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# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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**Samuel Gompers  
on the Labor Question**

**Business a Tub Without a Bottom**

**Mr. Hughes' Notion of Argument**

**The Candidate Courageous**

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**Volume XIX**

# A New Edition of the Ethics of Democracy

By LOUIS F. POST

"The Ethics of Democracy" is Mr. Post's greatest book. For the third edition he has written a new and brilliant introduction. A taste of it can be gotten from the closing paragraphs, which follow a discussion of natural rights. Here they are:

Any substantial controversy between those who conscientiously refer social questions to perceptions of natural rights, and those who conscientiously refer them to perceptions of social utility, is of very doubtful probability. The reference, after all, is to natural law. No one can be presumed to refer questions of social utility to the selfish whims of individuals. That would be as grossly absurd as to refer questions of natural rights to similar shifty tests. Natural rights, or social utility, both principles, relate back to something higher than individual whim or social custom or legislative act or arbitrary rule of any kind. They relate back to a force that has been called "the higher law." Religionists find it formulated in revelation, idealists perceive it vaguely as a moral principle, utilitarians observe it as a condition of social adjustment. But whatever this "higher law" may be, and however various the names we give it, its potency is like that of natural law in the physical realm; it can be neither evaded nor defied. "If your students blunder," said a teacher of engineering to a teacher of political economy, "nothing happens; but if mine blunder, a bridge falls." If that teacher of political economy agreed, he must have done so thoughtlessly. For worse catastrophes than the fall of a bridge happen when political economists blunder. The catastrophe may not come as soon, but it comes. Social decay because of extremes of unearned riches and undeserved poverty is more deplorable than the fall of many bridges.

As there is probably no substantial dispute between idealists and utilitarians, so in all probability is it with idealists and pragmatists. At any rate, to the idealism of these essays, any pragmatism that is really pragmatic is correlative. To have ideals without working toward them is to loaf; to work without reference to ideals is to putter. Could Lincoln have made

emancipation a reality without ideals of human freedom? Could Garrison's ideals of human freedom have blazed the way for emancipation without assaults upon the legalities that shielded slavery? It is only as we throw ourselves, idealist and pragmatist together, into the work of fostering social development in accordance with natural social law that we can accomplish effective and useful social results.

In that spirit these essays were originally written, mostly as editorials for *The Public*. In that spirit they were gathered into this book for its first edition in 1903. In that spirit the second edition was published in 1904. In the same spirit they are put forth in a third edition. This happens to be at a time when public sentiment seems more receptive to both the idealistic and the practical phases of democratic ethics than when the essays were written. It is a time, too, when historic events are revealing with almost unprecedented brilliancy somewhat of the mighty social current which at the close of this book is described as "the great order of things." The broader one's vision over the vast sweep of that current the less does one consider the back eddies of its outer edges, the stagnant sloughs on its lower shores, or its meandering course which seems often to turn upon itself; the more, also, does one's rational faith in a great social purpose grow. All through historic times democracy has been forging ahead. Little democracies have broken down, only to be followed by larger ones. Imperialism has smothered democracies, only to spawn democracies of a higher order. Here is a great struggle of the social man to achieve social maturity. Here is a great war for righteousness in which, if we count by centuries, righteousness steadily triumphs. The stars in their course do fight against Siseria: The ephemeral powers of Might go down before the eternal laws of Right.

A new edition, \$1.50 postpaid.

**The Public**

**Book Department  
Ellsworth Building**

**Chicago**

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## EDITORIAL

President Wilson's rebuke to Jeremiah O'Leary could be as fittingly applied to Theodore Roosevelt. Both are engaged in the effort to make European war issues the paramount question in American politics, to the neglect of matters that are actually of vital concern to the American people. To bring about this pernicious result Roosevelt and O'Leary stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight upon Wilson.      s. d.

\* \* \*

Whatever may be said as to the wisdom or the justice of the course taken by Greece during the present war, its people are to be commended for their self-restraint in settling their domestic troubles without bloodshed. Though the little kingdom has been the plaything of mighty forces, and king and statesmen have worked at cross purposes, the people have kept out of civil war. Popular interest in the war has been intense, and

the sentiment has been so pronouncedly in favor of the Allies that the mass of the people have defied the king. But though they have risen in revolt, and have in many places set up a provisional government, they have not attacked the constituted authorities. And, what is still stranger, the government has not attacked them. When has such an experience been endured by a country without some foolish person in authority resorting to the popular pastime of blood-letting?

s. c.

\* \* \*

Japan enjoys the unique distinction of being at war and profiting by peace. Criticism has been made of the United States that the country is prospering on the misery of Europe, that while the belligerent countries are bankrupting themselves, America is growing rich by supplying them with munitions and food. But Japan escapes this reproach—if reproach it be—by being so far from the scene of conflict that she has nothing to do but supply her allies with munitions at profitable prices. At a comparatively small expense and loss of life she has acquired the German territory in the Pacific, and she is now devoting all her energies to commerce. This is about as near running with the hare and hunting with the hounds as ever falls to the lot of mortals.

s. c.

\* \* \*

The declaration of Lloyd George for war to the bitter end, and the answer in similar vein of Bethman-Hollweg, may be set down as examples of such bravado as might be expected of primitive savages, or of very young schoolboys, but scarcely of individuals aspiring to the dignity of civilized statesmen. Their position is even less creditable than that of either savages, or schoolboys, who personally engage in the physical encounters from which they refuse to desist until victorious. But Messrs. George and Hollweg are insisting that others incur the suffering and danger, regardless of their wishes in the matter. Their appeal is to the same childish sentiment as Roosevelt and Hughes invoke in their criticism of Wilson's foreign policy.      s. d.

\* \* \*

The announcement is made that 18-inch guns are under construction for new British warships.

As these guns are three inches larger than any now afloat, and two inches larger than the guns of the battleships that are to be constructed for the American navy, they emphasize the folly of our entering upon an extensive building program at this time. Granting that we are to have an offensive instead of a defensive armament, it is as foolish to enter upon an elaborate building program at the present time, as was the building of wooden ships after the invention of the Monitor. No one can say while the war is in progress what features of fighting ships will be discarded, and what retained. Mines and submarines will give us all the protection we need. Let those nations that feel they must have offensive weapons now do the experimenting. Besides, there is reason for the hope that at the end of the war the belligerents will listen to the plea for partial disarmament, which will bring into force the provision of our new law that gives the President the power to suspend our naval building program when other nations show a like disposition.

S. C.

\* \* \*

It is most encouraging to the friends of electoral reform that the movement in Great Britain to extend the franchise includes the consideration of proportional representation. Seven years ago a commission investigated the system, but could not see its way to recommending its adoption for Parliamentary elections. Since that time there has been a change in sentiment upon this as well as upon other questions; and Lord Courtney, an ardent advocate of proportional representation, says there is now a large sentiment in its favor among those who wish to make Parliament "reflective and representative of the general opinion of the country." If Great Britain shall abolish plural voting and the property qualification, give woman the ballot, and institute proportional representation, she will have done her best to secure a Parliament capable of meeting the problems that will confront her at the close of the war.

S. C.

\* \* \*

Though the New Jersey Republican primary resulted in nomination of a reactionary candidate for Governor, the fact is significant that more than 25,000 voters of that party declared themselves for the progressive candidate, George L. Record, and the principles for which he stood, home rule and Singletax. It is significant also that the Republican voters of Essex County nominated for State Senator Edmund B. Osborne, who stood with Record in the campaign. The real

democrats of his district will undoubtedly disregard party lines and vote for Osborne. Had the Democratic voters been given an opportunity to express themselves, as Republicans were given, there probably would have been an equal or greater number counted in favor of the principles proclaimed by Record. No matter how the general election turns out, these voters cannot be safely disregarded in future. And their number is sure to grow.

S. D.

\* \* \*

To defeat certain Congressmen for re-election predatory interests are willing to make extraordinary efforts. Conspicuous among those thus honored is Warren Worth Bailey. He has consistently opposed every prevalent method and proposed plan to despoil producers for the benefit of idlers. He would not let himself be carried away by the hysterical cry for preparedness into support of a militarist program. He has brought as strong opposition to bear against undemocratic policies approved by the Democratic party as against similar policies approved by the Republican party. He has urged legislation that would put an end to predatory privilege and establish social justice. For this his defeat is desired by the upholders of existing wrongs, and no expense is being spared to accomplish it. But the very fact that this is being done should put the voters of his district upon their mettle. Bailey has stood well the test of congressional efficiency. The fight against him puts to a test his constituents and also citizens outside of his district who can help.

S. D.

\* \* \*

When Mark Hanna held the purse strings of the Republican national campaign he would divert a disproportionately large share of the campaign fund to the districts where the most able congressional fighters against predatory institutions were candidates for re-election. He wisely figured that the cause of monopoly would gain more by the defeat of one active and able opponent than by the defeat of a dozen others, whose opposition was merely perfunctory. So he diverted in the year 1900 the sum of \$500,000 into South Dakota to defeat for re-election United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew. He succeeded and from the monopoly point of view, the result was well worth what it cost. This year there seems a revival of Mark Hanna's tactics. This is noticeable, not only in the fight against Warren Worth Bailey, but against other Democrats, such as Clyde Tavenner and Frank Buchanan of Illinois. Tavenner has offended in exposing the corrupt work-

ing of an international clique of war material manufacturers. Largely to this exposure is due the authorization of a government armor plate factory which threatens to deprive the Steel Trust of some profits expected from preparedness agitation. In the eyes of Privilege, that is an unpardonable offense for which Tavenner must be punished. Buchanan's sin has been even worse. As an active worker for fundamental reforms that threaten all predatory monopolies, he is considered a particularly dangerous character who must be removed at any cost, or by any methods. It remains to be seen how successful will be these efforts to revive Hannanism.

S. D.

\* \* \*

Pittsburgh manufacturers are displaying wisdom and forethought in attempting to anticipate the demands of American labor at the conclusion of the war. While some prognosticators predict business stagnation and unemployment at the dawn of peace, others with equal assurance forecast such a demand for labor by the warring nations to rebuild their shattered works that great inducements will be offered to emigrants to return. Lest this latter prediction prove true the Pittsburgh employers are setting on foot plans to hold that labor in this country. They are trying to get in closer personal touch with their employes, to show them the advantages of American citizenship, and the opportunities for individual advancement. This is good work whichever prediction comes true. And it is to be hoped that men who have had the foresight to see the advisability of such a move will have the wisdom to work in harmony with the laws of nature, rather than, as heretofore, in opposition to them. Pittsburgh employers, as well as all others, now face the greatest opportunity that has come to men.

S. C.

\* \* \*

An organization known as the California Anti-Singletax Association has been organized by the San Francisco Real Estate Board to fight the pending Singletax amendment and any other that may be proposed in the future. The home rule campaigns of 1912 and 1914 and the pending State-wide amendment are cited in the initial announcement as indications of the spread of the Singletax doctrine and are giving its members great concern. The announcement says further that the Singletax would be "nothing less than a calamity to the State." To back up the statement a number of stereotyped objections are given, to which California Singletaxers need but repeat the stereotyped answers. But one objection

is frankly stated, to say the least. It is as follows:

It proposes to take all increase of value of land for State use, thereby destroying the speculative value of land.

Since "speculative value of land" is the excess over true value that speculators exact from workers before allowing them to use the land, the statement means that the purpose of the Singletax is to put an end to overcharging for land. And this is coolly presented to the people as an objection. The point of view of these objectors is clearly that of the wolf who objects to the dogs that guard the sheep. That alone should be enough to show that the Singletax is needed.

S. D.

### Tenants of the State.

The Oregon Voter, published at Portland, expresses alarm in its issue of September 23 lest the pending People's Land and Loan Amendment be adopted in November. It refers to the endorsement of the Singletax by the Washington State Grange and the use of that endorsement, as well as the personal endorsement of the Grange Master by the labor organizations as part of their arguments for the proposed amendment. It then proceeds to say:

There are many Singletaxers among the grangers in Oregon. Several local granges adopted resolutions indorsing the Singletax and the proposed land and loan amendment. There was considerable support for the amendment at the meeting of the State grange. The Tax Liberator, organ of the State Taxpayers' League, in the affairs of which the grangers are taking a worthy and active part, reprints the Land and Loan Amendment in its last number, accompanied by a eulogy of one of its authors. With all this growing sentiment in favor of the amendment, it is high time, is it not, for grange leaders to quit dallying with fire, and come out in the open and fight a measure which threatens to make the farm-owners of Oregon mere tenants of the State?

Why should farm owners who work their farms fight a measure that will lighten their burdens and give them new and profitable markets? Transferring taxation from labor products to land values will not only put the bulk of taxation elsewhere than on the working farmers, but will relieve them from the even heavier toll levied upon them by private monopolies. Land monopoly and taxation of labor products make possible most of the trusts which gather tribute from the farmers. This tribute undoubtedly exceeds by far the rental value of land owned by working farmers, and its abolition would alone be a gain to them, to say nothing of the gain from abolition of direct taxes. In addition there would be the advantage of increased markets. Land monopoly and labor taxation restrict opportunities

of others than farmers, and lessen or destroy the purchasing power of consumers or would-be consumers of farm products. Removal of obstructions to industry would open opportunities to labor of all kinds and widen the farmers' markets to an enormous extent. And yet the Oregon Voter suggests that farmers fight against such a proposition!

\* \*

When the Oregon Voter suggests that the proposed amendment "threatens to make the farm owners of Oregon mere tenants of the State" it ignores the fact that that is what the present system has made them. For evidence it is not necessary to turn elsewhere than to the files of the Oregon Voter itself. In its issue of July 29 it presents figures showing that the average Oregon family pays in state, county and municipal taxes \$137.70 a year. Consequently, if the Oregon Voter may be accepted as authority, the family owning unencumbered land in use, the value of which, irrespective of improvements, does not exceed \$2,295, or whose equity in mortgaged land in use does not exceed that sum, now pays heavier taxes than the proposed amendment would require of them. Though they call themselves "owners," they are not only tenants of the State, subject to eviction if taxes are not paid, but terribly rack-rented tenants who should welcome the change. It is not surprising that the Oregon Voter should discover a "growing sentiment in favor of the amendment." What is surprising is that, outside of selfish monopoly interests, there should be any opposition at all.

S. D.

### Subways and Land Values.

Since Tom L. Johnson ceased to operate in street railways there has been no one prominent in that business to display ability as a political economist. But now comes Mathew C. Brush, the new president of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, with a statement that shows knowledge of what constitutes a square deal. As reported in the Boston Globe of September 19, Mr. Brush, discussing the building of subways and elevated lines, referred to the boom in land values these had caused and said in comment: "With so many sharing in the subways' benefits, we feel that they ought to share in some degree with the car rider in subways' cost."

\* \*

The truth of Mr. Brush's statement is self evident. And he will find illustrations of it in other places than Boston. When Tom L. Johnson in-

stituted three cent fare in Cleveland he knew that one of the results would be to increase land values and compel car riders to pay in higher rents all that they would save in reduced fares. He hoped to furnish the people of Cleveland with an object lesson of the truth that in the long run the land owner appropriates the financial benefit of all public improvements. What he foresaw has come to pass. Cleveland land values have increased more than would have been the case had there been no cheap street railway fare. In New York City the building of the subway has increased land values enough to more than pay the cost of it. No doubt there has been similar experience in other places. If Mr. Brush wishes to see applied the principle which he advocated, he should give his support to the movement to place all taxes on land values.

S. D.

### Harmless Trust Busting.

The recent announcement that the stock of Standard Oil of New Jersey, which stood at \$750 a share five years ago when the Supreme Court dissolved the trust, has now reached \$2,000 a share, serves as a reminder to the American people that there is a right and a wrong way to do things. Trusts are merely large business concerns. There is no evil in them that is not to be found in smaller business concerns of the same kind. Hence, arbitrarily dividing the trust into parts does not remove the evil, as the dissolution of the Oil Trust so graphically proves. The evil of the Oil Trust, as of all other trusts that are evil, lies in its monopoly of natural forces and legal rights of way, that is, in its ownership of the oil lands and pipe lines. As refiners of oil it is subject to competition, and would be powerless to harm consumers; but as the owners of oil lands it controls production at the source. Land ownership is not a competitive occupation. Laborers compete with each other for wages, capitalists compete with each other for interest, but land owners remain passive. Laborers, indeed, compete with each other for the privilege of using the land owner's land, and capitalists compete with each other for the land; the land owners merely receive what is offered.

\* \*

This fact has a still broader application. Those near reformers who thought to draw the teeth of the trusts by dividing them, have their counterpart in those who would solve the land question by breaking up large estates. The evil of land ownership lies not in the size of the holding, but in the fact that the holder is able to take toll

from the user without rendering an equivalent. The wrong is the same whether the land be a single lot or a vast estate, and the sum total may be greater from the same land when divided into small parcels than when held in one piece. For the recipient of a large income may be more indulgent to tenants than the receiver of just enough rent for his own support. Real land reformers are indifferent as to the size of the holdings. They stand for the one condition that whoever has exclusive position of a piece of land, be it large or small, in the city or country, shall pay to the public annually the value that the public confers upon it. This done, there will be the same competition among landholders as there now is among laborers and capitalists. And since they can retain none of the value that society confers upon their land, their only hope of gain will be from use. This means wages for labor, interest for capital, and goods for all.

s. o.

### Increased Imports and Prosperity.

The Manufacturers' National Information Bureau complains that with greater imports during the fiscal year ending June 30, than ever before, customs receipts should be less. It argues that had the Payne law remained in force, the additional war taxes would not have been necessary. The imports for the fiscal year exceed by \$350,000,000 those of the year 1912, the greatest under the Payne law. But the Manufacturers' Bureau points out, that owing to the war imports from Germany and Austria, which were very large in 1912, have been largely cut off. There is a big increase in percentage of goods imported duty free. This increase may be reasonably attributed to the fact that they are duty free. It follows then that had the Payne law remained in force, there would have been no increase in importation of these goods, and the war would have kept out the same goods that it has. Import duties would consequently have fallen off just the same and the country would have missed the wealth which an extended free list and lowered duties have attracted.

\* \*

Ignoring the fact that with the greatest imports in our history no depression has resulted, the Manufacturers' Bureau criticizes the Underwood law from the standpoint of one who holds great imports an evil and tariff taxes preferable to income taxes. To those holding such a view it is sufficient to condemn a measure to quote figures showing great increase in imports and enormous revenue collected by taxing men on what they have, rather than on what they need. And it is to

these that the Manufacturers' argument is addressed. So the Bureau offers as a scare the prospect of an increase in imports after the war to the extent of possibly \$1,000,000,000. Let us hope that it is right and that the end of the war will soon come.

\* \*

Increased imports of \$1,000,000,000 will necessitate an equal increase in wealth production in the United States to pay for them. Unless the goods come to us as a gift they must be paid for, and there is no other way to pay for them than by sending in exchange something produced by labor. Increased prosperity awaits us at the end of the war, if the Manufacturers' Bureau has the right information, unless a higher tariff should be adopted to check the anticipated influx of wealth, or unless increased checks be imposed on domestic industry through internal taxes, higher land values, higher transportation rates or some other method of hampering labor.

s. d.

### Republicanism of Henry Ford.

Both as a pacifist and a successful business man, Henry Ford is prominent. As a Republican, he is sufficiently representative to have been the presidential preference of a majority of his party in Michigan, of very close to a majority in Nebraska and of a large minority in other States. His support of Wilson's candidacy is therefore of more than ordinary significance. His endorsement of free trade makes ridiculous the fears, real or pretended, of those who claim that American manufacturers can not afford to pay high wages in competition with foreigners. If there were any ground whatever for such a fear the man with best cause to be influenced by it would be the one who pays the highest wage in the United States. That man is Henry Ford. And here is what he says in an interview published on September 27:

As for the tariff, which Republicans insist must be revised to help save our prosperity after the war, I want to say that the tariff is nothing but a hot-house remedy.

It may make business sprout for a little while, but its effect is artificial and it can never produce a hardy, permanent business plant.

If we cannot compete on even terms with any country on earth, then we ought to quit. There is absolutely no necessity for hard times. There is enough in this world for everybody to do, and this country will always find enough to do if the special interests and Wall street will keep hands off.

\* \*

Ford's argument leads even further than to absolute free trade. "Special interests and Wall street" have methods besides the tariff for obstructing

tion of industry. That "there is enough in this world for everybody to do" is proven by the existence of unsatisfied human wants. Until these have all been satisfied there remains work for some one to do, and the work would be done if special interests kept hands off. But these interests interfere in various ways. Industry is hampered by taxes in many different forms, by subjection to extortion on the part of trusts and transportation monopolies and, by the most serious obstruction of all, monopoly of the earth's surface. All of these obstructions must be removed to abolish hard times.

\* \*

Had the Republicanism of Henry Ford prevailed at the national Republican convention, the party would have become the hope of the nation, instead of the menace which Hughes and Roosevelt insist upon making it. s. d.

### Protecting American Workingmen.

Mr. Hughes and his fellow Protectionists insist, notwithstanding their opposition to the eight-hour law, that they are the real friends of the American workingman. And as an evidence of that friendship they would levy a high tariff upon goods coming into this country, in order that we may make the goods ourselves. It is quite possible to keep foreign made goods out of this country by means of a high tariff, but it remains to be shown that such a measure is of benefit to American labor. If an industry is set up in this country through the protection of the tariff, one of two things will follow: Either domestic competition will bring down the price of the American goods to the level of foreign prices, or it will not. If the price does come down to the foreign level, the duty will then be unnecessary, and it can be removed. History seldom records the appeal of a tariff beneficiary to Congress to have the duty removed. If the price does not come down through domestic competition to the level of foreign prices—and the fact that the beneficiaries are rarely willing to have the duty removed indicates that it does not—then the enhanced American price must be a handicap to all American consumers, and to all American manufacturers who use these higher priced goods as raw materials. Increasing prices to laborers is a strange way to protect them.

\* \*

But, the Protectionist will say, the laborer's wages are so much higher that he does not feel the advanced prices; and if it were not for the tariff he would be reduced to the level of the pauper labor abroad. That sounds plausible, and when

said with sufficient emphasis by a full-lunged campaign speaker it is calculated to make the cold chills run up and down the back of a tariff-for-revenue man; but how does it look to a real free trader? The free trader notes in the first place that the protectionist does not specify which pauper laborer's condition is to be the destiny of the American working man, whether English, German, French, Italian, Japanese, Indian or Egyptian. Since no two of these countries have the same wages, it would be interesting to know where we should stop in our downward career. It would also be a matter of interest to know why England, which has no tariff protection, has higher wages than the tariff-protected countries of Europe.

\* \*

Another point of doubt in the mind of the free trader is the fact that the vast majority of American laboring men are and always have been without any protection from the tariff; and that, too, in industries manned by the very pauperest of pauper labor. Cotton growing is one of our great industries, and our product sells in Manchester in free competition with the cotton of Egypt. Wheat raising is another great American industry, and in normal times its price is fixed in Liverpool in competition with the wheat of India and southern Russia. Egyptian and Indian labor is among the poorest paid in the world; yet the American farmer, who is among the best paid, is in free competition with his poorly paid competitors. Will Mr. Hughes kindly explain how it has come about that the American wheat and cotton growers have competed with the pauper labor of India and Egypt without being reduced to the level of the natives of those countries? And when he has found the reason for that fact, will he kindly explain why the same conditions will not enable all American labor to compete with the world without reducing our wages, or lowering our standard of living? Simply to say the tariff protects American labor does not make it so, any more than saying the earth is flat makes it flat. A little honest thinking will dispose of the economic error as effectually as it did the astronomical error. s. c.

### Honor Where Honor Is Due.

In naming Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch as a Presidential elector, the Democratic party of Illinois honored itself no less than the women of the State. The act was not only a tactful recognition of Illinois women, but it is an earnest of the party's good faith in its promise to remove the constitutional limitations that prevent the exercise of the full suffrage. Especially happy was the

party's choice in making this recognition. Catharine Waugh McCulloch has stood in the forefront of the second generation of American women to carry on the work for the freedom of her sex. When Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and the great-souled women of their day, passed on the torch of liberty to a newer generation, no more eager hands were stretched out to receive it than those of the woman who has been placed on the Illinois electoral ticket. And the new generation of workers, now grown to a host, has slackened not a whit in the pace set by the great pioneers. Mrs. McCulloch was chairman of the legislative committee of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association from 1890 to 1912, when she declined a re-election. She drew the suffrage bill passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1913, and prepared the full suffrage amendment offered at the last session, and which she declares she will continue to offer until it is passed. She has been vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, and was the first woman in the United States to be elected justice of the peace. As a practicing lawyer at the bar her talents have been at the service of her suffering sisters regardless of creed, color or condition. Illinois Democracy deserves to carry the State at the coming election in order that one of its electoral votes may be cast for President Wilson by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

s. c.

### Illinois Political Platforms.

The witticism in which political platforms are compared to car platforms, as "something to get in with and not to stand on," applies with peculiar force to the emanations of Illinois politicians. A long use of these declarations as car platforms has taught the voters not to take them too seriously. Still, parties have been known to fulfil a promise, and there comes a time in the most tortuous political course when leaders find it necessary to pay some heed to the wishes of the people. Should it be Illinois' turn to have a legislature that will redeem some of its promises, it is fortunate in having some good promises to be redeemed. The platforms of both Republican and Democratic parties, after promising all manner of good and wise actions, specify that they will set in motion the constitutional amending machinery to give women the full suffrage; and both promise a constitutional convention to revise the present absurd instrument. In addition, the Democrats promise, in case the movement for the constitutional convention fails, to amend the provision of the present Constitution that limits amendments to one at

a time. But, best of all, the Democrats officially endorse the Initiative and Referendum. Should they be successful at the polls, and live up to their promise, the voters thereafter will have in their hands the power to prevent future legislatures from betraying them, as legislatures have done in the past.

\* \*

As the two platforms have some good things in common, so they join in evil. Both endorse the pending Tax Amendment. But fortunately the life of that vicious piece of legislation depends upon the voters themselves, and it is to be hoped that they will not bind themselves for many years to come by endorsing at the polls this amendment, which was dishonest in inception, in its passage through the Legislature, and its submission to the voters of the State, and which will, if adopted, permit the Legislature to do all manner of evil, yet at the same time prevent it from doing the one indispensable thing to relieve industry from the crushing burdens. Let the Illinois voters keep distinctly in mind this fact: The Tax Amendment does not permit the classification of anything but personal property; and that it does permit the exemption from taxation of the capital stock of corporations, including franchise and public service corporations.

s. c.

### HUGHES' NOTION OF "ARGUMENT."

The evidence is abundant that in the eight-hour law Candidate Hughes has found his "paramount issue." Even Raymond Robins has the audacity to tell working people that that act is the paramount issue, and that in forcing it through Congress the President unjustly and wickedly favored the aristocracy of labor at the expense of the poorer, less skilled, unorganized or inadequately organized working people!

Perhaps a few words on the additional anti-eight-hour law arguments and objections of Mr. Hughes and his associates may be justified by this determination to push the "windfall" or godsend issue to the forefront. Incidentally we shall learn something of the Hughes notion of logic, argument or debate. He is supposed to be a keen thinker and intellectual giant.

The law, he iterates and reiterates, is not a law reducing or regulating hours at all. It is a mere wage-raising act.

Of course, on this point Mr. Hughes quibbles like a pettifogging shyster. He knows that the act is only in form a wage-raising act, and that

there is a very excellent reason for this form—a reason creditable to the good sense and fairness of the brotherhoods. A railroad, the plutocratic organs tell us, is not a factory, and an eight-hour law for railroads does not mean what it says. In other words, the men are condemned for recognizing the fact that a railroad is *not* a factory and for adopting the only possible, the indirect, way of bringing about a reduction in the hours of work. They demanded “punitive” rates for overtime, but yielded to the President on that point and agreed to arbitrate it, or to await the results of investigation into the cost of the new basis. The insistence on a “punitive” was clear proof of the desire to force a reduction of hours. To ignore this, and to pretend ignorance of the reason why the law is indirect, is to betray sheer dishonesty.

It is also to insult the brotherhoods and all organized labor. The railroad brotherhoods have been held up by the carriers and the press to general admiration as model unions, well-directed and sober-minded unions. Are these model unions cheats and hypocrites? Have they been talking strike, voting strike, threatening strike under false and flimsy pretences? Have they sought to deceive everybody, and have they, all along, expected and desired nothing save a little more money?

Labor will indeed prove itself servile and contemptible if it does not angrily resent these slurs, these distortions, these cheap fabrications.

If the carriers would rather pay more money than reduce hours, the act will indeed prove a wage-raising act and nothing more. But Hughes does not know what the railroads will do, or can do. He swallows the stuff of their press agents and their obedient tools on the papers.

Besides, if the hours are not reduced, the brotherhoods may, and no doubt will, renew the demand for punitive overtime rates. Are the pretended champions of arbitration to slander the brotherhoods because they consented to waive and arbitrate the punitive rate demand?

Hughes asserts that the law is “a force act.” Not many of those he addresses remember the fight over the Republican force bill, which was directed against the Democratic south. Hughes is misapplying the malodorous phrase. The force bill sought to put Federal officials in control of State elections. Hence the designation which killed it. But in what sense is the eight-hour act a force act? Who forced whom? Under what compulsion did the President and Congress act? Why, under the compulsion of public sentiment,

of public determination that the strike shall not take place. The public forced the government to act hurriedly and to avert a disaster. Will the public now complain of and condemn the “force bill” it virtually dictated? It is silly and dishonest to say that the brotherhoods forced the legislation. How could they? Suppose the public had remained indifferent to the threat of a tie-up; suppose the papers and the carriers had said, “Strike, if you will; we are prepared for the test.” Would the President and Congress have pushed and enacted the eight-hour law? Not a finger would they have lifted.

It suits the political purpose of the plutocrats to say *now* that a strike would not have seriously incommoded anybody, or that it would have collapsed in a few days. This was not their tune at the time of the crisis, however.

Mr. Wilson legislated first and then provided for an investigation, rails Hughes. *He* would investigate first and act afterward.

Again, how cheap, how shallow, how dishonest this point is. The action of Wilson and Congress has to do with one thing, the investigation provided for with another. The eight-hour day was accepted on its own merits; the investigation will throw light on the *cost* of the change decreed. No cost, no problem. No cost, no rate increase. The carriers swore the law would cost them fifty or sixty millions, and the President said, “This we shall carefully look into, and if you are right, there will be a problem to solve.” In any event, the eight-hour basis is here to stay. It is not to be investigated. It will not be discarded, no matter who gets the Presidency and Congress.

Arbitration was betrayed and sacrificed, tearfully alleges Hughes. Why? Because the President, as mediator, concluded that the eight-hour demand was proper and reasonable? Because the railroads hypocritically pretended to hold arbitration dear and sacred, when in fact they had obstinately refused to arbitrate a number of other demands? Because the brotherhoods, while willing to arbitrate certain issues, pointed out that the eight-hour basis could not be arbitrated without losing advantages long enjoyed by them? Was arbitration betrayed by the President when he laid before Congress a whole program of arbitration for the future?

What hollow and dishonest pretences, what faked arguments, the whole case against the eight-hour law embodies!

Robins, with the excessive zeal characteristic of a convert, adds to the Hughes arguments the fearful-wonderful bit of economics that the cost of

the eight-hour act will be paid by the poor and downtrodden workmen! This from a former follower of Henry George, a Singletaxer, a radical reformer, is rich, perfectly delicious. In another week Mr. Robins will be denouncing trade unions, perhaps, preaching the wage fund theory, and telling the workmen that their salvation lies in conscription, protectionism and prohibition.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

### THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The question "What measures are necessary for the solution of the labor problem?" is one that may be legitimately proposed. I do not believe that there is any absolute solution for any problem which is a part of the lives of human beings. All life is change and development.

The labor movement does not seek to "solve" anything; it endeavors to secure to wage earners the rights and liberties that will enable them to make the most out of their own lives.

The American Federation of Labor also takes the position that the labor movement should be freed from restrictions and opposition that hamper its normal and legitimate activity and should then be allowed to promote the welfare of the workers in accord with their best judgment and ideals.

The American Federation of Labor takes the position that real freedom for wage earners can exist only when political freedom is supplemented by industrial freedom.

Industrial freedom can be achieved only by the workers themselves through a labor movement organized upon democratic principles.

Members of organized labor may make mistakes but they have a right to make mistakes in their efforts to promote the welfare of the wage earners and to work out their own salvation. What the wage earners want is industrial freedom, not industrial regulation or industrial restrictions. The labor movement does not attempt to solve the problems of life. It seeks to use all the agencies and all the powers and all of the circumstances existing in such a way as to bring constant improvement, constant betterment, into the lives of the wage earners, aye, all the people.

SAM'L GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

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Common sense is very uncommon.—Horace Greeley.

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Some people say that things that were good enough for their fathers and their grandfathers are good enough for them. They are not! This is an age of progress. It is well enough to have ancestors, but it is greater to be an ancestor. It is better to be like the best of your grandchildren will be than like your grandfather was.—Shailer Mathews.

### BUSINESS, A TUB WITHOUT A BOTTOM.

The relative values of a tub with a bottom and a tub without a bottom need not be argued with a washerwoman. But it takes all sorts of arguments to demonstrate to the business man the superiority of a tub with a bottom over a bottomless tub.

The nation is now experiencing a period of unusual prosperity, so we are told. But the average person is no better off as a result of this increased business activity. Of course, he experiences the pleasing sensation of feeling more money pass through his hands, but there's the rub—it passes through, for his tub has no bottom.

The laboring man partakes not of this flood of prosperity, for he pays more for his living and whatever entertainment he enjoys than his increase of wages justifies.

The salaried man is even worse off than before, if possible, for everything has advanced except his salary; and if that has advanced at all it has not kept apace with the increased cost of articles of everyday need.

The butcher, the baker and candlestick maker feel the flow of prosperity pouring in, but alas, also through the tub. The only person actually retaining any of the benefit of prosperity is the monopolist of some natural gift, the landlord.

The only goods that have increased in price but not in cost are land and land products. Why? For the simple reason that land costs nothing, because it is not now, never was nor never will be the product of man. Hence the only fellow who has a bottom in his tub is the landlord. All other men have tubs without bottoms.

As long as there is a monopoly of land, just so long will all the benefits from businesses, of human industry and enterprise, empty into the landlord's tub.

The landlord should not be classed with business men, for he is not a producer. All he does is to sit tight and see all the bottomless tubs empty into his *one* tub with a bottom. If he has any business at all, it is to see that his monopoly on the bottom is not disturbed.

If business men wish to feel true business prosperity; to see every tub hold what it gathers of the waters of prosperity; to see the wonderful energy and industry of the world's workers bear fruit that they may enjoy, they should devise some way to put a bottom in every business tub.

As a matter of course, the natural bottom of every tub of industry is the land. Why should not every business have a bottom? Why should there be more tubs than bottoms? Why should only one class of men own all the bottoms? Why should they be encouraged to withhold them from tubs that need them? Echo answers, Why?

Why have oil, coal and steel advanced? Because they are products of land. Why the advance in

bread, meat and clothing? Because they are products of land. What benefit is it to the laborer, hireling and merchant that these things be advanced? What advantage is it to the lawyer, doctor or minister? To the teacher, author or artist? The advancing price of land and rent absorbs it all. The only tub that gathers the waters of prosperity is the landlord's.

Let us do the rational and just thing: put a bottom in every business tub. Land is the basis of wealth and the natural support of each and every business alike. One man's effort is as much dependable upon this support as another's. Any move in the direction of putting a bottom in every business tub, any effort to put business directly on its natural basis, is sane, sound and safe for men to make.

Distribute the one big bottom upon which all human effort must rest by taxing the land to its full value, and freeing business and all human effort from the penalty of tax altogether. Every tub could then stand on its own bottom.

A. B. FRANCISCO.\*

## HOW MUCH IS A PERSON WORTH TO SOCIETY?

What is a human life worth in cash, asks a newspaper of recent date? And then it proceeds to ventilate the views of certain experts, and give figures based on estimates of very uncertain statistical value; but it does not tell us to whom these values go, how they go, or why certain favored individuals "cash in" on this so-called social value.

Now it is obvious that if individuals have value to society, it must be because they produce more than they consume, or render in some fashion a social service greater than they receive; on no other basis than this can the value of an individual be calculated. And to do this honestly and competently a social classification is necessary. Any other method than this will result abortively, and the conclusions drawn will be worthless. This, the two experts quoted, Irving Fisher and William Farr, have failed to do; and hence they are not experts and their conclusions are worthless.

Economically considered, there are just five kinds of people in the world, workers, beggars, thieves, parasites and dependents. Every living human creature comes under one of these five heads. Babies are all alike in this; they have no commercial value in the goods market; they have merely a potential value. And whether it is realized or not depends on which of the five classes they join when they mature. As beggars, they are worthless both to themselves and to society—no one can "realize" on them; and there are tens of thousands of them in America.

\*Author of "The Philosophy of Business."

Thieves are equally valueless as a social asset. They are worse than that, they are in many cases dangerous; worse even than that, they are social liabilities. It costs this country millions of dollars every month to hunt, catch and punish them. They are not in any sense a social asset, and yet Prof. Fisher and Mr. Farr include them in their grand statistical averages. Moreover, this list includes merely the little thieves, and not the big ones, such as our prominent railroad wreckers of the "Mellen" type, and the frenzied financiers of whom Lawson wrote so luridly several years ago.

Next are parasites. There are myriads of them in this country, living on unearned incomes, and from one year's end to another perform no useful service to mankind. They also are liabilities; and cannot figure in any proper sense in the data given by these alleged experts.

Then there are the dependents, millions of them; the young, the aged, the sick, the diseased, the crippled and the incapacitated. From babes to centenarians only two subdivisions of them can figure as potential assets; the sick, who may get well and again render service, and the babes, who may grow up and join the workers. Babies, moreover, by reason of their service-rendering possibilities and their personal needs from mere fact of birth, come into the world bringing with them just two things: One, is a lot of work, worry and trouble for the parents, tempered to some extent by the compensating advantages of having babies to love and cherish; and the other is about a thousand dollars' worth of land value, which speculators and landlords at once capitalize, and proceed to take advantage of. Land owners are the only people who can "cash in" on the babies. If no babies were born there would be no increase of population; if people did not increase in numbers there would be no growth in land values and in rents; if there were no increase in land values and rents, that is, in the unearned increment, there would be no "velvet" for the speculators; and then some of our most distinguished "real estate" operators would have to join the parasitic class, or go to work and be useful.

No "land grabber" is useful; on the contrary, he is the only gambler who gets in the way of the producers of wealth. No other variety of gamblers can do this; they may get wealth after it is produced by some one else (this is the real purpose of gambling), but they cannot interfere with production to any marked degree, to say nothing of blighting it. The land gambler of all the fifty-seven varieties can do this very thing; his operation is a species of social and industrial blackmail, more disastrous in its ultimate social consequences than all of the gambling joints on the face of the earth. Moreover, the land gamblers are the fellows who throw men out of employment, because they own the source of all employment, and by

inflating prices discount the future from ten to twenty years, so that the workers and producers, no matter how efficient they are, can never hope to catch up with the unthinkable and immeasurable capitalization represented by the bare land values of the United States.

Land speculators are the only gamblers who can as a regular and profitable practice capitalize the prospective value of a new born infant; and they are in a position to collect interest upon this capitalized value from the luckless parents.

Our expert statisticians of the Irving Fisher variety are expert in one thing only, and that is in concealing all real and valuable information upon the subject with which they are supposed to be familiar.

Genuine experts are men and women who are possessed of certain knowledge or skill, which is not merely useful to themselves as individuals, but which is a genuine social asset. They can be of real service to society in doing useful work, or in imparting useful information that can be used by the human family for its real betterment. To talk of the social value of two groups of people, the one of workers and the other of parasites, and lump them as one; and then to include beggars and thieves as among our social assets is the rankest kind of sociological chalanatism.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week ending Tuesday, October 3, 1916.

### Campaign Addresses.

In an address on October 1 at Long Branch, N. J., to a delegation of Democratic clubs, President Wilson declared that he had expected the campaign to be "an interesting intellectual contest, that on both sides men would draw upon some of the essential questions of politics in order to determine the predominance of parties," but nothing of the kind has happened, and he should have known it, for the Republican party as now constituted "believes in government by attorneys of special interests." As an example he cited the tariff policy of the party. Declaring himself to be a progressive, the President expressed astonishment at the Progressive party Hughes supporters who "are engaged in the interesting enterprise of trying to capture a party which is fortified against them and refusing to enter a party which is already captured by those who believe in their principles." He expressed the opinion that Republican success would bring war if the views were carried out of a great body of its supporters, who would embroil us with Europe and want the United States to produce in Mexico "the kind of law and order which some American investors consider most to their advantage." He recounted the legis-

lative accomplishments of the Administration and dwelt upon the removal from the Treasury Department of "Wall Street" influence, a term to which he expressed dislike because "There are some men on Wall Street who have vision," but "the main impulse in Wall Street is not given to it by them."

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Theodore Roosevelt, in a speech at Battle Creek, Mich., on September 30, criticized many acts of President Wilson's administration. He declared that the President had maintained peace at the expense of righteousness, held his interference in San Domingo and Haiti inconsistent with a non intervention policy in Mexico, and also that he had intervened in Mexico by his policy toward Huerta and in sending a punitive expedition. The present negotiations at New London with Carranza's commissioners he declared disgraceful. He found fault with protests against the Allies' blacklists, holding it to be inconsistent with his policy in the Lusitania case. He contrasted Wilson's policy in the railroad labor dispute with his own during the anthracite strike, where he said that he had arranged with the Lieutenant General of the army to "put the army in possession of the mines and would treat him as the receiver to run the mines."

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Allan L. Benson, Socialist candidate for President, in an address at Cincinnati on October 2, said that Charles E. Hughes had criticized President Wilson for everything he had done, except the one thing deserving of severe denunciation, and that is the signing of the Hay-Chamberlain army reorganization bill with its clause empowering the President to draft citizens into the Federal army. "This is a power which even Lincoln did not have when he became President," said Mr. Benson.

### No General Strike.

The large labor organizations in New York City seem to have ignored the call for a general strike due on September 29. The result has been that it failed to materialize. [See current volume, page 923.]

### New Jersey Primaries.

The New Jersey Republican primaries resulted in nomination for Governor of Walter E. Edge, reactionary, over Senator Colgate and George L. Record, candidate of the progressive element. The vote was approximately: Edge, 71,000; Colgate, 68,000; Record, 25,000. For United States Senator, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, with progressive inclinations, defeated former Governor Franklin B. Murphy, reactionary. The Democrats nominated Otto Wittpen for Governor without opposition and renominated Senator Martine over James

Wescott, who was said to be the choice of President Wilson. Edmond B. Osborne, supporter of Record, and like him, a campaigner for home rule and Singletax, was nominated for State Senator by the Republicans of Essex county.

#### Labor Defense Counsel.

As treasurer of a promoting committee of the National Labor Defense Counsel, with headquarters at 33 West Fourteenth street, New York, Ida Rauh has issued the following announcement:

A promoting committee consisting of Fremont Older, Helen Marot, Dante Barton, Lincoln Steffens and Ida Rauh has obtained the consent of the five following lawyers to form a National Labor Defense Counsel. They are: Frank P. Walsh, C. E. S. Wood, Edward P. Costigan, Austin Lewis and Amos Pinchot. These men are known throughout the whole country not only in their legal profession but for the position they have taken in the struggle of labor against capitalist exploitation. The members of the Counsel are serving without compensation.

In many legal cases Frank P. Walsh has acted as the unpaid counsel for labor, but it is as chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and later as chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee, organized to carry forward the recommendations of that Commission, that his position is thoroughly understood and his place as a leader nationally appreciated. C. E. S. Wood and Austin Lewis have become two of the leading legal advisers of the Pacific Coast. Edward P. Costigan was in charge of some of the most important legal developments of the great strike of the miners of Colorado in 1914. Amos Pinchot has spoken and written for labor in every industrial crisis that has arisen in the last few years.

It is the service of such men as these that the well organized unions command; it has been valuable to them not only in the defense of their members in court, but has brought their cases before the country and the labor world through the attention they forced from the press.

In order to give the unorganized workers the advantages of the organized workers, the National Labor Defense Counsel has been formed. It is obviously impossible for the Counsel to give personal attention to the innumerable cases which continually arise. Therefore, the Counsel proposes to employ a man who is intimately connected with the labor movement; who is competent to report situations to the Counsel; who is able to carry out the advice of the Counsel; employ local attorneys; who will represent the Counsel locally; and who will raise the money for the conduct of the trials. To maintain such an agent in the field will need money.

The need of such a Counsel has been recognized in scores of cases in the past few years, and the need is increasing. More and more the fate of a strike depends upon the abuse by the courts of their power, and this abuse is proportionate to the obscurity and helplessness of the victims. It is only necessary to name the most recent instances—Pittsburg, Youngstown and Minnesota.

The existence of this Counsel gives to every man and woman in the country who stands behind the

unorganized workers a chance to make an investment where the returns to labor will be the greatest. All sympathizers of labor, all advocates of fair play in the courts, all members of well organized trades will make the work of this National Defense Counsel possible by becoming a subscribing member—by giving his share to the fund of \$5,000 necessary to maintain the field work.

#### Peace Prize Contest.

The American School Peace League announces that two sets of prizes, to be known as the Seabury Prizes, are offered for the best essays on one of the following subjects: 1. What Education Can Do Toward the Maintenance of Permanent Peace. Open to seniors in normal schools. 2. The Influence of the United States in the Adoption of a Plan for Permanent Peace. Open to seniors in secondary schools. Three prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars will be given for the best essays in both sets. The judges are to be: C. A. Duniway, president University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.; Miss Sarah E. Richmond, principal, State Normal School, Towson, Md.; J. A. Shawan, superintendent of schools, Columbus, O.; William A. Wetzell, principal, high school, Trenton, N. J.; William W. Andrew, superintendent of schools, Salem, Mass.; Miss Esther Crowe, teacher of English, Central High School, Kansas City, Mo.; W. W. Phelan, director, School of Education, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.; William E. Gilbert, State Normal School for Women, East Radford, Va. The contest closes March 1, 1917. The conditions are that essays must not exceed 5,000 words (a length of 3,000 words is suggested as desirable), and must be written, preferably in typewriting, on one side only of paper, 8x10 inches, with a margin of at least one and one-quarter inches. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered. The name of the writer must not appear on the essay, which should be accompanied by a letter giving the writer's name, school and home address, and sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, secretary, American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough street, Boston, Mass., not later than March 1, 1917. Essays should be mailed flat (not rolled). The award of the prizes will be made at the annual meeting of the League in July, 1917. Information concerning literature on the subject may be obtained from the secretary.

#### Missouri Prohibition Amendment Held Up.

In a letter to Charles E. Stokes, secretary of the Missouri Dry Federation, Missouri's Secretary of State, Cornelius Roach, declares that he will not put on the ballot the proposed State-wide prohibition amendment submitted by initiative petition. As a reason Mr. Roach alleges the proposition to be a violation of the Federal Constitution and that part of it may be classed as legislation and does not belong in the Constitution. Mr. Stokes says

he will institute mandamus proceedings, and refers to a similar case in Arizona where the amendment was upheld by the Federal Court.

### The Land and Paper Supply.

That idle land is the cause of scarcity of paper was shown by Dr. Hugh P. Baker, dean of the State College of Forestry at Syracuse University, at the annual meeting in New York on September 28 of the Technical Association of the Pulp and Paper Industry. Dr. Baker said that half the area of New York State is idle land which could be made productive for paper manufacturers. Besides this, Dr. Baker said 60 to 70 per cent of the State of Maine is idle territory which could be similarly utilized.

### Helping War Orphans.

Before sailing for London, where he intends to learn how the poorer classes look upon the war, Judge Henry Neil sent the following letter to ex-Senator Elihu Root in response to an appeal for aid for a home for war orphans:

You have asked me to contribute to a fund to establish a children's home in Europe.

I cannot contribute to such a cause, and desire to give you information that the institutional idea for European children is put forth as part of a plan to exploit their mothers in factories.

After the war the allied nations will have a great burden of interest to pay. They must produce things to sell.

Woman factory labor must take the place of man labor, and the plea is to establish institutions, take children from their mothers and compel the mothers to become factory hands, without home or children.

This plan will destroy the people of the country if carried out.

I have read carefully all of the letters and literature of the "Committee of Mercy," of which you are honorary president. Nowhere in your entire appeal do I see any proposal to keep children with their own mothers. The whole scheme is to separate mothers and children.

You say "for the shelter and training of fatherless and destitute children." But you do not mention the mother. She is to go to the factory.

New York City, where you live, has established more institutions for children than any other city in the world. They have been found to be cruel, expensive, inefficient and bad policy from every point of view.

New York City has now awakened to the crime it has been committing against mother instincts and child life and against the interests of society.

Your own State and city are now taking children out of institutions and restoring them to their own mothers under the mothers' pension system for the abolishment of child-poverty.

Under this pension system the mother remains at home to care for her own children. She does not have to go out to wash for children of other women, nor work in factories. She functions as nature intended and does the work for which her instincts prepare her.

I am opposed to the institutional care of children and all honest authorities agree with me in that opposition. Even children without mother or father, in Europe or America, can be better cared for in private families.

In New York City pensioned mothers are being paid by the city to care for orphans, and the little ones get the benefit of individual mother care in a regular home, under natural conditions.

Institutional care does not make good, useful citizens because it prevents the development of those talents upon which home, the basis of our civilization, depends.

Institutional children grow up, get married and have children of their own, but, never having lived in a home, these fathers and mothers usually fail, and more dependents are produced.

The Committee of Mercy is not a merciful organization, if it continues its present plan.

I propose that the plan be changed to a Mothers' Pension plan and children cared for in private homes with mother care, and that all mothers be kept out of factories and other gainful occupations outside of their own homes, even if the result is default on the war bonds.

You are probably being used by professional charity experts who simply desire little jobs for themselves and by scheming men who see into the future and realize that women of Europe must go into factories and give up their children if the bond interest is to be paid.

I ask careful consideration of this letter, as I propose to use all my power and all my time and every ounce of my strength, God willing, to prevent you or any other person, or group, or nation from committing the supreme crime of the world—taking children from their own mothers and driving these mothers into factories.

### French Land Reform Movement.

A league for a return to the land has been formed under the direction of M. Henri Bocher, member of the chief board of agriculture. The League will undertake to organize an army of workers, and provide for intensive culture of the soil. The movement is an offshoot from the union for Belgium and its allies under the patronage of the President of the French Republic and the King of the Belgians. The activities of the League will undertake:

1. To spread the idea that the abandonment of the land is a national danger, and that in order to carry on agriculture laborers must be attached to the soil, and women retained on the farms.

2. To help in retaining and adopting for the culture of the soil after the war, all the processes necessary for its thorough development.

3. To utilize the manual labor of school children in the holidays, and train afresh agricultural laborers discharged from the army.

[See current volume, page 472.]

### European War.

Successes marked the operations of the Allies on the Somme front. Combles, the German base which had been in process of encirclement by

the British on the north and the French of the south, was taken on the 26th, and their lines extended to the northeast two miles. Immediately after the fall of Comblès an advance was begun on Peronne and Bapaume. The British also captured on the 26th the strongly fortified point at Thiepval, which has held back their left wing for weeks. The chief obstacle to their advance on Bapaume along the south bank of the Ancre has been removed. Numerous other strongly fortified positions were taken by both the British and the French. Expressed in figures, the Allies' Somme advance represents the capture of 44 villages, 190 square miles of territory and 60,000 prisoners. It resulted also in destruction of some permanent fortifications on the German line, and the imperiling of two important bases. The Germans, however, profess confidence in their ability to prevent the Allies from breaking through. [See current volume, page 925.]

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Much fighting is reported from the eastern front, but the net result is not yet apparent. The renewed offensive of the Austrians resulted in the defeat of the Roumanians at Hermannstadt. But farther north in Transylvania the Roumanians claim an advance of their line. To relieve the pressure on the Roumanians the Russians have renewed their advance on Lemberg in force both west of Brody and at a point south of Brzezany. Berlin claims the defeat of the Russians in the center of this wide front. Fighting in the Dobrudja district continues without interruption, and apparently is turning in favor of the Roumanians and Russians. The Roumanians are reported to have invaded Bulgaria by crossing the Danube between Rustchuk and Turtukai, but no details are given. In the south the Allies are fighting their way toward Monastir, and the British are extending their line on the Struma river. The Bulgarian forces are offering a stout resistance, and are retreating slowly.

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Greece continues to be the source of many and conflicting rumors. Former Premier Venizelos and Admiral Coundouriotis, who escaped from Athens to Crete, were received with great enthusiasm by the people of the island. Sympathetic messages greet them from many points. A summary of the proclamation signed by Venizelos and Coundouriotis, as given in the dispatches, states:

The application of the personal policies of the sovereign, a victim of bad counsels, has resulted in a rapprochement with Greece's hereditary enemies, the violation of the constitution, internal anarchy and isolation and contempt for Greece, which the allies consider hostile, because she refused the Serbs the facilities accorded the Bulgars.

The victorious army of 1912-1913 abandons the territory conquered by the nation's blood; the population is fleeing before the invaders; war material has been given the Bulgarians; Greek soldiers have

been sent to Germany by way of Sofia, and patriots are regarded as traitors.

Today is not the moment to establish the responsibility. Our duty is to save what there is still time to save. To attain this it is essential to re-establish national unity by an immediate return to the policy dictated by the national conscience, namely, range ourselves on the side of the allies and Serbians to expel the invaders.

It would be a happy event if at the eleventh hour the king should decide to take the lead of the national forces. In a contrary event it is our duty to do the needful to save the country from the threatening ruin. We are entering the struggle convinced that the nation, independently of the state, will accomplish the miracle and bring the country back to the status of eighteen months ago. It is reported that the Greek cabinet has resigned.

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Italy reports small gains over the Austrians, but nothing of a decisive nature. No important news comes from Asia Minor. The submarine activities result in picking off numbers of trawler and other small patrol boats, and occasionally a ship. Another invasion of the east coast of England by a fleet of Zeppelins took place on the night of the 2d. Ten airships are supposed to have been in the fleet. Two reached the vicinity of London. One was brought down in flames by anti-aircraft guns. No material damage is reported. Most of the bombs dropped fell in the open fields.

#### China.

Details have been given out in Washington of an American loan to China of \$60,000,000 for railroad building. The Siems-Carey Company of St. Paul, Minn., has contracted to construct 1,500 miles of railroad through the richest section of China. A definite route has not been announced, but it will be through the mineral and mining provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Kunan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung and Chekiang, which are largely in the British and French spheres of influence. The loan is to be secured by the road itself and not by any concessions or government guarantees. [See current volume, page 926.]

\* \*

Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the United States, has resigned on account of poor health. Dr. Koo is 30 years old, and is the youngest diplomat ever accredited to the United States.

#### Mexico and the United States.

The meetings of the American and Mexican Commissioners have been transferred from New London, Conn., to Atlantic City, N. J. At the first session in Atlantic City a committee representing forty-five mining companies and a total wealth of \$250,000,000 appeared before the Commissioners to present an account of the mining situation in Mexico. The committee said the prop-

erties represented by it paid \$18,726,090.69 in wages in 1912, the last normal year. The pay roll for this year would be about \$7,000,000. Taxes at present, the Committee said, are "grossly excessive and confiscatory." James Linn Rodgers, special agent of the United States Government in Mexico City and adviser to the Commission, was quoted by the Committee as making the following official explanation on behalf of the Mexican government of the new land tax on mining property:

The intent of the new law is to develop small holdings and to place prohibitive taxes on undeveloped large holdings.

[See current volume, page 925.]

\* \*

The question of border control occupies the attention of the Commissioners, but no agreement has been reached. Eliseo Arredondo, Mexican Ambassador Designate, has returned to Mexico for consultation with General Carranza.

\* \*

Rumors are plentiful of clashes between Villa's forces and the Carranza troops south of Chihuahua City, but nothing definite is known.

## NOTES

—United States Senator James P. Clarke of Arkansas died at his home in Little Rock on October 1, at the age of sixty-two.

—The total population of Russia, according to available statistics for the year 1915, is 182,182,600. The population increased 53,000,000, or 42 per cent, since 1897.

—Legal time in Great Britain and Germany, which was advanced one hour last spring in order to give more daylight after working hours, was set back an hour October 1st for the winter months.

—It is announced from Petrograd that a series of high schools and technical schools exclusively for Jewish students is to be established in Russia, and greater freedom is to be accorded them in respect to their entry into the universities.

—The gross earnings of the Santa Fe railroad for the past fiscal year were \$133,762,392, an increase of \$16,096,804 over 1915. The net earnings were \$50,031,432, as against \$8,457,398 the preceding year. The common stock of the road represents a capitalization of \$214,312,500.

—Land value assessments for New York City for 1916 are \$4,611,804,833, a decrease from 1915 of \$31,609,943. In Manhattan values are \$3,133,955,156, a falling off in one year of \$50,486,439. In other boroughs values have increased. Improvements in the city have increased from \$2,884,475,851 in 1915 to \$2,956,844,346 in the current year.

—The Illinois Democratic State Convention endorsed the pending tax amendment, declared for a constitutional convention, urged amendment of the constitution's amending clause to allow submission of more than one amendment at the same time, urged also submission of an Initiative and Referen-

dum amendment, and endorsed extension of full suffrage to women.

—In an interview in the New York Call of October 1, Andrew Furuseth, president of the Seamen's Union, says that since the passage of the La Follette Seamen's Act, wages of sailors in the offshore trade have increased from \$30 to \$45 a month. The provision allowing sailors to leave their ships at American ports has been a means of compelling ships under foreign flags to pay the same wages as American vessels.

—The California Singletax League, an incorporated organization, was formed at Los Angeles on September 15 at a Henry George birthday dinner. Among the speakers were: Anna George De Mille, W. C. De Mille, Charles Johnson Post, S. Byron Welcome, W. J. Ford, Robert L. Hubbard and Helen Murphy. The officers of the new organization are: Robert L. Hubbard, S. Byron Welcome, Peter T. Anderson, David Woodhead, Homer P. Earle, R. E. Chadwick, field secretary, and Helen Murphy, of Los Angeles, secretary.

—Democratic national headquarters announced on October 2 that Edward P. Costigan, Progressive party candidate for Governor of Colorado in 1914, had declared for Wilson. A similar announcement on the same day was made by Austin B. Garretson, head of the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, who has hitherto been a Republican. A newspaper report that John M. Parker, Progressive vice presidential nominee, had announced that he would support Wilson was denied by him in a public letter. Mr. Parker announced that he would speak against Hughes, and while that would be indirectly in favor of Wilson, he will not speak as an affirmative supporter.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### The Filipino View of the Jones Law.

Manila Independent (Independence Organ), Aug. 26.—The Jones Act, though not completely satisfactory to national aspirations of the country, is a forward step. Availing ourselves of a simile, we may say that this act is a payment of the first installment of a debt run into by Uncle Sam with us since the year 1898. The delinquent debtor, alleging pretexts, more or less futile, does not want to pay all at once his outstanding account in spite of our insistent demands. What, then, should be done? To reject it would be folly. Reason advises us to accept that payment, at least, because with it the old debt of 1898 is impliedly admitted. Later on—who knows if promptly!—we shall be able to collect the balance, when a better opportunity comes. Before 1898 it was never dreamed that an immediate downfall of the Spanish sovereignty was to come. But thereafter what happened? There immediately broke out the Spanish-American conflict, and the Filipino people, rising up as one man, has been able to get rid of the Spanish yoke. This shows that there is a Providence, which looks after weak peoples ruled against their will!

**Ambassador Bliss's Indefensible Act.**

Cincinnati Times-Star, Sept. 20.—Charles Edward Russell, an American writer, is a rampant radical on many questions, a man of somewhat unsound philosophy and the wielder of a virile pen. But so far as we are aware he has never committed any offense against the law, nor has he ever legally been deprived of his American citizenship. As a citizen in good standing, Mr. Russell is entitled to all the privileges and courtesies which go with that condition. His political views and his expression of them may not be approved by administration officials, but the latter have no authority for punishing Mr. Russell on that account. Yet they have attempted to do so. Mr. Russell applied to Mr. Bliss, charge d'affaires in the American embassy in Paris, for customary documents which would establish the holder's identity and standing in Belgium. Mr. Bliss curtly replied as follows:

In view of your criticism of the President, I do not feel justified in giving you a letter of commendation to the Belgian legation.

Heigh ho, Mr. Bliss. Asserting a new doctrine of lese majeste for America is somewhat presumptuous, is it not? We are to believe that the President can do no wrong, therefore sacred be the name of the President, is that the idea? If so, it will not become popular back home. Since when did a subordinate in an American embassy become arbiter of free speech, protector of executive dignity and regulator-in-general of personal liberty?

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE CANDIDATE COURAGEOUS.

Toledo, O., Sept. 28.

The political promotions of Charles E. Hughes are as rapid as the flow of slang from Billy Sunday. At first he was merely a Supreme Court Judge. When he resigned we learned that he had been a 100 per cent judge. Later he became the 100 per cent candidate, and now the anti-administration newspapers, the political bosses and the leading captains of industry have proclaimed him the Candidate Courageous.

The title is not entirely undeserved. It does take courage to be a candidate against Wilson, and it also requires courage to maintain silence when questions are being asked. Hughes, however, showed positive "nerve" when he disregarded the advice of local politicians and attacked the eight-hour law in a speech made to the 17,000 employes of the Overland Automobile Co., of Toledo, O. "If I were the chief executive," he said, "I would stand like a rock against anyone who tried to force me or Congress to do anything the justice of which they did not understand." Strong language to use before an audience of workmen, and certainly requiring courage.

But there is another side to the tale. At the same meeting one of the most prominent men of Toledo asked, "If you worked in the Overland, would you join the union?" The question was so pointed and the demand for its answer so insistent that the Candidate Courageous actually replied "I don't know." Once more a question reached his ears: "How about the Danbury Hatters, Hughes?" No answer was

made. The crowd insisted. From every quarter came the cry, "Tell us about the Danbury Hatters, Charlie!" "What about the Danbury Hatters, Hughes?" "Danbury Hatters! Danbury Hatters! Tell us about the Danbury Hatters!" The 100 per cent candidate maintained a 100 per cent silence. Once more came the cry "Danbury Hatters! How about the Danbury Hatters?" The Candidate Courageous stopped, looked and listened, then replied: "My friends evidently have not heard what I said." That was all. That was as far as his courage could extend. The fact is that during his entire speech he made no reference to the Hatters' decision or to any similar case.

Exactly wherein lies the courage of Hughes is not plain. Is it in attacking everything that the Wilson administration has done? Or is it in maintaining a judicious silence (100 per cent?) on the questions which are being put to him daily?

Mr. Hughes wants to be President. If elected, will he have the courage to oust the Barnes-Penrose gang from the Republican party? Or will his courage merely permit him to replace the Democratic "horse doctor" with a Republican peanut politician? Will he have the courage to insist on a more thoroughgoing eight-hour law? Or will he ask for a radical revision of the tariff—upwards? Will he be courageous enough to hold off the land grabbers and despoilers of the public domain? Or will he recommend increased military appropriations and universal military service to keep "our" country from falling into the hands of "the enemy"? Will he fight for the nationalization of natural resources? Or will he send the army to Mexico to "Americanize" the land of the peons? Hughes advocates efficiency. He says he believes "in labor." He is opposed to discharging men for political reasons. Will he retain in office such men as Frederic C. Howe, Brand Whitlock and Herbert Quick?

The people have a right to know whether the courage of Hughes will be exerted in their behalf or for the plunderbund, for progress or for reaction. The important question for the American people to consider is whether the Candidate Courageous who wants to be President Courageous (?) will choose the side Laborous or the side Interestous.

We know where Wilson stands. We know what he has done. We know what to expect. It is time we heard from Hughes.

HYMAN LEVINE.

### THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG.

Boston, Sept. 22.

Judge Gary was in the Philippines last month and let the cat out of the bag when, at the banquet given in his honor, he emphasized the hope "that the United States would take no action in the Philippine Islands without remembering and taking into consideration the investments made by Americans here to develop the resources of the islands."

The sacred trusts see that their mouthpieces in this country dwell on the duty of fulfilling our "trust" to the Filipinos and keep their real motive out of sight. Little these magnates care for the Filipino's educational and political advancement so long as the United States' endorsement backs their ventures.

ERVING WINSLOW.

## OIL MONOPOLY AND MISSIONARY EFFORT.

Nanking, China, July 29.

It has often been said that in heathen lands the missionary comes first and afterwards the exploiter. This unfortunately is sometimes true, as for instance in Hawaii the sugar trust following the efforts of missionaries. Some of the missionary children are in the trust. Prof. Brown of Union Seminary was in Nanking and spoke about the great missionary convention held in Panama. In his talk he deplored the work of the big companies exploiting the resources of the South American Republics as a hindrance to mission work. After his address I asked him why the missionary societies were introducing the oil trust into China. He seemed at loss for anything to say. Now the missionary societies and bishops have sold us out to the oil trust our work in teaching and healing the sick and preaching will get the bad odor of the kerosene can. Already the head of the oil trust is dubbed in the daily papers, The Foreign Oil Highway Robber Chief. As an illustration, the price of oil has gone up over 100 per cent. Other commodities have only gone up say 25 or 30 per cent. The Chinese are too ignorant to see the reasons for this extra rise, and there is very hard feeling. I told one of the oil agents that if the Chinese had not been punished so severely for the Boxer uprising there might be oil rioting now and the subsidized missionary hospitals and medical schools get the odium and be perhaps torn down by the infuriated mob. The poor ignoramuses cannot see that the increased price is necessary in order to make the foundation work self-supporting and a little more.

What if the great opium merchants should get up a fund to support hospitals and dispensaries and schools for the Chinese? Should we accept their money and give them Godspeed? The leader of the opium merchants has been up till lately the head of the charity organizations in Shanghai. First rob and impoverish the people and then dole out alms. It was the old way of the thieving Roman rulers to keep the people from rebelling.

As soon as the oil trust begins its unjust railway discrimination rebates and drawbacks, its spy system and crushing out independents, there will be hatred of the monopoly leaders in China as in Pennsylvania. Can a leopard change its spots or a lion become a lamb? Surely the church leaders think this is possible or they are dangerously ignorant of the history of that most devilish of all the corporations.

In many of the churches democracy exists and the leaders cannot act like the bipartisan bosses of our cities and sell out the liberties of the church members. One of the missionary secretaries was chided for thus acting arbitrarily, and replied that they had to act rapidly, as it was an emergency. They will yet rue the day they sold us out to the devil.

I would like to get a combination of the missionaries to appeal over the heads of the leaders to the church members. I got into a lawsuit fighting the opium merchants in Shanghai, and I believe it our duty to oppose evil wherever we meet it. The opium business is a shade worse than the oil trade,

not perhaps in methods but because of the inherent vileness of the substance traded. As a Britisher I threw over the odium of the opium business by denouncing the accursed trade. My Chinese friends know that I have no part nor lot in it. I want to publicly disown the oil trust and all of its vicious methods so as to try and retain a decent name amongst my Chinese friends. I regret that all Britishers do not disown the opium, and that all Christians do not seem to know the depraved history of the Oil Trust. Must they burn their fingers before they will learn?

W. E. MACKLIN.

## BOOKS

### BUSINESS MAN AND IDEALIST

Joseph Fels; His Life Work. By Mary Fels. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

"Literary men and women" so called, very seldom produce much literature. It is the striving heart of the whole human race that chooses for itself bits of helping wisdom, the way-leading thoughts put into words here and there by those toilers who had first lived them out, and who had not the slightest desire to become famous. Literature, then, is only that which lives and inspires because of its entire loyalty to some great ideal, and its utter unconsciousness that the gift it lays upon the high altar of the human race has any value at all.

Now there was once a man with an idea—one Henry George, and fruitful as his thought has been, it long needed, we make bold to say, another group of witnesses, to comprehend his message and to give it a fuller interpretation. This the world now has in the life-story of Joseph Fels as told by his wife, Mary, and thus revealing in their loveliness the characters of both those love-worthy way-leaders of struggling humanity. Here, then, is real and long-lasting literature.

I am writing this review of Mrs. Fels' book for those readers who believe in the brotherhood of man, and are fighting to make this old earth of ours a better place to live in; therefore I begin by saying that after a third reading of "Joseph Fels, His Life Work," its larger values become pre-eminent. It is charmingly written, clearly put, so interesting that one can read it as easily as any novel the first time, as a story of a brave, eager, loving man's life. But read it twice more (no book is better worth the time) and you possess the book's real secret.

Here is that inner meaning: A man of an unusual force of mind, elevation of soul, intense practicality, glorious singleness of heart, spent great sums of money, toiled heroically, struggled through ten long years of social and economic experiments, and, by this hard but necessary road,

fought his way upward to a full comprehension of what Henry George's doctrines mean, as applied to our mundane affairs.

The whole thing is epical, it thrills the reader, just as the tale of Sigurd the Volsung, who went up against the dragon in the wilderness at the world's end, thrilled us when we were children. Why is all this so entirely true? Because of the spiritual quality that abides in the career of Joseph Fels. It is a quiet, deep current, like a river far underground, but one feels its vibration, and it gives the book its primary importance. Quotations cannot be made here, but read pp. 14-16 (for a charming personal note); also chapter 10; also the many paragraphs which illustrate the interest which Joseph Fels took in educational and other causes. Lastly, for a piece of pure literature, that Stevenson might have written, read chapter 16, and especially note Miss McMillan's account of the Oxford University speech—which fitly closes this remarkable book.

It is hard to lay down such a piece of work as Mrs. Mary Fels has done; it strengthens one's faith in the future, and whets to sharper edges our old somewhat dulled swords of battle. Behind its mere words the book has a racial force, too; a supreme and lasting mysticism, such as the thinkers and prophets have always had. "The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive." That strong and earnest race to which the Fels and so many more who have served or are still serving humanity belong is above all else gifted with far-reaching imagination, and immense capacity for self-sacrifice. Out of old Asia have come all of the world's religions, and its most abiding literature; the children of that Abraham who once dwelt in "Ur of the Chaldeans" have given us its most precious elements. Was there ever anything more natural than the way in which the spiritual ideals of the whole land-reform movement have taken hold of some of Abraham's descendants? It is because of the trained imaginations, and high reasoning powers which are so often the heritages of this ancient stock. When the Jews return to Palestine, making it their home-center (as they some day will), let us have faith that they will improve up their old "Year of Jubilee" land-laws and have unadulterated Singletax.

Let me now drive this review home to the "place where you live," dear reader. By luck I have had three copies of "Joseph Fels, His Life Work;" they are being lent and sent over California with the advice: Read this first—then read "Progress and Poverty"—then ask yourself if you do not begin to see that the doctrine of freedom of access to and full utilization of natural resources may well be termed a "Religion of Humanity?" This reviewer will buy more copies, and he closes with the remark that every person who believes in Singletax owes it to himself to scrimp somewhere else

and buy two copies—one to keep and one to lend or give.

CHARLES H. SHINN.

## Periodicals

### Henry Ford as a Social Philosopher.

A lengthy article on Henry Ford in the October Metropolitan, by John Reed, seems to be based on an interview with the Detroit manufacturer and a study of the automobile plant. Interviews with famous men are frequently known to result in misunderstanding and misconception. If Mr. Ford is correctly reported here, he is closer to Henry George's position than ever before. He seems to be coming over into the class of practical business idealists like Tom Johnson, Joseph Fels and Charles H. Ingersoll. The natural humanitarian quality of his heart, and the economic pressure of the times, are transforming a mechanical genius into a social philosopher. When wages were boosted at the Ford establishment, real estate speculators bought land for miles around the great automobile plant. As wages rose, the price of land went up. This made a profound impression upon Ford's mind; and when the new tractor establishment was started at Dearborn he resolved to checkmate speculation by purchasing vacant land in the neighborhood himself.

From all indications Mr. Ford is developing gradually and naturally into an economic radical. He says there is little difference between a republic, a monarchy, and an empire. They are all ruled by little groups of interests which have special privileges. That is what is causing trouble among working people. They are not getting their share, because the other fellow is getting more than he deserves. Perhaps labor unions are necessary when the people have no other defense against special privilege; but when the facts are presented to the people, special privilege will die out. The normal life for a man is to get back on the land. The land is the healthiest place to be. Farming, however, does not pay under present conditions. Everything costs the farmer too much. The trusts cheat him. And the banks soak him on his money. All these things must be done away with. People ought to have the same opportunities and the same rights.

According to the writer of this Metropolitan article, Ford is working on a scheme of singletax to be applied to the city of Detroit. It does not appear how much singletax the automobile manufacturer knows. But his heart is in the right place; and he is not a man who can be forced. If he becomes an adherent of the Henry George idea, it will be through the logic of actual experience rather than by any complicated process of pure argumentation. And that, after all, in the case of such a man, is the better way.

LOUIS WALLIS.

\* \* \*

"I tell you," said Pat, "the ould fr'nds are the best, after all, and, what's more, I can prove it."

"How are you goin' to prove it?"

"Where will you find a new fr'nd that has shtud by ye as long as the ould ones have?"—Answers.

Here's a suggestion for this evening, after supper: Think out a list of 10 people to whom The Public should go for the remaining weeks of the Presidential Election Campaign. I will make you sleep good and dream of Prosperity not of the Republican kind. New subs., \$1

Stanley Bowmar

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 American Free Trade League, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

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Public Mass Meeting on the Eight-Hour Day,  
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Miss Agnes Nestor, President Chicago League,  
Program.

Presiding.

SPEAKERS:

Mrs. Florence Kelly, New York—"Movement for  
the Eight-Hour Day."

Miss Myra Richardson, Detroit—"Benefit of the  
Eight-Hour Day to Women."

"Health Value of the Eight-Hour Day."

Miss Elizabeth Maloney—"The Worker and the  
Eight-Hour Day."

Miss Mary E. McDowell—"Social Value of the  
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A SINGLETAX PLAY.—The Singletax play, by James G. Blauvelt, referred to in a recent number of The Public, can be obtained from us. Send 2c postage. The Public Book Dept.

WANTED—A COPY OF "The Pope in Politics," by Father McGlynn, published in "The Standard" in 1889 or 1890. Will pay well for a good copy. M. H. McDowell, 817 Union St., New Orleans, La.

BEEKEEPING PAYS IN TEXAS.—We can sell well established apiaries or furnish bees in single colonies or car lots. If contemplating removal to Texas or if interested in a profitable business write to Southwestern Bee Co., San Antonio, Texas.

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AMERIKANERE FRA NORGE—Se her. Retfaerd er det eneste norske, organ for grundvaerdibeskatning. 16-sidig maanedskrift. Redaktion: N. Lieng og Arne Garborg. Ekspedition: Skippergaten 21, Kristiania. Pris: Kr. 2.60 pr. aar, frit tilsendt i Amerika. Det bedste de kan giøre for Norge, er at stötte den sak Retfaerd arbejder for. Abonner paa Retfaerd!

PROSPERITY IN CANADA.—\$900,000,000 in new wealth added in 1915. Enormous crops and low taxation make farmers rich. Wheat average, 36.16 bushels per acre in Alberta, 28.75 bushels per acre in Saskatchewan, 28.60 bushels per acre in Manitoba. Taxes average \$24 and will not exceed \$35 per quarter section, includes all taxes; no taxes on improvements. Free schools and full religious liberty, good climate. Get your farm home from the Canadian Pacific Railway, 20 years to pay. Good land from \$11 to \$30 per acre; irrigated lands from \$35, and the government guarantees your land and water titles. Balance, after first payment, extended over nineteen years, with interest at 6 per cent; privileges of paying in full any time. Before final payment becomes due your farm should have paid for itself. We will lend you up to \$2,000 in improvements in certain districts, with no security other than the land itself. Particulars on request. Ready-made farms for sale. Special easy terms. Loans for livestock. In defined districts, after one year's occupation, under certain conditions, we advance cattle, sheep and hogs to farmers up to a value of \$1,000. We want you; we can afford to help you. We own the land; we want the land cultivated. Our interests are mutual. Buy direct and get your farm home from the CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY. Send for free book. J. S. Dennis, Assistant to the President, Canadian Pacific Railway, 119 Ninth Ave., Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

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### STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

of The Public, published Weekly, at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1, 1916.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.  
Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Stanley Bowmar, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of The Public, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—	Postoffice address—
Editors.....	Samuel Danziger, 605 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago
	Stoughton Cooley, 605 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago
Publisher and Business Manager.....	Stanley Bowmar.....
	.....605 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

2. That the owners are (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.):

Louis F. Post, 605 Ellsworth Building, Chicago.  
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state.): None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

STANLEY BOWMAR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of Sept., 1916.  
(SEAL) JAMES S. PENNINGTON.

(My Commission expires October 24, 1916.)

A schoolmaster in a rural council school was recently giving a lesson to the lowest standards on the formation of rain by the process of evaporation. "You will notice," said he, "that during the evening following a hot summer day something rises

from the surface of the ponds. What is it?"  
 One solitary hand gradually creeps up.  
 "Good boy. I can see you are thinking. What is it?"  
 G. B.—Frogs.—Sacred Heart Review.

What

## "The Railroad Issue as a Windfall"

Mr. Yarros's article in The Public of September 22 made so strong an impression that we decided to have run off a big reprint edition.

It will be a well-printed, attractive election dodger. Following Mr. Yarros's article will be "The Second Guess" (available, also, in a separate folder) and an advertisement for The Public.

Wilson workers will find these folders particularly effective—just the thing they want to help elect the man whom the railroad plutocrats (and their kind) are out to defeat.

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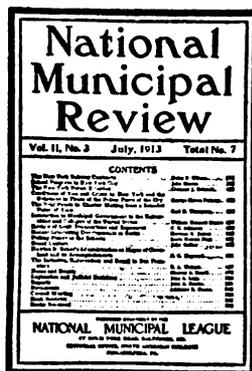
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