

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Two Singletax Campaigns.

In two States of the Union more important even if local contests overshadow the Presidential. Those States are Missouri and Oregon. The contest in each is nominally one of local taxation, but essentially one of general social progress. Whether the Singletax will win in either of those States no one knows. Nor does it really make much difference except to those who are absorbed in the fight. Even their concern will not long survive results. While it is true that object lessons in either of those States, such as Canada on our continent and Australasia over the seas are making numerous and progressively, are greatly to be desired, yet the principal consideration is that in both States *the enemy has been drawn from cover and the fight is on.*



Defeat at this election will mean stronger and more radical fights in the future, and not only in those States but also in other States. Thanks to the Initiative and Referendum, for which good citizenship is indebted to Singletaxers more than to any other group, there are many States now, and more are coming, in which the Singletax can be proposed to the people at once, and be secured as soon as education on the subject has brought a majority to its side. And there could be no more effective education than is afforded by that serious clash of interests and thought which the Single-

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tax campaigns in Oregon and Missouri are at this moment promoting.

In Missouri the proposal is for a partial exemption of all property from taxation except land values progressively. In 1920 and thereafter land values would bear the whole tax burden. In Oregon there are two proposals—one in three counties for locally taxing land values exclusively; the other throughout the State, for a graduated super-tax on land values exceeding \$10,000 in value in a single holding. While no one can predict the result, and while success on proposals so radical would be extraordinary at the first battle, especially when resistance from the great land monopolists is so vigorous and in many ways so subtle, there are nevertheless straws in the wind. The most considerate and therefore the most significant, is the following from the enemy, which we find credited to the Mexico (Missouri) Intelligencer:

As a member of the executive committee of the Missouri Anti-Singletax League, the editor of The Intelligencer has spent much time during the past fortnight at the League's headquarters in Kansas City. His observations of the Singletax situation briefly stated are as follows:

Union labor is almost to a man favoring the Amendments.

Singletax sentiment predominates in St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Joplin and Springfield. Jasper county, including Joplin, is overwhelmingly in favor of Singletax.

Socialist spellbinders in southeast Missouri have made votes for the Singletax.

State headquarters fear the "silent" vote of cities like Mexico, Columbia, Moberly and the smaller cities throughout the State. It is the men who won't express themselves on whom the result will depend.

Land Speculation in British Columbia.

What seems upon its face to be a correct statement of some of the effects of the Singletax in Vancouver and Victoria, appear in the California Outlook of September 21, marred though it is by a plainly erroneous inference.

According to this statement there is in Vancouver and Victoria a surprising difference in the effect of the Singletax upon business centers as compared with outlying residence sections. "In outlying districts," so the California Outlook's informant says—

where there is room to spare, the system of exempting improvements and placing the whole burden of property-taxation upon the town lots whether occupied or not, works to the advantage of those who

want homes of their own. They get building lots cheaper than they otherwise would, and they do not have to pay taxes on the houses they build.

That is precisely what thoughtful Singletaxers would expect to happen—"where there is room to spare."

But, proceeds the Outlook article from which we are quoting—

in the business districts, where the area is limited, only those who have abundant means are able to own building lots at all. The tendency of the land tax is either to prevent any building at all or to induce the construction of the largest and tallest buildings that demand can be found for, inasmuch as the taxes on a ten-story building and lot are no greater than the tax on a two-story building and lot. While waiting for the growth of a demand for further buildings, well-to-do holders add their tax bills to the selling price of the lots and, by and by, get it all back with a wide margin of profit. A rate of taxation that would devour the substance of a small investor only adds to the profits of the capitalist who can wait for the growth of commercial demand. This is not in accord with the land tax theory, but is, I am assured, the way the system works in Victoria and Vancouver.

That, too, is precisely what any thoughtful Singletaxer would expect to happen—"where the area is limited" and the tax burden is light.

The California Outlook's erroneous inference rests upon a thoughtless assumption that the principle which operates "where there is room to spare" is different from the principle that operates "where the area is limited." There is, however, no difference at all in the principle. That this is so may be easily seen by considering the inevitable effect if the land value tax were heavy enough to take approximately the entire annual value of all the land of a given community—both "where there is room to spare" and "where the area is limited." If, for illustration, the tax were high enough to take, say, 75 or 80 per cent of the annual value, who could afford to "wait for the growth of commercial demand" in the one section any more than in the other? And if the land-value tax increased in weight as advancing commercial demand increased the value of the land, how could "well-to-do holders add their tax bills to the selling price of the lots," or in any other way "by and by get it all back with a wide margin of profit"? To conceive of such a result under those circumstances would be preposterous. The inevitable effect would be an abandonment of unused building lots by all but persons who were putting them to full use—and this "where the area is limited" as well as

"where there is room to spare." The land market would be glutted. But this which would manifestly occur under those extreme circumstances would occur also where the tax was lighter, provided the tax were not so light as to fall considerably short of the increase in values.



Recurring to Victoria and Vancouver, if the Singletax works to the advantage of home owners in the residence sections there, "where there is room to spare," but to the advantage of big investors in the business sections, "where the area is limited," the reason is not far to seek. It will be found not in any variation of principle, but in the fact that the same rate of land-value tax is heavy in the former section and light in the latter, *as compared with the intensity of the land monopoly in each.* "Where there is room to spare" a light land-value tax will discourage land monopoly, because values are likely to advance too slowly to make an investment in tax bills "look good"; but "where the area is limited," payment of the same pro rata tax may amount to a reasonably good bet that the land values will rise so much faster than the tax as to leave "a wide margin of profit."



If the facts about Victoria and Vancouver are as the California Outlook reports them—and its report certainly accords with what Henry George taught and Singletaxers believe, the California Outlook's hint to the contrary notwithstanding—then the harvest which business-section land monopolists may be reaping in Vancouver and Victoria is not because those cities have got the Singletax. It is because they haven't yet got enough.



The Singletax in Ohio.

As a rule, the editorials of the Saturday Evening Post of Philadelphia are as accurate as they are compact, and no higher tribute could be paid to their customary accuracy than that. But one of them in the issue of October 19, 1912—the one on recent amendments to the Ohio Constitution*—is an exception. We refer to this part of it:

Singletaxers in Ohio, however, had been agitating for Initiative and Referendum. It was feared they might initiate by popular petition and pass an act embodying Singletax principles. So the new Constitution provides that Initiative shall not be used to classify property for the purpose of taxation or for laying any single tax on land values. This new Constitution is, indeed, a radical and democratic

document. It permits the people of Ohio to govern themselves, within certain limitations, pretty much as they may see fit—thus marking a great advance over most State Constitutions; but it carefully specifies that they cannot govern themselves to the extent of taking back, for the uses of the community that created it, the unearned increment in land values, or of appropriating for the public benefit further unearned increments.

This is a mistake insofar as it implies that the Initiative cannot be used in Ohio in behalf of the Singletax.



Precisely those powers of self-government which the quoted editorial says the people of Ohio are denied by the Initiative for which Singletaxers agitated, are in fact conferred upon the people of that State by the Initiative that has been adopted there. What is denied them—and this probably accounts for the error in the Post's editorial—is the power of adopting the Singletax by legislative Initiative. There are two kinds of Initiative in the new Constitution—one for legislative laws and the other for Constitutional amendments. Under the former, nothing can be initiated which the Constitution forbids the legislature to adopt; under the latter, anything can be initiated which the prescribed percentage of petitioners demand. The only difference between the two, so far as Singletax measures are concerned, is a difference of 4 per cent in the number of petitioners prescribed. The legislative Initiative requires 6 per cent, the other 10 per cent. Once initiated, the popular vote required for either is the same—a majority of the votes cast on the question itself. The Saturday Evening Post has so large a circulation, and is so seldom in error, that it may be reasonably asked to examine into this matter anew.



Political Hysterics.

If Mr. Taft or Mr. Wilson or Mr. Debs or Mr. Chafin or Mr. Roosevelt had been bitten by a mad dog while on his way to make a campaign speech he would have been an object of friendly sympathy with everybody, and properly so. No matter how one might regard him or his party, or what one might believe and have said of his previous conduct and future purposes, every person of decent mind would have been sincerely sorry for his misfortune, sincerely hopeful for a speedy recovery, and sincerely sympathetic with his followers in their loss of leadership. But what would any self-respecting person have to think, of the Republican or Democratic or Socialist or Prohibition or Progressive candidate if

*See Public of September 13, page 867.

when bitten by a mad dog, he had proclaimed that his political adversaries were responsible for that dog and its madness and the bite? We ask this question because that in substance is what Mr. Roosevelt did. Instead of being bitten by a mad dog he was shot by a madman, but what is the difference so far as his charges of personal responsibility against his political critics are concerned?



If the uninjured campaign manager of an injured candidate tries to "work the indignation racket" in those circumstances, he may perhaps be excused, since it is all in his day's work. For that reason Senator Dixon's indignation may be ignored. So may Mr. McCormick's and all the rest who have echoed them. But here is what Mr. Roosevelt himself said—we quote from the Associated Press report of his speech after the shooting at Milwaukee, as that report was published in the Chicago Inter Ocean of October 15th:

It is a very natural thing that weak and vicious minds should be inflamed to acts of violence by the kind of foul mendacity and abuse that have been heaped upon me for the last three months by the papers in the interests, not only of Mr. Debs, but of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft. Friends, I will disown and repudiate any man of my party who attacks with such vile, foul slander and abuse any opponents of any other party. Now I wish to say seriously to the speakers and to the newspapers representing both the Republican and Democratic and Socialist parties that they cannot, month in and month out, year in and year out, make the kind of slanderous, bitter and malevolent assaults that they have made and not expect that brutal and violent characters, especially when the brutality is accompanied by a not too strong mind, they cannot expect that such natures will be unaffected by it.



There is something especially reprehensible in Mr. Roosevelt's making such an accusation. Against what other Presidential candidate in this campaign would the charge of abuse more justly lie than against Mr. Roosevelt himself? Who so much as he has poured forth abusive epithets? If those quotations from him had been uttered the day before the Milwaukee shooting, and with identifying names omitted, whom would any intelligent person have guessed that they were intended for? Could any other guess than Mr. Roosevelt have been reasonably possible? Whose career among all the Presidential candidates would tend so much as Roosevelt's own to inflame the insane to acts of violence? Has he not denounced as "liars" those who do not see

facts as he assumes to, until his "Ananias Club" has come to be commonly recognized as an institution? Has he not denounced as "thieves" those who defeat him by his own methods in political combat? And what of his "big stick" diplomacy and his martial enthusiasms? There is a familiar maxim about "coming into court with clean hands." Under that maxim Theodore Roosevelt has of all public men the least right, to complain of "inflaming" the weak of mind to "acts of violence" by abusive speech. His interviews, speeches and writings—his misrepresentation of Debs's followers, for instance, his rowdiness toward Taft, his denunciation of Wilson as a falsifier—abound in instances. If that madman had been inflamed to his act by any one's abuse, the person most probably responsible, in the absence of positive proof, would be Mr. Roosevelt himself. Is it not reasonable to suppose that a madman's outbreak may take the abuser rather than the abused for its object? And who so conspicuous in the role of abuser as Mr. Roosevelt?



For Mr. Roosevelt in his suffering, the people of the United States can say, regardless of his record, and they do say, to quote the legend of a sympathetic cartoon, "We vote unanimously for your quick recovery." But the citizen who should vote for Mr. Roosevelt for President *because* of a madman's assault upon him—or a mad dog's bite if that had happened to be the misfortune—would deserve one of the choicest out of Mr. Roosevelt's own collection of abusive epithets. The man who asks a vote for him *for that reason*, is a demagogue playing upon the public nerves. The sanely human and patriotic thing to say on such an occasion was said by Mr. Bryan in his speech at Franklin, Ind., two days after Mr. Roosevelt was shot:

I would rather occupy the time in denunciation of the deed and in expression of sympathy for him and hopes for his speedy recovery, but the issues of this campaign should not be determined by the act of a madman. They must be settled by the sane rather than the insane. . . . A maniac, however cowardly and dastardly his deed, is not the arbiter to whom to submit a Presidential contest.



Congressional Candidacies.

We wish it were possible to name all the candidates for Congress whose election this year would be of public benefit; but lack of space would make it impossible even if we were apprised of the facts. There are some, however, in addition to such as

are elsewhere named, against whom no genuinely democratic vote should be lightly cast.



In Illinois, among those whose election to or continuance in Congress is highly desirable from the point of view of fundamental democracy or of the trend toward it, is John C. Vaughan of the Second District. Another is Frank Buchanan of the Seventh. Another is Henry T. Rainey of the Twentieth. Another is James M. Graham of the Twenty-first. Still another is Martin D. Foster of the Twenty-third. These are Democratic candidates and they are of the democratic order of Democracy. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Rainey, Mr. Graham and Mr. Foster have already served in Congress—all of them are there now, so that their fidelity has stood the acid test. Although Mr. Vaughan has not yet been in Congress, his connection with the Bryan campaigns in Chicago is his sufficient recommendation. Charles M. Thomson of the Tenth, the Progressive Party candidate, has made a genuinely democratic record in the Chicago City Council as an independent Republican; and, judging by his record there and in his aldermanic campaigns, would make a satisfactory representative of progressive democracy in Congress.



Mr. Buchanan's candidacy on the Democratic ticket in the Seventh calls for special mention. He was president of the international structural iron workers when the violence faction, led by Parks, was rampant; and he suppressed it under circumstances of great difficulty. As a member of Congress he has embodied the argument for land value taxation in Missouri in one of his speeches on the floor, and his renomination is endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor against Socialist Party opposition.



In the Fourteenth Congressional District of Illinois there is a candidate for Congress whose election would be a triumph for democratic Democracy, and for whom democratic Republicans also may vote with confidence in the soundness of his political principles. We mean Clyde H. Tavener of Cordova. His editorial letters from Washington, which have come regularly to our table during the recent sessions of Congress, have invariably rung true.



Outside of Illinois our attention is called to the candidacy for Congress of Charles G. Heifner.

the Democratic candidate for the Seattle district, whose election we have reason to believe would add to the strength of radical Democracy in the House.



Henry George, Jr., of New York.

Of Henry George, Jr.'s re-election to Congress there appears to be no doubt. By reapportionment he becomes the Democratic candidate in another district than the one he represents at present; but his election is regarded as assured. His record in the House has been of a kind to call for the support of all *democratic* voters, regardless of party. The tax report of his committee on the District of Columbia, for which he is chiefly responsible, should of itself assure his re-election.



Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania.

Warren Worth Bailey of the 19th District of Pennsylvania, whose name as editor of the *Johnstown Democrat* is familiar to readers of *The Public* from its beginning, is so well known throughout his district as a *democratic* Democrat, that in this transition period he may be reasonably expected to poll the vote of democrats of all parties. Progressivism could have no better representative in Congress.



Carl J. Buell of Minnesota.

Carl Johnson Buell* is the progressive Democratic candidate for Congressman-at-Large from Minnesota. He was nominated at the direct primaries. Readers of *The Public* need to be told nothing about Mr. Buell. If the choice were left to them, his election would be as unopposed as was his nomination. It is interesting to know, however, that his platform, the same as that of all the Democratic candidates for legislative offices in Minnesota and also of P. M. Ringdal, the candidate for Governor, advocates—

changes in our system of taxation so that improvements rather than speculation shall be encouraged. The farmer and the workman whose industry gives us food and clothing should not be fined for the benefit of those who hold land in idleness. The manufacturer and the merchant should not be penalized for the benefit of speculators. The home should not be burdened with taxes that ought to fall on privilege.



Michigan Wool and Protection.

One of the largest wool buyers in Michigan, Edward Frensdorf, exposes the fraud in tariff pro-

*See *The Public* of April 26, 1912, page 389.

tection for wool. He says that Protection on wool doesn't protect Michigan farmers, for wool raising is one of the smallest industries of the farm; that the amount which the people of Michigan expend for wearing apparel is 50 times greater than Michigan farmers get for their entire wool product; and that the unprotected dairy products of Lenawee County alone, exceed in value all the wool grown in Michigan. As Mr. Frensdorf is the Democratic candidate for Congressman-at-Large from Michigan, his election would add another vote in the House to those against continuing the Protection fraud.



Wagnon's Candidacy in Portland.

The Singletax candidate for tax assessor in Multnomah County, Oregon—the Portland county—is H. D. Wagnon, an old time and weariless Singletaxer of that part of the world. He was the principal promoter of the Singletax amendment which almost carried in Multnomah County four years ago, though pretty heavily defeated in the total vote of the State,* and he is the father of the graduated Singletax amendment on which the State-wide vote is to be taken next month. The opportunities for such good work as a man like Wagnon could do in Portland as assessor, are numerous enough, as they are almost anywhere else—as they were in Houston, Texas, when Pastoriza came into municipal office, and as they were in Whatcom County, Washington, when Kaufman was elected assessor. News of H. D. Wagnon's election would make good reading from Oregon two weeks hence.



Death of Edward B. Foote.

In the death on the 12th of Dr. Edward B. Foote of New York, progressive movements have lost one of their most loyal supporters. His devotion began with his youth; it never slackened until his death. With some of his activities *The Public* was not in sympathy, but Dr. Foote's truly democratic spirit which inspired them all, and was as a steady light in a dark place, could not fail to command universal respect. He served not only causes that were popular, but also and with even more intensity many that were yet in their swaddling clothes and their mangers, or in process of crucifixion. The popularity or the contempt they provoked made no difference to him. His simple test for the worthiness of a cause was its righteousness at the bar of his own judgment and conscience. Nor was he intolerant. With true charity

he accorded, in good faith to others of good faith, the rights of judgment he cherished for himself.



THE HOME MARKET.

Among the catch phrases used by the Protectionist to enlist the sympathy of the unthinking voter, perhaps the most seductive is that of the "home market." To buy at home, to patronize home industry, to protect the home market, is to favor one's countryman rather than a stranger. Nay, it is to serve one's friend, rather than an enemy.

Yet, what is this but an attempt to transmute the love of kindred into terms of gain; and to bind trade with personal ties?



Trade is as impersonal as the law of gravity; it serves all men alike; regardless of race, nationality or kindred.

By trade, man avails himself of the other means of wealth creation. If he could not trade he would derive no benefit from any of the vast multitude of labor-saving devices and inventions. Without exchange he would forego all the advantages of the diverse soils, climates, and human talents. As a man who would deny himself the use of steam would to that extent limit his power and enjoyment over the wealth of the world, so does the man who would bar out the products of another race or clime, sacrifice to that extent his power over nature.



The idea that trade within the country is more profitable, and therefore better for the country, than trade across the frontier is one of those strange beliefs inherited from the past, when simple minds groped for excuses to believe what they wanted to believe.

"Stranger" was synonymous with "enemy"; and one should not, argued the simple-minded, confer a benefit upon one's enemy.

That the same trade benefited oneself was not to be considered, since such benefit could be had by trading with one's own countrymen.

The idea is well illustrated by the homely example so often given: "If I buy a coat in Canada, I have the coat, but Canada has the money. If I buy the coat in this country, we have the coat and the money too. Or, as put by Adam Smith, a trade at home gives two profits within the country; whereas a trade abroad gives one profit at home, and one in the other country.

*See *Public*, vol. xi, pp. 250, 275, 320, 322, 358, 390, 420.

Therefore, trade at home is twice as profitable to the country as foreign trade.

Such specious reasoning can deceive none but those who wish to be deceived. The slightest attempt at analysis will discover the falsity; and these falsities have repeatedly been pointed out, from the time of Adam Smith down to this day.

Those who will not see are blind indeed.



The error underlying this "home market" idea consists in substituting a half truth for the whole.

Thus: A man in Ohio trades with a man in Vermont; result, two profits in this country. Again: A man in Ohio trades with a man in Ontario; result, one profit in this country. But there were two Americans involved in the first statement. What of the Vermont man? Cannot he trade with a man in Quebec while the Ohio man trades with the man in Ontario? And will there not then be two profits in this country, the same as though he had traded with the Ohio man?

So far as profits within the country are concerned, does it matter a particle whether the four men trade parallel with the boundry line, or across it? Will there not in any event be as many profits as there are trades? And will not the self-interest of each dictate the most advantageous bargains?

Or, consider the proposition to keep the money and also the goods in the country.

This again is but half a truth. The exchange of goods for money is not a complete trade. All real trade consists of the exchange of goods for goods.

The acceptance of money for goods is merely a convenient method of keeping accounts. The tailor, at the time he delivers the coat to the shoemaker, may not need shoes and so accepts money. The money will secure the shoes when he does need them; or it may be given to the baker for bread, and the baker may give it to the shoemaker for shoes. This is all so plain and so simple that one hesitates to state it in public print; yet it is for lack of understanding this very principle that the Protectionist is deceived into thinking it better for the country when he spends his money at home, rather than when he buys abroad.



A source of confusion in the Protectionist's mind is the idea that nations trade. It is customary to speak of trading nations, or of commerce between nations. But this is figurative.

Nations do not trade. The United States does

not buy of England; nor does England buy of the United States. Individual citizens of the United States buy of individual citizens of England. But these citizens will not buy or sell, unless it is to their advantage.

All legitimate trade is to the advantage of both parties to the trade. Hence, if the trade be to the advantage of the individual, it must also be to the advantage of the nation to which that individual belongs.

Congress may aid, or it may hinder such trade; but will any one presume to say that a body of lawmakers knows better the interest of the individual trader than the trader himself? And if it does not know better, by what right does it meddle?



What is there about an imaginary line drawn between countries that should change the very laws of nature?

Why should it be considered advantageous to this country for citizens of Vermont to trade with those of Texas or California, but not with those a mile north of them?

Should the Canadian territory lying south of the St. Lawrence river be annexed to this country, it would then, according to Protectionist philosophy, be advantageous for Vermonters to trade with its inhabitants. But those inhabitants in the annexed territory should not trade with the people north of the St. Lawrence. Alsace-Lorraine, prior to the Franco-Prussian war, traded with France with profit. After the war they were compelled to trade with Prussia.

Cuba is a country now to be feared. Our people must be Protected from her. Should she be annexed, our people would then have no Protection from her.

Many people of this country believe that Canada should be annexed. Yet the advantages of annexation could be had in all cases merely by removing the restraints to trade.



The home market has absolutely no advantages over the foreign market, merely because it is a home market. Trade is impersonal; it follows the line of greatest profit, regardless of sentiment. To attempt to keep it within the country is to forego its natural gain, and to foster the race hatreds and national prejudices that make necessary the great armaments which keep one Christian nation from destroying another Christian nation.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

CAUSES OF HIGH PRICES.

Why is it necessary to have a commission to investigate and report on the causes of the rise of prices? The data is already at hand for all practical purposes.

Since 1900 the annual production of gold has been nearly four times what it was prior to 1896. In the last *twelve* years (1900 to 1912) the total aggregate production exceeds that of the *thirty-five* years from 1861 to 1896.

The Dingley bill, enacted in 1897, was in force until August 5, 1909, when the Aldrich bill went into effect. The duty under these bills averages nearly 50 per cent. During this period prices have risen by leaps and bounds and they have risen faster in countries with high tariffs than in free trade countries, and highest of all where private monopolies have flourished.

Bradstreet estimates the rise of prices of the necessaries of life as follows between 1897 and 1910:

In England	28	per cent.
In Germany	43	per cent.
In United States.....	53.38	per cent.

Bulletin of Commerce and Labor issued by our government, estimates the rise in wholesale prices between 1897 and 1910 at 46.7. The rise in retail prices was still greater.

Byron W. Holt estimates that prices increased during this period 60 per cent.

The last report of the Federal Bureau of Commerce and Labor shows that prices are still soaring and that retail prices of many necessaries in the last ten years have nearly *doubled*.



Let it be noted, then—

(1) That there is a world rise of prices of some 25 per cent on account of the increased production of gold.

(2) That high protective tariffs raised prices. Prices are 15 per cent higher in Germany under Germany's protective tariff than in England under comparative free trade.

(3) That trusts have raised prices.

Nowhere else have trade combinations been able to establish monopoly prices as in the United States.

Is it not clear why prices are 15 per cent higher in Germany than in England and 32 per cent higher in the United States than in England?



Less than one-half of the rise in prices is due

to the increased production of gold, and the balance is caused by tariffs and trusts.

If we would reduce the cost of living we must lower the tariff and control or abolish the trusts which are the cause of abnormal prices; and inasmuch as the tariff is the mother of the trusts, by taking down the tariff wall we shall not only lower so much of the rise in prices as comes from the protective system, but we shall get rid of some of the rise that comes from trust control.

If we were to rid ourselves of all private monopoly, prices would be brought to a normal level. The Democratic House of Representatives made a good start in pulling down the tariff wall by cutting in twain the woolen and cotton schedules and putting some of the more common necessaries of life on the free list.

The trusts fatten on *special privileges*. When we get a President and a Congress that will take away their special privileges—in the tariff, in the currency, and in the transportation system,—the reign of robber prices will near its end.

W. B. FLEMING.

CONDENSED EDITORIALS

PRESIDENTIAL POLICIES.

William Jennings Bryan (through the Central Press Association), from the Chicago Tribune of October 14, 1912.

The Roosevelt policy of admitting private monopolies to exist permanently, subject to regulation, would simply end, after futile attempts at regulation, in a demand for government ownership. The Socialist believes in monopoly in industry, the monopoly to be owned and operated by the government in the interests of the people. Mr. Roosevelt believes in monopoly to be owned and operated by monopolists in their own interest, but under government regulation.

Mr. Taft believes in maintaining competition, but is not in favor of the passage of any laws that would be effective for the purpose.

Mr. Wilson believes in the absolute prevention of monopoly by laws that will make it impossible for a monopoly to exist.



FARMERS AND THE SINGLETAX.

Henry George in Henry George's "Standard."

Take the case of those to whom the opponents of the Singletax are so fond of referring—the farmers who till their own acres, the men who own the homesteads in which they live.

It is true that the change we propose would diminish the selling value of their land (but merely of the bare land, not of the buildings or improvements) and if fully carried out would virtually destroy it.

But it would in no wise diminish the usefulness

of their land; it would in no wise diminish, but would in fact increase their incomes.

They would pay under this system less taxes than they pay now. The clerk or mechanic or business or professional man who owns a house and lot in which he lives might pay more taxes on his lot than now, but in return for this he would escape the taxes now levied on his house and its contents, and through the medium of indirect taxation, upon everything that his family consumes. And so with the farmer.

Our present system of taxation falls with peculiar severity upon the farming class. Not only is improved land all over the United States taxed higher than unimproved land of the same quality, but the taxes which so largely raise the prices of all the farmer has to buy do not, and cannot, so long as we are exporters of agricultural produce, raise the price of what the farmer has to sell.

And, further than this, to put taxation solely upon land values would shift the weight of taxation from the sparsely settled agricultural districts to those populous centers where land has a real and a high value.

As it would destroy the speculative value of land, the result would be that many farmers would have no taxes at all to pay, for, no matter what might be the value of his improvements, no farmer would have more taxes to pay than could be collected from unimproved land equal to his in quality and situation.

Manifestly it would be very greatly to the relief of the farmer to abolish all the taxes which now fall upon his improvements and his consumption, and to substitute for them a tax upon the value of bare land, which is always higher in populous centers than in agricultural districts, and in sparsely settled agricultural districts hardly exists at all, except as the result of speculation.

And from the effects upon the diffusion of population the farmer would greatly gain. Just as the city population would gain from the destruction of the system which now builds tenement houses amid vacant lots, so would the agricultural communities gain in productive power and in social enjoyment when settlement should become closer, from the fact that there would no longer be any inducement for any one to take up or hold more land than he could use.

Further than this, it must be remembered that, although the selling price of land would diminish, this, since it would affect all land, would not affect the exchange value of the homestead, lot or farm, as compared with other homesteads, lots or farms. It would be, to the man who wants for himself and his family the security of a home in which to live, or land to cultivate, a purely nominal and intangible loss, to offset which would be great and actual gains; and, as his children grew up, it would be very much easier for them to get homesteads or farms of their own.



**Ye build! ye build! but ye enter not in.
Like the tribes whom the desert devoured in their sin;
From the land of promise ye fade and die,
Ere its verdure gleams forth on your wearied eye.**

—Mrs. Sigourney.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICAL POINTERS IN AUSTRALASIA

Corowa, N. S. W.,

Australia, August 21.

For a conservative ministry, the proposals of the Massey government in New Zealand seem rather progressive.



The trend, both in New Zealand and Australia, is to impose graduated taxation on land values, with a high exemption, in order to compel owners of large estates to sell their land. This method of taxation can be evaded to some extent by bogus subdivisions among children and others, but it appears to have had the desired effect in many cases. It thus makes more land available for farming, and it provides revenue for the government. It has not, I think, reduced the price of land in Australia, owing to the exemption. As no other taxes were remitted when it was imposed, it has been of no benefit, as far as I can judge, to the ordinary wage earner.



The Federal Parliament of Australia is now sitting again.

The only new proposal of the government of any outside interest is the payment of a bonus of five pounds for every baby born in the Commonwealth. With regard to this, the Women's Single Tax League of New South Wales, publish a letter in which they say:

We consider that the proposed bonus is simply a clumsy effort to blind the eyes of many people to the true causes of the unjust conditions which oppress them. It will do nothing to remove those causes. In fact, it is likely to intensify them. In many cases the chief beneficiary will be the landlord. The bonus will be one of the sources from which he will get his rent, and consequently it will strengthen his position.

We wish to point out that the Federal Government is not in earnest in its professed desire to help mothers. If it were in earnest it would propose to take the present unjust taxes off the food and clothes and shelter that the baby requires. That would be far more useful than a Federal dole of £5 upon which the landlord will have first claim.

In the Federal Parliament, the Liberals—a curious mixture ranging from extreme conservatives to advanced radicals—appear to have adopted a “stand pat” policy, while the Labor party is trades-unionist and socialistic. Both parties seem hopelessly Protectionist.

Since the Labor party has been in power, it has passed two tariff acts largely increasing the duties on many articles. These were hurried through with little opposition, even from members who formerly professed to be Freetraders.

For the last few years Australia, owing to good seasons and high prices of wool and wheat, has been very prosperous.

There has been a great demand for labor of all descriptions, and wages have risen; in some cases naturally, in others artificially through the awards of wages boards appointed under Arbitration Acts. But the cost of living has increased very much;

rents, especially in the cities, have risen enormously; so that wage earners are probably worse off than before.

It works in a "vicious circle"; wages are raised by the wages boards; the employers if possible raise their prices; protected manufacturers demand increased duties, and generally get them; and the cost of living mounts faster than wages.

ERNEST BRAY.



THE SINGLETAX IN MISSOURI.

Kansas City, Mo.

A debate on the Missouri Singletax amendments came off here on the 15th at a banquet of the Merchants' Association. The debaters were the Secretary of the Land Owners' Protective Association, Mr. Silvers, and Vernon J. Rose.

Mr. Rose opened the debate with one of the most effective explanations of the George philosophy I ever listened to. After a clear presentation and explanation of the proposed amendments he gave a splendid account of Henry George's doctrines, emphasizing the moral and human side of the question. He was frequently and vigorously applauded. Especially pronounced was the applause when he made his plea for securing for every child born into this world—rich and poor alike—an equal right of access to the natural bounties of the earth. This, he said, is the object that inspires every follower of Henry George.

Mr. Silvers quibbled some in reply, but was in no way offensive. He is young, rather slender, smooth-faced, and would seem boyish were it not for an air of ease that he assumes. He said some very foolish things, considered from our point of view. For instance, that the just principle would be to tax every man alike because we are all citizens alike and are protected alike by the government. Some of the well-fed, with fat faces and bald heads—must have been as bald inside as out,—heartily applauded that sentiment. Mr. Silvers won frequent applause from Singletaxers for his correct statements of the George teaching, but the objections he offered were pitifully weak.

The cities and mining districts may make a good showing in favor of the amendments. The farming districts wherever I have come in touch with them, are, or seem to be, solidly hostile. But no matter if defeat comes, the favorable reaction will come. The educational work that has been done in the cities

has awakened a faith that can not long be held in check.

ROBERT CUMMING.



MORE CAMPAIGNING IN MISSOURI.

Topeka, Kansas.

Once upon a time when Frederic C. Howe was a McKinley Republican largely, I said this to him: "Why does a man so busy as you are, and of such steel-like sense, live down here in a settlement to do good to these foreign and ignorant folk?"

His answer was a direct denial of "doing good," and made claim "that he was being educated."

For the last seven years I have thought I was a well grounded advocate of land value taxation. But now I really am, for I have spent a week in Cass Co., Missouri, and got educated.

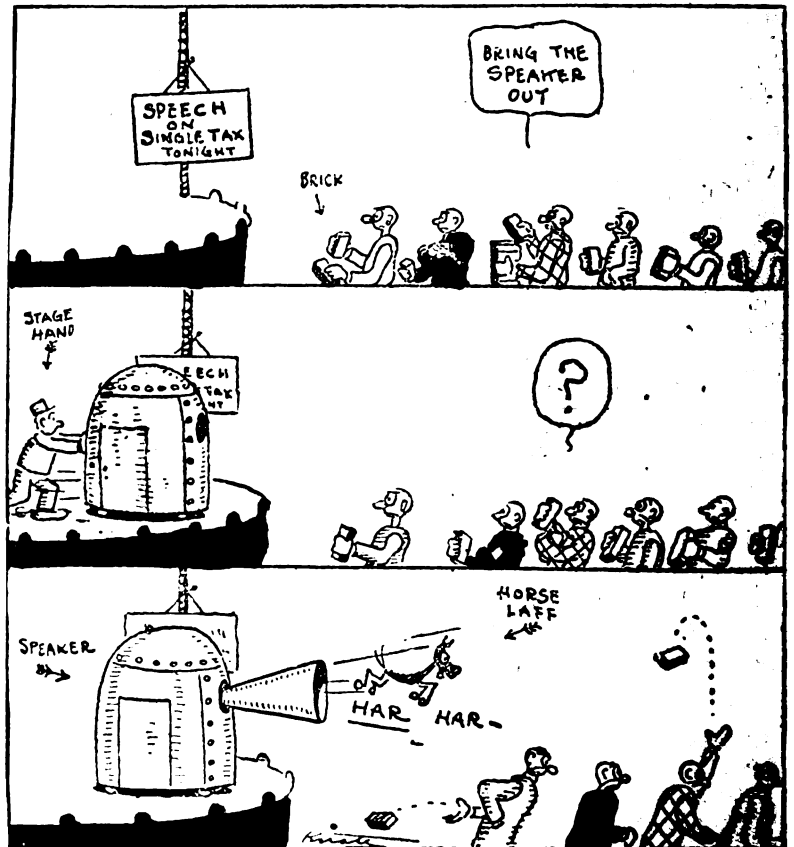
Letters already published in The Public have given dramatic pictures of what is doing. Yes, dramatic—pictures to make the heart bound by the unbreakable chain of Henry George's forging, leap up with joy. My picture is not of quite that kind; we did not win exactly.

To not have won exactly, does not prevent one who is bound by that sacred chain, from having seen things—from being better educated.

In Pleasant Hill, Missouri, I saw some things good

In Missouri.

Cartoon in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



to look upon. I saw my comrades—both named White, one 26, and the other 60, I should think—standing on the street arguing and explaining unturningly. And on the edge of the crowd I saw a few faces changing from hatred to interest, and then to enthusiasm. I saw a real estate man with a troubled face come across the street and ask me up to his office to explain just what this same amendment really would do, and what really was happening in England and other countries regarding this of land value taxation. This real estate man had got up Judge Wallace's opposition meeting. And then I saw another real estate man come to the train to say good-bye to Uncle Jim White—our "Uncle Jim"—26 years a warrior for George's philosophy, and a man who puts the logic of rent, interest and wages into the simplest farming language. I saw that real estate man thank the Whites, and he did it with sincerity.

And then we went up against Harrisonville, and it might be said we got nowhere much; were unable to speak; raised nobody on our side, and but little discussion. And as we left our Uncle Jim at Belton, tears came in his brave eyes—into the eyes of the man who was not acquainted with fear, but knew nothing of diplomacy or coaxing. And as we went on to Kansas City, the other White and I sat silent; those tears meant so much to us.

And then at Belton there was Uncle Jaque, too, brother to our Uncle Jim. Uncle Jaque is 70, I guess; he has been voting for Debs ever since he got the first chance. Uncle Jaque can tell you about apple trees, and do it as Ernest Crosby would. Uncle Jaque staid at home to do Uncle Jim's chores. Uncle Jaque hardly stands a minute on the street without starting up about what will result from freeing land to labor's equal use; and he does it with acumen, too, even if he does think that interest and profit are dragons and to be destroyed.

And then the most lasting scene of all. The Captain's cabin, in Midland Building, Kansas City, and the blessed quiet skipper—Wm. A. Black himself. Outside two, sometimes more, Missouri girls, his orderlies, well in hand and enthusiastic. In the cabin, men of prosaic appearance, either coming in or going out to do these speaking jobs. Business men, not heroes; and yet those men not only give their time, but probably hurt their business, too. Yes, such men! it is to learn to have seen them—they who are not addressing sunny audiences, but audiences some of whom would take their blood if it were a hundred years back or so, and can do pretty tidily even in 1912.

And then my last vision: The skipper saying good-bye; no exasperation, no reproach. Just the calm, kind and sincere courtesy of the true commander. And to know that he had about \$200 to go on with that day; yes, \$200, with a bare chance of winning, and worse counties I guess than Cass, to get the amendments truly published in.

Yes, it is to learn, to expand one's heart; yes, yes, and to cut the string of one's purse and to let everything run out into that cabin but what one is owing.* Yes, indeed; one learns of the purse string cutting anyhow, if one has been in Harrisonville, and that

*Address Wm. A. Black, Sec'y, 441 Midland Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.—Editors of The Public.

quiet, earnest skipper's cabin, and truly loves the chain of George's forging.

GEORGE HUGHES.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, October 22, 1912.

Presidential Politics.

Owing to the injury suffered by Mr. Roosevelt on the 14th at the hands of his insane assailant, Mr. Wilson announced on the 15th that he would cancel every campaign speaking engagement from which he could possibly withdraw, until Mr. Roosevelt resumes his speaking. In his announcement Mr. Wilson said:

I cannot cancel the engagements which are immediately ahead of me without subjecting those who have arranged them to serious embarrassment and great unnecessary expense, but I shall cut the series at the earliest possible point. Mr. Taft has at no time taken an active part in the campaign, and I have no desire to be the single candidate on the stump, engaged against no active antagonist.

Accordingly at New York City on the 19th Mr. Wilson concluded his speaking campaign until Mr. Roosevelt shall have resumed his. [See current volume, page 995.]

Mr. Roosevelt's wound, as described by the Chicago Tribune of the 17th, consisted of a fracture of the fourth rib on the right side. The bullet was found resting against this rib. The fracture was not such as to give cause for alarm. He left the hospital for his home on the 21st. His assailant, John Schrank, according to three prominent New York alienists—Dr. Carlos McDonald, Dr. William Mabon and Dr. Max Schlapp—as reported by the Chicago Record-Herald of the 17th—belongs in the class of mental defectives who are potential criminals, liable at any moment to commit deeds of violence upon the slightest provocation to redress trivial or imaginary wrongs.

Schrank is a native of Erding, a village in Bavaria about 20 miles from Munich. He came to the United States some 16 years ago. For his expenses in pursuing Mr. Roosevelt he had borrowed \$300, and in his valise have been found leases, deeds and other legal papers indicating that he has at least \$22,000 worth of property.

Through ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana, in a speech at Louisville on the 16th, Mr. Roosevelt asked Mr. Wilson—

to answer categorically and specifically, and not by

loose general arguments, just why it was that after making the recommendation he made in his inaugural, and while insisting that the trust question was a State question, and in view of the fact that in New Jersey he had ample power to deal with trusts, he nevertheless, during the entire time he has been Governor, has failed to take action of any kind, sort or description against the Standard Oil, Tobacco, Sugar, Beef Trust or any other trust.

Following these questions, Mr. Roosevelt, as also quoted by Senator Beveridge, added:

He owes it to the American people to answer this question directly and specifically, and he cannot answer it satisfactorily. He cannot answer it in any way that will show either that the principles he has announced for dealing with the trusts are the right principles or that his practices in these principles have been correct.

Governor Wilson replied on the 17th through Senator O'Gorman as follows:

I authorize you to say that the Republican majority in the legislature made revision of corporation laws impossible, and no New Jersey official could prosecute or propose dissolution for breach of the Federal statutes.

Mr. Roosevelt has made no response to Governor Wilson's answer.

The straw vote of the syndicate of newspapers represented in the Middle West by the Chicago Record-Herald was not reported in national percentages by that paper of the 20th; but instead, the following estimate on Electoral College results as they appear two weeks in advance of the election were given:

Taft	11
Roosevelt	78
Wilson	429
Debs	0
Doubtful	13
<hr/>	
Total	531
Necessary to elect.....	268

Campaign Funds.

The witnesses examined by the Senatorial committee on campaign funds on the 17th were Thomas W. Lawson, Frank A. Munsey and George B. Cortelyou. Mr. Lawson testified to huge contributions to Presidential campaigns but could give no details nor sources of information. Mr. Munsey said, as reported in news dispatches, that he—

had given \$10,000 to the Republican national and New York State campaign funds in 1904. In 1908 he gave \$15,000 to the national and \$1,500 to the New York committee. In the pre-convention campaign of this year he had given \$67,166.56 in cash to the national Roosevelt movement. "Altogether my contributions amounted to \$118,005.72," said Mr. Munsey. "I assume that Mr. Perkins, who has been

mentioned in connection with myself as one of the two heavy contributors to the movement, gave approximately the same that I did. I made no other contributions, either directly or indirectly, or in any other conceivable way. Counting all that Mr. Flinn in Pennsylvania and that Mr. Hanna gave in Ohio, our total for the country in the pre-convention campaign this year was \$574,000. Outside of what Mr. Hanna and Mr. Flinn gave for organization purposes, our campaign did not cost over \$350,000. Mr. Perkins and I each gave approximately \$118,000 and the rest of the contributions, aside from the \$25,000 given by Mr. Cochran, the carpet man, were what I might call dribblets."

[See current volume, page 995.]

Elmer Dover, Medill McCormick, Chauncey Dewey and George Harvey testified on the 18th. Mr. Dover, private secretary to Mark Hanna and secretary of the Republican committee in 1904, when Mr. Roosevelt was Republican candidate for President, produced what is supposed to be the only record of contributions to the Republican Presidential campaign of that year. It shows a total of \$2,080,011 contributed, including \$100,000 from "H. H. R." and "J. D. W.," which Mr. Dover understood to mean H. H. Rogers and J. D. Archbold or J. D. Rockefeller, the final "W." in the latter set of initials being probably a clerical error. E. H. Harriman's name appears for \$100,000. Besides \$100,000 from Pierpont Morgan previously disclosed, the list shows \$50,000 further from him. Mr. Dewey testified to the Roosevelt pre-convention campaign of 1912, as did Mr. McCormick. Mr. Harvey's testimony was of no importance.

One of the witnesses on the 21st was Thomas Fortune Ryan, who testified to giving \$450,000 to the Parker fund in the campaign of 1904. He explained that it was a personal contribution and that he did not give it to elect Mr. Parker but to preserve the Democratic organization which was on the point of financial collapse. Mr. Ryan testified as to the pre-convention campaign of the Democratic party for the present year that he contributed between \$75,000 and \$80,000 to Mr. Harmon's campaign and over \$30,000 to Mr. Underwood's; and that he would have contributed to Clark's and Wilson's if he had been asked, but that he was not asked. George W. Perkins, the other important witness of the 21st, testified that the total of his gifts to the Roosevelt pre-convention campaign of 1912 was \$122,500.

The Labor War.

News of the Labor War for the week comes principally from Nevada and central New York. [See current volume, page 996.]

In Nevada Governor Oddie proclaimed martial law on the 17th over the sphere of influence of the Consolidated Mining Company against which a strike, not for better conditions but for rights of organization, is in progress. Two strikers had been killed at the Steptoe smelter by company guards. The explanation of the company is that they were killed by the guards in an attack by strikers upon non-union employes. This event was the occasion for proclaiming martial law.



The center of the New York disturbance is at Little Falls. A knitting mill strike being in progress there, and Mayor Lunn of Schenectady and other Socialists, including Mrs. Lunn, undertaking to address a political meeting in the open air in front of a knitting mill on the 17th, the sheriff had the riot act read and ordered the meeting to disperse. He admitted afterwards that there was no riot. As the Socialist speakers and their audience refused to disperse, the sheriff arrested Mayor Lunn and six others. The prisoners refused to give bail and were put in jail at Herkimer. There they were held until the 19th, when the charges against them were reduced from felony to misdemeanor and the judge paroled them preliminary to their hearing. Meanwhile, the Rev. Dr. A. S. Crapsey of Rochester, famous for his expulsion from the Episcopal priesthood a few years ago for ecclesiastical heresy, undertook to address the strikers on the "Sermon on the Mount." He was arrested but was immediately discharged, and made his speech in another part of Little Falls. The Attorney General of New York issued a statement on the 19th on the Little Falls situation to the effect that the Constitution guarantees the right of free speech and that this right "is too valuable to be left with police officers to enforce or restrain"; and on the 20th Governor Dix sent a message to the sheriff at Herkimer, and the mayor of Little Falls, saying:

Your attention is invited to the fact that the Constitution of the State of New York guarantees the right of free speech and the right of people peacefully to assemble and discuss public questions. The people of the State of New York look to you to see that these rights are not unnecessarily curtailed, but are respected in spirit as well as in letter within your jurisdiction.

In behalf of the local authorities it is stated that Socialist speakers have always been allowed to address street meetings at Main and Second streets, and that the present trouble is over official efforts to prevent street meetings in sympathy with the striking mill-workers. Upon receiving Governor Dix's admonition the local authorities on the 21st withdrew their opposition to these meetings.

Is Santo Domingo Being Annexed?

According to the press service of the Chicago Record-Herald and Inter Ocean, the recent action of the United States government in sending a force of marines to protect the custom houses in Santo Domingo, which have been in the custody of the United States, is the beginning of the end of Santo Domingo's independence. [See current volume, page 949.]



According to the dispatch—

The present trouble in Santo Domingo is but part of a scheme of political influences in Santo Domingo dissatisfied with the present fiscal arrangements, to get more money. This element, it is asserted, was not receiving enough of the revenues set aside from the Dominican government by the American supervisor of customs; so started the revolution.

For several years, since 1907, the property owners and concession holders in Santo Domingo, and these are the chief factors in the life of the Republic, have been urging the United States to at least exercise a general protectorate over the Republic. The moneyed interests of Domingo were not satisfied with only the supervision of customs the United States has had since 1905. They wanted the same kind of a government as Cuba enjoyed during the occupation of that Republic by the American army from 1906 to 1909.

Several weeks prior to the sending of the marines to Santo Domingo, Mr. Knox and his assistants worked out a scheme for doing just what the moneyed interests of Santo Domingo desired.

The matter will have to be put up to Congress, and if the latter does not balk, authority will be procured for continuing the influence so recently established. This influence is much the same as England in the beginning exercised in Egypt. It is the expectation of the Administration that the influence of the American government will grow in Santo Domingo as has the English influence in Egypt.



A New Revolution in Mexico.

With the Orozco revolution on the wane and the Zapata guerilla warfare in the south still an embarrassment, President Madero is faced by a new opponent, strong with the prestige of a name of import. General Felix Diaz, nephew of Madero's predecessor, Porfirio Diaz, who fled before the Madero revolution, entered the seaport city of Vera Cruz with 500 men, on the 16th, seized the arsenal and garrison, and took possession of two gunboats in the harbor. President Madero immediately ordered the Federal troops of the north and of the south to proceed against the new uprising. General Diaz has disclaimed any especial personal ambitions. Among the planks in his platform are the following:

Sanction of "squatter rights" of the people on all government and state lands.

The establishment of a forest reserve.

Civil service examinations for all public offices.

Recognition and assistance to labor unions.

Modernization of all laws and of the judicial system.

Abolition of the "incommunicado" detention of prisoners.

The right of "habeas corpus."

Public ownership of railways and all other public utilities.

Free coinage of silver and gold to assist the mining industry and at the same time to make money more plentiful.

Ex-President Diaz, now resident in Paris, expresses great interest in his nephew's enterprise, but disclaims knowledge of his plans. Mutinies in favor of the new revolution among Federal troops in many places, were reported on the 19th, and other troops were being rushed to Mexico City on that date to protect the Administration from rebellious soldiery from without and within. Arrests of prominent persons suspected of being engaged in conspiracies occur daily in Mexico City. [See current volume, page 999.]



Vera Cruz, being in danger of becoming the battleground for the opposing forces, the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and British consuls have cabled their respective governments to send protecting gunboats, and Americans welcomed the arrival of the cruiser Des Moines on the 20th. A German liner is in port. The Federal troops gathered outside the city by the 20th were under command of Generals Beltran and Valdez. General Valdez informed the consuls that he would notify them if conditions warranted a hasty departure of all foreigners. General Diaz has promised that any fighting that occurs shall take place outside of the city limits. Firing between Mexican gunboats and rebels in the fortress of the harbor on the 21st endangered the city. Americans and other foreigners may find difficulty in leaving the city if they have need of doing so, as the Federal officer of the port has declared Vera Cruz a closed port, and has already refused to permit a merchant steamship to discharge her cargo or take on passengers.



Socialism in Germany.

An Associated Press dispatch of the 19th from Berlin reports that—

the result of the Socialist convention at Chemnitz gave a rude awakening to German Conservatives who had maintained that the Socialist Party was not dangerous in spite of its great numbers because it was and would remain a minority in the German nation. The convention not only did much to unify the party, but also, by failing to condemn the alliance with the Radical Party for the reballotings in the recent elections, left open the door for co-operation with nonsocialist parties in coming elections. Socialists with progressive allies may become strong enough to control the German Parliament, though

they themselves may never emerge from the minority. A break with the old autocratic system of party control, under which the party affairs were in the hands of a committee of nine men, was made when the convention decided to elect an advisory committee of 36 members—one from each of the districts into which the Socialists divide the Empire for administrative purposes.

[See current volume, page 228.]



Conservation in Germany.

A commission composed almost exclusively of representatives of big land monopolists, which is revising the law of water rights in Prussia, was reported by the Associated Press from Berlin on the 19th as having given the revision a form that excites earnest protest. Declaring the most important Prussian streams to be State property the commission proposes an exaction of fixed charges for all water taken from them by factories and cities, but no charge for farms. This plan, which would yield an annual State revenue of from \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000 from municipalities and manufacturing industries, would not only yield nothing from farms but would add greatly to farm values, which in Prussia as elsewhere tend to enrich not the users but the monopolists of farming land.



Peace Treaty between Italy and Turkey Signed.

The final draft of the treaty of peace between Italy and Turkey was signed at Ouchy, Switzerland, on the 18th, to become effective upon signature. By the treaty, according to the Associated Press dispatches, Turkey is to remove all her troops and civil functionaries from Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which comprise the territory Italy has been fighting to acquire; and Italy is to remove her troops and functionaries from the islands in the Aegean Sea which she has seized during the war. Full amnesty for the people of both localities is provided for. Italy engages to pay annually to the Turkish public debt a sum equal to the average revenue for three years preceding the war, received by the public debt from Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Such a sum, it is provided, shall not be less than 2,000,000 lire (\$400,000). Either party shall have the right to demand a commutation of this annuity by capitalizing the amount at 4 per cent. The two Powers will name the commissioners to agree upon the amount of the annuity, and in case of disagreement between the commissioners provision is made for arriving at this sum by arbitration. [See current volume, page 997.]



War in the Balkans.

War between the independent states of the Balkan peninsula lying north of European Turkey

and Greece lying southwest of European Turkey, on one side, and the Turkish (or Ottoman) Empire, on the other, over the condition of the non-Turkish peoples in the provinces of European Turkey, has officially opened. As reported last week, the little state of Montenegro was first to declare war and first to be in the field in regular warfare. Servia and Bulgaria formally declared war on the 17th, and Turkey simultaneously declared war against them. Greece declared war on the 18th. Severe fighting followed all along the line, with first successes for the allies. [See current volume, page 997.]



Half a million men, according to the Associated Press dispatches of the 19th, "armed with modern implements of war, are massing around Adrianople, the main gateway to Turkey, for what will be a long, desperate siege." "Not since 1870," the dispatches continue, "has such a formidable array of soldiery been in the field on the continent of Europe, and never before within forty years of European war history has there been such preparation for a death struggle. The Bulgarian army, already 200,000 strong, has been re-enforced by 50,000 Servian recruits. The Turks now have 200,000 men in position, and additions to this force are arriving daily, so that the two armies now aggregate approximately 500,000 men, the numerical strength being about equally divided." Of the lines of advance between the opposing forces, the Springfield Republican says:

There are few railroads in the Balkan peninsula, and what there are favor the Turk. The two principal lines are the road from Constantinople through Bulgaria and Servia into Austria, and the one further west which from Salonica runs northwest through Macedonia into Novibazar, which is the extreme northwest corner of the Turkish Empire. The first would be the line of attack on Bulgaria, the second on Servia and Montenegro. Of much importance is the fact that the connecting lines between these two roads are all wholly or partly in Turkish territory.

According to the dispatches the Bulgarians are massed across the first of these lines, and the Servians are massing to cover the second, while the Montenegrins have worked down over the vehicular road to Scutari in Albania. The strength of the two sides the Springfield Republican estimates roughly as follows:

	Inf.	Cav.	Guns.
Bulgaria	232,000	6,000	720
Servia	150,000	4,000	180
Montenegro	50,000	38
Greece	70,000	2,000	172
Total	508,000	12,000	1,100
Turkey (Europe)	549	11,700	960
Turkey (Asia)	156,000	20,400	670
Total	705,000	32,100	1,630

Greeks continue to leave America for the seat of war by the thousand. Word has been received by the Turkish Ambassador at Washington that all Ottoman subjects residing in the United States must report at once in Turkey to perform their military duty. The call is urgent and peremptory.

NEWS NOTES

—A farewell dinner to Francis Neilson, M. P., was given by his friends in the Manhattan Singletax Club, New York, on October 8th, at which Mr. Neilson described his American trip. [See current volume, pages 842, 880, 948.]

—Vast damage has been done in the Philippine Islands by a typhoon which swept over the archipelago on the 16th. As many as ten coasting steamers were lost and a number of towns were wiped out. More than a thousand persons lost their lives.

—A decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois on the 18th holds that under the Illinois election law no candidate's name can appear upon the official ballot in two columns. This decision operates against some of the Progressive Party candidates in Cook county.

—Lincoln Steffens is to lecture at the Sinton Hotel, Cincinnati, on the 31st of October, on the subject of dynamiting as related to the social problem. The lecture is understood to include a story of the settlement of the McNamara case at Los Angeles. [See current volume, pages 338, 805, 842.]

—The stereotypers' controversy in labor organizations was left unsettled by the Illinois Federation of Labor at Springfield on the 16th, that body refusing to admit not only the delegate from the old stereotypers' organization of Chicago, but also the delegate from the new one. [See current volume, page 582.]

—The Nicaraguan troops are being paid off and disbanded. Rear Admiral Southerland, in command of the American marines in Nicaragua, expects to withdraw his forces from the country in two sections, the first battalion on November 15, and the second on or before December 1. Elections for members of the Constituent Assembly of Nicaragua will be held on November 2, and the Presidential elections will begin January 1. [See current volume, page 999.]

—The Democratic Party and the Independence League of the 21st Congressional District of New York are campaigning together for the re-election of Henry George, Jr., to Congress. An address of the joint committee states that Mr. George "is certain of re-election if the campaign is vigorously pushed," but as "the district is large and the necessary expenses heavy," contributions, "large or small," are solicited, payable to F. C. Leubuscher (treasurer), 50 E. 125th street, New York City.

—The second National Conference of the Social Center Association of America is to be held at Lawrence, Kansas, November 20-23. Among those expected to attend are the President-elect of the United State, Louis Brandeis, Judge Lindsey, William Jen-

nings Bryan, and Sir Horace Plunkett. The most important feature will be an experience discussion of the actual problems of social-center development as they are being met in various cities, towns and rural communities. [See vol. xiv, pp. 1114, 1121.]

—At a mass meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union in Albert Hall, London, on the 17th, the policy of extreme militancy was indorsed. And thereupon Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence withdrew from the organization. The separation was not unfriendly, but it deprives the organization of "Votes for Women" as its organ, the paper being owned by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel have consequently started another paper, "The Suffraget." [See current volume, page 922.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Science and Idealism.

Chicago Record-Herald (Rep.), Oct. 9.—Science in the period of its youth was lusty and a little shrill; it occupied itself largely with negation. It has long since passed through that phase; it has now entered upon the phase of affirmation. And only in this latter phase has the truth about science become obvious to every one—that its basis has always been highly idealistic.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AN OFFERTORY.

For The Public.

I bring to Thee, O Christ my King,
This most unworthy offering;
Thou gav'st Thy precious life for me,
These paltry coins I give to Thee.
If only offerings justly earned
Were taken—mine might all be spurned.
Thine eye doth see each inward part—
My hands unclean, my selfish heart;
Not praise I merit—only blame.
Accept, O Christ, my humble shame.

SPENCER J. HALL.



Tyranny always follows the lines of least resistance. Encroachments upon rights of free speech and free assemblage which we have looked upon with indifference because they were for opinions which to us seemed false or hateful, we have suddenly found applied to ourselves. Here is repeated again for us the warning of which all the histories of liberty are but the record. The outposts of our rights are to be found in the maintenance of the rights of the least of our brethren. The more odious they, the more do we need to keep our lamp of vigilance trimmed and burning for their defense. It is through the weak gate of our uncared-for liberty that the despot will steal upon us.—Henry D. Lloyd in "Mazzini, and Other Essays."

THE ROBBING OF LAND.

The October Land Values Says That the Italian Funny Paper L'Asino (The Ass) Thus Treats of the War in Tripoli, in a Dialogue Held By an Italian Soldier and Farm Laborer, and an Arabian.

Arabian: What harm have we done you, since you are coming here to attack us?

Soldier: We are coming here to seek new land.

A.: Won't your own land do?

S.: Our own land? We soldiers have no land, you know. It belongs to the masters—the princes, the lords, the baronets and other grandees, and they let large parts of the country lie waste and wild. No, we have no land, and many of us are forced to go to America in order not to starve to death.

A.: Consequently, it is because you cannot get land in your own country, you will take our land from us.

S.: (Is struck by that conclusion, and keeps silent.)

A.: Allah is great! If he will now let you gain the victory and if you take the land from us, what use is it to you?

S.: (Smiling melancholily): To me? The land is of course to be sold to people in no want of money. From whence do you think I should get the money?

A.: Then, it is the Italian farmers who are to buy it?

S.: The farmers? They are just as poor devils as we.

A.: But, by the Prophet's beard, who will be the owners of the land?

S.: The lords, of course, because they alone are in the possession of money.

A.: Thus the same men who let your own land lie waste?

S.: Exactly. We farmers and laborers have nothing but our own arms.

A.: Allah is great, but that is beyond my understanding. Then it is not for your own sake you and your friends are coming here to take the land from us. It is in order to procure still more land for those masters, who do not even cultivate the land they already are in possession of. I beg your pardon, my friend, but only the *camels* are just as sly as you and your comrades.



THE TALE OF MILLION DOLLARS

And Why He Left the Town.

Written by Alfred D. Cridge. Illustrated by J. W. Bengough. From the Oregon Journal.

When Mr. Million Dollars sought a lodging in the town, a cheery Million Dollars, intent to set-

tle down, to set up factories, employ men, develop things, and do just what the people wanted done

and the mill; I jump on every man who seeks to use or beautify, to weave, to build, or toil, who tries to employ others on or underneath the soil."



by him, or me, or you, the first man met by Million D. as he went down the street was old Assessor Hasbeen, and sullen was his greet. "If you come 'round these precincts with buildings and their stuff, I'll fine ye good and plenty; I've warned ye. That's enough."

Then Mr. Million Dollars turned, not intent on a fight. "I'll find some other place," said he, "where intellectuals are bright. I've heard of new Vancouver, a city on the Sound, where things men build are welcome, and they only tax the ground. Victoria and a dozen towns don't kick me in the face with old Assessor Hasbeen when I come around the place. There I can live in peace and hope and help mankind to rear homes and up-build commerce; I need not linger here."



The people came to welcome him, they urged him hard to stay. "We need thee every hour," they called. "Oh, please don't go away."

"But, friend," said Mr. Million D., with a smile upon his face, "I like the prospects hugely, I'll build up the whole place. I'll put up mills and factories, build roads; and homes galore will rise on every avenue between the hills and shore. I'll raze your shacks and shanties and load your wharves with trade; I'll put up towering business blocks, plant homes in every glade. All that I ask is freedom to employ and be employed; I'm sure to see me everyone will be most overjoyed."



"Assessor Hasbeen drives me off," then Million Dollars said. "Threatens to fine and punish me," and straightway from them fled.

Then rose Assessor Hasbeen in majesty and might. "Come if you dare," he shouted, "and I'll fine you day and night. I tax men for improving; I tax 'em if they use; I tax them if they beautify their cottage with a rose; I tax them if they clear or till; I tax them all I can; I tax the cottage

"What have you done?" the people cried, as Million Dollars went. "You blithering fool. To get him here we have big money spent. We've advertised and boosted; orated and whooped; and

now these towns he mentions have got right in and scooped away from us dear Million D., while others of his tribe are sure to follow him up there, they give him such a bribe. Why did you act so surly? Why did you work your jaw?" To this Assessor Hasbeen cried, "You know it is the law."

"The law be hanged," yelled Hustler; "it must be out of date. What's the use of boosting if old Hasbeen slams the gate right in the face of every man, come early or come late?"



Then up rose Doctor Common Sense, truth shining in his face. "Let's change the law; it's foolish to thus wall up the place. Assessor Hasbeen turns them back as fast as men can come. We do not always see or know the mischief he has done. Laws are made for people, not people for the law, and we can make laws over when we find out what they are. Take off these foolish fines he lays on everything we do; abolish all these burdens on our backs for revenue. Tax



land on its just value; let labor's product free, and then will Million Dollars come with many more

to see, and show his brothers openings for enterprise and thrift, and wharves will rise upon these sands where only seaweeds drift; our barren lands be homesteads, nature open up her store, workers no longer idle and always work for more."

From the long deluded people came loud cheering and applause, while with Initiative they quickly changed the laws. A Graduated Tax was laid upon the big estate, the higher the land value the higher was the rate. Small holdings are exempted from this just and special tax, while for all labor values are no burdens on men's backs. This justifies the home being built, breaks up the idle grants, gives hope to every worker as he builds, or delves, or plants; makes wildernesses blossom with happy homes galore and little children play in joy where once their toil was sore.

Many a Million Dollars dropped off to see and stay; thousands of prosperous workers went singing on their way. Shirkers and Idlers hustled, for they had to use the land and earn their bread by labor of the head or of the hand.*



*Information furnished as to the whereabouts of thousands of such Million Dollars driven from, past and through Oregon by our absurd Hasbeen assessors and taxation laws. Write to Alfred D. Cridge, 225 Worcester Building, Portland, Oregon. Read the graduated land, privilege and income tax measure before the Oregon people to be voted on November 5, 1912. Copies sent on request.



Young Wife: "But that's very expensive, especially as it's in season, isn't it?"

Greengrocer: "Well, madam, it is and it isn't, as you might say. What with the French gardening and what not, the vegetables that used to be out of season are in, and them that is in is out, owing to the demand for the others."—Punch.

BOOKS

RAILROAD REPORTS.

How to Analyze Railroad Reports. By John Moody, Author *Moody's Analysis of Railroad Investments*, *The Art of Wall St. Investing, Etc.*, Editor *Moody's Magazine*. Published by Analyses Publishing Co., 35 Nassau St., New York City.

Mr. Moody's book is designed for the investor. Just how the average investor decides which securities to buy is best known to himself. If he chooses to go into the matter in a systematic way this book will help him. Beginning with the principle that security values are, based on earning power, it considers the various factors that influence earning power. Among these are the location of the railroad, its management, the growth of population and wealth and the industrial conditions prevailing in the section through which it passes and the possibilities of legislation, adverse or otherwise. Then the investor has to take into account the physical condition of the road, its equipment, the nature of its tonnage, the portion of its income devoted to maintenance, its relations to other roads through stock ownership, leases or otherwise, its policy with regard to depreciation funds, the accumulation of surplus and other matters.

To the general reader, not at all interested in securities, the book is instructive from another point of view. The railroad question is one of the greatest of our problems. Much eloquence has been brought to its discussion, but perhaps we need less rhetoric and more mathematics. The opinion that railroad management is the affair merely of officials and security holders is now practically obsolete. It is only a question whether the roads are to be regulated, or owned and operated by the government. We are already trying to regulate them. Mr. Moody's book helps us to appreciate the magnitude of the task. He publishes in an appendix the uniform accounting requirements of the Interstate Commerce Commission which prescribe that operating revenues shall be classified under twenty-one heads; operating expenses under one hundred and fourteen heads; other revenues and expenses under seventy-one heads. This, no doubt, is merely a necessary preliminary to enable the Commission to pass on the question of reasonable rates. When we consider what it must mean to supervise accounts kept as thus required, and to see that they are not manipulated to conceal profits, we can form some idea of what railroad regulation implies. And this is only a small part of the question. Rate-making and the prevention of discriminations are problems in themselves.

It may be objected that government ownership and operation are by no means a simple thing; that each one of these two hundred odd depart-

ments of revenue and expense (except such of them as would be eliminated by government operation) would afford its own opportunities for fraud, extravagance and incompetence. This is true. On the other hand investigation would be much easier than it is now and the methods of management could be more easily changed.

It must not be understood that Mr. Moody discusses these questions at all. This was no part of the purpose of his book. But in giving the investor useful information he has also thrown light on the entire railroad problem and to that extent aided in its solution.

WM. E. McKENNA.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*The Primer of Hydraulics.* By Frederick A. Smith. Published by D. H. Anderson, Chicago. 1911.

—*The Even Hand.* By Quincy Germaine. Published by The Pilgrim Press, Boston. Price, \$1.20 net; postage, 15 cents.

—*A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909.* By Edward Stanwood. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.75 net.

—*Law Making in America: The Story of the 1911-12 Session of the Sixty-Second Congress.* By Lynn Haines. Published by the Author, Bethesda, Md. 1912. Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 65 cents.

—*The Initiative, Referendum and Recall.* By Various Authors. Edited by William Bennett Munro. National Municipal League Series. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*The Initiative, Referendum and Recall: A Collection of Papers* edited by Clyde L. King. Volume 43, September, 1912, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, Pa. Price, \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The "Reciprocity" of President Taft. By Albert H. Walker. Published by the Author, Park Row Building, Manhattan, New York, October, 1912.

The Short Ballot in Illinois: Report of the Short Ballot Committee of the City Club of Chicago. Published by the City Club of Chicago, 315 Plymouth Court, October, 1912.

The Evolution of Suffrage: The Remedy for the Evils of the Present Rudimentary Suffrage. By Frank J. Scott. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1912.

PERIODICALS

Wholesale Prices.

Bulletin No. 99, Bureau of Labor (March, 1912), takes for its chief topic the course of wholesale prices. The most striking information given is

perhaps, that all commodities have not gone up. The following show declines, comparing prices in 1911 with the average for the period 1890-1899—sheep, soda crackers, California raisins, mutton, rice, bicarbonate of soda, tea, onions, some kinds of clothing, raw silk, wool, candles, Connellsville coke, matches, bar iron, galvanized barb wire, sheet copper, copper wire, nails, steel billets, steel sheets (black), shovels, wood screws, Portland cement, plate glass, putty, window glass, wood alcohol, tea-cups and saucers, glassware, paper, Manila rope, starch. I believe that is all. So you see, we may not be so badly off if we can manage to get something to eat, or if we can restrict our diet to mutton, soda crackers, raisins, onions and tea. A summary is given of a recent Canadian report on wholesale prices from which it appears that Canada is in the same boat. There are, indeed, some points of difference which may arouse curiosity. For example, "fuel and lighting" show a decline in Canada against an advance of 22 per cent in the United States. Coal, taken separately, shows an advance of 31 per cent in the United States. Inferences would not be safe, but it may be that we have something to learn from Canada, or, perhaps, that the Canadian Captains of Industry have something to learn from ours.

WM. E. McKENNA.



New Zealand Number of The Single Tax Review.

An interesting fact brought out by Arthur Withy, who contributes the main article to the current issue of The Single Tax Review (a special New Zea-

land number), is that the first suggestion that land should be taxed in New Zealand came in 1844 from a Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the colony and the proceedings of the New Zealand Company. This recommendation, based on bitter experience with land grabbers in the older colonies of Australasia, shared the fate of many another valuable public document. It was carefully filed away in Downing street. The first public agitation against the land monopoly, built up under Edward Gibbon Wakefield's scheme of colonization, which depended on keeping labor cheap by maintaining the price of land so high that it was out of the reach of the workers, came in the early seventies, when Sir Julius (then Mr.) Vogel introduced his public works and borrowing policy and proposed that land should be made to bear some of the burden. Sir Julius, however, was afraid to deal with the land question. He left that for John Ballance and Sir George Grey. Mr. Wither gives extracts from reports of Sir George's campaign speeches. When we remember that these speeches were delivered forty years ago—between the dates of publication of "Our Land and Land Policy" and of "Progress and Poverty",—they become particularly interesting. The Grey-Ballance land tax became law in 1878. The year following, the Grey government was defeated and the land tax repealed, a general property tax being substituted. A wave of depression followed, and when the Liberals again came into power, John Ballance, who had never ceased to advocate the land value taxation principle, introduced his bill, which

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A. H. RANSOM, Clyde, Ohio.

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"I was reading your September 13th number when a notice came stating that my subscription would expire with the last issue of the month. I decided that the one number I had in my hand was worth the year's subscription and enclose check for my renewal and a year's subscription for my brother and my grandson.

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was carried (1891) and has ever since remained on the statute book. All this and very much more Mr. Withy tells with wealth of interesting detail and illustration. And the future in New Zealand? Read the article in this same number of the Single Tax Review on the United Labor Party—"The Hope of the Future." The other articles in this special number, and the valuable statistical matter that has been collected for it, should, it would seem, be of particular value for quotation in propaganda literature in this country. (Single copies of this number, 25 cents; in quantities of ten or more, 15 cents each. Jos. Dana Miller, editor, 150 Nassau street, New York.)

S. B.

"As to the judicial decision quoted by my learned friend on the other side of this case, if the court please," began the prosecuting attorney, "I say it's punk—"

"I protest, your honor!" interrupted the other

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lawyer. "Such a remark is not in keeping with the dignity of a court room."

"I say it's punk—"

"Again I protest, your—"

"I insist, your honor, it's punk—"

"Your honor, this is outrageous! I demand a ruling on that point!"

"I was only going to say that it's punk—"

"Mr. Sharp," interposed the judge, "you will not be permitted to indulge in abusive slang in speaking of a judicial decision in this court."

"I assert once more," bellowed the attorney, "that it's punctuated wrongly, as he quotes it! That is all I was trying to say, your honor."—Chicago Tribune.

"In Chapter I. he shoots at her five times. Ain't that grand?"

"Yes; but them novels are misleading, Mayme.

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Kansas City Journal.



The inexperienced district school teacher had exhausted all other expedients for the maintenance of discipline. Going out into the school yard she broke off a good sized switch that was growing there and administered primitive punishment to Jimmy Kelley.

There were strange expressions of horrified amazement on the faces of the children, and when school was dismissed at noon they gathered in excited groups and talked in whispers. Finally the teacher's curiosity could stand it no longer. Calling Henry Thomas to her she demanded the cause of the discussions.

"Why—why—why, teacher," he stammered, "that—that switch you licked Jimmy with—that was the tree we all set out last Arbor day."—Harper's Magazine.

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