

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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Henry George, Jr.

Louis F. Post

Who Owns the United States

An Interview with Shaw

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Published Weekly

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November 24, 1916

Number 973

CHICAGO

Volume XIX

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# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## EDITORIAL

The re-election of President Wilson is by no means a Democratic party triumph. The Western voters who chose Wilson electors made clear their wish to elect progressive officials regardless of party. As between Wilson and his reactionary opponent they naturally preferred the President. But as between Republican candidates known to be progressive, and untried Democrats, they preferred the former. These voters can only be held by progressive policies, and they seem able to distinguish between real progressivism and the Roosevelt-Perkins kind. The party that does not deal fairly with them will take a very dangerous risk.      S. D.

\* \* \*

Has anyone discovered a solitary, legitimate reason why the women of thirty-six states should not be raised to the dignity of the enfranchised women of the twelve States that now enjoy universal suffrage? Do the men of those cave-age States intend to wait until the women drag them from their caves, and compel them to surrender what their more enlightened brothers have already granted?

Shame be upon them. All political parties have announced equal suffrage as an article of faith; why stultify themselves, and invite the ridicule—not to say the contempt—of mankind through failure to fulfill their promise. Had these Tories seen the eagerness with which Illinois women sought to qualify themselves for casting their first Presidential vote, or marked the sacrifice and discomfort that women residing temporarily at a distance underwent for the sake of voting, they never again would question the wisdom of universal suffrage. Women must and will have the ballot; why not now?      S. C.

\* \* \*

If the Republican party is to be preserved it should first be made worth preserving. Under the leadership of La Follette, or a progressive of similar caliber, this can be accomplished. But scarcely otherwise.      S. D.

\* \* \*

In the primary campaigns that preceded the Republican convention, Hughes triumphed over Roosevelt in most States where the contest lay between the two. The voters knew that Roosevelt stood for militarism. They did not know where Hughes stood, but apparently took for granted that anyone was better than the wielder of the big stick. Yet after his nomination when Mr. Hughes at last began to speak, he followed Roosevelt's lead when he did not evade issues presented. Is it any wonder that States swept by him in the primary campaign turned against him at the general election? Rooseveltism is not a winning position, and ought not to be.      S. D.

\* \* \*

The anti-vice crusade in London raises the question anew of why so much virtuous energy is necessary in order to maintain a semblance of moral decency. Some light may be thrown on the question by noting the direction in which the force is expended. The kind of vice that awakens crusades is the social evil, which is dependent for its perpetuation upon an abundant supply of girls. To preach against the social evil is well, and to aid the present victims should not be neglected; but little permanent gain can be had until the supply is shut off. The best antidote for the social evil is the family, living in its own individual home, the father with good wages and unafraid, the mother

with plenty to supply her household, and the children at play and at school, growing strong and healthy, with opportunities before them to marry and start new homes. Let the anti-vice crusaders find out why it is that, coincident with man's enormous gain in power over the elements through the aid of science and invention, home building has become more difficult. Let these well-intending people stop the leaks through which labor's profit flows, and they will have entered upon the straight road leading to social morality. s. c.

\* \* \*

The City of Providence is warned by John Ihlder in the Survey that it must act soon and with decision if its population is to be saved from the evils of overcrowding. The separate cottages, and the spacious yards of earlier days have been replaced by three-decker and four-decker tenements in front and back yards, in which the factory-employed immigrants find shelter. The city is urged to set good standards now, in order to prevent a congestion that will entail greater expense in the future. Minimum requirements of light and air, and other sanitary features may well be included in building ordinances; but the city will escape few of the evils complained of unless it goes further, and strikes at the cause of congestion. Men and women do not live in noisome quarters from choice, but from financial necessity. Minimum housing conditions do not apply to the rich or well-to-do, but to the poor. Make the poor well-to-do, and they will themselves solve the housing problem. The best available means for doing this is to remove taxes from buildings and place them on land values. This will stimulate the building of houses; which will at one and the same time lower rents and raise wages. Here is an opportunity for the people of Providence to exercise a little of that Yankee shrewdness, for which the city was once famous. s. c.

\* \* \*

Although Governor-elect Walter Edge of New Jersey is not a progressive, yet he was compelled during the campaign to assume a progressive position. At the convention which followed the primary State Senator-elect Edmund B. Osborne attended as a delegate. Through his efforts the convention put in the platform a declaration in favor of home rule to the extent permitted by the Constitution. It appears that the Constitution of New Jersey does not inhibit home rule in taxation, or municipal ownership, and consequently this plank commits the Republican party to those principles. During the campaign Mr. Edge yielded to pressure brought to bear by his fellow party

members, Senator Osborne, George L. Record, James G. Blauvelt and others, and spoke in commendation of the home rule plank. On the other hand, the Democratic nominee, Mr. Otto Wittpen, evaded the issue. Now that Mr. Edge and a Republican Legislature have been elected, their duty is clear. They are in honor bound to enact a sweeping home rule measure, and until they prove otherwise are entitled to the presumption that they will keep their pledge. s. D.

\* \* \*

The following from the Stockton, California, Evening Mail of November 14, is worth bearing in mind:

Manteca district is one of small land holdings. The people are very deeply interested in the subject of taxation. They have been touched by it from several angles, not the least of which is in financing and maintaining an irrigation district. It is, therefore, interesting to note that in the two Manteca precincts the Singletax amendment received 149 votes as against 112 opposed. In other words, the Singletax carried in Manteca.

From which it appears that experience with a slight application of the Singletax principle convinced the voters that a complete application would be a good thing. Opponents may have tried to misrepresent matters to them as they did elsewhere, but they could not make their misrepresentations fit with facts familiar to the voters. s. D.

\* \* \*

"Land Values," in commenting on the refusal of the British government to pay an occupation rent for a hotel used for government purposes, calls attention to the fact that by this act a precedent is set that later on will be an aid to settling the land question. The editor says:

If the government is invested with powers which enable it to commandeer premises without paying any compensation on the ground that no profit is being made, why should they not have the power to commandeer vacant land and pay nothing for it on the same grounds? If it is right to deal so drastically with a business that is in temporary difficulties but that is actually attempting to use its land, why should not those individuals who are deliberately holding land out of use and thereby inflicting much loss and suffering upon the community be liable to equally drastic treatment?

This limiting of property rights to preserve the life of the nation in time of war may later on be invoked to free the people in time of peace. s. c.

\* \* \*

If one reason were wanting to show the danger to free institutions from war, it is to be found in England's change from a democracy to an autocracy. At the beginning of the war the individual

Englishman enjoyed the greatest freedom in Europe, while the German was more subject to arbitrary authority. But the intervening months have seen a steady change in Great Britain, until now there is little if any difference between the two countries; and none of the change has been toward liberalism. Conscription has followed censorship; and now industry and food supply are coming under military direction, the subordination of the individual to the State, that German philosophers have preached, Great Britain is now practicing. And there are some men in this country who deliberately urge conscription. s. c.

\* \* \*

The railroads saw fit to make a political issue of the Adamson law. Passing upon such a matter comes within the proper functions of government. Having submitted the case to the voters, the railroads should now abide by the verdict, at least until it can be reversed by the same authority. But this they refuse to do. The courts will be asked to overrule the people. And in the meantime the country will be put in danger of a general tieup with all of its consequences. Still that is one of the results of entrusting private corporations with a public function. The defiant attitude of the railroads may help to make irresistible the demand for public ownership. And public ownership should not imply payment for any other than physical values. After all, would it not pay the railroads better to abide by the Adamson law?

S. D.

### The Middleman a Scapegoat.

The newspapers generally put the report of President Wilson's address to the National Grange on the high cost of foodstuffs, under headlines, which give the reader to understand that he holds the middleman responsible. Possibly this was the President's meaning. But, if so, he did not express his views as clearly as he usually does. His words were:

We ought to raise such big crops that circumstances like the present can never recur, when men can make it appear as if the supply was so short that the middleman could charge for it what he pleased. This seems to mean nothing more than that a state of affairs has been created which makes it possible for the middleman to charge what he pleases. The accuracy of that statement need not be discussed here. Even if accurate, it does not put responsibility on the middleman, since it does not charge him with creating the conditions from which he derives his alleged benefits.

The real responsibility was indicated by the President further on in his address. This was in the following passage:

In the future we have got to bring more of the area of the United States under cultivation than is under cultivation now. We have got to increase the product at every point where it is susceptible of being increased.

The inference to be drawn from this is that high prices are due to lack of production, and production is short because there is not as much of the area of the United States under cultivation as there should be. That cannot be cured by striking at the middleman. He is not responsible for withholding of land from cultivation. It is the landowner who does that, and even he is not always responsible.

\* \*

So long as conditions are allowed to exist that make cultivation of land less profitable than withholding of it from use, so long will there be much of it withheld. The Federal government is not in as good a position as the State governments to apply the remedy to this situation. The remedy that is needed is abolition of all taxes on improvements and other products of industry, and the placing of all taxes on land values. That would reverse conditions so as to make it less profitable to withhold land from use than to put it to its most productive use. Although this reform would require action by the States, the Federal government is not altogether powerless. It is true that the substitution of a land value tax for tariff, excise and income taxes cannot reasonably be expected from the present Congress or its newly elected successor. But it is reasonable to ask that Congress pass the Crosser bill. That would bring partial relief.

\* \*

The Crosser bill would put upon the remaining public lands unemployed men and others desiring to go. The government would provide irrigation works, and under supervision of its agents the men in need of instruction would be taught farming. Land would not be sold or donated but would be leased to workers. The improvements they would put thereon would be free from taxation. Thus would be established a system under which cultivators would pay no taxes on the products of their industry, while the government, by retaining title to the lands, would take for public use land values created by the public. Thus would be brought under cultivation more of the area of the country. The President has made clear the duty of Congress to pass this measure, and

of the States to enact the changes in the tax laws that would have similar results.

S. D.

### Progressive North Dakota.

The election of Lynn J. Frazier, Republican, as Governor of North Dakota, and of the Republican legislative ticket was a sweeping democratic victory. In no State of the Union did the Democratic party stand for principles that approached the North Dakota Republican platform in democracy. As a matter of fact, though the successful ticket bore the Republican label, it was really the ticket of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League. This League had captured the Republican primary and nominated its candidates. The platform prepared beforehand is similar to that of the Grain Growers' Association of Canada. So the new Legislature stands committed to the reforms that have made Western Canada prosperous.

\* \*

Though the platform builders may have considered other planks more important, the one which will prove of greatest benefit to the farmers of the State is that relating to taxation. This declares for exemption of personal property and improvements. No constitutional amendment is required to apply this. There is no reason to doubt that the new Legislature will keep faith with the people and enact all the platform pledges into law. Other States have had the chance to lead the way to economic freedom, and have neglected it. Now the opportunity has come to North Dakota. So far as the people are concerned, they have declared in favor of grasping it. All that remains is for the Legislature to carry out their will. It may be taken for granted that special interests will try to raise difficulties. But these should not be allowed to interfere. Interesting events are bound to occur soon in North Dakota.

S. D.

### Military Training.

The campaign to commit this country to universal military service needs watching. While there is little doubt that the number of people who would go to this length at present are in the minority, they are an influential minority, and they include the class who control the mass of the newspapers, which will enable them to conduct an aggressive campaign. Likewise, they are shrewd. They are urging military drill for school children as a health measure, as a setting-up exercise for growing boys. The enactment of such a law in a

considerable number of States will serve as a stepping stone for the introduction of a bill in Congress providing compulsory military training for all American boys between 18 and 19 years of age. Compulsory military service would not long lag behind such an act; and we should soon find ourselves burdened by a great military establishment that would not only be useless, but that would be a certain provocative of war.

\* \*

But it is not enough for pacifists to cry out against such a prostitution of American ideals. A negative campaign will not suffice; something positive must be proposed as a substitute. Military drill does set up growing boys. It gives to many of them a physical development that they do not otherwise get. But that physical development can be secured in other ways that will produce all the beneficial results without the evil of militarism. The Boy Scouts, or an organization of similar scope, with its camps, its drills, and its tramps, occupies the child-mind, gives scope to its longing for adventure, and satisfies its desire for life in the open. It supplies the health and strength for peace; it develops, under the eye of the Scout Master, resourcefulness and self-confidence; and it lays a foundation for physical endurance and fortitude that are invaluable in living a wholesome and manly life.

\* \*

It is becoming daily more apparent that we have not the physical stamina we should have. Sanitation and hygiene are cutting down infant mortality, and rooting out children's diseases; but man's endurance after middle life is decreasing. We are house-bound. We do not get out in the open enough. Cross country walking and camping are far too infrequent. Such organizations, therefore, as will develop the child—and they should apply to girls as well as to boys—will make better citizens in time of peace; and, should the men ever be needed to defend their country, they can quickly be turned into soldiers. Since we need this physical training in any event, why can it not be set forth as a substitute for the military training?

S. O.

### Two Kinds of Force.

Unity (Chicago) in its issue of October 26, in which appeared in parallel columns extracts from the writings of General Bernhardt, Colonel Roosevelt, and President Wilson, performed a service that should have had a much wider recognition. Had it been put into pamphlet form and circulated

throughout the country as a campaign document it would have brought enlightenment to many groping voters. It is not yet too late for some of the peace societies to distribute it as effective peace propaganda; for seldom has the distinction between destructive and constructive forces been made so plain as in this document. The attention of the reader is at once arrested by the identity of the teaching of the militarist German, and the militarist American. The quotations from Bernhardt and from Roosevelt might be reversed without the reader's suspecting a change. Paralleling these militant utterances is the President's deep swelling note of peace.

\* \*

General Bernhardt, in "Germany and the Next War," says:

War is a biological necessity of the first importance . . . since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization.

Like an echo comes the words of Colonel Roosevelt from "American Ideal":

It is through strife or the readiness for strife that a nation must win greatness.

But these principles of barbarism that still linger in the presence of civilization are rebuked by the President's declaration:

I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces of the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces.

Two social forces are now seeking to secure political action. One is for universal military service; the other is for economic justice. Which shall prevail?

s. c.

### Intellectual Apathy.

Complaint is made by those interested in English schools of the difficulty of arousing in the children a desire for knowledge. Not only are the people sunk in ignorance, as Sir Arthur Evans, president of the British Association, puts it, but they are weighted down by an "intellectual apathy." "The dull incuria of the parents," he says, "is reflected in the children." It is quite apparent that Sir Arthur has been gathering some of the Dead Sea fruit that present industrial conditions produce in all countries, but which is more plentiful in the older nations. Men who spend ten to twelve hours in shop or factory, giving all their physical strength to getting the food and shelter necessary to maintain that strength, have little incentive to strive for intellectual acquirements. And so far are they from urging their children to attend school that they look upon such attendance as so much time to be deducted from their wage-earning career.

Numerous causes may contribute to this condition of intellectual apathy, but that of physical necessity is sufficient to account for it if all others were removed. It has been the testimony of British investigating commissions that the higher wages of the war have contributed to sobriety and to an elevation of morals among labor that formerly was grossly underpaid; just as the New York Health Board found that higher wages made for temperance in that city; and just as General Gorgas found that higher wages led to health in Panama. The intellectual apathy of the English under strata of society is due directly to cramped physical condition. The mass of the people not only are denied their place in the sun, but the denial has been endured so long that they have come to look upon the world as sunless; or, what is worse, they have come to accept it as a world in which the sun shines only for those who have been fortunately born. Man will strive as long as he thinks it is possible to win; but when convinced that failure is inevitable he will abandon himself to the current. Let Sir Arthur join in the movement to restore Britons their natural rights, let him aid in bringing about a social and industrial condition that will secure to labor the full product of its toil, and he will have made the greatest contribution possible toward removing the intellectual apathy, both of parents and children.

s. c.

### Mayor Gill's Brave Stand.

Mayor Gill of Seattle is not considered a radical nor even a reformer. When he was re-elected two years ago, after having been recalled, the result was looked upon as a reactionary triumph. But this lends additional strength to condemnation by him of the Sheriff and posse at Everett, Washington, who, in order to please business interests opposed to free speech, brought on a bloody riot by unlawfully opposing the landing from a steamer of a number of members of the I. W. W. Mayor Gill publicly denounced the act, saying:

In the final analysis it will be found these cowards in Everett, who, without right or justification, shot into the crowd on the boat were the murderers, and not the I. W. W.'s. The men who met the I. W. W.'s at the boat were a bunch of cowards. They outnumbered the I. W. W.'s five to one, and in spite of this they stood there on the dock and fired into the boat, I. W. W.'s, innocent passengers and all. McRae and his deputies had no legal right to tell the I. W. W.'s or anyone else that they could not land there. When the sheriff put his hand on the butt of his gun and told them they could not land, he fired the first shot, in the eyes of the law, and the I. W. W.'s can claim that they shot in self defense.

Mayor Gill deserves commendation for his just and brave stand in behalf of the rights of an unpopular group with whom he does not agree. It is easy to grow indignant over wrongs to those with whom we sympathize. But courage and fairness are required to take the part of those hated and feared by one's own friends and supporters. And Mayor Gill has shown that he possesses these qualities, whatever his faults and shortcomings may be otherwise.

\* \*

There is pressing need of such protests as Mayor Gill has uttered. The Everett case is by no means an isolated one. Interference by officials with free speech is the rule rather than the exception. That these outrages rarely lead to bloody riots is due to meekness and self-control on the part of the wronged ones. But society has no right to depend for preservation of peace on indefinite continuance of meek submission by injured individuals to outrageous injustice. The Everett riot grew out of subservience on the part of the authorities to interests which regard with contempt rights constitutionally guaranteed to citizens. Punishment should be dealt to the faithless officials, and not to those I. W. W.'s whom a grand jury has indicted for insisting on their rights.

S. D.

### Discussing Peace Terms.

The ethics of a highwayman, or of an American imperialist, were proclaimed in the German Reichstag by Count Westarp, Conservative leader, when he said concerning evacuation of invaded French territory: "What we have conquered at the cost of our blood we will hold as long as necessary in order to assure the future of the German nation." No anti-German could say anything more uncomplimentary concerning the German nation than that its future requires the perpetration of the crime of annexing conquered people without their consent. Count Westarp's statement ought to be resented by the true patriots among his countrymen.

\* \*

Far different was the statement of the Socialist leader, Philip Scheidemann. His contention is that peace shall provide "that the French shall stay in France, that the Belgians shall stay in Belgium, that the Germans shall stay in Germany." In principle, Herr Scheidemann takes his stand by the British democrats of the Union for Democratic Control, who demand that there shall be no transfer of sovereignty anywhere against the wishes of the people concerned. To be consistent the de-

mand should include that the Finns rule Finland; the Poles, Poland, meaning German and Austrian Poland as well as Russian; the Hindoos, India; the Egyptians, Egypt, and the people of Alsace and Lorraine decide for themselves whether they go to France, stay with Germany or separate from both. If the democrats of all belligerent countries should take a firm stand for this principle, peace would be hastened and future wars discouraged.

S. D.

### As To The Public's Removal.

It has been deemed best by those most intimately associated with The Public to move it at the end of the year to New York. The mere fact of removal has given rise to the idea that the paper hereafter will be different from what it has been, and that its efforts in the future will be confined to a more limited field of activities. Such is not the intention of any one associated with it. The Public will continue to be what it has heretofore been, and what its name indicates, a journal of fundamental democracy. The addition of the word "international" to the sub-title on the cover in no way detracts from, but rather adds to, its scope as a medium for the spreading of political, economic, and sociological truths; and in its new office of publication the co-operation of the Joseph Fels International Commission will put it more closely in touch with the democratic movement throughout the world.

\* \*

The cause for which The Public stands is not local, but universal. Natural order has been superseded by the artificial, and evil has been wrought by forces that should have produced good. Throughout the world man, deprived of his birthright, struggles for a bare subsistence in the midst of plenty. Though a participant in the world's progress he does not share in its gains; and notwithstanding all that science and invention have done to multiply his labor, they have done little to increase his comfort. The evil is peculiar to no race, country, or people; it is the lot of man. Since the wrong is universal, therefore, and the remedy one—economic justice—the mere point of publication will be of small moment to the readers of The Public; while its location in the metropolis of the country will make easier the difficult task of putting it on a sound financial basis. The Public leaves warm and faithful friends in Chicago; but it hopes to find warm and faithful friends in New York. All are laboring in the same cause, and their interests are mutual.

Democracy is democracy wherever men abide; and the cause of human rights appeals to all who see the light. Never before has the world been so quickened with the spirit of social consciousness; and it is only to this generation that has been given the knowledge to adjust the activities of man to the laws of nature. A great obligation, therefore, rests upon those who have seen the truth, that they do all that lies within them to enlighten their fellows. Time was when men were satisfied with things as they are, and looked askance at the idea of change; but the old order no longer satisfies, men are ready for a change as soon as their minds grasp the new order. The situation is full of hope. Much remains to be done, but every stroke tells; and the cause is worthy of all that can be given.

### HENRY GEORGE JR.

The death of this friend, whom I have loved from his youth up, closes another chapter in the world-wide work his father began.

“Seeing the want and misery, the ignorance and brutishness caused by unjust social institutions,” his father set about to right them. This was the impulse that gave “Progress and Poverty” to the loving emotions and calm thought of a poverty-stricken world.

In the creation of that book, the son served, though a mere lad, as his father’s trusted amanuensis; and at the printer’s case he contributed his share to the setting of the type.

But the book was only a beginning. It merely charted the way that Henry George had set out upon.

That way had still to be traversed. It led along the lower levels of commonplace tax reforms. It tortuously climbed the steepes of unjust institutions, grounded in self-interest and prejudice, toward justice in property rights. It reached to the social summits of universal cooperation in universal equality.

On this pilgrimage the son was constantly at his father’s side, in his father’s confidence and at his father’s service.

They came from California to New York: and in the East, as before in the West, they worked together.

They went together to Great Britain when Henry George aroused the people there as they had not been roused before on social problems since the days of Long Will and John Ball.

In the campaign that Henry George made for Mayor of New York in 1886, carrying the banner of this social crusade, Henry George Jr. was his confidential secretary.

They worked together on *The Standard*, and when the father made his tour of the world he entrusted *The Standard* to the editorial and business care of the son.

In the second campaign that Henry George made for Mayor of New York, toward the climax of which he suddenly died, this son of his was again his coadjutor. And upon the father’s death the son was chosen to succeed him as the leader of those who on that occasion were enlisted in the crusade that “Progress and Poverty” began.

As Henry George’s body rested in its open grave at Greenwood, nineteen years ago, Henry George Jr. symbolized his consecration to the cause his father’s work had vitalized by dropping the first handfuls of earth upon his father’s coffin lid; and from that hour until his body refused longer to serve the uses of his soul, he was faithful—industriously, vigorously, thoughtfully faithful—to that symbolic vow.

This is not the place, at any rate this is not the time, to tell the story of Henry George Jr.’s career in the crusade for social justice which has come everywhere to be identified with his father’s memory and name. It is enough to note that as writer, lecturer, traveler, political campaigner in two countries, and Congressman, this crusade was his objective; not as a fetish making everything else invisible, but as a guiding purpose which gave to all things else their true proportions and perspective.

Nor is this the place or the time for praise. I write of my friend now because he has just died and I loved him. Our paths came together when he was less than twenty and I not many years less than twice as old. The way for our intimacy had been opened by a friendship which “Progress and Poverty” had already established between myself and his father; and that intimacy has continued unbroken for nearly double my own life, and many years more than double his.

We have shared hopes and exultations, doubts and depressions, joys and bereavements, wild expectations and sane reactions, some of them strictly personal but nearly all of them intimately related to the crusade in which we have had a common interest, a common outlook and largely a union of feeling and thought.

Perhaps, then, a word of appraisal may not be misplaced. Though it seem like eulogy, it is a well-weighed estimate. And I offer it not in praise, but as a true tribute to the memory of one who has for more than thirty years been to me as a younger brother and whose all too early death I deeply deplore.

His fidelity was like his father's. He was tireless in pursuit of the essentials of the cause to which he held himself consecrated. He was rational in the adaptation of means to ends for its promotion. He was bold without rashness and prudent without timidity in all his relations to it. Whatever his faults, those at least were among his virtues, along with a manifest sense of responsibility, a personal dignity, and an intensity of personal affection and loyalty which counted not a little in making his work for social righteousness effective.

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I write of him as if he were dead. But that is only in deference to prevailing habits of speech, for I think of him as living.

His physical body is disintegrating, but shall we therefore say that he himself is dead? Many of us have at some time or other in our lives looked upon this change as death. Perhaps it was as well to do so, when human life now and hereafter were what they appeared to us to be. But with those clearer apprehensions that are so impressively stated in "Progress and Poverty," many of us can say now as its author did when in closing that book he confessed that "a faith that was dead revives."

We all live now in a world of concrete manifestations, of which our physical bodies are to each of us the most vital examples. But we also live now in a world of abstract realities, which our consciousness stubbornly refuses to ignore. How, then, can we rationally say that when our bodies disintegrate we ourselves dissolve into nothingness? Because we are dead to the physical world when our physical forms no longer serve us? That is no reason for assuming that we are non-existent in a spiritual world to which from infancy we have been growing accustomed.

The more reasonable inference is that with the loss of the physical body we become, not less spiritual to the point of non-existence, but inexplicably more spiritual—more truly and completely ourselves.

"Life absolutely and inevitably bounded by death" seemed intelligible to the author of "Progress and Poverty" only "as the avenue and vestibule to another life." So it is coming more and

more to seem to the most of us—not mystically but rationally. In the death of the human body we do not believe that we witness the death of a soul over which there were rejoicings at its birth. We believe that we witness the coming of a soul to maturity. May we not as rationally rejoice over this as over its birth—even though we grieve as we return its physical embodiment to the earth from which it came?

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At all events it seems to me unreasonable to think of my friend as having literally died. I think of him as having come more intimately into communion and useful co-operation than ever before with all who have lived for what he has lived for. I picture him as continuing his work with his father, to whose cause he was consecrated from boyhood. I picture him as working with Tolstoy, whose spirituality attracted him in his later years as it had his father before, and under whose influence he remained while his rational consciousness found physical expression.

Call it hope or call it superstition, the fact remains that he has had a spiritual as well as a physical life. And the inference arises which will not be denied, that only his physical life is at an end. It must be that in a larger and freer environment his spiritual life goes on developing that unity of love and effort for just things which has formed the character that we identify as the man we knew.

LOUIS F. POST.

## WHO OWNS THE UNITED STATES?

[The Public is not in entire accord with the remedy suggested by the writer, but presents his argument on account of its graphic statement of modern conditions.—Editors.]

Last week it was announced that John D. Rockefeller had finally succeeded in accumulating one billion dollars, thus making him the richest man that ever lived.

The American people know how he succeeded in accumulating this vast sum. He exploited the American people who had produced it.

The most thrifty of the American people do well if they succeed in saving \$300 a year above all of their expenses, and they must be busy every day in the year in order to do that. To accumulate one billion of dollars at the rate of \$300 a year—a dollar a day for three hundred working days—a man would have to live and labor three million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three (3,333,333) years. He would have to be older than Methuselah. He would have had to start when the world was hot no matter where he ended up.

But, if he was cunning and unscrupulous and followed Rockefeller's legal methods of despoiling

his fellow-men, he could get the billion-dollar prize in fifty years.

One billion of dollars is equivalent to the earnings of one hundred thousand men for twenty years, provided they earned \$500 apiece each year, and during all that time leaving nothing out for sickness, death or accident. The fact that Rockefeller could appropriate the earnings of his fellow men, and the fact that he did do it is what has caused the social and economic unrest and universal protest against the existing system and the cry for justice.

This great and powerful force—the accumulated wealth of the United States—has taken over all the functions of government, Congress, the issue of money and banking and the army and the navy, and now they are clamoring to increase the army and the navy in order to have a band of mercenaries to do their bidding and protect their stolen property. They control the Supreme Court and they nominated Hughes as their candidate for President of the United States.

Immediately after the announcement that Rockefeller was worth a billion dollars, Armour and Swift announced a dividend upon their capital stock of thirty-three and one-third per cent, and each of these concerns increased their capital stock from twenty millions to one hundred millions.

It is safe to say that neither of these concerns had any capital stock for which they had paid a dollar. Their capital stock represented what they had appropriated from the people of this country. Their working capital is represented by bonds. The eighty millions of stock which they have since added is also nothing but water, and is issued so as to make the annual dividends appear smaller. The exploited people will object less to paying six or seven per cent on a hundred millions than to paying thirty-three and one-third per cent on twenty millions. It looks better in print.

How do Armour and Swift make their money? They are the great packers. They are in collusion. They fix the prices they pay the farmer for his hogs and cattle, and they fix the price they will charge the consumer for their product. They are simply robbing the producer and the consumer, and their robbery is represented in their great wealth which they did not produce but which they took from the people under the guise of law.

Has not what Lincoln feared already happened: As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

(Lincoln's letter to his personal friend Elkins of Illinois, 1864).

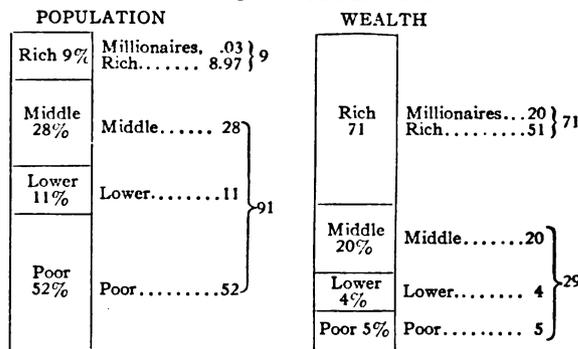
When the bill to take the census of 1890 was pending before Congress, I secured an amendment requiring the enumerators to ascertain the distribution of wealth through an inquiry into farms, homes and mortgages.

Using the figures thus secured by the enumerators of the census of 1890, on June 10, 1898, I delivered a speech in the Senate of the United States on the subject of the distribution of wealth in the United States and from the census of 1890, I showed that 52 per cent of the people of the United States owned \$95 worth of property per capita, or \$95 each of second-hand clothing and second-hand furniture, and that four thousand families owned twelve billions of the wealth, and that 6,604,000 families, or 52 per cent of the population, owned three billions of the wealth, or just five per cent.

Distribution of Wealth by Census 1890.

Class.	Families.	Pct.	Average wealth.	Aggregate wealth.	Pct.
Millionaires ..	4,000	0.03	\$3,000,000	\$12,000,000,000	20
Rich .....	1,139,600	8.97	27,000	30,600,000,000	51
Total rich....	1,143,600	9	37,358	42,600,000,000	71
Middle .....	4,953,000	39	2,907	14,400,000,000	24
Poor .....	6,604,000	52	451	3,000,000,000	5
Grand total..	12,700,000	100	4,725	60,000,000,000	100

Diagrams Showing, By Percentages, the Population and Wealth Distribution in the United States, According to Census 1890.



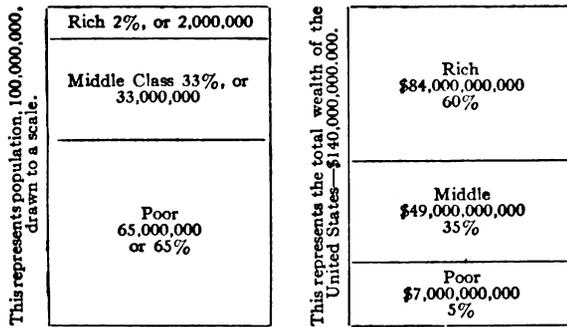
No. 1.

It will be seen from these tables, which were compiled from the census report of 1890, that 52 per cent of the people, or two per cent more than half of them, owned but five per cent of the accumulated wealth of the United States. The report of the Industrial Commission of last year which thoroughly investigated the distribution of wealth in the United States discloses the fact that after 26 years the percentage of the people who own only five per cent of the wealth, had increased to sixty-five per cent of the population.

During this period, two millions of the hundred millions of our population had secured sixty per cent of the wealth, and here follows the tables showing the distribution of wealth in the United States in 1915:

Distribution of Wealth Report Industrial Commission 1915.

Class.	Number.	Pct.	Average wealth.	Aggregate wealth.	Pct.
Rich .....	2,000,000	2	\$42,000	\$84,000,000,000	60
Middle .....	33,000,000	33	1,480	49,000,000,000	35
Poor .....	65,000,000	65	107	7,000,000,000	5
Grand total....	100,000,000	100	1,400	140,000,000,000	100



No. 2.

I wish a careful examination of these tables. You will see that 65 per cent of the people own five per cent of the wealth and that two per cent of the population, the little black line at the top of the diagram, own sixty per cent of the wealth. They did not produce the wealth. It was all produced by the sixty-five per cent of the population who have nothing. They were able to do it because they owned the government and the courts, and enacted the laws which made it possible. They have done it through manipulation, combination and exploitation. They have done it through corporations. They have done it because they own the railroads and the banks and all the public utilities, and used them all—all of these great, important public-service institutions in order to gather the products of everybody's toil into their hands. In other words, they have stolen what others produced.

You ask me what is the remedy. The remedy is clear and plain—the same remedy you apply when a man breaks into your strong box and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him. It is the duty of the sixty-five per cent of our population who produced all the wealth to reach over and take back the sixty per cent of the wealth which the two million exploiters have taken from them, and appropriate it to the general welfare, not divide it, but appropriate it to the good of all, as all produced it and therefore the mass of the people are entitled to it.

Take over the railroads, take over the banks and the issue of money, and the public-utility concerns, and take over the title of the lands that have no value except the value the community has given them, and then use all of this property for the general welfare of the community. This is not confiscation nor robbery; it is restitution.

R. F. PETTIGREW.

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God has given the earth in common to all that they might pass their life in common, not that mad and raging avarice might claim all things for itself; but that that which was produced for all might not be wanting to any.—Lactantius, Divine Institutes (300 A. D.)

## AN INTERVIEW WITH SHAW.

On alighting from train at noon on October 5, 1916, at a small station, Weathamstead, about 20 miles north of London, a tall man 60 years of age, unshaved—with quite long, scant gray whiskers—sprang lightly forward and, without a word, but with a very genial smile, grasped my hand and led me to his automobile. He directed me to the back seat, offering me a heavy topcoat. He jumped to the steering wheel and off we went, along a very narrow, crooked country road for two and a half miles, to a very small village, Ayot by name, with 20 houses and 99 people.

Driving up to a fine brick two-story house, built for the vicar of the manor, we alighted, and I was at once asked into the bright and airy sitting room and presented to Mrs. Shaw, who was confined by a sprained knee to a lounge. Then my host, the world-famous George Bernard Shaw, commenced to talk rapidly, and continued while we lunched and strolled all over the manor. He told me his ideas of social justice, of human nature of all times, including the present war times, of English country life, of lords of the manor, of clergy, etc. Mr. Shaw was dressed in a brown plaited norfolk jacket, knee pants, heavy green stockings, heavy brown shoes and a large soft cap.

At five o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Shaw drove me in his auto back to the railway station, talked with me until I got into the train for London. His last words were: "Be sure and hold your convictions lightly—don't let the intensity of your work break you down. I will see you in a few days in London."

In my conference with Shaw today he said: "No nation can be prepared fully for war in the way of machinery, as that continually changes. Machine preparedness is folly—the only preparedness that is efficient is preparedness of robust, intelligent human beings. The nation which best cares for its children will in the future be the best prepared for war."

He said: "One district in London had an election on the issue, 'Should children of the poor be fed by the public?' The no-feeds won the election—but when they got into office they found they were compelled by the needs of the children to feed them, and they did.

"In a small village a rich man gave all children sufficient food (extra food) and at the end of a period of two weeks weighed the children, and found they weighed less than before the extra feeding began. The children's stomachs were surprised at sufficient food and resented the intrusion by not assimilating it, but after another two weeks of feeding they gained in weight and energy and continued to improve rapidly in vitality.

"The big lesson this war will teach all nations is: *Feed all children well* as the best and only really efficient preparedness.

"No nation can long survive that does not prepare in this way.

"No machine for war has been made but another machine to destroy its force has been invented.

"Machine preparedness for future war will be of little use, but human preparedness will avail much."

HENRY NEIL.

### WILSON.

#### Witter Bynner in Reedy's Mirror.

They pitied us, they thought us disappointed.  
Companions of their stocks and bonds, they turned  
And were at ease again . . . For us, dark-urned  
In those first tidings lay our best-anointed,  
Our destiny, our star. We tried disjointed  
Efforts at pleantry; but we had learned  
That in our gates the torch no longer burned,  
No vision gleamed there and no freedom pointed.

The morning-sun arose, the evening star:  
America renewed her light all day  
And stood serene at evening, and from far  
Freedom was visible with lifted ray . . .  
Wilson!—humanity once more is true—  
The light that shone on Lincoln shines on you.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week ending Tuesday, November 21, 1916.

### The Electoral Vote.

The official count of Minnesota completed on November 18 definitely gives the twelve electoral votes of the state to Hughes by 396 plurality. The electoral vote is thus made to stand Wilson 276, Hughes 255. [See current volume, page 1095.]

### The Next Congress.

With official counts still pending in many Congressional districts, and unofficial returns showing majorities of less than 100 in nine districts, the division of parties in the next House of Representatives appears on November 18 to be 217 Republicans, 213 Democrats and five independents. The latter are Meyer London, of New York, Socialist; C. H. Randall, of California, Prohibitionist; W. P. Martin, of Louisiana, Progressive Protectionist; T. D. Schall of Minnesota, Progressive, and A. J. Fuller of Massachusetts, Independent. Included in Republican enrollment are Nolan of California and Stafford and Carey of Wisconsin who voted in the 63d Congress for the Underwood law. The Democratic enrollment includes the Louisiana Congressman who voted against the law. Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania, who voted as a Progressive for the Underwood law, is defeated by 29 votes on the unofficial returns. The official count

is now in progress. [See current volume, page 1095.]

### Socialist Election Returns.

The New York Times of November 13 estimates the total Socialist vote cast in the United States on November 7 as 1,400,000. The Herald estimate is that Allan L. Benson received 1,300,000 votes as against 901,783 cast for Eugene V. Debs in 1912. Besides the election of Meyer London to Congress from New York, and of Thomas Van Lear as Mayor of Minneapolis, Socialist candidates were elected to lesser positions in a number of other places. Two assemblymen were elected to the New York Legislature from Brooklyn, two were elected to the Kansas Legislature from Scott county and Thomas county, and one was elected to the Legislature of Vermont from the town of Barre. James A. Maurer was re-elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature. In Wisconsin the Socialist delegation in the Legislature has been increased by two votes. Though Morris Hillquitt is defeated for Congress on the face of the returns in the 20th New York district by 163 votes, by Isaac Siegel, Republican, evidence of gross fraud is alleged to exist, and a contest is promised. It is charged that 500 Hillquitt votes were stolen during the count. [See current volume, page 1096.]

### The Singletax Votes.

Complete returns from California are still lacking. News at hand indicates that the Singletax amendment received at least 300,000 votes in the State and possibly more. From Oregon an Associated Press dispatch of November 14 gives the complete vote on the Land and Loan measure as 43,820 for and 184,984 against. [See current volume, page 1096.]

### Direct Voting Results.

The voters of Washington on November 7 overwhelmingly rejected seven bills passed by the Legislature against which the Referendum had been invoked. They further rejected a constitutional amendment submitted by the Legislature to limit the right of suffrage on bond issues to taxpayers, and also two initiative measures submitted by the liquor interests. Among the legislative bills defeated on referendum was one to make difficult securing of signatures for Initiative or Referendum proposals, another directed against the Recall, one to restore the party convention system and another to make picketing illegal.

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Under the Public Policy act of Massachusetts the question was placed on the ballot in 37 legislative districts in Massachusetts, for voters to determine whether representatives should be instructed to support the Initiative and Referendum. The vote is advisory only. The vote was largely

favorable. In four districts from which exact figures are obtainable the total vote was 10,361 favorable to 2,131 against. One of these districts is that of the Republican floor leader, Representative Kennard of Somerville. There will be a constitutional convention in 1917.

#### Farmers Gain Majority on Supreme Court.

The victory of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League in North Dakota includes, besides the election of Lynn J. Frazier as Governor with the Legislature in accord, three judges of the State Supreme Court, giving the League a majority of that body. [See current volume, pages 653, 661.]

#### Single-tax-Socialist Conference.

A conference between Socialists and Single-taxers is to be held at Milwaukee on November 30 and December 1. Arrangements are in charge of Dr. C. L. Babcock, Colby-Abott Bldg., Milwaukee, to whom all desiring to attend should send their names. The object, as expressed by Louis Wallis, in a published call, is "a better understanding between Socialists and Single-taxers in the great campaign against monopoly and special privilege." Mr. Wallis further explains that no attempt will be made to secure fusion of these groups in one body. This, he says, "would be a futility and waste of time." The conference will try to outline a plan of co-operation which both groups can consistently follow.

#### The Railroad Fight.

In regard to attacks on the Adamson law the Department of Justice issued on November 15 the following statement:

A large number of suits attacking the constitutionality of the Adamson law have been instituted in various parts of the United States. The Department of Justice will take direct charge of these cases, and Frank Hagerman of Kansas City, Mo., has been retained to assist in their preparation and trial.

The Commission to investigate the effect of the Adamson law will open headquarters in New York on November 23. The heads of a number of railroads have already been summoned as witnesses. Chairman Newlands of the Congressional Committee to study government ownership has also called his organization together to begin work. [See current volume, pages 848, 1097.]

#### The Labor Convention.

The American Federation of Labor at Baltimore declared opposition on November 17 to legislation that would make illegal any railroad strike or lockout prior to the investigation of the merits of the case. It further took a stand "against compulsory institutions and in favor of maintenance of the institutions and opportunities for

freedom." On November 20 a resolution was adopted urging labor everywhere to make the injunction question the paramount issue in all political activities. The resolutions state further:

It seems to be a settled purpose of interests antagonistic to the freedom of men and women who labor to persuade and then use the judiciary and misconstrue constitutional guarantees, and thereby nullify legislative enactments, so as to leave but one remedy; and we therefore recommend that any injunctions dealing with the relationship of employer and employe, and based on the dictum labor is property, be wholly and absolutely regarded as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may.

Such decisions as the one rendered by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts has its roots in class interests; it is usurpation and tyranny. Freedom came to man because he believed that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God. As it came so it must be maintained. Kings should be and were disobeyed and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed and should be impeached.

The Massachusetts decision mentioned was rendered last June, wherein the Supreme Court of the State upheld an injunction and declared the anti-injunction law unconstitutional. Other resolutions adopted condemn the Chicago Board of Education for dropping 38 teachers in defiance of the superintendent's recommendation, and still another declares "opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech, press, or of the showing of motion pictures when they are based on facts." [See current volume, page 1095.]

#### Effort to Recall Mayor Gill Fails.

An effort to recall Mayor Gill of Seattle failed for lack of signatures. The effort grew out of the attack by the Sheriff of Snohomish county on members of the I. W. W. who were about to land from a steamer at Everett. Mayor Gill had publicly denounced the Sheriff upon which a "Law and Order" Committee prepared recall petitions. On November 16, Reverend W. A. Major, secretary of the committee, announced that the effort would be dropped and said "ninety per cent of the citizens of Seattle are opposed to the recall." [See volume xviii, pages 249, 256; current volume, p. 1068.]

#### Birth Control Agitation.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger was again arrested in Brooklyn on November 15. The charge is "maintaining a public nuisance," and is based on a sign on her front door as follows:

Mothers—come in and register your protest against the law which prevents you from controlling the size of your family.

On being taken before a magistrate she was ordered released without bail. On November 17 the Women's City Club of New York City adopted resolutions urging that physicians be allowed to

instruct their patients in birth control methods. The vote followed a debate in which the affirmative side was taken by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf and Dr. Ira S. Wile, and the negative by Dr. James Walsh and John S. Sumner, successor to the late Anthony Comstock. [See current volume, pages 1049, 1050.]

#### Compulsory Vaccination Upheld.

The Superior Court of Pennsylvania on November 13 upheld the conviction and fine of a Philadelphia citizen for violation of the compulsory education law, although he had tried to send his children to school, and they had been refused admission on the ground that they had not been vaccinated. The compulsory education law provides:

Any pupil prevented from attending school on account of the health or sanitation laws of this Commonwealth or by the sanitary regulations of the local Board of Health or the Board of School Directors, is hereby relieved from complying with the provisions of this act concerning compulsory attendance, during such time as he is thereby prevented from attending school.

The compulsory vaccination law provides:

All principals or other persons in charge of schools are required to refuse the admission of any child to the school under their charge or supervision, except upon a certificate signed by a physician, setting forth that such child has been successfully vaccinated, or that it has previously had smallpox.

Although no penalty is provided in this law Judge Orlady of the Superior Court upheld the fine imposed by ignoring the legal maxim requiring strict construction of statutes imposing penalties and stating in regard to the vaccination law:

This act, so far as it relates to the same subject matter, must be read into and construed with the act of 1911 as a relevant constituent of the school law. This code is the result of many years of practical experience, and its beneficent provisions should be rigorously enforced, as it is the last expression of the legislative will on this subject.

The exceptions mentioned in the compulsory school attendance act refer only to temporary or emergent conditions and cannot refer to such a condition as is urged by this appellant to fix a permanent exception from such attendance, on account of the individual opinion of the parent in regard to the propriety of complying with a health regulation.

Unless reversed by the Supreme Court, Judge Orlady's decision is equivalent to placing upon the statute books a compulsory vaccination law providing penalties not placed therein by the Legislature.

#### World Economy of Food.

The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome has issued an extensive report on the food question which it says is very grave. It is estimated that 2,300,000,000 bushels of wheat will be consumed in the year ending July 31, 1917, which will decrease the world's surplus to 46,000,000

bushels. The world's surplus of the five cereals, wheat, rye, barley, oats and corn, is placed at 533,000,000 bushels. This includes the stocks in Russia, Roumania and Bulgaria that cannot be exported.

#### Mexico and the United States.

Little or no progress has been made toward an agreement between the American and the Mexican Commissioners in conference at Atlantic City during the week. Luis Cabrera, minister of finance and president of the Mexican Commission, appears to be the obstacle to agreement. Secretary Lane, chairman of the American Commission, has conferred with President Wilson, and Secretaries Lansing and Baker, who have come to an agreement on a basis for settlement or the abandonment of the conference. [See current volume, page 1097.]

#### European War.

Minor attacks in force have been made on the Somme front, both by the British and the French. The British have taken the villages of Beaumont-Hamel north of the Ancre, and Beaucourt south of the little stream. The prisoners taken since the beginning of the Ancre drive number 6,962. Heavy counter attacks by the Germans have failed to dislodge the British from their gains, although Berlin claims to have effectively stopped the advance. On the south end of the Somme front the French advanced their lines north of Chaulnes. Part of this gain was lost under German counter attacks, but the ground was finally retaken. Cold weather and rain hamper operations in the field. Nothing of importance is reported from the Verdun front. [See current volume, page 1097.]

The chief interest centers in the Balkan campaigns. The forces under General von Falkenhayn, though checked by the Russian and Roumanian armies on the northern half of the Transylvanian border, have continued their advances through the several passes of the central and southern border. An effective German army is now clear of the mountains, and ready to begin operations on the plains. The forces entering Roumania through Red Tower Pass are sixty miles inside the border, and are advancing on the important town of Crajova. War critics look upon it as a grave situation for the invaded country, and think it likely Bukharest, the capital, will be taken. The Mackensen army in the Dobrudja is vaguely reported as "retreating." A slight ray of hope for the Allies springs from the capture of Monastir, which gives the Serbs an important city on their own soil. Operations by the Serbs and French continue to the north of the city, where they are trying to drive the enemy east of the Cerna River. Until this region can be cleared the city will be of little more use to the Serbs than it

has been to the Bulgarians. Heavy artillery fire is announced in the Lake Doiran region to the east of Monastir, to open the gateway into the Vardar Valley. The British also are renewing activity on the Struma front in eastern Macedonia.

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Greece continues to be the scene of mystery and confusion. The latest reports are that Vice Admiral Du Fournet, commander of the Allied fleet, has ordered the German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish ministers to depart from Greece by the 22d. The American legation has undertaken the protection of Austrians, Turks, and Bulgars in Greece, while the Spanish legation will care for the German interests. The Admiral also has demanded the surrender of all arms, munitions and artillery of the Greek army, with the exception of 50,000 rifles in actual use. The crown council resists this demand. The immediate cause of the expulsion is said to be espionage on the part of the German naval attache. Heavy fighting has taken place on the Italian front, both in the Trentino and on the Carso Plateau; but no decided changes in the lines have followed.

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Some light is thrown on the Greek situation by a statement of former premier Venizelos, who is engaged in raising troops in Macedonia to aid the Allies, in opposition to King Constantine. He says:

We cannot be accused of being antidynastic because we come into conflict with the crown on account of the system of despotism set up at Athens, and on account of our resolve to claim in the name of the people the right which is theirs according to the constitution and by which the people are entitled to decide their own destinies.

Even if it be this conflict which has provoked our movement, I state emphatically that our movement has not been organized with the object of achieving a settlement of that conflict. We have no intention of settling it by force of arms or for dealing with it at all while the war lasts. For the present our intention is absorbed by our country's enemy.

After the war has terminated, however, and we have assured to us as far as possible the safeguarding of our national interests and have raised Greece from the position to which she has sunk through her violation of the Serb-Greek treaty, then we will see what guaranties can be obtained for the future against the possibility of a limited number of persons around the king imposing on the crown opinions which are in direct contradiction to the will of the people and of forcing on the people against their will policies calculated to drive the country to national suicide.

The conflict to which I refer can be decided in only one way, by the free verdict of the people. We shall ask to be assured of this freedom in a practical manner and are convinced that the allies of the entente will assist us to this end. It is only in the event that the Greek people is prevented after the war from expressing its decisions freely that the

danger of civil war will arise. A settlement of the Greek constitutional problem will doubtless interest the entente from the political as well as the moral point of view.

Nothing but the re-establishment of the constitutional regime, which has been violated and the restitution to the people of the right to decide their own destinies can offer any guaranty that Greece will continue in close and cordial relations with the entente. A continuation of the absolutist rule from which we have been suffering the last twenty months would always make easy the departure of Greece from her natural path and a rapprochement with the central powers. We wish to insure our right to be a free people, masters of our own destinies; wherefore we are confident that the entente will grant us that material and moral support needed to bring our struggle to a successful conclusion.

## NOTES

—The federal woman suffrage amendment was endorsed unanimously by the National Grange at its meeting at Washington on November 20.

—Pensions to the amount of \$687,000 were paid during the past year by the Carnegie Foundation to 331 college and university professors, and 127 widows of professors.

—The first national game preserve east of the Mississippi was established by proclamation of President Wilson on November 4. It consists of the Pisgah National Forest, near Asheville and Biltmore, North Carolina, and was created largely out of the estate of George W. Vanderbilt, which the Government bought.

—The Dutch Parliament has unanimously passed a resolution amending the Constitution so that henceforth Holland will have universal manhood suffrage, with no plural votes or compulsory voting. The sex disability of woman has been removed, but the actual granting of the vote is dependent upon the passing of an electoral bill.

—It is announced that a steamship line is to be established between Japan and Brazil. The first steamer, which will be of 5,000 tons register, will leave Japan next February, carrying in addition to cargo 900 emigrants. It is stated that beginning with February 5,000 Japanese will be sent to Brazil each year, to be employed in the cultivation of rice, beans, potatoes, onions, and coffee.

—Henryk Sienkiewicz, Polish novelist, and famous as the author of "Quo Vadis," died at Vevay, Switzerland, on the 15th. He was born of a Lithuanian family at Okreya, Podlasia, about seventy-four years ago. Sienkiewicz had been interested in Polish relief work since the beginning of the war. His last message to this country stated that the birth rate in Poland had dropped to 100 for every 240 deaths.

—The 36th annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held at New Haven on December 5. Headquarters are at the Hotel Taft. Among speakers on the program are ex-President Taft, H. S. Gilbertson, of the Short Ballot League, Richard H. Dana, Morton D. Hull of Chicago, Arthur

T. Hadley of Yale University, and George McAneny of New York.

—Mr. John Z. White has been assigned for lecture work under the direction of the Henry George Lecture Association, as follows: State of Pennsylvania, Nov. 10-30; New Hampshire and Vermont, Dec. 1-7; New York State, Dec. 8-31; Fall River, Mass., Jan. 1-7; Rhode Island, Jan. 8-14; Boston and vicinity, Jan. 15-23; State of Maine, Jan. 24-25; Montreal, Jan. 26-27; Ottawa, Jan. 29-30; Toronto, Jan. 31; Michigan, Feb. 1-7; Indiana, Feb. 8-10; Ohio, Feb. 11-16; Louisville, Ky., Feb. 17-18; South Eastern States, Feb. 19-March 15; Louisiana, Texas, Mar. 16-30.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### His Soul Goes Marching On.

St. Louis Republic, Nov. 9:—What put Ohio into the Democratic column? The influence of a man who, being dead, yet speaketh—Tom Johnson. Twenty years ago the politics of the Main Chance seemed enthroned in Ohio beyond the peril of revolution. Mark Hanna was the best financial organizer in the history of American politics. McKinley, a man who actually believed in the absurdities of popular good through special privilege, gave to a bad cause the moral weight only supplied by sincerity. Foraker's brilliancy and prestige impressed Ohio Republicanism on the imagination of the nation. McKinley had just been elected President, and it was written in the stars that his successor should be followed at the White House by another Ohio Republican. Boss Cox held Cincinnati in the hollow of his hand, while Mark Hanna looked after Cleveland. Ohio Republicanism had money, brains, personal power, tactical skill and the strength that comes from organized self-interest. It had everything except great ideas. In Cleveland there was a steelmaker with some new-fangled ideas about popular rights, and the relation of popular rights to the stability of public institutions. Tom Johnson started out to make his ideas count. He encouraged Bigelow in Cincinnati and Jones and Whitlock at Toledo to fight the good fight for clean government. He died beaten and poor. But there stands as his monument the civic spirit and material greatness of Cleveland, and today we see in Ohio's verdict upon national affairs Johnson's influence on the conscience and will of Ohio's people.

### Obstacles to Peace.

The Nation (London), October 28.—The Treaty of Peace should declare the inviolability of the small States. It must obviously seek a plan of disarmament. It should endeavor to apply the machinery of the most-favored-nation clause to the dependencies of the Great Powers. It would even, we hope, internationalize the straits and inter-ocean canals. But the moment we attempt to visualize the vaguest conception of an after-war Europe that will not be a hell on earth, we presuppose a state of amity between the Great Powers—yes, between the chief belligerents of the hour. There is the true dilemma. Can we and Germany, whose antagonism has torn the world in twain, become associates in the work of

re-settlement. Today it seems quixotic even to state such a proposition, and years may pass before it completely realizes itself in a scheme of European harmony. But, unless we can think of Europe as one, unless we consciously aim at a peace which goes deeper than a scheme of territorial adjustment, and seek to exorcise the opposing spirits of racial hatred and sectarian ambition, the war may prove almost interminable, and the false ideas from which it sprang grow till they are woven into Europe's winding-sheet. There, even more than in the pains and horrors of slaughter, lies our danger, and we see no escape from it unless, at the fit moment, we can resort to an influence, at once detached, and powerful, and sympathetic to the world's better soul and intelligence. That influence can only flow from one source—America.

### This Principle Condemns Enforced Military Service.

Chicago Tribune, November 20.—The growth of the custodial idea in the United States is apparent. The individual is to be checked, guided, and stopped by the State in matters which were left to his moral selection in other times. This impulse gains rapidly. . . . The scheme of moral custody is well laid out. If it is not to substitute prohibitory statutes for character, it is at least to make an exercise of character unnecessary. The law will do the work if it is enforced. There is a field of morality in which real character does not have to have the protection of law. It is its own defense. There is a field of economics in which the individual may not be able to protect himself no matter what his will or character. A family may be victimized by bad housing conditions and be unable to find its way out. A man may be subjected to dangerous industrial conditions and be unable to protect himself. He may be economically sweated and be unable to change his lot. He may be exposed to occupational diseases and be unable to find the remedy. Avoidance of accident, disease, discomfort, and hunger may be impossible to him unaided. It is in this field of custodial action that the nation goes very slowly. In the field of moralistic custody the nation is progressing rapidly. . . . A rotten tenement stirs the imagination of a small number of people. The story of a rum tragedy touches the emotions of a great many people. The industrial waste of human life does not get as many people as excited as the rum waste of life. Yet any man can protect himself against rum, against moving pictures, against salacious literature, against nearly everything covered by the moral prohibition, and many a man is unable to extricate himself from economic conditions wholly uncorrected by law. The State as a custodian must consider itself as a trustee of the physical well being of its people. That custodial idea is nowhere nearly half developed in this country. It must be developed if the United States is to be a sound nation. The State is getting along rapidly as a moral custodian; slowly otherwise.

\* \* \*

The crowd will follow a leader who marches twenty steps in advance; but if he is a thousand steps in front of them they do not see and do not follow him, and any literary freebooter who chooses may shoot him with impunity.—George Brandes.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 7.

Chicago, Nov. 19.

What red-blooded apostle of social justice can ever forget the agony of the night of November 7th, when first returns made it appear that plutocracy had scored another victory? Through the minds of millions of men and women some such thoughts as these must have passed: A majority of the American people, it seems, favor the invasion of Mexico; the restoration of Huertaism; the confiscation of interned German vessels even though it lead to war; the repeal of the "8-hour law"; a cessation of progressive labor and other "welfare" legislation; and a return to a high "protective" tariff to keep out foreign-made goods and enable our lusty tariff infants to boost prices another notch, in the belief, apparently, that "trade" is unnatural, injurious to the parties thereto and should be abolished; and not, as claimed by some Democrats, the greatest labor-saving device known to man. In that dark hour it seemed that the hope held out, that the Wilson administration was an entering wedge toward true democracy, had failed; that the lines would have to be re-formed in the face of defeat; and that the battle would again have to be carried on merely as a campaign of education.

Now, however, cheered on by victory, democracy can go forward with renewed courage, conscious that a beginning has been made, confident of the ultimate triumph of true democracy, fully aroused to the perils of the course and the distance yet to be traveled.

HARRY W. OLNEY.

### WILSON AND THE SCANDINAVIAN VOTE.

St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 20, 1916.

Two friends of mine were traveling by automobile shortly before the election among the Scandinavian farmers of North Dakota.

As they went from farm to farm they inquired: "Well, how are you going to vote this fall?"

"Val, Maister Vilson, he bane pretty gud man. Ai tank Ai shall vote for Maister Vilson."

After hearing this repeated at farm after farm for several days, one friend said to the other: "I'll show you a bunch of Scandinavians who won't be for Wilson. Beyond here are seven brothers by the name of Olson—rock-ribbed Republicans—they won't vote for Wilson."

Soon they reached the Olson settlement and made the usual inquiry: "Well, you Olsons are all Republicans, I suppose you will vote for Hughes?"

"Val, yaa, ve all bane Republican, but you see Maister Vilson, he move the capitol from Voal Street to Vashington, so ve tank he better keep it dare."

Here in St. Paul, Wilson carried the city by about 9,000, and the banner ward was the first, inhabited almost wholly by Scandinavian mechanics and laborers. But Wilson also carried the Seventh ward, where the prominent business and professional men live.

I think Wilson also carried every ward of Minneapolis, where there are over one hundred thou-

sand Scandinavians. At any rate, the city went for him by nearly ten thousand.

Wilson also had big majorities in a number of strong Republican Scandinavian counties, in some of them receiving two votes to one for Hughes.

John Lind stated publicly at a big Wilson celebration in Minneapolis, Nov. 17, that Wilson got more Republican votes in Minnesota than he did Democratic.

He lost many strong Democratic counties, especially those largely settled by German Catholics—Stearns county is mostly German—usually 250 to 3,000 Democratic, but Hughes had a thousand majority there.

Yes, the Scandinavians did it in North Dakota and Minnesota.

C. J. BUELL.

### A RAILROAD SINGLETAX COLONY.

Fall River, Mass., Nov. 11, 1916.

Allow me to apprise you of the discovery of a Singletax colony, situated very near to the heart of conservative old New England, that has been in existence for a good many years.

The unconscious perpetrator of the Singletax system is none other than one of the largest railroad corporations in the eastern United States.

The community of which I speak is a summer colony known as "The Hummocks," situated in Tiverton, R. I., and the land is owned by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company. Situated on the shore of the Sakonnet River, the land is admirably located for summer homes, and even a few of the inhabitants make it their yearly residence. Part of the land has been set aside, by the railroad company, to supply the demand for summer home sites, but, inasmuch as the railroad corporation desires to retain title to the property, home sites are never sold outright, being rented for twelve-month periods.

Previous to a year or two ago, the annual ground rent, for each site, amounted to \$10.00, but, with the increased cost of living, the yearly rent has now been raised to \$15.00. The colonists are permitted to build any type of house that suits their means and tastes, and no additional tax is imposed for any improvements.

About two years ago, I leased one of the home sites as I was then contemplating a summer home for myself and family. For one year I held the privilege of using the site selected by myself. During this time, although my location was vacant, my yearly tax was no less, nor no more, than the annual tax of my neighbors who had homes, private piers and other improvements.

It is strange, yet amusing, that while the other colonists agree to the justice of my paying the same yearly tax for a vacant site, which it was my privilege to use, or hold out of use if I was so disposed, these same people do not, I believe, see the justice of applying the principle to the same identical conditions in our cities and surroundings. I paid for the opportunity to use that particular site, and if I failed to use it, and would not allow anyone else to use it, there develops no reason why I should be granted a reduced tax.

Through my conversation with the neighboring colonists, I have learned that they much prefer the

present system to private ownership of land. One of their main reasons for favoring the continuance of the present system is that the corporative owner maintains a strict discipline of respectability among the tenants, and undesirable persons, buildings, or businesses, that would be annoying to the colonists, can gain no entrance nor location. The result is that a respectable, law-abiding community has grown there, that offers its hospitality to deserving persons of any class or means.

Under the present system, it is not necessary for the owner of a row-boat or yawl to pull the plug from the bung-hole and allow his craft to sink beneath the river surface until after the tax assessor has called and departed. They have no incentive to conceal personal property, and they are unable to conceal the size and location of their home sites. Being unhampered with the usual multiplicity of plicayune taxes, these people are free to improve their surroundings toward any pretensions and, while the varying conditions of individual improvements denote the financial limits of the different inhabitants, all persons are on the same social footing and all enjoy the same natural, and socially-created, advantages.

T. N. ASHTON.

## WE WANT TO KNOW.

Toledo, O., Nov. 22.

The next session of Congress will open in a country calling for information as the thirsty call for water. The Adamson Eight-Hour Law opens the way to a thorough knowledge of railroad facts. No problem is more vital to this country than the problem of transportation. It is upon that vital problem that we demand light.

We want to know, Mr. Congressman. There are a hundred million of us, all from Missouri, looking for information on this railroad question.

We want to know how much of the 20 billions of railroad stocks and bonds represent real values, and how much represents rain-water; how much was invested in the properties by bona fide investors and how much of the present value is re-invested profits.

We want to know how much of the real present value—twenty billions, more or less—was really invested, dollar for dollar, once upon a time, and how much is represented by the increase in the value of the millions of acres of timber and mineral land, given free to the railroad; of terminal sites in cities, and of franchise values and rights of way.

We want to know how much it costs to carry freight and passengers from one part of the country to another.

We want to know whether Louis D. Brandeis was right when he charged that hundreds of millions could be saved every year out of the cost of operating railroads if they were handled with ordinary intelligence and on a basis of reasonable efficiency.

We want to know who controls the railroads of the United States. That does not mean the number of stock and bond holders—there are several hundred thousand of them—it does mean the handful of men who can gather about a table and decide the railroad policy for the entire country. Who are these men? How much power do they really hold? When do they exercise it, and how?

We want to know how much the big fellows are getting out of the railroads. We learned about the New Haven AFTER THE DELUGE. We have seen the results of similar highway robbery on other railroad systems since. Is that kind of thing going on all over the country? Do the great banking houses milk the railroads for their own profit and then send the bill to the public, in the form of increased freight rates on flour and shoes?

We want to know what part of the railroad earnings goes to those who own the railroads and what part goes to those who work on the railroads. This has become an important question for us. There are owners and workers in every American industry. The railroad industry—the largest single American business outside of agriculture—gives a first rate idea of the situation that is developing in our industrial life.

We want to know how much the owners of American railroads are getting in interest, dividends and increased property values. THEY OWN FOR A LIVING. What does their ownership net them? Is it true that many of the railroads in addition to paying interest and dividends are turning profits back into capital and laying away fat surpluses?

We want to know how much those who work on the American railroads are getting in wages and salaries. THEY WORK FOR A LIVING. What does their work net them? Do the wages of railroad workers compensate for the extra hazards involved in the industry? Is it true that some of the men in the construction camps and the maintenance-of-way crews; in the shops; and among the trackmen receive a wage so low that it forces them and their families into poverty?

We want to know about railroad unions. Is it true that the unorganized railroad workers who do not belong to the Brotherhoods are denied the right to organize? That under the cloak furnished by the Brotherhoods, the railroads have carried on a consistent policy of ruthless destruction of unionism?

We want to know these things about the greatest single business in the country—a business with twenty billions of capital and one and three-quarter millions of workers. Our representatives in Washington are the only people in the United States who can give us a satisfactory answer.

SCOTT NEARING.

## THE PROGRESSIVE FARMERS' CONGRESS.

Greencastle, Ind., Nov. 14, 1916.

On page 1067 of The Public you report resolutions passed at Farmers' Congress, but for some reason omit that we (I was a delegate) endorsed prohibition of the liquor traffic; also Torrens land title registration law and our peace resolution. Furthermore, the resolutions began with "reaffirm." The farmers are the most politically progressive class of American citizens. They have been the leaders for many years for prohibition, woman suffrage, the initiative and referendum and other reforms. We are not following any popular leaders. They are following us. The peace resolution was as follows:

Whereas, The Farmers' National Congress and the individual farm voters have made of the rural vote a recog-

nized power in the decision of important state and national issues, such as Woman Suffrage and Temperance;

Therefore, It is urged upon the members of the Farmers' National Congress in convention assembled at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 19th of October, 1916, that in this time of worldwide disturbance and of national concern, they assert their belief in international principles of justice and humanity, and that they give expression to their opposition to militaristic legislation in our country, imitative of European systems, and to the introduction of militaristic ideals into American education.

The foregoing was adopted unanimously, and hits the "preparedness," conscription, "universal training" Goliath squarely in the forehead. The resolution was written at my solicitation by Miss Jane Addams, chairman of the National Woman's Peace Party and introduced into the Farmers' National Congress by both their state chairman, Mrs. R. C. Bennett of Indianapolis and by myself in co-operation. Miss Addams is the sort always to be depended upon and though under the doctor's care, felt the farmers were of sufficient importance to give her personal attention to the matter. It is noteworthy that the winning candidate in the recent national election also made a special drive to win the farmer's and laborer's votes, and that while he called attention to some laws secured for each class, President Wilson did not urge his invasions of Mexico, Hayti, San Domingo, Nicaragua, nor his threats against Germany, nor his enormous militarism preparedness appropriations as his claim for re-election. On the contrary, the main emphasis of his campaign was just the opposite: "He kept us out of war!" In view of the fact that only the inability of the invaded and threatened countries to fight back has kept us out of war, the claim was not justified, but the need of making of the peace claim was a triumph for the pacifists. It is to be hoped that since the eastern "preparedness" howling states voted against him and that his campaign was made as a pacifist, that Pres. Wilson will drop his militarism errors and plans and return to the pacifist position of his first two years and that the people of the United States really believe in. His howling militarism of the past year is un-American and his surrender of it during the campaign proved his error, as did also the resolutions of the Farmers' Congress.

\* \* \*  
DANE S. DUNLOP.

The restoration of concord must be the work of years; no part of the old jealousies, of the former fears, of the greed and ambition of the past will have been cancelled by the war, which will really have proved nothing but that in certain years of the twentieth century the combination of certain nations has proved stronger than the combination of certain other nations, their strength having been shown by their greater ability to destroy the accumulated wealth of the world, and to put out of combat by death, wounds or capture the larger number of the sons of sorrowing and suffering mothers. Would that we could go back to the days before the load of new offenses had been added to the old, for in the past months there have been piled up with lavish hands memories which it will take many long years of peace to soften.—John Morland in *The Quarterly Examiner*.

## BOOKS

### TWO BOOKS ON LABOR.

**Industrial Arbitration.** By Carl H. Mote. Published by Bobbs, Merrill Co., Indianapolis. Price \$1.50.

When a man has read with care *Progress and Poverty*, *The Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII* and *The Land Question*, it is not too much to say that he has a right to look forward with some confidence to the result of an experiment with a thorough application of the Singletax, and to believe that by its means, strikes would become things of the past. For, granting George's premises, conviction must follow. A man having so read, is so convinced of the soundness of George's argument and the entire correctness of his viewpoint, that it comes with a shock when he finds someone really interested in the labor problem who has not familiarized himself with the Singletax solution for the labor problem.

Mr. Mote commenced this study with the object of finding some tangible device for the prevention of strikes and lock-outs, but evidently failed to read after Henry George and, therefore, concludes that the only hope is that "Progress must be realized in a steady stream of constructive, humanitarian measures, so that the employer may adjust the process of production and distribution to the new and changing standards which an alert social consciousness requires him to maintain." But freedom from strikes under such conditions would be very much like what Professor Fried terms "latent war" and one trusts that Mr. Mote will lose no time before he reads at least division IV of George's "The Condition of Labor."

The book contains much valuable information, pleasingly presented, regarding the various expedients adopted throughout the world to avoid friction between employer and employe, and is, therefore, full of matter for thought. It is an excellent introduction to the subject, the more so because the author realizing the futility of all the palliatives he examines, does not offer a completed theory for the abolition of strikes and lock-outs. That is as it should be, for there is only one sure cure, and that, of course, lies in the application of the Singletax.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

\* \* \*

**Organized Labor In America.** By George Grote. Published by Macmillan & Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.75 net.

Professor Grote has done well to collect the data that here appears, for his book contains a very complete exposition of the organized labor movement. He divides the book into six parts which deal with the beginning of labor organization, the movement in modern times, the strike and the boycott as a weapon, political activity and recent developments with a general conclusion as to the

probable outcome. Throughout, he is fair minded as well as learned, with a decided bias in the latter part of the work toward unionism, which he regards as a solution of the entire labor problem when the principle shall have been applied to all industry, and when unionism shall have secured so strong a control over itself as to be able to avoid violence in any shape or form in the case of disputes.

Instructive and interesting as the work is, it still fails to convince the reader that unionism is anything but a palliative and has not, and cannot benefit the worker at large. It is true that now and then special classes have been benefited by strikes, but the condition of labor as a whole has not improved. Further, it is entirely probable that the whole union agitation has done little more than to head off the demand for natural rights, which if won, would once and for all settle the labor question, for the returns that men are willing to accept, depend entirely upon what they can get by working for themselves. CHAS. J. FINGER.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Invisible Balance Sheet. By Katrina Trask. Published by the John Lane Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.40 net.

—The Law of Success. By Bruce MacLelland. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The New Reservation of Time. By William Jewett Tucker. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1916. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Women Workers and Society. By Annie Marion MacLean. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1916. Price, 50 cents net.

## PAMPHLETS

### Pamphlets Received.

Mexican Problems. By Robert Bruce Brinsmade and M. C. Rolland.

Letters to the Tribune. By Edgar D. Brinkerhoff. Published by the Pamphlet Publishing Co., Fall River, Mass.

On the Way: Peace and Prosperity in Industry and In Trade. By P. G. Whitcomb, Akron, O. Price, 10 cents.

Single Tax. Edited by E. D. Shurtee. A manual for debate. Published by the University of Texas, Austin, Tex., 1916.

How Business Men Stand on National Defense. Published by the United States Chamber of Commerce, Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

Alabama's Public School System. A comparative study. Bulletin No. 55, Issued by the Department of Education, Montgomery, Ala., 1916.

The Rate of Interest After the War. By Irving Fisher. Reprinted from The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

Constitution for the United Nations of the Earth. Third Edition. By Edgar D. Brinkerhoff. Published by the Pamphlet Publishing Co., Fall River, Mass.

Is Commerce War? By Henry Raymond Mussey. Reprint. Published by the American Association for International Conciliation, Sub Station 84, New York City.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Men's Clothing Industry, 1911 to 1914. Bulletin No. 187, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1916.

Dressmaking as a Trade for Women in Massachusetts. By May Allinson. Bulletin Number 193, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1916.

Texas Municipalities. Published by the League of Texas Municipalities at the Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. Price, 15 cents.

International Morality and Exchange. By Henri Lambert, of Belgium. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ruskin House, 40 Museum St., London, W. C. Price, sixpence net.

What the Catholic Church has Done to Mexico. By A. Paganel, with a reply by Cardinal Farley. Published by the Latin American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York, 1916. Price, 10 cents.

## Periodicals

### Land Values.

Land Values (London), for November is particularly full of meat, even for that meaty journal. Its news of the month is stimulating, and its editorial on "Pensions: from Land Values or Industry?" is timely and illuminating. An address to woman agriculturists, by Ethel Wedgwood, and an article on "The Land Question" by the same author—both of which have been reprinted in pamphlet form—treat instructively of woman's new position in the economic world.

\* \* \*

The mixed metaphor has ever been a pitfall to the enthusiastic orator, and much allowance may be made in such cases for the warmth of the moment. A recent writer in a well known financial journal has, however, no such excuse. "Of two evils," he writes, "choose the lesser." So far, all is well enough. It is afterwards that he goes to pieces, thus: "And on the whole we think we might fall from the frying-pan into the fire if we swapped horses whilst crossing the stream."—Christian Science Monitor.

\* \* \*

Minnie—"So sorry to hear of your motor accident!"

Lionel—"Oh, thanks; it's nothing. Expect to live through many more."

Minnie—"Oh, but I hope not!"—Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.

\* \* \*

While a certain Scotch minister was conducting religious services in an asylum for the insane one of the inmates cried out, wildly:

"I say, have we got to listen to this?"

The minister, surprised and confused, turned to the keeper and said:

"Shall I stop speaking?"

The keeper replied:

"No, no; go along, go along; that will not happen again. That man has only one lucid moment every seven years."—Tit-Bits.

Peggy was two years younger than Bessie. As is the way with younger sisters, Bessie's outgrown clothes became Peggy's humiliating heritage. One day Bessie made an exciting discovery.

"My goodness," she said. "I've got a loose tooth. I think I'll pull it out."

"Oh, don't," Peggy implored. "Mother will make me wear it."—New York Times.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver was lunching one day—it was a very hot day—when a politician paused beside the table. "Judge," said he, "I see you're drinking coffee. That's a heating drink. In this weather you want to drink iced drinks, Judge—sharp iced drinks. Did you ever try gin and ginger ale?"

"No," said the judge, smiling, "but I have tried several fellows who have."—Unidentified.



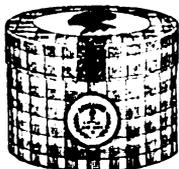
## ARMAND'S COMPLEXION POWDER

In the LITTLE PINK & WHITE HAT BOX

THE daintiest piece of Dresden is not more alluring than this new and lovely little hat box filled with perfect face powder. Armand's clings like a silken cobweb through heat and wind, shields the delicate skin, beautifies its texture and its tones. In Cream, White, Pink, Brunette tints and Tint Natural, Amabelle or Roses of Paradise, \$1.00; Violets of Paradise, \$5.00, silk covered box; \$1.00, trial size; Azotea, \$10.00 and \$2.50.

In the square box, paper covered, same quality of powder, Bouquet of Paradise odor, 50 cents.

ARMAND COMPANY  
DES MOINES, IOWA



## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Small classified advertisements we will insert in The Public at the rate of 2c a word, cash with order.

Subscribers who want to buy or sell something which would not, in their opinion, warrant a large advertisement will find here a method of advertising specially adapted to their needs.

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Gusher—"Oh, I could just watch it all day long."—Life.

\* \* \*

A small boy astride of a donkey was taking some supplies to an army camp in Texas not long ago, and got there just as a detachment of soldiers, preceded by a band, was marching past.

The lad dismounted and held the bridle of the donkey tightly in his hand.

"Why are you holding on to your brother so hard?"

asked a group of soldiers who were standing near and wanted to tease the country boy.

"I'm afraid he might enlist," said the lad.—Sacred Heart Review.

\* \* \*

You can't always tell. Tempt a good man to turn from the course of righteousness, and he is as staunch as Gibraltar; offer him some victuals that he likes, even if he knows they are not good for him and he will eat and bump his head against the gates of eternity without a whimper.—Houston Post.

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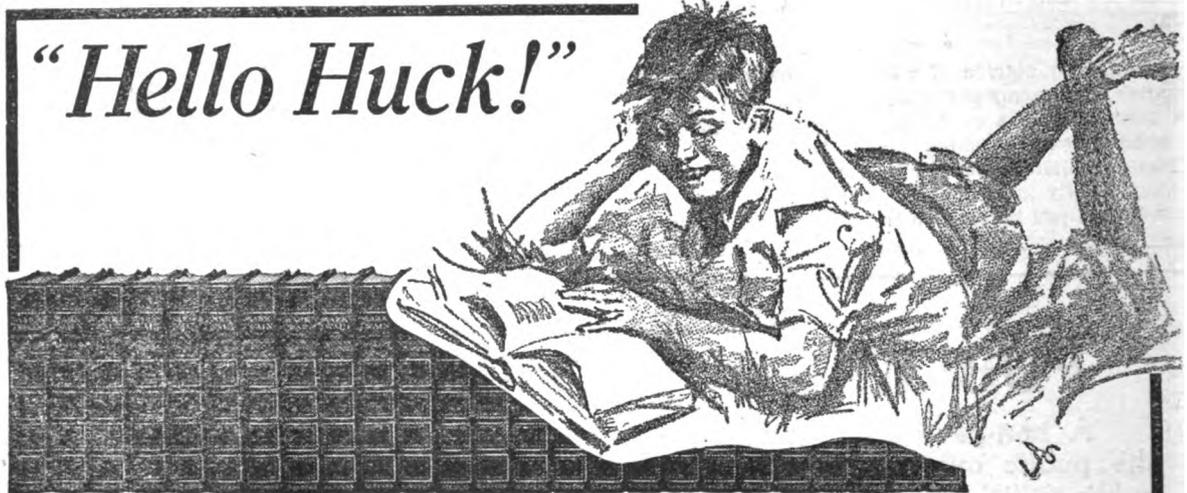
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