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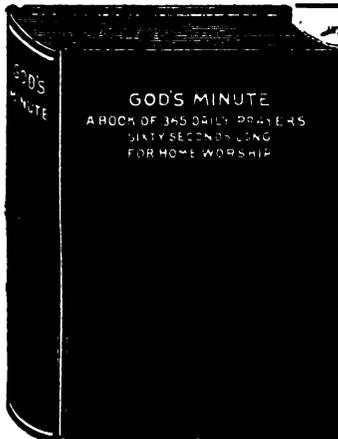
An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Ray Stannard Baker
on
The Soul of America

Presidential Campaigns
Ex-Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin

Mr. Bryan's Opportunity
Western Starr

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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EDITORIAL

Efficient organization to prevent waste in the production of wealth is highly important. But, while there is much room for improvement, it is to be hoped that the movement will be sufficiently efficient to recognize and cure the enormous waste of permitting valuable land to remain idle, and of allowing the owners of used land to collect toll where no service has been rendered. s. c.

* * *

An encouraging decision is that of the United States Court of Appeals at Chicago, upholding the legality of peaceful picketing. The decision is obviously in accordance with common sense. It indicates rights that are clearly acknowledged by the Constitution, and are included among those with which all men are endowed by nature. It seems strange that there should ever have arisen a question as to the legality of exercising such rights in any way. Yet not only has such a question repeatedly arisen, but there are actually judges on the bench who cannot see that conduct

which is lawful while no strike is in progress is just as lawful during a strike. But now a decision has been rendered that curbs a dangerous tendency towards construing away constitutional guaranties. The decision accords with justice and common sense, and deserves to be listed with those that reflect credit upon the courts.

* * *

The suggestion of Edward A. Rumely, Vice-President of the New York Evening Mail, that Proportional Representation offers a means of enabling the elements of the Republican party to get together, should be carefully considered. Inequalities and indirection, he says, in the basis of representation have enabled certain backward bosses to perpetuate themselves in power regardless of the sentiment of the Republican voters. Nor can there be, he thinks, any real co-operation between western Progressives and Republicans until there has been a reorganization of representation in the convention itself. Mr. Rumely proposes to automatically adjust the Southern vote and the antagonistic factions of the West by giving to each delegate in the convention voting power in proportion to the number of votes he received in the primary. He suggests that each 1,000 votes at the primary count as one unit in the convention. The adoption of such a plan would of itself indicate that the party is not hopeless. Will it do it? s. c.

* * *

Because Secretary of War Newton Baker finds recruiting checked by an abnormal demand for labor in industry, the Chicago Herald in its issue of December 9 advocates compulsory service. That is, the Herald would have men taken by force from useful industry to become non-producing consumers in the army. To fill the army it would embarrass business, cripple production and intensify the high cost of living problem. To say nothing of the wrong that conscription is under any circumstances, what justification can there be for such a proposal? The importance of keeping factories going with the most efficient labor is manifest. It is a present need. And yet the Herald would sacrifice that because of an indefinite, unreasonable fear of an uncertain danger some time in the future. s. d.

Major General Leonard Wood of the United States Army is reported to have declared in a public address on December 8: "War is coming, as sure as God is in heaven and the sun shines in the sky." That is important if true. But if the event is as certain as the General states he must have accurate information. He must know with whom this war is to be, and what it is to be about. Knowing that, he should not keep the knowledge to himself. This coming war must be over something that is either our fault or the fault of our future antagonist. If it is our fault, can we not avoid war by remedying the matter? If it is the fault of the other side, we are under no obligation to declare war on that account, and if General Wood would be less secretive it may be possible to settle the matter peaceably. It is his duty as a citizen and public official to divulge to the proper authority this information or admit publicly that he spoke without knowledge.

S. D.

* * *

The London Nation suggests, in answer to the Bishop who expressed the hope that England would "build some vast and noble churches to commemorate those who have fallen in the war," that a more fitting memorial would be "some building which shall belong to the citizens, where they can meet freely and find amusement and occupation for their leisure." The editor doubts that the memorial churches prompted by the Napoleonic Wars did much to check the degradation and misery of that period. Even to this day, he says, there are thousands of villages in which there is no kind of village club house belonging to the community, where men and women can meet as free citizens. It is not unlikely that those in charge of war memorials will find when they have erected in villages throughout the land these practical village halls for the use of man, that they have in the highest sense erected temples to God.

S. C.

* * *

Concerning his proposal to forbid a strike or lockout of railroad employes pending an investigation, President Wilson says:

There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily or unjustly done.

In the qualification of his denial the President presents a multitude of weighty objections. Biased Presidents have been no rarity. Mr. Hughes' campaign speeches on the Adamson law were not of a kind to indicate that he would have used such power fairly. Theodore Roosevelt's remarks along the same line make a similar showing. President Cleveland's arbitrary and illegal conduct

during the strike of 1894 shows what may be expected of an executive partial to one side in such a controversy. Having actually elected such Presidents and nearly elected others, it requires no stretch of imagination to realize the possibility of others of the same kind. That misuse of power may be upheld by the courts is shown by their record in injunction cases. The evils which President Wilson would prevent are serious ones. But the remedy must not be worse than the disease.

S. D.

* * *

What is the Constitution between friends? The Tax Amendment to the Illinois Constitution was so clearly beaten at the recent election that Attorney General Lucey declared that in his opinion it had been lost. But the ingenuous and indefatigable friends so belabored the canvassing board that it has declared that, although the amendment did not receive a majority of all the votes cast, as required by the Constitution, it did receive a majority of the votes cast for members of the Legislature, and therefore was carried. This very accommodating board took this action, it says, in order that the Supreme Court—if anyone cares to go to the trouble and expense of contesting the case—may declare its action illegal. Expert legal opinion was to the effect that had the canvassing board rejected the amendment there would have been no redress, whereas, by accepting its passage, the court can pass upon its merits. Hereafter these opponents of the Initiative and Referendum need not worry for fear it may pass. All they need do is to retain control of the canvassing board. What, indeed, is the Constitution between friends?

S. C.

* * *

That Chicago is still considered an easy victim by street railway monopolists is indicated by the subway plan, just reported to the City Council by an engineering commission headed by Bion Arnold. The commission's plans involve an immediate expenditure of \$96,371,300 and an ultimate expenditure of \$260,000,000. It recommends that the city repeat the mistake made by New York, by advancing money to help build the subway system and then turn it over for operation to a private corporation. It further recommends a transfer system providing an extra charge of two cents. That is a modification of the indefensible Philadelphia system, where the charge is three cents. The traction fund accumulated by the city to buy existing lines is to be sunk in this enterprise. It is proposed that the agreement be modified in the corporations' interest, by which the city now receives 55 per cent of the net receipts of street rail-

way operation. The new proposal is that this division be subject to a guarantee of "at least one per cent of the gross receipts" to the corporation. This is to be in addition to six per cent on capitalization already guaranteed. Existing street railways are to be merged in a new corporation, to which the subway when completed is to be turned over. The merger will be accompanied by a valuation likely to be liberal to the corporations. An apparent concession to the city is that it is to have the right to buy the lines at any time. But, even should the city have the money to pay for an inflated capitalization, experience shows that it is hard to force unwilling franchise corporations to keep an agreement. An example is the agreement of the Automatic Telephone Company to forfeit its plant under circumstances that have occurred. It is needless to add that there is no suggestion to pay for the new system by a levy on the land values created by the proposed improvement. Public expenditure for private profit is the principle on which the report is based.

Labor's Right.

President Wilson's suggestion that Congress incorporate in its legislation on the railway question a provision for a public hearing on disputes between the men and the managers before permitting a strike will probably lead to much discussion. If the controversy be entered into with a view to enlightenment and understanding, good will come of it; but if each side assumes that it alone is in the right, and that its opponent is entirely in the wrong, harm may be done. Great issues are at stake, not only of the rights of trainmen and the railroads, but of society as a whole; and every effort should be made to avoid mistakes, and arrive at a just solution of the problem at the earliest possible moment.

* *

It may be assumed that the managers of the railroads will stand their ground; not necessarily because they wish to be unfair to the public, or unjust to the men; but because as employes themselves they must pay dividends on a false capitalization, with rates fixed by government, and the men demanding more wages. The men also will be disposed to insist upon their claims, because they feel the need of better conditions, and have the power that comes of an effective organization. Between the two contending forces stands the public, sympathizing in the main with the men, yet fearful that its interests may be ignored. It long ago lost faith in the managers, and has sought to protect itself with various restrictive

laws and regulations. It is most important that the men and the public do not arrive at a similar condition of distrust.

* *

If legislation be enacted limiting in any way the right to strike, organized labor may look upon it as a backward step, and oppose it in a way that will estrange many persons who would otherwise be friendly. Whether or not Labor is right in its position that the right to strike must be unlimited, it should not lose sight of the fact that the public at large does not at present agree with such a contention. The right of a man to quit his job is not questioned; but when he uses that right, not to free himself from his employer, but to adopt a course that will cause such general hardship that the public will have to act for its own protection, there will arise in many minds the question of whether the action should be for the restraint of employer or employe. When the strike is against a private employer the public does not concern itself, beyond attempting to see that there is fair play. But when the strike is against a public employer, as in the case of a public service corporation, society becomes a party to the controversy. It is of small moment, for instance, if the operatives in a shoe factory strike; but it is of the utmost importance if the employes of the gas company leave the city in darkness. Though the principle may be the same, its application is different.

* *

It is at this very point of misapplying a right principle that confusion may occur. Frugality is commonly reckoned as a virtue; yet when practiced to excess it begets the miser. Generosity is commendable, but when carried too far makes the spendthrift. The same rule applies to capital and labor. Each should have the utmost freedom possible, but when either attempts to serve itself by harming the public, society must assert itself to prevent one set of its members from harming the rest. But if the public, in order to protect itself, calls upon organized labor in public service corporations to refrain from striking until it has exercised its effort toward settlement, that public must assume its responsibility, and make every effort to establish justice. If society is to claim immunity from the exercise of private force, it must use its power to make the exercise of that force unnecessary.

* *

The strike and the lockout are war measures. They are attempts on the part of one set of men to impose their will upon another set of men, just

as one nation dominates another nation. Both the labor war and the international war have been necessary because men would not settle their quarrels by reason. There is little doubt that the time will come when justice will be granted, and will not have to be exacted by force, either internationally, or in the world of labor. But until such time as the world-opinion compels international justice, and public opinion brings about justice to labor, there will be resorts to force. If Congress imposes upon the trainmen the obligation that they submit their case to the public before striking, it must at the same time provide means to guard the rights of the men as well as the public. A railroad, or a gas company, or an electric light company is different from an ordinary manufacturing company; and it may be necessary, in order to protect society as a whole, to impose obligations on both the men and the corporations.

* *

It is with the railroad question, however, as with so many others, the cause of trouble lies elsewhere than at the point of disturbance. The people have intrusted individuals with public functions without retaining the power of complete regulation. A highway commissioner charged with the upkeep of a wagon road, if negligent of his duty, is put out of office at the ensuing election; but if the highway have rails upon it, and cars running on those rails, the manager in charge of the company is largely independent of the public whom he is supposed to serve. No legislation will secure justice to all parties in interest that does not establish complete public control over public utilities; and such control is not likely to be had with anything short of public ownership.

S. C.

High Prices and Waste.

Objectors to the high cost of living might be referred to C. C. Arbuthnot, Professor of Economics in Western Reserve University, Cleveland. Professor Arbuthnot explains that high prices are a blessing because they prevent waste and will stimulate greater production next year. The Professor does not leave to imagination who the would-be wasters are. They are those whose incomes have been nominally increased through "the higher rates of wages and steady employment prevailing." These "people who used to buy round steak now demand tenderloin. Those who never ate any but 'fresh' eggs now insist on 'strictly fresh' ones." That is to say, those whose desire for better things should be restrained are not those who produce little or nothing, but workers.

However, the Professor is entitled to the presumption that his statement was merely ironical, that his real object was to set people to thinking over the paradoxical situation wherein wealth producers must stint themselves, while non-producers are taking so large a share of their product. And that is the effect such statements should have. Producers should be made to realize that skimping economy on their part is made necessary by diversion of unearned wealth to landlords, tariff magnates, trust barons and other privileged ones. If the Professor's object was to call attention in a subtle manner to this fact he is to be congratulated.

* *

Perhaps the same applies to the prediction that high prices will cause increased production next year. Increased production requires the use of more land, and that leads to consideration of the inflated land prices, largely responsible for the present shortage. One cannot think of that without realizing the importance of putting a stop to land speculation and making it possible for farmers to secure the use of good land without paying exorbitant prices therefor. Until this waste has been stopped economy must be exercised in other directions. Since the Professor teaches economics, he must know this to be the case, and, like the able instructor he undoubtedly is, he takes this method of gently leading the public to where it may readily grasp this truth.

S. D.

A Lively Corpse.

Because California and Oregon rejected Singletax proposals, the New York Times jumps to the conclusion that the Singletax movement is at an end. Plutocratic organs have so often arrived at this, to them, comforting conclusion, only to be rudely awakened later, that it may seem cruel to disturb them in enjoyment of their fools' paradise. But the fact is that the Tories of Oregon and California are by no means in accord with the Times. In California the Anti-Singletax Association considers it necessary to resolve to keep up its work against the "peril." The Los Angeles Times of November 22 tells of the meeting for this purpose at which the president of the association, E. P. Clark, assured the members that "the Singletax fight would have to be continued, in season and out, as long as the laws of California made it possible for mischievous measures to be foisted onto the ballot." That is queer advice to give in regard to a "dead" movement.

* *

At this same meeting it was shown by a Mr. Charles K. Henry of Portland, Oregon, who was

present, that, even though the Singletax measure did not carry, the agitation therefor has been a benefit to Oregonians. Mr. Henry did not state the case in those words, and was unaware that what he said would bear that construction, but that is what it means. As reported by the Los Angeles Times, he said that the constant agitation "had hurt business, real estate and industry continuously in his State." That it has injured useful business would mean that the prospect of relief from taxation is hurtful to industry. That is too absurd a statement to deserve serious consideration. But that the agitation has injured "real estate" to the extent of impairing land values is a reasonable statement worthy of belief. That Singletax agitation has kept rents at a lower level than they would otherwise have been, and business men and workers have thus been allowed to keep for themselves money which would otherwise have gone to landlords. It is no wonder that landed interests should like to stop the agitation. But it is all the more reason why productive interests should encourage its continuance.

* *

In the meantime it would be well for those who would kill the Singletax movement to remember that, so long as poverty and resulting evils exist, so long will men fight against the predatory institutions that cause them. S. D.

Britain's Crisis.

Again the monstrous toll of war is manifest. Herbert Asquith, who has proven himself worthy of rank among England's great Prime Ministers, has been compelled to retire. He has stood for democracy in the most effective sense, that of striving always for the obtainable; and his eight years of leadership mark the most constructive period in England's history. Had he been permitted to continue his work a little longer, Ireland would have had home rule and women the ballot. But the war interrupted. Yet even in war he stood for democracy still, resisting to the end conscription and the various forms of tyranny so readily condoned as military necessities. But qualities for statesmanship in time of peace—vision, persistence and patience—will not serve in time of war. A new standard is set up. Men who had been discredited and repudiated when the people were free to vote their will creep back into power when passion supplants reason; and little by little they undermine the great leader until he has been forced to retire.

* *

David Lloyd George, the new Prime Minister, will be judged less by the manner in which he

conducts the war than by the way he prepares for peace. He rose in British political life as a democrat; and was for years a baiter of Tories. He opposed the landed interests; he denounced the South African war at a time when it was deemed little short of treason; and he established a new principle in English taxation. That his course was sometimes erratic, and such as to estrange men who sought the end he professed, is true; but he was, nevertheless, a great force for democracy; and during it all he exhibited surpassing talent for getting things done. War, that forced aside Asquith, has brought to the front Lloyd George. He is the one man in the cabinet who has been conspicuous in execution. Had better fortune attended the Entente arms he would not have risen to leadership at this time. But the desperate straits in which the British find themselves causes them to turn to the only man who promises to gather the strength of Great Britain into a single unit and hurl it at the Central Empires.

* *

That the new Prime Minister will do this there is little doubt; that it must be done is equally clear; but then what? Will he with equal zeal aid in restoring English liberty? Will he repeal conscription, restore labor's rights, and give woman the ballot? Will he, above all, be guided in restoring the finances of the country by the principles he laid down when pleading for the budget of 1910? It may be that he is still a democrat; former co-workers may have been mistaken in judging him; and it is possible that the Tory interests, as represented by the Northcliffe press, are supporting him in spite of his economic convictions, because they think he is the only man to meet the crisis. This will all be made clear at the close of the war. If when peace returns Lloyd George takes up the work he began in behalf of British democracy, and pushes it to completion with the vigor he has displayed in the munitions department, he will have deserved well of his countrymen; but if he merely overthrows militarism in Prussia to establish it in England, and sacrifices British lives to entrench Privilege, it were better he had never been born. His political integrity is now under a cloud because of his new friends; he will be judged by the way he keeps faith with his democratic followers. But, whether he is Liberal or Conservative, champion of the masses or of the classes, there is every reason to believe that through him Great Britain will put forth her whole military strength. S. C.

THE SOUL OF AMERICA.

Colonel Roosevelt spoke the other day before the American Academy on "Nationalism in Literature and Art." With such expressions as these—"the greatest literature must spring from the soul of the people themselves"—"valor of soul must come before beauty"—"strength, courage and justice must come first (before great art)"—"we must not imitate"—with such Rooseveltian generalizations no one can pick the slightest quarrel. He desires what we all desire, that the American soul be truly expressed; that we have strength, courage and justice, and a national life which is great and strong.

But when we go about the business of expressing a soul the hitch comes in understanding that soul. I wonder sometimes if Colonel Roosevelt ever has really understood the American soul.

Mr. Roosevelt has just been through a presidential campaign in which he has been loudly talking his ideals of Americanism, and in those States where he spoke oftenest—his own "Sturdy West"—there Wilson secured the most decided endorsement. He warns us lest we suffer the fate of the "commercial materialism of the great Phoenician commonwealth." The odd thing in this connection is that the most highly Phoenicianized elements in American life were for him and Hughes, and that the West, where Americanism finds its freest expression, was against him and Hughes.

We believe that the soul of America, which Roosevelt is calling upon literature and art to express, is a soul of wider vision and larger purpose than the one he so earnestly preaches. He simply does not understand it, and I think never has. It is a spirit that is willing to suffer something at the present moment, to see some traditions destroyed, to accept some loss of life and of property, even some insults, that it may really be of service in the larger thing that it dimly perceives. It is more unselfish than Mr. Roosevelt thinks. It does not consider the nation an end of all things, but looks upon it as an instrument. We want to play *our* part in the great things ahead of us—not the part played by the traditional nationalists of Europe. These are no mere "highfalutin'" words; we have already expressed the new spirit in various ways; we gave back the Boxer indemnity to China; we freed Cuba; we honestly desire that the Filipinos may soon be able to take over their own government; we think we wronged Colombia in the Panama matter, and wish to pay her an indemnity (which Colonel Roosevelt bitterly opposes). We believe that the only way to prevent in the future such catastrophes as the European

war is to bring about a league of nations for which we must all sacrifice something, suffer something. The belligerent nations are suffering past belief by war; are we willing to suffer nothing and exercise no patience as neutrals? We believe that we can help Mexico more truly by being a patient and friendly neighbor, as long as it is humanly possible, than by going down there with powder and shell and killing her people and taking possession of her government. We have what is, I believe, a deep and genuine passion for self-government, not only by ourselves, but by our neighbors, and, finally, by the nations of the world.

As for "fighting for a just cause," which he so strongly recommends, Colonel Roosevelt need not have the slightest apprehension of America. When the time comes there is a spirit in America which will fight manfully for what it believes, but it will also determine for itself what is just and strong and courageous; and it will fight for its own vision and its own ideals, and not for those of Europe.

As it struggles, also, it will write and paint and sing; and *that*, and that only, will produce an original and vital art in America. Only those who see the vision and go forth into the fight themselves can produce that original art for which America languishes. RAY STANNARD BAKER.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.

The turmoil of the Presidential campaign is suggestive. Isn't there something radically wrong when epithets are hurled back and forth so viciously by the supporters of the two leading candidates?

A young voter, and indeed many others, who, through the newspaper he reads and the speeches he hears, gets the arguments of one side only, must be convinced that the opposing candidate possesses neither character nor ability. And the danger of being so misled seems none the less this year, although both candidates for President were very great men, unusually well qualified for the high office to be filled.

Something is wrong, and it is well worth while to consider just what that something is.

Occasionally a situation somewhat analogous to a political campaign occurs in a religious, social or business organization. Perhaps a large minority of the members of a church become dissatisfied with the pastor. In that event they are very likely to set about gaining converts to their views from among the majority who are satisfied with the ministrations of the settled clergyman. The process of undermining goes on, not always in the Christian spirit, until enough votes are secured to oust the incumbent and elect his successor. And not infrequently it has happened that the minor faction, unable to have its way, has broken its con-

nection with the mother church and established a new society.

The one thing which characterizes every such controversy in non-political organizations is the existence of a faction fight. Two parties spring up in the membership, and they battle with each other, destroying the usefulness and sometimes the very life of the society.

What thus happens sporadically in the voluntary associations is the habitual and chronic condition of the body politic. Every contested election is a faction fight. Unfairness, bitterness, and too often corruption, are the weapons used. In every Presidential campaign millions of dollars are expended by both the great parties, an undemocratic outlay which should be needless.

So long as our methods of electing public officials continue the same as those of the eighteenth century, campaigns will be nothing but disgraceful contests between two great parties or factions. Our streets and buildings are lighted no longer by the tallow dip; the horse has ceased to be the speediest mode of transportation; the war news from Europe gets to us in three seconds instead of three weeks—but the President and the Congress are still chosen in the old bungling way. In the one-party states, such as the gulf states in the South, and Vermont in the North, the fight takes place not at the polls, but in the caucuses and conventions of the dominant party—the scrimmage is only transferred.

With our conglomerate population these wars are peculiarly deplorable and dangerous. They array classes and nationalities against one another to such an extent that many of our most thoughtful statesmen regard our great Republic as still an experiment.

The first step in the direction of a rational system of conducting the Federal Government is the enactment by Congress of a law making the national House of Representatives a genuinely representative body. This may be done by availing ourselves of the invention made by Sir Thomas Hare about the middle of the last century and known as Proportional Representation.

The form of that invention which is most likely to prove acceptable to Congress is known as the Free List. The law required would be substantially as follows:

An Act to Provide for the Election of Representatives in Congress.

It is enacted by the Congress, etc.:

Section 1. That representatives in Congress shall be elected in each State at large.

Sec. 2. That any party or group of electors entitled to nominate candidates, by petition or convention or directly, may nominate as many candidates as it sees fit up to the whole number to be elected from the State.

Sec. 3. That each elector shall be entitled to vote for one person and no more; and the votes given to candidates shall count for the tickets to which the

candidates respectively belong, as well as individually for the candidate. No person shall be a candidate upon more than one ticket.

Sec. 4. That the sum of all the votes cast in the State shall be divided by the number of seats to which the State is entitled, and the quotient shall be known as the quota of representation.

Sec. 5. That the total vote of each party shall be divided by this electoral quota, and each party shall be allotted as many Congressmen as the quota is contained times in its vote. Should there not be enough full quotas to elect all the Congressmen, the required number shall be taken from the party or parties having the largest unfilled quotas.

Sec. 6. That the proportion of candidates to which each party is entitled shall be taken from its list in the order of the number of votes received by the candidates.

Sec. 7. That should there be a vacancy during a term of office, the remainder of the term shall be served by the candidate of the same party whose vote was highest of those not at first chosen.

The effect of these changes would be to render the national legislature an accurate reflection of the people of the several States, so that when it spoke, either through law or through appointment, it would voice the best sentiment of all the voters.

A President then would not go into office handicapped by the hatred or fear of nearly half of the people. Congress itself would no longer legislate in the caucus of one party. On the contrary, there would be a new alignment of the members with every new question, and each would be decided, as it arose, solely upon its merits.

Under such changed conditions, government by the people, ceasing to be an experiment, would become fixed and lasting. LUCIUS C. F. GARVIN.

THE VOTE FOR CONSCRIPTION.

By W. R. Winspear.

This poem, accompanied by a cartoon, by Claude Marquet, is credited with the defeat of conscription in Australia. The cartoon represents a woman placing a vote for conscription in the ballot box. Looking on is Premier W. M. Hughes caricatured as Mephistopheles:

"Why is your face so white, Mother?

Why do you choke for breath?"

"O, I have dreamt in the night, my son,

That I doomed a man to death."

"Why do you hide your hand, Mother?

And crouch above it in dread?"

"It beareth a dreadful brand, my son:

With the dead man's blood 'tis red.

"I hear his widow cry in the night,

I hear his children weep,

And always within my sight, O God!

The dead man's blood doth leap.

"They put the dagger into my grasp,

It seemed but a pencil then;

I did not know it was a fiend a-gasp

For the priceless blood of men.

"They gave me the ballot paper,
The grim death-warrant of doom,
And I smugly sentenced the man to death
In that dreadful little room.

"I put it inside the Box of Blood
Nor thought of the man I'd slain,
Till at midnight came like a whelming flood
God's word—and the Brand of Cain.

"O little son! O my little son!
Pray God for your Mother's soul,
That the scarlet stain may be white again
In God's great Judgment Roll."

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending Tuesday, December 12, 1916.

The President's Message.

In his message to Congress on December 5, President Wilson referred to recommendations he had made concerning the railroad situation on August 29. He had then urged: 1, enlargement of the Interstate Commerce Commission; 2, establishment of an eight-hour day for railway employes engaged in operation of trains; 3, appointment of a commission to observe working of the eight-hour law; 4, consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of increase in freight rates; 5, prohibition of strike or lockout pending investigation of a controversy; and, 6, empowering the President to seize and operate the railroads in case of military necessity. The second and third recommendations have been carried out in the Adamson law. The fourth the President no longer considers necessary. The other recommendations he renewed. Concerning the railroad situation he said in part:

The country cannot and should not consent to remain any longer exposed to profound industrial disturbances for lack of additional means of arbitration and conciliation, which the Congress can easily and promptly supply. And all will agree that there must be no doubt as to the power of the Executive to make immediate and uninterrupted use of the railroads for the concentration of the military forces of the nation wherever they are needed and whenever they are needed. . . . I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave. To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce. But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted which shall make the whole question at issue plain for the judgment

of the opinion of the nation is not to propose any such principle.

It is based upon the different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employe and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration.

I can see nothing in that proposition but the justifiable safeguarding by society of the necessary processes of its very life. There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily and unjustly done. It can and should be done with a full and scrupulous regard for the interests and liberties of all concerned, as well as for the permanent interests of society itself.

He further urged exemption from the anti-trust law of combinations engaged in foreign trade, passage of the Porto Rican government bill, and of a more stringent corrupt practices bill. [See current volume, pages 848, 1169.]

Department Reports.

In his report Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo estimates a surplus in revenue for the current year ending June 30, 1917, of \$115,000,000, but for the year following he expects a deficit. The cost of preparedness will make the expenses of that year, exclusive of the post office, \$1,278,021,000, to meet which there will be an estimated income of but \$995,550,000. For the year ending June 30 last expenditures were \$1,072,894,093. On November 1, 1916, the stock of gold in the United States was \$2,700,136,976, an increase of \$714,597,804 in 16 months. Under normal conditions, the Secretary says, the present tariff law will produce all revenue required.

* *

Secretary of Agriculture Houston reports that except for meat and dairy products the per capita production of leading food commodities has changed little in 16 years. The production in 1899 of beef, veal, mutton and pork was 248.2 pounds per capita. In 1915 it was 219.6 pounds. Production of milk in 1899 was 95.6 gallons per capita. In 1915 it was estimated at 75.5 gallons. Sugar shows an increase from 6.4 pounds per capita in 1899 to 19.9 pounds in 1915. The population has increased from 75,994,575 in 1900 to 101,882,479. The Secretary comments:

It is highly desirable, it is pointed out, that areas for production of staple crops be broadened as far as experience and sound economics may warrant. In this respect the report dwells on the importance of controlling plant diseases and insect pests.

Improved marketing of live stock and meats has been sought by the department as a means of cheapening these products. Already arrangements have been made with fifty-eight stockyard companies

to secure monthly reports of live stock receipts and shipments. A uniform system of marketing records has been established at the instance of the department by a number of yards.

* *

Mediation in labor controversies and employment opportunities are the two principal topics of Secretary of Labor Wilson's report. The Department effected a settlement of the strike on the Government railway in Alaska and of the longshoremen on the Pacific Coast. It participated also in settlement of the strike in the copper district of Arizona and at Bayonne, New Jersey. The Secretary finds:

A more general disposition on the part of employers to accommodate themselves to the ideal of the department with reference to mediation in labor disputes, which is to foster industrial peace on the basis of industrial justice.

In regard to the employment agencies maintained by the Department, the Secretary reports that for the year ending June 30, 1916, the number of places offered was 109,771, the number of applicants 184,481, and the number actually placed was 75,195. These figures do not include harvest help or other temporary placements. The report is incomplete on harvest help, but shows that from May 20 to June 30 3,922 harvest hands were placed. The attitude of the Department toward requests for strikebreakers is explained as follows:

To promulgate in any manner information concerning workmen wanted where a strike exists or is threatened would be inconsistent with the purpose prescribed for the department by its organic law, which is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Not only would it not advance opportunities for profitable employment nor otherwise foster the welfare of wage earners to promulgate information of demands for help where strikes are in progress, but it would have the reverse effect. Such a policy would be equivalent to directing wage earners to places already sufficiently supplied with labor. For wherever there is a strike or one is imminent, that fact alone is evidence prima facie that there is no real scarcity of labor there. Conditions of employment are in dispute, and that is all. This involves the question of profitable employment—profitable to wage earners. That wage earners who have experience at the place and in the employment whence the demand for more labor comes do not look at the offered employment as profitable is manifest from their refusal to continue in it at the offered terms, and that they are qualified for it is evident from the fact that they have been doing it satisfactorily.

Concerning the new Seamen's law the report states:

A peculiar feature in the development of this employment work has reference to enforcement of the La Follette seamen's law. It seems that when that law went into effect some masters of vessels, upon

the plea that seamen answering its requirements were not procurable, asked to be released from its provisions. Thereupon the Department of Labor opened seamen's registers at ports where this difficulty was asserted, with the effect that in a short time seamen competent under the law were provided and all complaints ceased.

The Children's Bureau of the Department has made a study of infant mortality in Manchester, N. H., similar to a study made two years ago in Johnstown, Pa. The report states:

It appears that the textile mills of Manchester employed 36.3 per cent of all the fathers of babies born in that town during the period of the study. And of these fathers 13.7 per cent were receiving \$850 or more. Only 6.4 per cent got more than \$1,250. Of the babies whose fathers were most poorly paid, about 1 in 4 died before 12 months old; whereas of the babies of fathers whose pay ranged upward, the deaths ranged from 1 in 6 to 1 in 16. Anticipating that "unemployment would exist though every job were filled," Secretary Wilson says:

In my opinion, therefore, the labor-distribution work of this department should extend to some such development of the natural resources of this country as will tend to make opportunities for workers greater than demands for work, and to keep them so.

For this purpose he observes that further legislation will be necessary, but states that it need not be either voluminous or revolutionary, nothing more being required than a judicious utilization of Government lands. Continuing, he makes these suggestions for further legislation on the subject:

Title to some of the old public domain still remains in the Government. By a recent decision of the Supreme Court Congress is soon to have the power, and to be under an obligation, to treat with land-grant railroads regarding the terms on which large areas of that domain heretofore granted away may be restored. There are extensive areas of privately-owned but unused farming land in most or all of the States, which might be acquired by the general Government for promoting labor opportunities as advantageously as other areas have been acquired or retained by it for the creation of public parks. If Congress were to adopt, with reference to those lands, a policy of utilizing them for promoting opportunities for employment, the benefits of the labor-distribution work of this department, and of State and municipal public employment offices throughout the United States, would be vastly augmented. . . .

One necessary condition is that the general Government shall retain title to the public lands it already holds. Another condition is that from time to time it shall reacquire title to such lands formerly owned by it, but now privately owned, as are held out of use and may be reacquired upon reasonable terms. Still another condition is that the Government from time to time shall acquire title to such privately owned lands in different States as may be usefully devoted to the purpose of opening opportunities for employment. All this need not be

done at once. A satisfactory beginning may be made with public lands already available for the purpose in question. But it is necessary that the Government shall not lightly divest itself of title to any lands it may set aside for labor opportunities. Regulation of private tenures created pursuant to this purpose should fit the circumstances of particular cases. It is therefore suggested that private titles to lands set aside for the indicated purpose be so adjusted by the Department of Labor to its work of labor distribution as to prevent inflation of land values. This precaution is of extreme importance. Wherever inflation of land values might enter in, the proposed method of promoting labor distribution would be obstructed.

There is still another essential condition. Equipment for farming and education in farming, as well as a place for farming, are needed. All three, however, could be met by an appropriate unification of some of the activities of the Departments of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Labor. Pursuant to such unification, Congress might provide a "rotary fund" for lending purposes; that is, a fund to be used over and over again for those purposes, and to be maintained by repayments of loans. Out of this fund Congress could authorize the departments named above to make loans, through the Department of Labor, to settlers placed by this department upon lands set aside for that purpose in accordance with the authorized plan for thus augmenting labor opportunities. Those loans could be safeguarded, without commercial collateral, by resting them upon the best possible basis of industrial credit—ability, opportunity, and character—and by establishing in connection with them a system of community credits adapted to the circumstances.

* *

Secretary of War Baker reports that since passage of the Hay-Chamberlain law recruiting has increased, but not as much as the law requires. The principal cause of this is labor conditions. The Secretary says:

In the large manufacturing districts the demand for labor is far in excess of the supply. Wages are high and all who desire employment secure it. In the agricultural districts the demand for labor was active during the summer and early fall, and the supply was inadequate. Thus the recruiting service, which is simply one of many employers, has been unable to secure the recruits needed.

The authorized strength of the army on June 30, 1916, was 5,018 officers and 122,693 men. The actual strength was 4,843 officers and 97,013 men. In addition, the authorized strength of Philippine scouts was 182 officers and 5,733 men. The actual strength was 182 officers and 5,603 men. Concerning the Wyoming plan of military training in high schools, the Secretary says that "enlistment is voluntary" and "the exercises are only in part directly military." His opinion is that "even the most devoted adherents of peaceful policies for our government have not felt that there was any danger of the development of a militarist attitude in the student body." He recommends estab-

lishment of preparatory academies, the graduates of which are to be eligible for cadetships at West Point and Annapolis. Non-military subjects are also dealt with. The granting of citizenship to Porto Ricans was urged by the Secretary. Concerning the Panama Canal, he reported that it was closed by slides from September 18, 1915, to April 15, 1916. The tolls for the fiscal year ending June 30 last were \$2,399,830.42. The number of vessels that passed through was 411 and the total net tonnage was 1,308,230. The Panama Railroad shows a net increase for the year of \$2,453,592.34 after meeting cost of operation, fixed charges of \$79,023.30 and charges for depreciation on rolling stock, floating and plant equipment of \$461,244.48. Last year the net income was \$914,860.58. The increase of this year is due to the temporary closing of the canal. The proposed lakes to the gulf waterway in Illinois is dwelt upon in the report and the Secretary calls attention to danger lest this interfere with navigation on the lakes by diverting too large a volume of water.

* *

Secretary of the Navy Daniels urged in his report the keeping up of a big navy "until all nations agree to reduce their armament." The General Naval Board, he said, finds nothing in the European war to warrant modification of its previous belief in the supreme importance of big battleships. Of the increase of 26,000 in enlistments authorized by Congress, only 2,524 have been obtained.

* *

Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane reported that arable land on the public domain will soon be entirely taken, and called attention to the need of securing more land for the people. He suggested that great reservoirs of water now lie hidden under the desert lands and that the opening of these will make this land cultivatable. He urged legislation to accomplish this. Within five years, he said, it will no longer be possible for the individual pioneer to make his way on the public lands, and large investments of capital will be needed for irrigation or reclamation from swamps.

* *

Postmaster General A. B. Burleson reported a surplus for the past year in his department of \$5,200,000. He also claimed that improvements have been instituted in the parcel post, in rural and city deliveries and in the postal savings department. He repeated his recommendation of last year for government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.

Congressional Doings.

The House agreed on December 5 to the Senate amendments to the Keating bill to investigate the cost of living in the District of Columbia and sent it to the President for his signature. On Decem-

ber 7 the House Committee on Postoffices voted in favor of a considerable increase in second class postage rates. It proposes to change the present flat rate of one cent a pound to one cent a pound for the first parcel post zone and an additional cent a pound for each succeeding zone until the rate reaches six cents a pound. It favors reduction to one cent of postage on letters for local delivery. [See current volume, page 1169.]

Woman's Peace Party.

The second annual meeting of the Woman's Peace Party opened on December 8 at the new Ebbitt House, Washington. Miss Jane Addams presided. It remained in session for three days. Resolutions passed opposed military training in any form, favor the holding of a conference of neutral nations in the interest of peace, and a meeting of representatives of belligerent nations to discuss terms on which plan might be arranged. It also endorsed the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment. The officers were re-elected as follows: Jane Addams, chairman; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, honorary chairmen; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston, secretary; Mrs. Sophronisba Breckenridge, treasurer; and Mrs. Eleanor G. Karsten, also of Chicago, office secretary.

Conference on Markets and Credits.

The National Conference on Marketing and Credits met in second annual session at Chicago from December 4 to 8. Action taken consisted of demands on Congress as follows:

A demand for a prompt and thorough investigation by the federal trade commission, assisted by the Department of Agriculture, into the conditions governing the marketing of live stock and the conduct of the packing industries.

Expansion of the powers of the federal trade commission and an appropriation sufficient to cover the cost of wider activities.

A vigorous protest against any legislation imposing an embargo on foodstuffs.

Extension of the powers of the office of markets and rural organization of the Department of Agriculture to cover all farm products, including live stock. The granting of this body power to act as arbitrator in disputes between producers and buyers.

Recommendations that farmers make the fullest use of the new federal farm loan act.

Organization by the federal government of a system of short term credits for the farmers of the United States.

Congress is urged to create some power authorized to certify notes, properly and adequately secured by live stock, cotton, grain and other farm commodities, thus putting the farming industry on an equal credit footing with other lines of industry.

Legislation aiding the settler in acquiring his farm and running it through a co-operative policy between state and federal governments which will

provide "ready made" farms that will be habitable and can be made immediately productive.

The appointment of a federal commission having authority to employ a body of expert assistants to carry on an inquiry in all parts of the country and to report on the need of more favorable financial terms of purchase by tenants and would-be farmers.

Establishment of disinterested national agencies furnishing information to would-be farmers, American born or immigrants, on points of opportunity for settlement in the different parts of the country, and which will aid such persons in obtaining homes and becoming comfortably established on the land.

The Land and Food Question in New York.

New York's State Agricultural Commissioner, Charles S. Wilson, has called a conference at Albany on December 20 to consider the food situation. In the call Commissioner Wilson says that there are 2,000,000 acres in the State which produce practically nothing. This land may not be abandoned land, the commissioner said, but simply for one reason or another is not cultivated nor used for cattle or sheep raising. He said almost all this land could be made productive. The question of devising plans by which a beginning may be made in accomplishing this will come up at the conference.

Picketing Upheld.

Judges Mack, Alschuler and Evans, of the United States Court of Appeals at Chicago, upheld on December 6 the legality of peaceful picketing during a strike. The case was on appeal from an injunction issued by the District Court at East St. Louis against the Tri-City Central Trades Council. The decision says in part:

The right to strike to secure higher wages and improved conditions of labor is too firmly established to necessitate further elucidation.

In the pursuit of a lawful purpose to secure a raise in wages, picketing may be employed, as this court has held, to ascertain whom the late employer has persuaded or attempted to persuade to accept employment and persuasion may be used to induce them to refuse or quit the employment.

Undoubtedly picketing and persuasion would interfere with plaintiff's conduct of its business in that it would make it more difficult for it to retain old employes and to hire and keep new ones. Indeed the very act of striking often seriously interferes with that free and unrestrained control and operation of the employer's business which the plaintiff here alleges as an object of the conspiracy charged; but the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the strike is not to be tested by such incidental effect of it.

The laborer may be strictly within his rights, although he obstructs the free and unrestrained control and operation of the employer's business. The right to strike must carry with it by implication the right to interfere with the employer's business to a certain extent. But whether the interference with the business is lawful or unlawful depends upon the facts in each case.

Methods may be considered lawful even though the employer's business is interfered with because such methods are incidental to the right of an employe, which right should be and is recognized as equal to the right of the employer.

In so far as the decree (of the lower court) restrains all picketing and all persuasion and all interference with the plaintiff's free and unrestrained control of its plant and the operation of its business it transcends the limit of proper restraint, and should be modified so as to eliminate therefrom any restraint of defendants from doing lawful acts as indicated herein.

The decree of the District Court is reversed with direction to modify same, and to enter a decree, in accordance with the views herein expressed.

Mexico and the United States.

Alberto J. Pani, member of the joint American-Mexican Commission that considered border questions at Atlantic City, is on his way to Washington, bearing from General Carranza the protocol agreed upon by the Commissioners. It is said that the document as a whole met with the General's approval, but that he desires a few minor changes in phraseology. [See current volume, page 1170.]

* *

Francisco Villa continues his depredations on life and property in the State of Chihuahua. A manifesto issued by him at San Andreas, Chihuahua, sets forth his reasons for waging war. He regrets that Mexico cannot be unified on account of the "renegade patriots" who support General Carranza. He would preserve Mexico for the Mexicans by driving out the "barbarians of the north." To meet the needs of the revolution, all foreign property is confiscated. Railways and mines are included in the confiscation, and to stimulate Mexican industry it is made unlawful to trade with the United States. All rail and wire connections are to be cut eighteen miles below the border.

European War.

Interest of the week has been divided between the collapse of the military organization of Roumania, and the political reorganization among the Entente Allies. The inadequate preparation of the Roumanian armies, particularly in the matter of heavy artillery, made them an easy prey before the swift action of the German forces. No attempt was made to defend the capital. All efforts were confined to getting the army out of its perilous position. This appears to have been mainly successful. The Germans announced after the occupation of Bucharest that they had taken 100,000 prisoners, but nothing has been said to indicate the proportion of civilians to soldiers. The new line now crosses Roumania from the Carpathians to the Danube about thirty miles east of Bucharest where the defenders are offering such stout resistance that the German advance

has been temporarily checked. Critics are uncertain as to whether the Germans will try to continue their advance through Moldavia into Bessarabia, in an effort to reach Odessa, or strike at the Allies in Macedonia in an effort to relieve Greece from its present predicament. German troops are reported to have joined the Bulgarians on the Monastir front. Matters in Greece have gone from bad to worse; but there remains the same confusion as to reliable information given to the world. A modified blockade of Greek ports is maintained by the Allies, and it is reported that a drastic ultimatum has been delivered to King Constantine, but its demands are not known. It is surmised that the king is making efforts to put his pro-German sympathies to practical account by preparing for the coming of the victorious armies of the Central Empires. It is also supposed that the ultimatum of the Allies requires the complete demobilization of the Greek forces that remain loyal to the king's cause. There is grave danger that civil war may break out between the loyalist troops and the troops with Venizelos. Numerous Greek Islands are reported to have declared against the king, and to have demanded his dethronement. As Venizelos has already declared war on Germany and Bulgaria for invading Greek territory, King Constantine's declaration in favor of Germany would divide the kingdom at the very beginning. [See current volume, page 1170.]

* *

Rain and fog have prevented infantry operations on the Somme front, though artillery fire has continued, increasing to high intensity in the last few days. This is taken to indicate preparation for infantry activities. The artillery action has covered a wide front, extending as far west as Ypres. Frequent clashes occur at Verdun, but no important changes in the line have occurred. Great activity is displayed by the Italians and Austrians on the Carso plateau, but apparently with slight results. Russia continues to pound at the Carpathian line, and is reported to be sending troops into Roumania to oppose the advancing Germans.

* *

The spectacular advance of the Germans in Roumania is of less importance than the political changes that have taken place. Premier Asquith, unable longer to hold together the conflicting interests in his cabinet, resigned on the 5th. The post was first offered to Andrew Bonar Law, Conservative, who declined to organize a new cabinet. It was then given to David Lloyd George, who accepted, and organized a "fighting cabinet." Owing to a temporary sickness the new premier could not announce his cabinet to Parliament on the 12th but expects to do so at the session on the 14th. The chief feature of the new government appears to be the war council of five, which will have immediate charge of all activities connected

with the war. Its members will be David Lloyd George, Earl Curzon, Arthur Henderson, Lord Milner, and Andrew Bonar Law. The impression prevails that under the new government the Premier will be practically a dictator, and because of his remarkable organizing and driving powers will concentrate into an effective unit all the forces of the empire.

* *

Similar agitation has taken place in the French government which is expected to result in intensifying the concentration of forces in that country. The ministry has been given a large vote of confidence by the Deputies. It is reported unofficially that General Joffre, general in chief of the Allied armies, is to be replaced by General Petain, or General Nivelle. Italy has called to the colors the class of 1898 a year before their regular time, and is making other preparations for a greater effort in 1917.

* *

It is announced from Berlin, by the Associated Press, that Germany and her allies proposed on the 12th to "enter into immediate negotiation for peace." Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg says the propositions they will bring forward are appropriate for the establishment of a lasting peace. Following is the text of the peace note addressed by Germany and her allies to the hostile governments:

The most terrific war ever experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent, and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) until the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines

stand unshaken against ever repeated attempts made by armies.

The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

If in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history.

The imperial government, through the good offices of your excellency, ask the government of (here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance) to bring this communication to the knowledge of the government of (here are inserted the names of the belligerents).

* *

The efforts of the United States to secure a modification of German rule in Belgium in which Belgian citizens are taken by force to work in Germany, culminated in the following dispatch to Charge Drew of the American Embassy at Berlin:

The government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population for the purpose of forcing them to labor in Germany, and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedents and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of noncombatants.

Furthermore, the government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy, if pursued, will in all probability be fatal to the Belgian relief work, so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German government.

NOTES

—Socialists elected Mayor and City Commissioner of Traverse, Mich., on December 4.

—Fairhope, Ala., the oldest Singletax colony in the United States, will celebrate its 22d anniversary on January 22.

—The Constitutional amendment abolishing capital punishment was adopted in Arizona by popular vote on November 7.

—In his annual report General Hugh L. Scott, chief of staff of the United States army recommends universal military service.

—A state-wide investigation of fraud and error in the Ohio election was ordered on December 6 by Secretary of State, Charles Hildebrandt.

—Four cities were added to the dry column in Massachusetts by the election on December 4. They are: Haverhill, Fall River, Taunton and Leominster.

—Sir Ernest Shackleton will sail from Dunedin, New Zealand, December 16, in his ship *Aurora* for Ross Sea to rescue the members of his Antarctic expedition who have been marooned there for twenty-one months.

—The Supreme Court of the United States on December 11 upheld the right of the railroads to charge lower transcontinental freight rates on shipments to San Francisco, Portland and Seattle than to inland cities.

—China is suffering from a shortage of small coins. The metal in the "cash" is worth more than its face value, and is being shipped to Japan at the rate of 6,000 tons a month. One cent is equal now to five cash instead of ten, as formerly.

—Alabama adopted two amendments on November 7 relating to local taxation. By 69,341 to 47,543 the voters approved of a provision for a local tax for public schools. By 50,374 to 43,492 the city of Selma was given the right to reapportion its tax funds.

—The official count in Pennsylvania gives Hughes 703,734; Wilson, 520,782; Benson, 42,637; Hanly, 28,525; Reimer, 417. McCauley, candidate for United States senator, on the ticket of the Singletax party, which had no Presidential nominee, received 1,387 votes. Hughes' plurality was 182,592.

—In its report to Congress on December 7 the Interstate Commerce Commission recommended a change in methods of establishing freight rates. Now shippers are compelled to prove a proposed increase unreasonable or see it become effective. The commission would put the burden of proof upon the railroads.

—General Frank McIntyre, chief of the bureau of insular affairs, announces that the Philippine bill, passed at the last session of Congress, has given very general satisfaction in the islands. He recommends that American citizenship be extended to the people of Porto Rico. A bill to this end passed the House at the last session.

—Alien immigrants entering the United States in October, 1916, numbered 37,056. The principal occupations were: Professional, 1,077; skilled labor, 5,254; farm laborers, 2,295; laborers, 7,371; servants, 5,547; miscellaneous, 2,672; no occupation including women and children, 12,840. Emigrant aliens to the number of 7,153 departed during October.

—Full returns from the 36 representative and one senatorial district in Massachusetts which voted on the Initiative and Referendum on November 7 give 74,053 in favor and 20,331 against. The vote throughout the state for a constitutional convention to be held next June was 217,293 in favor and 120,979 against. [See current volume, page 1143.]

—The Manhattan Singletax Club elected on December 7 the following officers: President, James R. Brown; vice president, Alfred Bishop Mason; treasurer, Ellen G. Lloyd; general secretary, Walter Fairchild; recording secretary, Elma Dame; financial secretary, E. H. Underhill; directors, John H. Allen, Richard Eyre, Charles H. Ingersoll, John M. Holmes, Sylvester L. Malone, William W. Wheatly.

—Chicago City Council on December 7 by a vote of 38 to 15 passed a resolution in favor of substituting for the present appointed school board of 21

members an elective body of seven members, subject to popular recall. A bill embodying these provisions will be drawn up and submitted to the Legislature. On the preceding day the school board had re-elected Jacob M. Loeb president by a vote of 12 to 7. [See current volume, page 1170.]

—The National Women's Party's election expenses during the presidential campaign were \$50,036. The largest contributor was Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of New York, who gave \$19,500. Other large contributors were John F. Milholland, Miss Mary A. Burnham, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Mrs. Ethel Crocker, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Miss Mary F. Kennedy, Mrs. Lucas Cuthbert, Mrs. Avery Coonley, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim.

—The Illinois State Canvassing Board on December 9 declared the tax amendment adopted, which was voted on by the people on November 7. The amendment failed to get the required majority of all votes cast at election, but the Board decided the meaning of the constitutional requirement to be a majority of all votes cast for members of the Legislature. The Supreme Court must uphold this ruling before the matter can be regarded as definitely decided. [See current volume, pages 1143, 1161.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 1099) for the ten months ending October, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for October, 1916:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise ...	\$4,441,125,633	\$2,007,598,565	\$2,433,527,068*
Gold	101,484,146	480,396,650	378,912,504†
Silver	53,740,054	26,127,114	27,612,940*

Total \$4,596,349,833 \$2,514,122,329 \$2,082,227,504

*Exports. †Imports.

The exports for October, 1916, the twenty-seventh month of the European war, were \$490,613,280, as compared with \$336,152,009 for October, 1915, and \$194,711,170 in 1914. The imports for October, 1916, were \$176,423,897, as compared with \$149,172,729 in October, 1915, and \$138,080,520 in 1914. The exports for October, 1916, were \$24,394,128 less than for September, which was the largest on record.

PRESS OPINIONS

British Journalism.

The Nation (London), November 4.—Another danger to which Americanism has exposed us is the decline of the leading article. It was thought that "leaders" were not what the public wanted. Perhaps they were not, though for many years the present writer heard long passages from his own "leaders" hurled about the railway carriage by strangers every morning before he had well recovered from writing them; and often hurled at himself. But it did not much matter whether "leaders" were read or not. So long as the "leader" was there it expounded the opinion of the paper, and the news was left alone. As "leaders" declined, the opinion of the paper had to be expounded in the news, and the news took its color accordingly. Facts unpleasant to the

paper and its readers were omitted or tucked away. Telegrams were written up. Correspondents were instructed to send nothing but what suited the paper's line. A correspondent of bare facts was once followed from place to place through a vast country by the telegram: "Changed policy, please comply."

Justice Is Better Than Charity.

Jewish Exponent (Philadelphia), December 1.—The eradication of poverty is one of the great problems of our own age. Charity can alleviate conditions that are unwholesome and unsatisfactory, but it cannot cure them. The economic conditions which are responsible for the well-being or otherwise of the people cannot be cured by any amount of charity. But the kindness of heart which induces this charity will sooner or later lead to measures which will permanently improve social conditions to a very material extent. Take the question of unemployment. Your typical "Money Bags" swells with indignation when he hears it asserted that "the world owes every man a living." Nevertheless the dictum is true, with the proviso that the person is willing to work. If he cannot work, society must provide for him decently and humanely. If that is not conceded, the charity of those who refuse to make the concession is a sham and a fraud.

Wages and Purchasing Power.

Progress (Melbourne), October 1.—Few people realize in discussing economic questions the fact that the quantity of money obtained is of no importance beside that of the quantity of other goods purchasable with a given quantity of money. The following records showing the budgets of an ancient household throw an interesting light on the value of medieval money. When the archbishop of Canterbury made a prolonged stay at his Tarrings seat in Sussex, about 1277, his tenants supplied him with provisions at prices which now seem absurd. A bushel of wheat cost 2¼d., a yearling hog 8d. and a carcass of beef 1s. 4d. "Good hens" were bought at a halfpenny apiece, and five score eggs at a penny! As for liquid refreshments, at a time when nobody drank water, one notes that his grace had all the beer he required at four gallons a penny.

Industrial Oppression Not Geographical.

The Indian Social Reformer (Bombay), September 17.—In reviewing the annual Factory Report, which was noticed in these columns last week, the Bombay Chronicle rightly points out that the publication falls very much short of what it ought to be. . . . "No mention is made in the Report," writes our contemporary, "as to whether any surprise visits were paid to the mills by the inspectors. If such visits had been paid, the inspectors would have found out—what is an open secret—that there are not a few mill managers in this city and in Ahmedabad, not to speak of lesser towns, who transgress almost all the provisions of the Factories Act—especially in regard to the illegal employment of women and children, overworking of the employes, and the unhealthy physical conditions of work generally—in all the days of the year except the one or two

days on which the inspector is timed to visit the mills." . . . An independent investigation by a non-official agency and a report based thereon citing concrete instances where all the abuses in factory working continue to exist in spite of the Indian Factories Act and in spite of the inspections of responsible officials, would serve as a most effective eye-opener for the public and for the Government and lead to a speedy reform both of legislation and of public opinion. We are glad therefore to learn that our contemporary intends to revert to this subject on a later occasion. The forceful and vigorous article on "Bombay's Slaves" which appeared in the Times of India some years ago led to the appointment of the Indian Factory Labor Commission, and the amendment of the Act. Let us hope that a similar service will be rendered to humanity by the Bombay Chronicle.

Britain's Suffrage Problem.

The New Statesman (London), November 4.—The difficulties which loom before us in reconstruction after the war also help to make this point, which after all is only the A B C of democracy, more apparent to the public consciousness. The point which Mr. Asquith told us had made "a special appeal to him" was this—that "when the process of industrial reconstruction has to be set on foot" women have "a special claim to be heard on the many questions which will arise directly affecting their interests." It is a point which must appeal to almost everyone, but the reason will become more clear if it be put in a slightly different way. It is inconceivable that, after we have seen what women can do for the State in war, we should any longer refuse to utilize their services for the State in peace. It is intolerable that now that we have learnt their value as citizens we should allow the energies of large numbers of the best women citizens to be diverted from the work of reconstruction into the old channels of the suffrage agitation. It is not only in their own interests that women ought to have a voice in after-war problems, but it is in the interest of the community itself that the State should make use of their knowledge and energies. In other words, the modern State cannot afford to allow the lives and interests of any class to be paternally determined for it by another class, whether the latter consist of citizens possessing high incomes or the male sex; for we have learned by slow and painful experience that the modern State cannot afford to allow any individual to avoid the full responsibility of citizenship. Adult or "citizenship suffrage" is at once the foundation and the emblem of such responsibility.

* * *

By a law of nature, every person born in the State of New York had (unless forfeited by crime), a perfect right to be here, and to his equal share of the soil, the woods, the waters and all the natural products thereof. By the law of society, all but the possessors of title deeds exist here only by the purchased permission of the land-owning class, and were intruders and trespassers on the soil of their nativity, without that permission. By law, the landless have no inherent right to stand on a single square foot of the State of New York, except in the highways.—Horace Greeley.

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. BRYAN'S OPPORTUNITY.

Westover, Md., Nov. 29.

It has been announced, apparently by authority, that Mr. Bryan intends for the future to devote his public activities to the development and promotion of moral, as contrasted with economic, issues, with special reference to the prohibition movement.

This will come as a surprise to that larger number of his friends who believe that every moral issue has its root in an economic issue; is in fact the ethical phase of an economic problem. It will surprise those who believe that moral development expresses progressing conceptions of justice, as demonstrated by economic experiment in the social laboratory.

Mr. Bryan's announcement is a gratifying recognition of the principle that morality involves something other and more than simply an individual problem; that it is also a social problem.

Solomon understood the liquor question, as an individual question at least, if not as a social one, when he said, "Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more." It was an unlettered but witty Bargeman who paraphrased this wisdom by saying, "Why should a man stay poor when ten cents will make him rich?" Is not this the adequate explanation of the liquor problem? the drug problem? The demand for obscuration of the miseries of life, the transient relief from poverty in forgetfulness, has come to be a menace to industrialism and the stability of our social order. It may be ungracious to suggest the fact that a very large element in the prohibition crusade is because, "You can't keep them steady working, if they can get liquor"; particularly is this the fact in the prohibition territory of the southern states. Racking labor down to the last notch of compensation, and crowding labor up to the top notch of production, grinds the natural vitality to such a level that stimulants are sought by which to reinforce exhausted muscles and quicken drowsy brains—a self-applied whip.

The evasion of social responsibility for these and kindred conditions cannot wisely or safely be continued. The question is one of method of attack. Frances E. Willard, as a result of thirty years of observation and activity in the cause of prohibition, said that drinking is caused by poverty, rather than poverty by drinking; and this is the consensus of modern thinking. Such being the fact, coupled with an equally sinister fact, that poverty is increasing even more rapidly than aggregate wealth, it is imperative that a method be adopted promising more than the meager successes now visible, as the result of present methods of dealing with the liquor problem. It is not the triumph of a political party that matters; it is the removal of a social curse.

Shall the policy—method—be one of cure, the echo of the past, or one of prevention, the voice of the future? Cure has been tried since Solomon's time, and the problem is difficult, even more than ever. With all respect to the sincerity of past efforts, a prohibition that stops short of the cause cannot prohibit the effect. When it is understood

that the liquor problem cannot be dissociated from the poverty problem, and that they are, therefore—*notwithstanding exalted authority to the contrary*—at one and the same time, moral and political problems; that one is cause and the other effect; and that, solving and disposing of the cause, solves and disposes of the cause of other problems that are equally with the liquor problem, by-products of a diseased social order, it will be possible to expect results.

To abolish the liquor problem, it is only necessary to abolish poverty. This automatically follows freedom of opportunity. Freedom of opportunity is the national condition, and can be restored by requiring opportunity, that by nature belongs to all, to bear the burden of all. Remove the burden from industry and place it upon the earth, out of which all that supports life must be drawn by industry.

The morality of slavery was questioned for centuries before advancing conceptions of justice and morality abolished its more evil forms. The abolition of the forms has not abolished the fact. The fact, the substance, of slavery remains while the labor of one can be converted to the benefit of any other. The injustice, the immorality, is none the less by reason of devices that give to one the power to exact an unrequited tribute from another. The suppression of superficial symptoms, administration of placebos, anodynes for social ills, have been ineffectual from the beginning; the ravages of social disease grow increasingly, notwithstanding every nostrum, while a constant cause remains.

Where, then, could patriotism and a will to serve find worthier opportunity than in a warfare against the one cause for all those social evils, among which the liquor problem is but a minor result?

There are millions of Mr. Bryan's fellow citizens, and throughout the earth, who love him; love him for the twenty years of service, of education, he has given, and its results; love him for the enemies he has made, while he gathered into his own breast the spears that broke the line to open the way toward freedom for the common people. Great as Mr. Bryan's work has been, high as he stands in the esteem of the inarticulate millions for whom he was the voice—a greater work remains, a loftier service: the completion of the task to which his life service has been so richly, so freely given.

WESTERN STARR.

BOOKS

ANALYZING THE WAR.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1914. By Ellery C. Stowell. Published by Houghton Mifflin and Co. The Riverside Press. Price, \$5.00 net.

Generally speaking, American opinion as to the nation at whose door blame for the precipitation of the war is to be laid, has been held in reserve. It was felt that the evidence was too incomplete—the whole terrible thing too new. But now the official papers of all the nations in their completeness, have been made public, and an authoritative analysis has been presented dispassionately by Prof. Stowell. Adequate in scholarship, clear in

thought, temperate in judgment, the work must take its place as the one great authoritative writing on the history of the diplomatic relations that led to the war. Despite its 700 pages, there is no prolixity.

Believing that the three most fundamental principles of international law are:

- (1) Good faith in the observance of treaties.
- (2) The equality of all of the nations before the law.
- (3) The observance by each State of all reasonably possible formalities and delays before having recourse to force to make good its rights, or to impose its views,

the author lays the blame for the commencement of hostilities on Germany and its diplomacy. Duly weighing the evidence, and judicially summing up, he finds (p. 504 et seq.), that Germany has clearly violated international law and if she does not succeed for the moment in escaping punishment, the lesson will be as salutary as the example of Bismarck was deleterious. Meanwhile, the manner in which she has held the rest of Europe in check, compels the admiration of all beholders. If Europe learns to realize the necessity of finding some means to organize an efficient bureaucracy without destroying the freedom of individual initiative, while Germany learns to take a more cosmopolitan and less nationally narrow point of view, the world may enter on a new era of efficient government.

It is interesting to the layman to be taken behind the scenes in a diplomatic conclave, and get a Boswellian point of view as it were. The dramatic meeting at which the invasion of Belgium that formed the initial act of violation is thus given, and is a fair sample of the easy style of the whole work.

Early that Monday morning, the Belgium minister asked by telephone to be received by the Secretary of State; the interview was immediately granted.

The Belgian minister had barely pronounced his greeting when Herr Von Jagow exclaimed: "Believe me, it is with anguish in her heart that Germany has resolved to violate Belgium neutrality, and personally, I feel the most poignant regret. But what else is possible? It is a question of life and death for the Empire. If the German army would avoid being caught between hammer and anvil, they must strike a vigorous blow upon the side of France so as to be able to turn then upon Russia."

"But," said Baron Beyens, "the French frontier is of such an extent so as to make passage through Belgium avoidable."

"But that frontier is too well fortified. Besides, what is it we ask of you? Simply to permit us free passage and not to destroy your railroads, or your tunnels, and to allow us to occupy the fortified places we need."

"There is," immediately rejoined the Belgium minister, "a very easy way of formulating the only reply admissible to such a demand. It is this: Suppose that France had preferred the self-same re-

quest and we had yielded, would not Germany have said that we had basely betrayed her?"

The Secretary of State allowing this clear-cut interrogation to pass without answer, Baron Beyens completed his thought:

"Have you," he asked, "the least thing with which to reproach us? Have not we always for three quarters of a century fulfilled toward Germany, as well as to the great powers, guarantors (of the neutrality of Belgium), all our duties of neutrality? Have we not given Germany proof of our loyal friendship? With what does Germany repay all this? With making Belgium the battlefield of Europe, and we know what devastation, what calamity, modern warfare brings in its train."

"Germany has nothing with which she can reproach Belgium; the attitude of Belgium has always been beyond reproach."

"You will admit," replied Baron Beyens, "that Belgium can make no other reply than that which she has already given without the loss of honor. It is with nations as it is with individuals—there is not a different kind of honor for a people than for one's self. You must admit," urged Baron Beyens, "our reply had to be what it is."

"I grant you that as a private individual, but as Secretary of State I have no opinion to express."

In a sense, the author may be truly said to concern himself only with immediate occasions. He makes no attempt, nor in this work is it his province, to analyze the real causes of the war. The book deals only with the final phase of the beginning of the conflict. And in the final phase, what Dr. Fried called the sensitiveness of armaments made the conflict inevitable when a certain point had been reached. "It is very possible," says the author, "that the French and English statesmen might have hit upon some plan to prevent the outbreak of war, but my thorough examination of the documents, and my study of European politics has not made it possible for me to discover wherein that possibility lay." Later on, however, we are led to infer that the artificial damming up of trade channels had much to do with the conditions that led to the final crash. To quote: "This great increase in population made it necessary for Germany to consider the policy she would adopt. Could she continue her phenomenal industrial development, so as to find employment for her progressive increasing millions, and so to continue her program for the uplifting of her masses? Certain signs made her doubt the impossibility of maintaining the same rate of increase of industrial development which had hitherto made it possible to absorb the increase of population, and in this predicament three courses of action lay open to the German people:

First—the simplest and most natural—was the traditional solution of allowing the surplus population to emigrate. But the German people have resented the loss of her good German stock in the past through emigration. They have remarked that in the parts of the world to which he has

gone, the German has become a good citizen of his adopted country and has become lost to his fatherland. It has become the part of German policy to find some means of keeping the German population within the German governmental control. If Germany had good colonies, the solution would be simple.

The second solution is that which has been adopted by other highly civilized communities—commonly known as race suicide. . . . In the face of this alternative, Germany preferred the larger, fuller national life to quiescent acceptance of the status in which she found herself. She preferred the third solution, which was to make an appeal to teeming millions to hack her way to a larger place in the world. She was not deterred that she must rend the prize from the grasp of another State, whose philosophy she considered false."

So you have it—Malthusianism or Free Trade! Protection was the initial, primal cause; hate and international jealousy the incentive; armaments the sword of Damocles that cut through the hair by which it was suspended.

Prof. Stowell sees in the cataclysm the beginning of a better state of affairs that shall see the substitution of international ideas in place of the national policies that have to the present prevailed.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

The misery of the people is not caused by individuals, but by an order of society by which they are bound together in a way that puts them in the power of a few, or more often one man.—Tolstoy.

Periodicals

A Promising Labor Magazine.

Life and Labor for December (published by The National Women's Trade Union League of America, 166 W. Washington street, Chicago) is forging to the front with well timed contributions on the labor situation from woman's point of view. William L. Chenery contributes an illuminating article on Labor's Progress; while Harriet Reid presents a resume of the struggle between the people of Springfield, Ill., and the Gas and Electric Light Company. Life and Labor gains special point from the fact that it is run by women for women workers. Mrs. Raymond Robins is editor, and Amy Walker-Field associate editor.

* * *

"Now, girls," said the teacher, "can you tell me why the great man was buried in Westminster Abbey?"

There was a long silence.

At last a girl put up her hand.

"Because," she answered, solemnly and impressively, "he was dead!"—Sacred Heart Review.

* * *

A country hotel proprietor, glancing out of a rear window, saw his new waiter chasing a chicken about the yard.

"What have you in that bowl?" demanded the hotel man, referring to a utensil he was hugging.

"Mushrooms," responded the new waiter. "There's a gentleman that wants chicken smothered with mushrooms, and I'm trying to smother him, sir!"—Sacred Heart Review.

Man Power and Money Power

By WALDO R. BROWNE.

Six millionaires of Chicago, Messrs. Victor F. Lawson, Julius Rosenwald, Frank G. Logan, H. S. Vail, H. M. Bylesby and William Wrigley, Jr., have each contributed \$5,000 toward a fund to be used to secure compulsory military service. In The Public of Dec. 1, Waldo R. Browne wrote an open letter to these gentlemen pointing out that the demand for sacrifice that does not also embody the offer of sacrifice is necessarily open to grave suspicion; and he asked them, whether, as wealthy men exempt from military duties, they pledged themselves to support the just and necessary principle that the "universal compulsory military service" which they advocate, "shall apply not only to human life (the lives of other men) but to private wealth (their own wealth)."

We cannot supply further calls for extra copies of The Public containing this brilliant article, but in leaflet form 50 copies can be obtained for 25c in postage.

Compulsory Military Service

By LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Mrs. Mead's fine article in last week's Public is also available as a leaflet. Send 25c for 50 copies. A wide distribution of these two pieces of literature will help "steady" public opinion and keep it marching towards the democratic goal.

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PROSPERITY IN CANADA—Thousands of farmers in Western Canada have sold their crops this year for more than the total cost of their land. Land at \$15 to \$30 an acre has produced crops worth \$40 to \$75 an acre. Stock raising and dairying are equally profitable—hogs and beef highest in country's history. Irrigation districts producing more alfalfa and fodder crops than ever before. Get your farm home from the Canadian Pacific Railway. Last year I asked you to take advantage of this opportunity—you might have paid for your farm with the 1916 crop—again I extend the invitation. Good land from \$11 to \$30 per acre; irrigated land from \$35; 20 years to pay; government guarantees land and water titles. Pay in full at any time if desired. We will lend you up to \$2,000 in improvements in certain districts, with no security other than the land. Ready-made farms sold on special, easy terms. Loan for live stock after one year's occupation, subject to certain reasonable conditions explained on request. Low taxes; no taxes on improvements. Free schools; full religious liberty; good climate, and the best neighbors in the world. Other farmers becoming rich in Western Canada; you have the same opportunity. Buy direct from the Canadian Pacific Railway. Write for free book and full information. J. S. Dennis, Assistant to the President, Canadian Pacific Railway, 119 Ninth Avenue, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

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—*Indianapolis News*.

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What the Postman Brings

While I think I am a good Republican, I enjoy your paper immensely and read it thoroughly, as does my wife and I have thanked Friend Painter for same and expect to remain one of your subscribers. More power to you. My four sons and I, all Republicans, boosted and voted for Wilson.

M. G. RAUB, BRADFORD, PA.

I have neither patience and certainly not respect for much, very much, of your single tax reasoning. But in your Presidential Campaign comments there was much, very much, to admire. The Public was one of the few papers I have seen that had first the Vision, second the Ability, and, third, Honesty to see the right end of the situation and support it.

H. J. MARTIN, VERMONTVILLE, MICH.

I want to congratulate you on the splendid work you are doing on The Public. The Public is accurate, democratic, and intensely interesting, as it has always been. While it may not be much of a compliment to you, yet it is a fact that I rarely differ from its conclusions. I would rather dispense with any other journal than with The Public.

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I regard The Public as the most appropriate reading for Sunday. I seem to feel the heart beats of humanity very sensibly when reading The Public. I think it is now much improved in appearance.

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HARRY W. OLNEY, SPOKANE, WASH.

I have received several copies of The Public, which you so kindly ordered sent to me for a few weeks. I surely enjoy reading this publication. The editor and his associates seem to get at the kernel of every subject taken up and I am very much pleased to have the information concerning political matters which it contains.

CONGRESSMAN W. A. AYRES.

[To a Friend of The Public at Wichita, Kansas.]

For current news of vital importance and given in brief and terse review, I find The Public a most interesting publication and filling a real need upon my library table, and intend sending in my subscription, but wish to know, first, if my friend subscribed for me in the regular way.

MRS. AGNES DEMAND, MECHANICSBURG, OHIO.

I learn from Chicago that I am indebted to you for the copies of The Public which have been coming to my table for the past month. The attractive little paper pleases me very much and fills a need I have long felt for a weekly that got down to bottom facts and discussed them temperately and clearly. Let me thank you heartily for your kindness.

[REV.] HENRY DAVIES.

[To a Friend of The Public in Maryland.]

I don't praise The Public simply because I cannot find the right words. If I would say how dear it is to me, it would sound ridiculously exaggerated. So I don't try it!

JOSEPH B. ALEMANY, NEW YORK CITY.

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A mayor of a northern city is presenting a copy of Brand Whitlock's "On the Enforcement of Law in Cities," to fifty public men and women in his city. "Good!" you say. And it sets a precedent for you! Ten copies, \$3.25, postpaid.

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