Americans owning

Cuban sugar plantations would be enriched by the annexation of the Island. We have already been twice in the country. Should we go in again it would serve as a plausible excuse for remaining. Thus is it possible for financial interests in this country to bring about a condition of affairs that will lead to annexation; and for dishonest politicians in Cuba to attain dishonest ends by holding this threat over their own government.

* *

Such a relationship between countries should not exist. It is an invitation to this country to do injustice to a weaker neighbor; and it is humiliating to Cubans. Although Cuba is recognized as a self-governing and independent country, the Statesman's Year Book, in describing its government, contains this:

The United States legislature passed a law authorizing the President of the United States to make over the government of the island to the Cuban people as soon as Cuba should undertake to make no treaty with any foreign power endangering its independence, to contract no debts for which the current revenue would not suffice, to concede to the United States Government a right of intervention, and also to grant to it the use of naval stations. On June 12, 1901, these conditions were accepted by Cuba, on February 24, 1902, the President and Vice-President were elected, and on May 20 the control of the island was formally transferred to the new Cuban Government.

* *

It is idle to say that our right of intervention is for Cuba's good as well as our own, and that such power will never be abused. A glance at American newspapers and magazines will show the prevailing theme to be the devising of ways and means for curbing monopoly and privilege, together with the consequent political corruption. Can there be any doubt that such interests would take advantage of these opportunities? Did we not take territory from Mexico? Are we not withholding independence from the Philippines? And did we not despoil Colombia? All these things had their apologists, who offered plausible excuses. Let it be said to the credit of America, however, that each and every one of these depredations was opposed by a strong minority; and to the credit of the Wilson Administration that efforts have been made to atone for those acts. Mexico has been treated leniently during its recent troubles, the Philippines have been given a measure of independence, and a treaty is pending to pay Colombia for Panama. One more act should be corrected. A new treaty should be negotiated with Cuba, giving her absolute independence. American traditions and ideals at their best are beautiful and

inspiring; they should be marred by no blot or blemish.

s. c.

A Post-Election Confession.

That the Underwood law has converted protectionist voters to free trade is the confession of the tory protectionist organ, the San Francisco Chronicle. Note its comment in its issue of November 10, on the election results on the Pacific Coast:

The people of California have a grouch of their own. Their material interests having been sacrificed to those of the East, there were a multitude of voters who voted to get even.

If what we produce was to receive no protection, they flocked to the party which declares that nobody shall get it, just as Washington went for Wilson because its lumber was put on the free list. If they and we must sell cheap, we naturally propose to buy cheap if we can.

That was not the Chronicle's view, but, as we see it, it was the view of the majority of the voters.

If the Chronicle has described the situation correctly then it is clearly the duty of all Senators and Congressmen from the Pacific Coast to join with free traders from other sections and work for further reduction or, if possible, abolition of tariff duties.

* *

Not only does the Chronicle's statement show that tariff reduction was not a political mistake but that it has proven an economic benefit. The Chronicle repudiates the protectionist claims that free trade fails to reduce prices. It declares that fruits have been cheapened by removal of the tariff, and lumber also. Although, for reasons of its own, it does not favor the step, it shows that the voters see that they would gain by reducing the tariff on things that they buy. For that reason they chose Wilson electors, in which they acted wisely. So far from believing scare stories about the evil effect of a "flood of goods" they realize that a "flood" of that kind would be a benefit which they want to get at the earliest possible moment.

s. d.

Henry George.

Henry George, Jr., died at Washington, D. C., November 14, after an illness extending over four years. Mr. George's native ability enabled him to take advantage of his opportunity as the son of the great economist, Henry George, Sr., and identify himself intimately with the world movement started by his father to restore to mankind their birthright, the land. He was a successful author and lecturer, and served with distinction in Congress. Dying at the age of 55, he was taken at the very moment when his talents, industry and

character were beginning to be more fully appreciated. He leaves a wife and three children, and a world of sorrowing friends. A fuller account of his life and achievements will appear later.

S. C.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The campaign has been fruitful in suggestions. While too many elements entered into the contest to permit of a minute estimate of the various factors, there are certain outstanding facts that indicate present conditions and the trend of political forces.

The swing of the eastern States to the Republicans and the western States to the Democrats is indicative of a new lineup that is taking place. It may be doubted if the German vote cut much figure, for it is evident that the President received substantial support from that quarter. The labor vote seems to have been divided, part supporting the Administration because of what it had done toward establishing better conditions, and part resorting to the Republican party for the sake of a protective tariff. But it is apparent that the President was the victim of the worst sort of machine politics. The enormous pluralities for Mr. Hughes in Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania were too far out of the ordinary to admit of any other explanation than that of betrayal. The leaders of Tammany and of the Democratic organizations in the other States named are known to have had their personal reasons for opposing the President. And while they maintained their regularity by verbal indorsements, they did little to back up their words.

But the West rallied to Wilson as it did to Roosevelt four years ago when he denounced the standpat leaders of the Republican party. It is to the West that the Administration owes its victory, a victory all the more remarkable and emphatic because of the machine opposition in the eastern and central States.

* *

What does it all mean? Is it merely the triumph of a party, or of a man? Or does it mean a continuation of the struggle for economic freedom and social justice?

The world is entering upon a great revolution. The men and women in this country who gave life to the progressive movement, and who constitute the vital force behind President Wilson, care little for political organizations, and they support leaders only as long as they stand for principle. Politicians may fool the people for a time, as some have this year, but only for a time. The men and

women who have seen the light will not be led astray. They have set their faces steadfastly toward the goal; and their ranks are swelled by the daily accession of recruits. The campaign they wage is from year's end to year's end, and from election day to election day. Whether their principles are put into force by this Administration, or by a subsequent administration, matters not; they will be put into force. The Democratic party may halt, but democracy marches on.

It is the belief of some and the hope of many that President Wilson has caught this larger vision, and that he will during his second term take long strides toward its realization. But it must not be forgotten that the movement of the crowd is the speed of its slowest members. Nations cannot resort at once to ideal conditions, even though such conditions be known. The average man and woman think slowly and distrust theories. Experience is their guide. When they venture upon the unproven it is with timid and halting steps. Too much haste frightens them, and they draw back.

The ideals and the broader vision should be kept steadily in view, but the means of approach must not be forgotten. Progress is most rapid when the people are shown how to take the next immediate step. It is quite clear that the prevailing sentiment of this country favors a protective tariff; but every day a few of these believers see the error of this doctrine and join the ranks of the free traders. A still larger number of voters are ignorant of the incidence of taxation. The failure to understand the true nature of this great economic force leads them to support the general property tax. It may be easier in many instances to show the unwisdom of taxing industry than to prove the protective tariff a burden. Both arguments should be pressed unceasingly.

* *

One fact should be emphasized: The democratic movement does not limit itself to the fortunes of a party, or the leadership of a man; it stands for the vital principles upon which rest economic freedom and social justice. The movement is not concerned with small wage increases, the reduction of hours of labor by statute, or any other sumptuary regulations, but with the self-evident rights of man.

Society is confronted with the question: Can an honest man live on another man's toil? Until that question is answered, and answered aright, the struggle for democracy must go on. President Wilson has contributed much toward this

end. By his peaceful foreign policy, based upon the highest ideals of internationalism, he has inspired influences that already are making for peace abroad; and he has left the people of this country free to consider their domestic problems.

A greater opportunity has come to him than has come to any man of this generation. Should he fail to perceive it, or to take advantage of it, we shall still be grateful for what he has done. But should he grasp this great opportunity, and throw the weight of his office and his personality into the democratic movement, he will have proven himself the greatest of American statesmen.

s. c.

SINGLETEX CAMPAIGNS OF 1916

That it was scarcely possible to secure in the first contest a favorable popular majority for such sweeping Singletax measures as those submitted in Oregon and California was generally recognized throughout the campaign. Some advocates could not avoid the hope that, all experience to the contrary notwithstanding, both States would declare themselves ready to put an end at once to needless poverty and social injustice. But many of those interested felt that the most practical result to be obtained this year was determination of how great a body of voters there might be committed to the idea that all men have equal rights to the use of the earth, and that no financial interest in established wrong should be allowed to bar the way to exercise of that right. That object has been accomplished. And the disclosure is gratifying. Returns show approximately 300,000 California voters ready for the step, and reports from Oregon show about one-fourth of the voters to be ready there.

* *

The campaigns in both States differed from previous Singletax fights. In other years the measures submitted would, if adopted, have put in force a partial application of the Singletax, or allowed localities to experiment. The adoption of such partial measures would have been a tremendous benefit to the States, and made further advance considerably easier. This was realized by the opposition, which fought them as bitterly as though the specific question were complete absorption by the State of the entire rental value of land. Unscrupulous opponents, such as the Portland Oregonian, San Francisco Chronicle and Los Angeles Times, did not hesitate to misrepresent these partial measures as the complete Singletax program.

To meet this unfair opposition the submission of measures was urged in behalf of which might be presented the arguments that apply only to complete Singletax. That would make it more easy to meet squarely unscrupulous opposition, and to set right the voters who had been misled thereby. The suggestion found considerable favor, and measures were drawn up and submitted. The resulting campaigns have been extremely valuable as means of propaganda. The Oregon or California voter who has not heard of the Singletax must now be almost as exceptional as one who has not heard of Wilson or Hughes. A majority of them still harbor erroneous ideas concerning it, but further discussion will set that right. Moreover, the campaigns have made clear that among the opposition of this year are thousands of voters ready and willing to approve measures less sweeping, but embodying a large part of the Singletax program. These voters, together with the supporters of the measures of this year, may already be numerous enough to constitute a majority. At any rate, the campaign of 1916 has had fine results to supplement what was gained from the splendid contests of 1912 and 1914. It has prepared the way for speedy adoption of at least partial measures, and the adoption of these must show the fallacy of opposition arguments, and thus hasten the full program. So much has been gained. It is the plain duty of all interested in establishing justice to get together and map out a campaign for the future in which all can co-operate.

s. d.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

[The writer, Mr. Thompson, is the Secretary of the National Public Ownership League, the object of which is to unite and federate the public ownership forces of the nation for the purpose of securing "the public ownership, efficient management and democratic control of public utilities and natural resources." We shall have occasion to refer to the work of this League often and are glad to commend it to the consideration of all who are interested along these lines. The National Office is at 4131 North Keeler avenue, Chicago.—Editors of The Public.]

From the beginning of history some have tried to live without working.

Perhaps it is natural. It has certainly been quite universal.

But there is no way that one can live without working except by living off the labor of someone else. And every social order in history, so far, has been such that it has permitted just this—that some favored few could live without labor by living off the labor of others.

We have had slavery. We have had serfdom. And today we have monopoly. One essential feature is common to them all—the exploitation of labor.

There are two kinds of incomes. For the sake of convenience we may use the terms employed by Professor Scott Nearing, in his recent and already famous book on "Incomes." He distinguishes between "service incomes" and "property incomes." The distinction is illuminating.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reports the net incomes of the railways of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1916, at \$1,029,241,804. This is the income over and above all expenses of operation, including wages, salaries, "maintenance of ways" and "equipment," "traffic," "transportation," "miscellaneous and general operations," "railway tax accruals," and "uncollectable revenues." In other words it is the "property income." And that for a single year, and of only one of our great public utilities.

Similarly, Professor Nearing's analysis shows that the telegraph and telephone corporations draw an annual "property income" of \$58,000,000; street railways \$70,000,000; electric light and power companies \$34,000,000; farm rent \$350,000,000; farm mortgages \$100,000,000; house rent \$1,000,000,000; banks and banking \$650,000,000; mines and mining \$235,000,000; and so on to the end of his chapters. At the conclusion he sums up an estimate of the total aggregate "property incomes" arising from these and other sources and concludes that they reach the stupendous sum of at least ten billions of dollars (\$10,000,000,000) every year.

Whether we follow Professor Nearing in all his analyses, and whether we agree entirely with his conclusions, one thing is affirmed, or at least admitted, by every student of our economic problems, and that is that enormous unearned incomes do exist and that this fact constitutes the most vital and fundamental of all our problems.

How, now, do these vast unearned incomes arise?

In every case from the private ownership and manipulation either of some natural resource or public utility.

Go over the list above which of course is not complete but illustrates the situation sufficiently. Take the items of farm rent, farm mortgages and mining. All take their rise in one way and another from land and site values—natural resources. Or take the railroads, the telegraphs and telephones, electric light and power plants, and street-car lines—all are public utilities. It is perfectly obvious, therefore, that it is the private ownership and manipulation of these natural resources and public utilities that give the exploiters their chance.

And the remedy is equally obvious. The public

ownership of public utilities and natural resources cuts the roots of unearned incomes.

Moreover we do not have to depend for our conclusion in this matter upon *a priori* reasoning any longer. We have a world-wide experience from which to draw the actual facts.

Every important nation in the world with but three or four exceptions owns and operates all or a very considerable portion of its railway systems. Considerably more than one-half of the entire railway mileage of the world is now operated under public ownership. Practically all telegraph and telephone systems outside of the United States are publicly owned and operated. The entire postal systems of the world are publicly owned. The Prussian government owns and operates 345 groups of coal mines; New Zealand produces one-eighth of the entire coal supply of that country; some of the Scandinavian states own silver mines; Dutch East India owns tin mines; South Africa and Australia, gold mines; oil fields are owned and operated by Austria, Hungary, Servia and the Argentine Republic.

In the field of municipal utilities public ownership is even more extensive and wide-spread. The following table will give an idea of the extent of municipal ownership in three of the leading nations:

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN ENGLAND, GERMANY AND UNITED STATES.

Countries owning and operating public utilities.	Street	Electric light and power		Gas
	car lines. Cities.	works. Cities.	plants. Cities.	plants. Cities.
England	171	1,045	334	390
Germany	132	1,333	434	758
United States.....	4	3,045	1,562	30
Total	307	5,423	2,330	1,088

And this of course by no means exhausts the list of municipal enterprises. Municipal ownership of land is becoming quite general in European cities. Berlin owns 39,000 acres or about nine per cent of the total area of the city; Munich owns 13,000 acres or 23 per cent of the city's area; Zurich, Paris, Buenos Ayres, Sydney, and many German and English cities, own and rent dwelling houses. In this country Boston owns and operates a very successful printing plant, Brookings, South Dakota, owns a telephone system, and Cincinnati owns a railroad three hundred miles in length.

A careful and rather conservative estimate places the total capital invested in public enterprises of all kinds in the world at sixty billions of dollars (\$60,000,000,000); the total number of workers in the public employ at nearly nineteen million (\$18,858,600); and the total annual wages paid at over two billion dollars (\$2,265,000,000).

Here then is a world-wide experience in public ownership. And what are the results? The re-

sults, we will say, in a sweeping generalization which we are prepared to sustain by abundant evidence from every direction, but which the space of this article will not allow of presentation here, are that under public ownership wages are higher, cost of service is less and the public earns a profit that goes into the public funds. In other words, public ownership cuts down the property incomes and increases service incomes, and this it does by increasing returns to labor, reducing the cost of service and taking for the community the values which the community creates.

Our task then is clear. We must get public ownership of public utilities. Without quarreling as to how far we shall go, or as to whether this or that utility should be publicly owned, or whether this or that method may be the better way of securing the desired result we must unite and organize the public ownership forces. By finding the common ground, by restricting the fight to those few utilities upon which there is general agreement as to the desirability of public ownership; by making the issue non-partisan, but bringing the united pressure to bear upon all parties and all forces, we shall unite the public ownership forces and win one after the other of our public utilities, and work our way out of the wilderness of unearned incomes.

CARL D. THOMPSON.

SATAN AND THE EDITOR.

Satan took the Magazine Editor by the hand and led him to the top of a high mountain. Down below were great quantities of beautiful, glittering advertisements.

"See!" said Satan in one of his best-oiled tones. "All these and much more will I give thee if thou wilt take up thy pen and follow me."

The Magazine Editor hesitated long and pondered, for he was an intelligent man and in his youth he had often broken a lance in the fight for progress and the social welfare.

Finally, however, he yielded to the lure of the irresistible advertisements and signified his willingness to join company with His Royal Diabolical Highness.

As they journeyed the Magazine Editor met many acquaintances of his earlier days, such as Truth, Idealism, Integrity, but his vision was so affected that he did not recognize them.

ELLIS O. JONES.

* * *

So long as a single man amongst your brothers has no vote to represent him in the development of the national life, so long as there is one left to vegetate in ignorance where others are educated, so long as a single man, able and willing to work, languishes in poverty through want of work to do, you have no country in the sense in which country ought to exist—the country of all and for all.—Mazzini.

TO A NEW BORN CHILD.

Louis Untermeyer in Unity.

Lo—to the battle-ground of Life,

Child, you have come, like a conquering shout,
Out of a struggle—into strife;
Out of a darkness—into doubt.

Girt with the fragile armor of Youth,

Child, you must ride into endless wars,
With the sword of protest, the buckler of truth,
And a banner of love to sweep the stars.

About you the world's despair will surge;

Into defeat you must plunge and grope—
Be to the faltering an urge;
Be to the hopeless years a hope!

Be to the darkened world a flame;

Be to its unconcern a glow—
For out of its pain and tumult you came,
And into its tumult and pain you go.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week ending Tuesday, November 14, 1916.

The Presidential Election.

With the 12 electoral votes of Minnesota still in doubt the re-election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States over Charles E. Hughes is assured. On the face of the returns he has 276 electoral votes out of 531. The official count may deprive him of four votes from New Hampshire or may add to his list the votes of Minnesota, but neither would affect the result. Chairman Willcox of the Republican Committee does not concede the election, holding that the official count may change the result in California, where unofficial returns give Wilson the state with its 13 electoral votes by 3,612 majority. But this hope is not shared by any other prominent Republican. Wilson has carried 30 States, Hughes 17, and one is still uncertain. States surely carried by Hughes are Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, South Dakota and Oregon. His assured electoral vote is 243. The popular vote is estimated at Wilson, 8,560,329; Hughes, 8,156,030, a Wilson plurality of over 400,000, as compared with the vote in 1912 of 6,286,214 for Wilson and the combined Roosevelt-Taft vote of 7,609,942, an anti-Wilson plurality of 1,323,728. No definite returns have yet been given of the Socialist or Prohibition vote.

Congressional Elections.

The exact division of parties in the next Congress is in doubt. With a number of districts so close that official counts or contests may reverse the results, the House will have on the face of

present returns, 216 Republicans, 214 Democrats, one Socialist, one Prohibitionist and three Progressives. Should there be no change from these figures the balance of power will be in possession of the minor parties, provided that no member accredited to the bigger parties refuses to submit to discipline. Among radicals re-elected are Crosser and Gordon of Ohio, Keating of Colorado, Nolan of California, and London of New York. George R. Lunn, former Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, was elected to Congress from his district on the Progressive and Democratic tickets. Morris Hilquitt, Socialist candidate in the 20th New York district, is defeated on the face of the returns by only 161 votes and may contest. In Milwaukee Berger and Gaylord, Socialists, appear defeated. Montana elects the first woman member, Miss Jeannette Rankin, Republican. Warren Worth Bailey was defeated by about 1,700, although he received a much larger vote than President Wilson. His district is normally Republican by 10,000.

* *

The next Senate will have 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans. In addition to gains made in Maine in September, Republicans have gained one Senator in New York by election of Calder over McCombs, one in New Jersey by election of Frelinghuysen over Martine, one in Maryland by election of France over Lewis, two in Indiana by election of New and Watson over Kern and Taggart, and one in West Virginia by election of Sutherland over Chilton. Democrats have gained a Senator in Delaware by election of Wolcott over du Pont, in Rhode Island by election of Goelet over Lippett, in Wyoming by election of Kendrick over Clarke, in Utah by election of King over Sutherland, and in New Mexico by election of Jones over Catron.

Result on Singletax Propositions.

The latest news to hand on the Great Adventure proposition in California is contained in a dispatch from Charles James, dated Los Angeles, November 13, saying that the measure was defeated and stating further:

At least 300,000 votes were cast for Singletax, considerably more than were cast for home rule in 1914. We carried numerous districts and came close in counties where personal work was done. We have drawn enemy's full fire and can now forestall every move. New campaign has been already opened.

The Twentieth Legislative district, comprising party of the city of Stockton, gave, according to The Evening Mail, 3,965 for and 3,421 against. The San Francisco Chronicle of November 9 reports for that city in 676 out of 684 precincts, for 50,602, against 72,011. Press dispatches of the same day from half of the State, for 135,255, against 274,206.

The result in Oregon on the People's Land and Loan measure on complete counts from 16 counties and incomplete returns from the remainder is as follows: Yes, 36,538; no, 127,127. A comment on the result by E. J. Stack, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, which initiated the measure, is given as follows in the Portland Journal of November 8:

Considering that we had barely enough money to get the measure on the ballot and an argument in the State pamphlet, we were unable to make any campaign for it. The campaign made against it was well supplied with money, credit and materially helped by the distribution of its principal arguments and scares.

Last Monday night a conference was held with C. E. Spence, master of the State grange; J. D. Brown, president of the Oregon Farmers' Union; O. R. Hartwig, president of the State Federation of Labor, and myself, and it was pointed out that the time is rapidly approaching when those who are without homes in Oregon will discover that they are in the majority and demand some fundamental legislation to enable them to secure employment and establish themselves in homes of their own. It was agreed to hold further conferences and come to an understanding as to what form of a measure can be united upon next time.

The campaign just closed was to draw out, from the opponents of the principle that the earth belongs to those who use it, the disclosure of their position. We will be able to make a better fight next time and there will be a next time. We are going to keep at it until every man and woman in Oregon has an opportunity to secure a home.

Various Referendums.

Prohibition amendments carried on November 7 in Michigan, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Idaho. No change is made by this in Idaho, which is already dry by statutory enactment. Alaska also voted for Prohibition. The total number of dry States is now 23. California and Missouri rejected Prohibition measures. Woman suffrage was defeated by a small majority in South Dakota and by a considerable majority in West Virginia. In Illinois the proposed tax amendment to allow a restricted form of classification has probably been defeated, though full returns are lacking. No returns have yet been received on the tax amendment in South Dakota, which opens the way to classification without restriction. In Oklahoma the Initiative measure proposed by the Socialists has carried, providing for an impartial count of election returns. In San Francisco an anti-picketing ordinance, initiated by commercial organizations, was reported carried by a small majority.

Miscellaneous Election Results.

Van Leon, the Socialist candidate, was elected Mayor of Minneapolis on November 7. Judge Ben B. Lindsey was re-elected in Denver by at

least 10,000 majority after a hard fight in which he met the usual opposition. Three women are among the electors for Wilson chosen in California. They are Mrs. W. C. Tyler of Los Angeles, Mrs. Spinks of San Francisco and Mrs. Wylie of Fresno. Alaska elected as delegate Charles Sulzer, Democrat, brother of former Governor Sulzer of New York.

Railroads Begin Fight on Adamson Law.

The Union Pacific railroad filed suit on November 8 in the Federal court at Omaha to test the constitutionality of the Adamson law. The bill of complaint alleges that the law violates the guarantees of the Fifth Amendment. On the following day the Santa Fe filed a similar suit at Kansas City, declaring in addition that the law does not apply to all railroads or employes, that it inflicts enormous penalties and that it is incapable of application. Injunctions are requested against the district attorney and labor leaders.

Mexico and the United States.

The American-Mexican joint commission convened at Atlantic City on the 10th after a week's recess. The American commissioners are in possession of so much information regarding unsettled conditions in Mexico that the question of the withdrawal of the American troops has been tabled for the present. Villista forces in considerable strength are operating in northern Mexico, while General Zapata and General Felix Diaz are active in the south. There is much rumor but very little authentic information. [See current volume, page 1049.]

British Labor and Peace Terms.

The report of the British Independent Labour Party in reply to the Manifesto of the International Socialist Bureau gives the party's position in regard to the war, and its ideas of peace terms. The report says that while supporting the war measures of the government the Labour Party has claimed the right to discuss the politics of the war. It has stood for civil rights in the face of military rule. With a view to crystallizing public opinion, the report urges the International Bureau to call a Conference for the discussion of terms, and submits for consideration the following:

1. No annexation of territory invaded or seized by force of arms.
2. The restoration and indemnification of Belgium.
3. The questions of the boundaries and independence of Poland and the Balkan States, together with the readjustment of other national boundaries, to be the subject of international adjudication with the assent of the people whose national affiliation it is proposed to change.
4. Dependencies in Africa and elsewhere to be dealt with by agreement—freedom of commerce in

those dependencies to be equal for all nations. The economic and political freedom of the native peoples to be fully safeguarded.

With respect to the establishment of guarantees for future peace we urge:

1. All treaties between nations to be public documents, submitted to and endorsed by the Parliaments of the contracting parties. Secret treaties to be invalid in international law.
2. An international court and council to be created to administer international law.
3. The manufacture and supply of armaments by private companies to be abolished, with a view to the ultimate abolition of armaments in favor of international arbitration and law.
4. International free-trade. The policy of the open door, together with international labor legislation upon such matters as the eight hour day, the age limit of child labor, and the abolition of sweated conditions.
5. The abolition of compulsory military service.

In conclusion, let us say that the war has not weakened our faith in internationalism, but strengthened and confirmed it. Europe must get rid of her autocratic rulers who plunge their peoples into war. We must place trade and commerce on a basis that will serve the public good.

European War.

Renewed activities on the Somme front have resulted in advances of both the British and the French forces. The French have completed their capture of the twin villages of Saily-Sallisel, and they have advanced on a front of two and a half miles that includes the villages of Ablaincourt and Pressoire. Five hundred prisoners were taken in the latter advance. The British captured German positions north and south of the Ancre on a front of over five miles, and extending back for a distance in some places more than a mile. Between 3,500 and 4,000 prisoners were taken. The fortifications north of the Ancre were considered impregnable, and have held the British advance since July. At Verdun the French artillery forced the evacuation of Fort Vaux without infantry action on the 2d. Later they captured the village of Vaux. [See current volume, page 1048.]

* *

Much uncertainty appears to attend operations on the eastern front and in the Balkans. General Hindenburg has been delivering heavy attacks on the Russian positions in Volhynia, but with doubtful results. The Russians appear to be making some headway on the northwestern frontier of Roumania below Dorna Watra. From the central region, and in the neighborhood of Predeal, General von Falkenhayn is practically at a standstill. In the Dobruja region General Mackensen continues a slow retreat southward before the Russian and Roumanian forces; but critics are uncertain as to whether this marks a defeat or a strategic move. Little more than rumor comes from

the Macedonia front and from Greece. Nothing of moment has occurred on the Italian front.

* *

The German submarine merchantman, Deutschland, arrived at New London, Connecticut, on the first with a cargo of merchandise. This is the Deutschland's second visit to this country. The U-53, the submarine that sank five vessels off the American coast, October 8, is officially reported by Berlin to be in a German port. The Bremen, sister ship of the Deutschland, is reported to have been lost through an accident.

* *

Following the endorsement of the idea of the league for the enforcement of peace by the British Secretary of War, Sir Edward Grey, the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Holweg, on the 9th made a strong plea for the idea. He said in part:

We never concealed our doubts whether peace could be guaranteed permanently by international organizations such as arbitration courts. I shall not discuss the theoretical aspects of the problem. But from the standpoint of matters of fact we now and in peace must define our position with regard to this question.

If, after the end of the war, the world will only become fully conscious of the horrifying destruction of life and property, then through the whole of humanity there will ring out a cry for peaceful arrangements and understandings which, as far as within human power, will avoid the return of such a monstrous catastrophe. This cry will be so powerful and so justified that it must lead to some result.

Germany will honestly co-operate in examination of every endeavor to find a practical solution, and will collaborate for its possible realization. This, all the more, if the war, as we expect and trust, shall create political conditions that do full justice to the free development of all nations, of small as well as great nations. Then the principle of justice and free development not only on the continent but also on the seas must be made valid.

* *

Cardinal Mercier, primate of Belgium, has issued a statement to the world protesting against enforced labor and the deporting of Belgian citizens. After reciting the military decrees, beginning with the unemployed and leading up to the enforced labor in Belgium, the Cardinal continues:

It was already a matter of forced labor for Belgium. Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany for the Germans' benefit.

At first the Germans tried to give their measures an air of plausibility by alleging that the unemployed people in Belgium were dangerous to public order and a burden to official charity. I replied to Gov. von Bissing that he himself knew well that public order was in no way endangered and that the unemployed made no demands on official charity.

In his answer Von Bissing abandoned his previous argument and alleged that, first, the mere fact of widespread unemployment tends to burden finances, and, second, prolongation of unemployment will result in the workers losing their technical skill.

To this I replied: There are other ways of protecting Belgian finances—for example, spare us the war levies which have reached a total of a milliard of francs and continue at the rate of 40,000,000 francs monthly; also spare us requisitions in kind, which have already totaled several milliards and are completely exhausting us. There are other ways for maintaining the professional skill of workmen. Belgian industry could have been allowed to keep its machines, accessories, materials and manufactured products which have been transferred to Germany.

The whole truth is that each deported workman means another soldier for the German army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made a soldier.

The situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be summed up as follows: Four hundred thousand workmen are reduced to unemployment through no fault of their own and largely inconsequence the German occupation. Sons, husbands, fathers, respectful of public order, bow to their unhappy lot. With their most pressing needs provided for, they await with dignity the end of their period of trial.

Now, suddenly, parties of soldiers begin to enter by force these peaceful homes, tearing youth from parent, husband from wife, father from children. They bar with the bayonet the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass to say farewell to those departing. They herd their captives in groups of tens and twenties and push them into cars. As soon as the train is filled the officer in charge brusquely waves the signal for departure. Thus thousands of Belgians are being reduced to slavery.

The Germans not only are enrolling the unemployed but they are also recruiting a great number of men who have never been out of work.

* *

The following manifesto was issued at Warsaw and Lublin on the fifth:

His Majesty the German Emperor and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary, inspired by firm confidence in a final victory of their arms and prompted by a desire to lead the districts conquered by their armies under heavy sacrifices from Russian domination towards a happy future, have agreed to form of these districts a national state with a hereditary monarchy and a constitutional government. The exact frontiers of the kingdom of Poland shall be outlined later.

The new kingdom will receive the guarantees needed for the free development of its own forces by its intimate relations with both powers. The glorious traditions of the ancient Polish armies and the memory of the brave comradeship in the great war of our days shall revive in a national army. The organization, instruction, and command of this army shall be arranged by common agreement.

The allied monarchs express the confident hope that Polish wishes for the evolution of a Polish State and for the national development of a Polish kingdom shall now be fulfilled, taking due consideration of the political conditions prevailing in Europe and of the welfare and the safety of their own countries and nations.

The great realm which the western neighbors of the kingdom of Poland shall have on their eastern frontier shall be a free and happy State, enjoying its

own national life, and they shall welcome with joy the birth and prosperous development of this state.

No mention is made in the proclamation of German and Austrian Poland, which comprise approximately one-seventh of the kingdom of Poland, as compared with six-sevenths in Russia. The kingdom begins its authentic history with the reign of Mieczyslaw, 962 to 992. In the early fall of the seventeenth century its area was 375,000 square miles, making it the most extensive country in Christendom, next to Russia. It was John Sobieski, king of Poland, who stopped the Turkish advance at Vienna, 1683. In 1772 the first partition of Poland occurred, in which parts of the kingdom were taken by Russia, Prussia and Austria. A second partition occurred in 1793, in which Russia and Prussia participated. And in 1795 a third and last partition was made in which Russia, Prussia and Austria took all that was left. Posen and West Prussia comprise the Polish territory taken by Prussia, while Galicia constitutes the part that fell to Austria. The Poles are estimated to number more than 15,000,000, of whom 8,000,000 are in Russia, 3,000,000 in Germany, and 3,000,000 in Austria.

NOTES

—The population of the United States as estimated by the Treasury Department, November 1, was 103,002,000.

—Andrew Wilson of Tecumseh, Michigan, a farmer, well known as a Singletax worker, died at his home on October 24.

—Figures of the British board of trade report for October show an increase of \$65,000,000 in imports and \$63,730,000 in exports.

—The Hearst papers have been barred from Canada. Heavy penalties of the war measures act of fine and imprisonment will be laid upon anyone having these papers in his possession after November 11.

—The Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor began at Baltimore on November 13. In his opening address President Samuel Gompers declared that organized labor had prevented war with Mexico.

—Wu Ting Fang, former Chinese minister to the United States, has been appointed minister of foreign affairs. His appointment is looked upon as giving much strength to the new government. [See current volume, page 973.]

—Dispatches from Morocco report that Raisuli, the Islamic chieftain, who attained much notoriety ten years ago by holding two Americans for ransom, has been proclaimed Khalifa of Islam by the mountain tribes of Morocco. He has isolated a Spanish garrison, and cut the military telegraph.

—President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago announced on November 9 that a fund has been provided for a medical school in Chicago. Of this the Rockefeller Foundation contributes \$1,000,000 and another \$1,000,000 is given by the

General Educational Board supported by Mr. Rockefeller.

—Immigrants to the number of 36,398 entered the United States during September, according to the report of the Bureau of Immigration. Of these, 1,207 are classed as professional; 5,625, as skilled labor; 3,418, as farm laborers; 7,037, as laborers; 4,108, as servants; 2,872, as having miscellaneous occupations, and 12,131, as having no occupation, including women and children. The number of emigrants leaving the United States during September was 6,177.

—Of the 466 miles of Government railroad to be built from Seward to Fairbanks, Alaska, 136 miles are now in operation, with daily trains. Coal is hauled daily from the Matanuska coal fields. The estimated cost of constructing the 466 miles of road is \$25,642,000. Eleven million dollars will have been spent by the close of the present fiscal year. A force of 4,000 men is employed, and work will continue throughout the winter. [See current volume, pp. 535, 604.]

—Louis Wallis is on a lecture tour which includes Buffalo, New York, Pilgrim Congregational church and Calvary Presbyterian church, November 12; Toronto, Canada, Jewish Women's Association, November 14; Singletax Association, November 15; Political Equality League, November 16; Ottawa, Canada, First Unitarian church, People's Forum, November 19; Baltimore, Maryland, Labor Forum, November 26; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Singletax Club, December 1; Racine, Wisconsin, Singletax Club, December 2; Chicago, Illinois, Lawndale Civic Center, December 6.

—The preliminary report of the Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta last June show a falling off in the rate of increase during the two previous five-year periods. The total gain in 30 cities and towns is 90,000, as against a gain of over 150,000 between 1906 and 1911. Population of the larger cities is:

Cities.	1911.	1916.
Winnipeg	136,035	162,999
Calgary	43,704	56,302
Edmonton	24,900	53,794
Regina	30,213	26,105
Saskatoon	12,004	21,054
Moose Jaw	13,323	16,889
Brandon	13,839	15,225
St. Boniface	7,483	11,022

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 975) for the nine months ending September, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for September, 1916:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$3,948,817,159	\$1,831,264,658	\$2,117,552,501 exp.
Gold	94,430,462	382,888,468	288,458,006 imp.
Silver	47,723,604	23,234,710	24,488,894 exp.

Total \$4,090,971,225 \$2,237,387,836 \$1,853,583,389 exp.

The exports for September, 1916, the twenty-sixth month of the war, were \$512,847,947, as compared with \$300,654,921 for September, 1915, and \$156,052,333 in 1914. The imports for September, 1916, were \$164,128,604, as compared with \$151,236,026 in September, 1915, and \$139,710,611 in 1914. The exports for September are the largest ever recorded by any nation.

PRESS OPINIONS

An Honorable Acknowledgment.

New York Tribune, November 10.—The returns that are now at hand constitute the most remarkable personal indorsement that has come to a Democratic President since the days of Andrew Jackson. It is relatively a minor thing whether the few hundred votes that will decide the electoral votes of California and Minnesota fall to Mr. Wilson or to Mr. Hughes. The very fact that these great Republican states have been in doubt to this moment indicates the extent of the failure of the Republican candidate and his party and not less clearly the amazing triumph of Mr. Wilson. There is a tendency to overestimate the influence of the west in the decision and to ignore the verdict of the east, of New England in particular. Yet the votes of Massachusetts and Maine, the almost unbelievable figures from New Hampshire, indicate that the same spirit which was abroad in Kansas and Minnesota was to be felt and seen in New England. . . . In the first hours of the count, when Mr. Wilson's defeat was conceded by the newspapers which had supported him most loyally and was written in all the returns then available, the Tribune said that Mr. Wilson had been rejected and his policies repudiated. In all this the Tribune was mistaken, and it does not believe that any such conclusion can now be drawn from the election, even if Mr. Hughes succeeds Mr. Wilson by virtue of the turn of a few hundred votes in two disputed States. . . . Whether Mr. Wilson now wins or loses the count, the real honors of the election are his. Because the Tribune has opposed him most bitterly, it feels that it should recognize this fact most frankly. If Mr. Wilson finally loses the present election he will remain the strongest man politically in the nation, as much stronger than his party as Mr. Hughes was weaker than his, a man to be reckoned with politically because of his hold upon popular imagination and public approval.

What Predatory Interests Think of Singletax.

San Francisco Chronicle, November 9.—While California probably outranks even Kansas as a cranky and uncertain State, the overwhelming vote by which the Singletax humbug is snowed under proves that the mass of the people at any rate are not utterly clean gone daft. There is somewhere a boundary line beyond which reason still holds sway. And the Singletax humbug is far outside of it. The question arises whether that enormous majority of the electorate which upon the whole is sane on a great number of topics may not properly protect themselves from the continuous torment of a vote on the Singletax by providing in the State Constitution that no vote shall hereafter be taken on this question except at moderate and reasonable intervals—say once every fifty years. The Singletax as presented at the recent election, in all its nakedness, is shockingly wicked and wretchedly absurd. It proposes that the public shall sequester, without compensation, property which it once sold and got the money for. It assumes as a social crime that any land shall not be fully occupied when if there

were actual occupants for all the land there would be no room on earth for more human beings. It is entirely within reason that the electorate shall protect itself from social disorder of all kinds. And an initiative petition for the Singletax is an aggravated symptom of social disorder.

How to Redeem the Republican Party.

Emporia (Kansas) Gazette, November 9.—The West definitely and finally is forward looking—progressive. Hughes placed California in doubt, Hiram Johnson carried it by 200,000. Hughes lost Washington, Poindexter carried it. Hughes lost Kansas but Capper carried it by a fabulous plurality. Hughes lost even Utah, but McBride, the Progressive, seems to have won. So it goes. The West will have nothing that looks like Wall Street control. The Republican party is not united. It is not even associated. Yet the case for the Republican party is very hopeful. A right-about-face in its leadership in the East—the elimination of Penrose, Barnes, Crane, Watson and the old guard, will restore the party to power in Congress and will carry the next election. But any further compromise, any further slip or surrender to the Republicanism of the Barnes and Penrose type, means continued disaster and final dissolution for the Republican party. If so stalwart, conscientious, independent and wise a man as Hughes cannot move the West to the Republican party, fancy what a standpatter would do! He would not get even Vermont and Utah. For Utah slipped this year.

Lindsey Vindicated Again.

Denver Express, November 8.—Ben B. Lindsey has been re-elected juvenile judge with a majority that leaves no room for doubt as to the sentiment of Denver. He ran well ahead of other candidates on his county ticket, winning by approximately 10,000 votes. His victory is a triumph for the cause of good government in Denver. It is more imposing in view of the efforts that were made to discredit him in the eyes of his city and the world that have marked, not only this, but all previous campaigns in which he figured. Denver's vote on juvenile judge marks the utter discomfiture of his enemies. If they had made a clean and honest fight they would be entitled to commiseration, but they are without the saving grace of honor in defeat, as they would have been in the event of victory. The defeat of Lindsey would have blackened the name of Denver before the world. His victory is an advertisement of the city of which Denver may well be proud.

The Reckoning After the War.

Chicago Journal, November 9.—The outbreak of war interrupted a series of reforms designed to put an end to the dangerous and disgraceful landlord system of England; yet land reform may be hastened by the conflict, instead of delayed. Before the war, the followers of Lloyd-George in this matter had only theory to guide them; now they have experience. More than a million British soldiers are now in France, and their number will be doubled before peace comes back. They have plenty of time, in the intervals of trench warfare, to observe and discuss the customs of the country. They find there

the most highly developed peasant proprietor system in the world—more than 5,000,000 farms owned by the people who till them, cultivated with loving care by generation after generation of the same blood. Moreover, these town-bred soldiers are being seasoned to life in the open air and to strenuous physical exertion. When they come back home it will be with a determination to have each a piece of land for his own—and who will balk them? Progress moves in mysterious ways, its wonders of society saving to perform. It is quite on the cards that England will have a healthy land system twenty years earlier than if there had been no war. Even that gain will not compensate for the losses and evils of the struggle, but it will help.

CORRESPONDENCE

SPRINGFIELD DEFEATS LIGHT MONOPOLY.

Springfield, Ill., Nov. 11.

In a spectacular fight with Special Privilege in this city, in which Mr. A. D. Mackie, general manager of the Gas and Electric Company, took the platform against the city, the people won a brilliant victory under the leadership of Commissioner W. J. Spaulding, the issue being the development of the "Municipal Electric Light Plant."

The proposition carried by a vote of 16,646 for and 5,761 against, there being almost as many votes east on the proposition as were cast for President of the United States.

In 1894 sixty citizens of Springfield formed a company and put in \$1,000 each to build a municipal light plant as a protest against the exorbitant rates then charged by the private company. In a contract with the city of Springfield these sixty men obligated themselves to convey the title of the plant to the city whenever the earnings were sufficient to pay—first, the operating expenses, and, second, to pay back the \$1,000 and interest to the sixty citizens. Under this arrangement the plant paid for itself in five years and was deeded to the city without issuing a bond or paying out a single dollar of city money. The city then leased the plant to a private company to operate for a period of five years. In 1903, after three years of the lease had expired, the lease fell into the hands of the present Springfield Gas and Electric Company, then known as the Springfield Light, Heat and Power Company.

Realizing that this electric plant in the hands of the city was a menace to them, the company, when the lease expired, began to scheme to get possession of it. While negotiations were pending before the City Council a mass meeting of citizens was held, and it was urged that the city should take over and operate its own plant. Shortly after this public meeting the Mayor, H. H. Devereux, demanded possession of the property. The company raised various fantastic legal excuses, and refused to give it up, although the lease had expired several months before. Even at this date, the Utilities Company felt they should protect the citizens from themselves by keeping them from operating their own plant; then, as now, the company feared to let the people learn for themselves the actual cost of manufactur-

ing electricity lest they realize the big profits accruing from their high rates. Finally one night the mayor sent a wagon load of policemen and actually drove the company's employes out and took possession. Since that time the city has operated its own plant, although the company has frequently come to the Council with various cunningly devised schemes to hamper or suppress it.

In 1912 the city plant was near the end of its useful life and it was proposed to rebuild and consolidate it with the pumping station, and, because of the economies thus secured, to sell surplus current for commercial use. This proposal stirred the Gas and Electric Company to great activity, but, after three years of fighting our way through injunctions and elections, the first new electric generator was installed at the pumping station about October 1, 1915.

Springfield has been under commission form of government since 1911, and as commissioner of public property Mr. Spaulding has had charge of the municipally owned water works and electric light plant.

Since the consolidation the city has taken on about 700 consumers. The city's lighting rate is 6 cents for the first 30 K. W. H. and 3 cents per K. W. H. for all over that amount—less a discount of 10 per cent for prompt payment—which is about 40 per cent below the private company's residence lighting rate and about 25 per cent below their business rate.

The company is striving desperately to suppress this competition. Their last move in court was to ask for an injunction on the ground that the city is selling below cost.

The city light department shows the average cost of current, delivered to the consumer's meter, to be about 2 cents, and that the city is now making a profit of from \$700 to \$1,000 per month from the private business it now has.

The private company has had its auditors in charge of the city's accounts for the past two months and the auditing staff of Dr. E. W. Bemis, public utility expert of Chicago, is auditing the accounts for the city in preparation for a legal battle.

On June 27 of this year bids were received by the City Council and a contract ordinance was passed for the purchase of additional equipment. Under the Initiative and Referendum feature of the commission form of government act the private company circulated a Referendum petition against the ordinance and secured enough signers to demand that the ordinance be submitted to a vote of the people. When the vote was taken it was found that the company had over 2,000 less votes than they had signatures to their petition, and the company found itself beaten by a 3 to 1 vote. We consider it one of the most smashing defeats Special Privilege has received anywhere in the country.

GEO. E. LEE.

THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN.

Los Angeles, November 9, 1916.

It is too early to say what the result has been on Number 5—the Singletax amendment—but by the time this reaches you you will have more definite information. Present indications show that we are beaten two to one—but even that is doing very well as it means that we polled about 300,000 votes,

which is more than have ever been cast for a similar measure in this, or for that matter, in any other State; certainly more than were ever cast for a straight Singletax bill. We've broken new ground and planted fresh seed. The harvest will follow in the fullness of time. Our work was done in the most discouraging conditions imaginable. Few workers, little money. According to E. E. Kirk, who has been through the hardest of I. W. W. and Union Labor fights, nothing has ever equaled the onslaught made on this measure by the united powers of plutocracy. Not only land monopolists but all "Big Business" to its uttermost ramifications was on the warpath and it is astonishing how far the tentacles of the octopus reached. Even a Fruit Growers' Association advised its members, who of all people would have profited most by the exemption on improvements to vote No on Number 5; and it is to be feared that many of them did.

But there are compensations. The fact that plutocracy has found out that Singletax means "business" should teach us our proper place. It takes us out of the category of milk-and-water reformers into the crusaders' camp of the anti-poverty stripe. Those were the days when the Singletax movement had real life and its decline in propaganda power dates from the time when it descended into the lower levels of expediency and politics. It is for a renaissance of this spirit that the Great Adventure was called into being, and the results fully justify its existence and continuance. For continue it will, until its end is accomplished and the land of California, as well as that of all other States, is restored to its people on equal terms.

CHARLES JAMES.

LAUS DEO.

Chicago, November 12, 1916.

The re-election of President Wilson is the biggest happening since the coming of "Progress and Poverty"; it is the first fruits of the new democracy—not a full fruition.

The real essence of the contest was the question whether "Wall Street," the plutocratic and conservative classes, or the great body of the people shall rule.

The time has not yet come to sing a *nunc dimittis* for our salvation is not yet in sight. But it is meet that we sing a song of thanksgiving, and the following from the Hebrew poet seems most fitting:

If the Lord Himself had not been on our side, now may Israel say; if the Lord Himself had not been on our side when men rose up against us: they would have swallowed us up quick when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. Yea, the waters had drowned us and the stream had gone over our soul; the deep waters of the proud had gone even over our soul.

But praised be the Lord Who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth.

Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken and we are delivered.

JOSIAH EDSON.

A CORRECTION.

Chicago, Nov. 9, 1916.

Under the head of "Notes" in The Public of November 3, it is stated that the Illinois Supreme Court upheld an ordinance of the city of Peoria

"compelling vaccination of children upon entrance to the public schools." Fortunately, in view of the importance of freedom in a free country, the fact is not what that statement implies. The ordinance applied only to a term of sixty days during a period of great fear some months ago when there were a number of cases of smallpox in Peoria. The opinion of the Supreme Court, rendered long after the sixty days had expired, does not touch the question of whether vaccination or any other requirement may be a condition precedent to admission of children into the public schools, as is shown by the following sentences from its closing statements:

"Accordingly, the ordinance by its own terms had ceased to be in force . . . when the cause was submitted . . . at the June term of this court. The children of the appellant could have attended school without being vaccinated after May 25, 1916. There is therefore no longer any actual controversy between the parties. Courts will not occupy themselves with moot cases. . . . The decree must be affirmed."

The question as to whether vaccination is a measure of safety or otherwise is one about which opinions (medical as well as lay opinions) differ decidedly. It is distinctly a controversial question and therefore vaccination is a sectarian medical practice, and the readers of a paper of fundamental democracy—irrespective of their individual opinions about vaccination—will be glad to know that the Supreme Court of Illinois has not fastened it upon the public school system.

AVERY COONLEY.

TWIN SISTERS TO SINGLETAX.

Cincinnati, O., Oct. 14.

I have just been reading in the Single Tax Review what Mr. Doty of Ohio said at the Niagara convention about Twin Sisters to the Singletax, and he is right. He said: "There are too many twin sisters to the Singletax" and he instanced about 47 of them. But in the meantime the Singletax is neglected.

Henry George says, "The reform I have proposed accords with all that is politically, socially or morally desirable. It has the qualities of a true reform, for it will make all other reforms easier."

I am afraid some of us forget that Singletax will abolish poverty. If we would let that one fact predominate in our life, we would forget about any other reforms and work for Singletax pure and undefiled. After Singletax is put into operation all other reforms will be made easier. Then we can worry about municipal ownership, conservation, strikes, income tax, inheritance tax, old age pensions, child labor laws, prohibition, prostitution, and the rest of the 47 Twin Sisters.

Don't think I am not interested in any of those 47 Twin Sisters, for I am; but I am more interested in the Singletax. Let me explain why.

Municipal ownership is all right, but if we get Singletax into operation, franchises will be taxes because a franchise is simply the right to use the land. The money got from franchises will go into the public revenue and eventually the city can buy all its new street car lines and street cars.

If a strike is won the increase of wages is not equal to the increase of the cost of living, and the

consumer pays. The Toledo Street Car strike is an example of that and the Railroad Magnates are trying to raise prices because of the Adamson bill and make the consumer pay. If all that energy and time that is spent by our union leaders and sympathizers were concentrated toward Singletax we would soon have the natural tax in operation; there would be no more strikes and the consumer wouldn't have to pay.

A tax on an unearned income is right; but a tax on an earned income is wrong. A tax on an earned income gives the business man an opportunity to increase the cost of living. Tax the income of a man in the shoe industry and he will raise the price of shoes. If the tax is equal to 5 cents a pair he will raise the price 25 cents a pair. The same principle applies to food. If you want to increase the cost of living work for an income tax. Singletax will tax a man with an unearned income and at the same time will not increase the cost of living, but will put the ground rent of his land into the public revenue and the community will profit by the community values it has made.

An inheritance tax will take care of itself under taxation of land values. If the inheritance is land, the public will benefit by the ground rent and will derive more than it does now under an inheritance tax.

I heard of a prominent man who was interested in child labor laws but was working for woman suffrage, because he thought that if the women got the vote it would help him to get the proper laws passed. That man doesn't know that Singletax will abolish poverty. If that man would spend his time working for the natural tax instead of child labor laws and woman suffrage he would win out sooner. For this reason when poverty is abolished we will have no need for child labor laws. The children work NOW because of the poverty of the parents.

A great many men drink because they are overworked and underfed. A glass of whiskey stimulates them so that they can get the work done. But Singletaxers know that when social justice has been reached we will all have shorter hours of work and plenty of food, and men won't want whiskey. Prohibition will just naturally come into existence. Some men drink because they get into the habit through treating customers. But when the Singletax goes into operation there will be so much legitimate natural work, that business firms won't be competing, trying to get each other's customers, and it won't be necessary to take a customer out and show him a good time to get his trade.

Why worry about the white slave traffic. Social justice through the Singletax will abolish poverty and give all girls an opportunity to work and have homes, and they won't have to sell their bodies.

I really believe if all these people who have some twin sister to the Singletax for a hobby would combine with the Singletaxers we would soon have social justice.

I heard a prominent speaker say in the course of his address, that he had never read Progress and Poverty. Any Singletaxer who has not read Progress and Poverty is liable to have a twin sister to Singletax. A person really can't be a good converted Singletaxer until he has read that masterpiece.

In closing, I want to quote from Progress and Poverty: "The truth I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends—those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of Truth. Will it at length prevail? Ultimately, yes. But in our own times, or in times of which any memory of us remain, who shall say? . . . But the bitterest thought—and it sometimes comes to the best and bravest—is that of the hopelessness of the effort, the futility of the sacrifice. To how few of those who sow the seed is it given to see it grow, or even with certainty to know that it will grow."

CHARLOTTE SMITH.

BOOKS

THE PACIFIST CASE STATED.

New Wars For Old. By Dr. John Haynes Holmes. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., Boston. Price \$1.50 net.

One of the most urgent needs of the day is a clear statement of the case for the pacifist—for him who believes that armaments are a blunder and "preparedness" a tactical mistake, but who has neither the ability to express his convictions, a knowledge of the data on which to base his argument, nor the leisure of time and circumstance to collect and collate them.

The reader of Dr. Haynes Holmes' book will probably have learned among other things the wisdom of trusting his intuitions when these lead in the direction of "that far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves," the millennium of peace. If there is one conclusion to which human experience clearly points when carefully interpreted, it is that force as an instrument of progress stands utterly discredited. Everywhere it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Wherever real progress has been made on that upward path that leads from the mire of animalism to the higher humanity, it has been through the abandonment of force and the substitution therefor of sympathy. In the domestic relation, in the field of industry, in our penal codes, in our educational systems, in everything that constitutes the internal life of nations, this fact is as Dr. Holmes points out, self-evident. Only in international relationships, with one or two outstanding exceptions, has this process not yet been operative.

Force between nations, as Dr. Holmes proves from history, has completely failed to serve any one of the three purposes it is supposed to serve, peace, security or a fuller life for the people. Blind as we are to the plainest teachings of experience, it is now admitted by all that armaments do not promote but only endanger peace. That they equally fail to increase security against at-

tack and only serve to invite it is slowly filtering into the minds of the more thoughtful and observant. The security enjoyed by the dwellers on both sides of the 4,000-mile line that divides the United States from Canada rests upon the absence of forts or guns on one side or the other, and would vanish with the slightest indication of weapons of defense on either frontier. But even the peace and security which defensive force has failed to bring us are as our author indicates, "nothing in themselves." They attain value only as they lead to a higher, richer, more abundant type of life. Has the policy of preparedness served to promote this fuller life among the nations? All the teachings of Nietzsche, Bernhardt, Ruskin and Cramb to the contrary, Dr. Holmes offers convincing proof that force as between nations has invariably exercised a debasing influence on the intellectual and emotional life of the country employing it. "It was feeble and divided Germany that gave us the long line of noble mystics from Meister Eckhart to Schleiermacher—the literature of Schiller, Goethe and Heine—the music of Bach, Beethoven and Mozart—the philosophy of Leibnitz, Kant and Schelling, but Bismarck and Moltke, the veritable incarnations of blood and iron, came upon the scene, and Germany was lost. If 1870 marks the beginning of German imperialism, it marks as well the close of German culture."

"New Wars For Old" may be described as an extremely successful effort to raise the beatitude which affirms that "the meek shall inherit the earth" from the level of a platitude to that of a scientific statement. If (in the words of a recent writer) "meekness means teachableness and a willingness to mind one's own business" and is consequently a source of strength, then it follows as a conclusion strictly in harmony with the law of evolution, that "the unmeek, the haughty, the proud shall be exterminated." Dr. Holmes offers abundant illustration both from natural and human history of the truth that "man strengthens his hold on life, rises in the scale of existence, wins peace, security and happiness, just to the extent that he succeeds in this supreme endeavor" of substituting sympathetic effort for physical force. Even the testimony of the rocks and the records of animal life on the planet point the same moral. The mighty warriors of the ante-diluvian age, the Dinosaur, the Mastodon, the Megatherium, armed both for attack and defense and "bestriding the earth like so many colossi," have vanished; while their contemporaries, the horse, cow, dog, sheep, goat, etc., have survived to this day. The accounts of the rise and fall of empires tell the same tale. Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Sparta, Rome, where are they now? All fallen and perished and fallen just because of the weight of their protective armor, because of the completeness of their "preparedness," because of their entire lack

of that meekness which must characterize all men and nations who are to survive in the struggle for existence.

And amidst the successive downfalls of one after another of the military nations, we have the spectacle of China (between whose uninspiring civilization and non-resisting spirit there is, as Dr. Holmes indicates, no organic connection), a nation that has stood "century after century, æon after æon, as firm today as ever. Other nations have drawn the sword and perished by the sword. China has drawn no sword or has done so only on rare occasions under disastrous leadership, and behold she lives! The inference is indubitable—if security is our problem here is our answer." We heartily commend this book to all pacifists who wish to understand the reasons underlying the faith that is in them.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

* * *

If there is anything which this war should teach the peoples, it should be the one supreme necessity of breaking down the closed rings which usurp the government of foreign affairs. An open foreign policy and a real, effective control of the Foreign Minister and all his army of diplomatists is one of the first essential factors of any permanent and effective change. . . . The democratic control of those interstate relations which we call foreign policy is the first need of the nations. How is the democratic factor to be brought to bear upon foreign policy in any genuine sense? Obviously a first requisite is the education of the people to a lively sense of the fact that the questions that arise between nations are not of a mysterious kind that can only be dealt with by a small class, a small hierarchy of officials; that the tradition that this is so only arises from the fact that very largely the questions which diplomacy reserves to itself are those that were perhaps all-important as interstate questions in days gone by, but that the great questions which affect the lives of the masses of men and women today, questions of industry and commerce, questions of social and religious organizations and questions of inter-communication are not settled by diplomats at all, but by modern men and women working in a modern atmosphere, with a tacit acknowledgment of international life, and who arrive at agreement by open discussion, rational compromise and, where differences arise, by a fair hearing for all sides and a spirit of conciliation.—Carl Heath, Secretary of the English National Peace Council.

* * *

The people of a past generation, through their rulers, claimed and exercised the right of divesting, not themselves, merely, but the majority of all future generations, of their original and inherent rights to possess and cultivate any unimproved portion of the soil of our State for their sustenance and benefit. To render this assumption of power valid to the fearful extent to which it was exercised, it is essential that it be demonstrated that the good of the whole was promoted by such exercise. Is this rationally demonstrable now? Can the widow whose children pine and shiver in some bleak, miserable garret, on the 15 or 20 cents, which is all she can

earn by unremitting toil, be made to realize that she and her babes are benefited by or in consequence of the granting to a part an exclusive right to use the earth and enjoy its fruits? Can the poor man who, day after day, paces the streets of a city in search of any employment at any price (as thousands are now doing here) be made to realize it on his part? Are there not thousands on thousands—natives of our State, who never wilfully violated her laws—who are today far worse off than they would have been if nature's rule of allowing no man to appropriate to himself any more of the earth than he can cultivate and improve had been recognized and respected by society? These questions admit of but one answer. And one inevitable consequence of the prevailing system is that, as population increases and arts are perfected, the income of the wealthy owner of land increases, while the recompense of the hired or leasehold cultivator is steadily diminishing.—Horace Greeley.

* * *

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