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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Proving Themselves Untrustworthy.....	1185
Nothing Will Satisfy Them.....	1185
Unpatriotic Preparationists.....	1186
Conscription For Some Other Fellow.....	1186
Non-Partisan Foolishness.....	1186
Regulating Robbery by Commission.....	1187
Setting the Postal Department Right.....	1187
What a Tariff Can Not Do.....	1187
Holding the World's Trade.....	1188
Why the Pending Tax Amendment Should Be De- feated.....	1188
Debit and Credit.....	1189
Concentration and Division.....	1190
Clearing the Labor Atmosphere.....	1191
A Chance to Show Impartiality.....	1191
What the Flynn Verdict Means.....	1191

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

American Problems Must Have First Consideration —Harry Weinberger.....	1192
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

Congress Meets.....	1192
Tavener Challenges Navy League.....	1192
Punishment for Unneutral Acts.....	1193
A Constructive Peace Program.....	1193
Henry Ford Sails.....	1193
Opposing Preparedness.....	1194
The Labor War.....	1194
Chicago School Affairs.....	1195
Tax Reform News.....	1195
Delaware Prize Contest.....	1196
Mexico.....	1196
China.....	1197
European War.....	1197
News Notes.....	1197
Press Opinions.....	1198

RELATED THINGS:

The Ballad of Bethlehem Steel—Grace Isabel Colbron.....	1198
The Wherefore of Preparedness—Charles M. Her- reid.....	1199
The Economic Aspects of the Sanitary Problem— W. C. Gorgas.....	1200

BOOKS:

The Distribution of Wealth.....	1201
What Christ Would Say Now.....	1202

EDITORIAL

Proving Themselves Untrustworthy.

Militarist papers like the Chicago Tribune, which tried to make Henry Ford's peace plans appear ridiculous, only succeeded in discrediting themselves. They made one of two things quite clear, when they seriously reported as fact such absurd statements as that Ford intended to send wireless messages to the soldiers in the trenches urging them to mutiny. They either knew that report to be a hoax or did not. If they knew it to be so, they deliberately tried to deceive their readers in publishing it as fact. If they did not know it, they must be too innocent and gullible to be reliable disseminators of news. In either case their untrustworthy character is clear. S. D.

Nothing Will Satisfy Them.

One of the points of attack on the Administration to be made by the Republicans in Congress is the alleged partiality shown Great Britain in negotiations over the rights of neutrals on the high seas. It is charged that either the Administration was prejudiced in favor of the Allies, or is afraid of trouble with Great Britain. This, as well as the other political issues raised by the Republicans this winter, should be weighed in the light of the fact that in routine matters the Administration has a good record behind it, while as for digging down to fundamentals the Republicans are even, less anxious than the Democrats to disturb the present order. For this reason the issues raised by the Outs will merely be contradictions of whatever may be done by the Ins.

It will be recalled that when a mild protest was made by the Administration against the sinking of merchant ships without making provision for the safety of the passengers and crew, it was misunderstood. The Germans thought it a formal act, and the British looked upon it as an evidence of cowardice. But when mildness melted into severity, and severity gave way to indignation, Ger-

many yielded. It is not unlikely that a similar course may be followed by the negotiations with Great Britain. Because our protest has been couched in gentlemanly language the British consider it a formal objection to a course that we secretly approve, while the Germans profess to think us partial or afraid. And the Republicans sided with the British in the first instance, and with the Germans in the second. The Administration, from their point of view, must from the very nature of things be wrong. How, indeed, could any party get back into power if it acknowledged the one already there to be right?

Suppose the Administration was afraid that more drastic action would provoke trouble with Great Britain, what would these critics have it do? Is an international war so small a thing that a democratic country can enter upon it lightly? With an autocracy it may be different. The people count for little, and a war may be the best means of attaining dynastic ends; but in a democracy, where the people who pay have the say, they may well consider the price before entering into a fight. The difficulty with these critics, as well as with all preparationists, is that they conceive of rights as beginning and ending in their own opinion of what is right, and no controversy can be settled aright unless it be in their favor. Hence, the big stick. If the dispute must be settled in our favor, it follows that we must have the armament to compel our opponents to yield.

This is a common state of mind; it is far too common; and it is for the most part the European state of mind; but it is not the only one. There are men and women who can conceive a state of affairs in which their opponents have some right on their side. They are willing to concede that necessity may constrain their opponents to hold in the heat of controversy things they would in calmer moments yield. It has been most regrettable that American lives and property should have been lost in Mexico; and it is very irritating to have Germany take American lives, and Great Britain destroy property. We could have suppressed the Mexican revolution long ago had we been willing to give a thousand lives and as many dollars for every life and dollar the Revolutionists destroyed. And we could, in spite of our alleged unpreparedness, make ourselves felt in a contest with Germany or Great Britain. But why revert to the ways of autocracy? Is it not better that we cling to democracy? Should we have an

armament sufficient to carry our point in this controversy, our opponents will yield, not because we are in the right, but because we have the mightier armament; and the decision will be reversed as soon as our opponent out-arms us.

S. C.



Unpatriotic Preparationists.

Five hundred millions for preparedness means \$5 from every man, woman and child in the country. It means \$25 from the average family and more than that from larger ones. Since one-half of wage earning fathers earn less than \$500 a year, the burden which militarists would put upon them is equivalent to an income tax of five to ten per cent. Before considering measures to increase the wages of these underpaid workers, preparationists insist that more of their earnings be taken from them, for a purpose of no benefit whatever to them. It is not patriotism, but the contrary, which enthuses over so outrageous a proposition.

S. D.



Conscription for Some Other Fellow.

In one British parliamentary constituency there are at least 10,386 conscriptionists who have failed to act in accordance with their convictions. That constituency is Merthyn-Tydvil in Wales, where on November 27 a conscriptionist was elected to succeed Keir Hardie by a vote of 10,386 to 6,080. Since the majority must necessarily have consisted of voters who had either refrained from volunteering or were not acceptable as soldiers, it is clear that the conscription which they want is conscription of other men than themselves.

S. D.



Non-Partisan Foolishness.

That the campaign for Preparedness is to be put on a non-partisan basis is evident from the vain mouthings of words by Bourke Cockran and Theodore Roosevelt. Said Mr. Cockran in his Chicago address:

This war must end war or it must end the world. . . . If at the end of the war the leading nations shall continue to arm we must arm, too, and in that event we must outarm the strongest.

Criticising the League to Enforce Peace, of which William Howard Taft is president, Mr. Roosevelt writes:

Such a league represents a proper ideal, and indeed a high ideal, for virile and forceful people (and for no others), provided and only on condition that it is antedated by action which shall have shown that this nation is able to put great military strength back of its purpose to serve righteousness. . . . No man is entitled to respect if he has joined such a

league unless he is an ardent supporter of universal military training in this country.

These extravagant utterances show how important it is that normal-minded people should stand firm and not allow themselves to be swept away by brainstorm, even of so worthy men as Mr. Cockran and Mr. Roosevelt.

S. C.



Regulating Robbery by Commission.

"The Interstate Commerce Commission handles the railroad question successfully," argues a friend, "so why should there not be a similar commission to regulate the tariff?" The argument is unjust to the railroads. Admitting for argument's sake that the Interstate Commerce Commission is all that it should be, it is clearly an injustice to compare a necessity like railroads with so needless and pernicious an institution as the tariff. A closer parallel to the tariff commission idea would be one facetiously suggested to the Chicago police regarding handling of burglars. There is loud complaint about inefficiency in suppressing burglary. Arrests of burglars are few in proportion to burglaries committed, and most of these arrests seem to be of innocent parties, since they result in acquittal. So why not put regulation of burglary in the hands of a wise non-partisan commission? This commission would reduce the present unscientific, wasteful and haphazard methods of burglary to an orderly, scientific system. Morally, there is no objection to burglary that does not apply equally to the tariff. If the tariff commission idea is justifiable, so is the burglary commission, or any other commission for "scientific" regulation of robbery.

S. D.



Setting the Postal Department Right.

It seems that some news agency misrepresented the Post Office Department in reporting that an article entitled "A Good Soldier" had been excluded from the mails. The article was said to be by Jack London, but he has since denied its authorship. The following from Mr. W. H. Lamar, Solicitor of the Department, explains the true situation:

Some time ago envelopes were submitted to this Department upon the back of which the following was printed:

A GOOD SOLDIER

By Jack London.

Young man, the lowest aim in your life is to be a good soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizen, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys, and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red

and the life tide gushing from the breast of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as one of a firing squad to execute a hero or benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man. He is not even a brute, for brutes only kill in self-defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man, has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, conscience, eye, his very soul, are in keeping of his officer.

No man can fall lower than a soldier—it is a depth beneath which we cannot go.

Section 212 of the Criminal Code of the United States, which is Section 481 of the Postal Laws and Regulations, Edition of 1913, provides that:

All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope . . . of which, . . . any delineations, . . . terms, or language of . . . libelous, scurrilous, defamatory . . . character, or calculated by the terms or manner or style of display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, may be written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent, . . . shall not be conveyed in the mails . . .

As you will readily observe the envelopes in question are unmailable under the law quoted.

The action taken in this case is no new departure, nor is it in any way unusual. For many years the Department has excluded from the mails, in accordance with the requirements of the law above quoted, all envelopes upon the outside of which there appears any matter of a libelous, scurrilous or defamatory nature, or any matter which by the terms, manner or style of display was calculated and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the conduct of another.



The first and last sentences are clearly within the postal prohibition. Moreover, the manner of expression is unfair, inasmuch as the individual is condemned without reference to conditions that drive him into putting himself in the position described. The Department would have had less legal justification for its action, and the article would have been more effective as well as more fair, had all expressions of condemnation been omitted and the bare facts presented of what existing law compels a soldier, under certain circumstances, to do. It would furthermore be interesting to learn if any military man would take issue with such an article.

S. D.



What a Tariff Can Not Do.

Hide-bound protectionist organs find fault with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo because he does not urge a return to Payne tariff schedules as a means of providing additional revenue. Perhaps the reason is that Secretary McAdoo can see that if enough foreign goods should be imported to provide the revenue there would be no "protection," while if the tariff should keep importations

down there would be no additional revenue. Protectionist organs had better explain which of these two objects a higher tariff would accomplish. It could not do both.

S. D.



Holding the World's Trade.

Much discussion is now going on in the press as to the means by which the United States may hold the trade she is picking up during the war. And, strange as it may seem to a normal-minded person, there are at the same time warnings that the tariff must be raised in order to keep European countries from flooding us with goods when peace returns. If we can go into distant markets and meet the competition of Europe, why do we need more tariff—or, indeed, any tariff at all—to hold our own markets? And if we cannot hold our own markets without a high tariff, how can we expect to enter foreign markets where we must meet the competition of Europe? Does this foreign market philosophy imply that we are to elaborate and extend the policy already in vogue of selling to Americans at protected prices and to foreigners at free trade prices? There are a few people in this country who believe that Americans are as good and as deserving as foreigners, and they object to paying our manufacturers abnormal prices, in order that they may sell at a loss in foreign markets. If the foreign prices return a profit, then these same people object to the super-profits in the home market.



Why should America wish to hold the markets of the world? Suppose there is some means to be found by which we can keep the warring countries from returning to their former customers, what effect will that have upon those countries? There is some trade formerly controlled by European countries that would have come to us in any event, because it naturally belongs here; but to enter upon any policy calculated to bring us trade that naturally belongs to European countries is to begin laying the foundations for another war. Much of the feeling between Germany and Great Britain is due to trade rivalry; and should the plans of some of our financiers be carried out the hatred those two countries bear each other would be transferred to us. To be burdened with an armament sufficient to guard a trade so gotten is too great a price to pay for the trade. Let us have done with this grandiloquent talk about making ourselves masters of the world's markets, and give more attention to supplying our own people. The greatest markets in the world are in the United States, and the best stimulant

is to remove the taxes from industry and increase the purchasing power of the wage-earners.

S. C.



Why the Pending Tax Amendment Should Be Rejected.

Replying to The Public's condemnation on page 1142 of the pending fraudulent tax reform amendment, the Chicago Daily News says in its issue of December 1:

The amendment now awaiting the decision of Illinois voters was submitted to them by the legislature in the precise form in which it was prepared by the Illinois special tax commission of 1911.

But that in no way excuses submission in such form. The Tax Commission's proposition was brought before the legislature in 1911. It failed to pass, but accomplished one purpose of its sponsors in preventing submission of an Initiative and Referendum amendment, overwhelmingly approved in the fall of 1910 by the voters on a public policy ballot. In order that tax reform might also be backed by popular vote, the interests back of the amendment submitted a measure on the little ballot in 1912. But this was not in the form prepared by the Tax Commission. It proposed classification of "property," not "personal property." Then at the session of 1913 and again in 1915 the overwhelming popular endorsement of this proposition was urged as a reason for a tax reform amendment. Clearly those who used this argument wished to make their hearers believe that the amendment to be submitted should be the one endorsed by the people, not the one proposed by the Tax Commission. The insertion of the word "personal" was consequently a dishonest proceeding which thoroughly discredits the amendment.



In behalf of the Chicago Real Estate Board the News says that it urged a broader amendment during the hearings of the commission, but that after the report was made "the futility of dividing the tax reform forces was recognized." The explanation does not explain. It was after this report was made that the unrestricted classification proposal was put on the ballot and endorsed by a three to one vote. Surely the popular vote should have more weight than the previous recommendation of a small commission. Besides, there is no evidence that the Chicago Real Estate Board or Civic Federation had any regard for the tax reform forces. If they had they would have asked the co-operation of other organizations interested in drawing an amend-

ment. They would have asked not only other business organizations, as the Cook County Real Estate Board, but labor organizations, farmers' organizations, and such civic organizations as the Singletax Club, City Club and others interested.



The News declares that the Chicago Real Estate Board desires

That additional revenue may be obtained from personal property through its assessment at a fair rate, so that the increasing burden on real property may be equalized and the whole body of the people benefited by an equal assessment.

"Additional revenue from personal property" means increased burdens on labor and its products. The News' remark only proves The Public's contention. The Real Estate Board would have stocks and bonds exempted or taxed at an extremely low rate. Then real estate is to be relieved at whose expense? Why, the owners of household goods, machinery, merchandise, live stock, crops and other tangible personal property, while owners of stocks and bonds need not be inconvenienced.



But is the Real Estate Board's solicitude for real estate or for land monopoly? The proposed amendment will not allow exemption of improvements. It will continue the system of penalizing land owners who improve their property. It will thus continue the laying of proportionately heavier burdens on small home owners and farmers, whose improvement values exceed their land values, than on owners of loop property, whose land values usually exceed improvement values. Is not the Real Estate Board's real object to prevent relief of small owners of improved real estate so that big land owners with proportionately fewer improvements may continue to escape? Is not this the real reason for restricting classification to personal property?



The News intimates that The Public's reason for opposing the amendment is because it prevents "an essential feature of the Singletax theory," and further on, apparently forgetful of this, it argues:

But why should it oppose the amendment at all? The Singletaxer, like every other intelligent person, should admit that as between the present absurd and unjust general property tax and the policy of land value taxation there is a wide field for genuine reform. The pending amendment, if adopted, will open the door for material improvement in tax methods.

From this we gather that the amendment is both against Singletax and is a step towards it; that

The Public opposes it for the former reason and ought to favor it for the latter. Well, if the arguments usually advanced against the Singletax are correct, then the general property tax must be right, and no deviation from it should be tolerated. If anti-Singletax arguments are wrong, then the restrictions contained in the proposed amendment are inexcusable. In either case the pending proposition is unworthy of support. The argument that it offers some improvement is more than counterbalanced by the fact that it makes further progress more difficult than before. If adopted, further progress must depend on submission and carrying of another amendment. One-third of the members of either branch of the legislature can block submission. Having gained what they want, and being opposed to further progress, the interests back of restricted classification would use their peculiar influence with one-third of either branch to prevent any advance. The trickery employed in this amendment shows how unscrupulous such opposition would be. To discourage such opposition and further trickery it is necessary to withhold from these interests the reform that they wish until they become willing to help remove all restrictions to any measure of reform which the people may at any time want.

S. D.



Debit and Credit.

Commenting on the election of two Senators by the Illinois Legislature in March, 1913, The Public said:

With the election by compromise, in a legislature having no party majority, of James Hamilton Lewis, Democrat, and Lawrence Y. Sherman, Republican, to the two vacancies from Illinois in the United States Senate, a new set of books should be opened with both men. Arguments against them based upon their records or upon suspicions regarding their invisible affiliations, which may have belonged well enough to the period immediately preceding their election, should be put aside now. . . . If they prove indifferent or false, what harm can they do except to themselves? In opening a new set of books with them, let us charge both with their opportunities for public service, nothing more, and then be fair with our debit and credit entries relative to their new careers.



The Public is not the organ of any person or of any party. It stands simply for democracy and the rights of man. It holds no animosity toward any man and it has no prejudice against any party. Its sole test of political fellowship is the fact whether or not the man or the party aids or retards the progress of democracy. The Public has watched with much solicitude the political

careers of the two Illinois Senators, and has noted with keenest regret the paucity of items in the credit column. Little was expected of Senator Sherman; his is the creed of standpatism, and he is wedded to his idols. More was looked for from Senator Lewis. Brilliant, fertile-minded and ambitious, it was hoped that he would break with the old order and become an aggressive leader in the new. There was more reason for this expectation because Mr. Lewis, as a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Washington in 1897, had introduced a bill to exempt improvements and personal property from taxation in the District of Columbia.

As Senator, however, he has shown little evidence of a desire to fulfill that early promise. And when, during a recent correspondence, he expressed regret that *The Public* had not seen fit to commend his service in the Senate, answer was made that this paper did not feel that he had fully availed himself of his opportunities to advance the cause of democracy, and contrasted his early action in introducing the District of Columbia bill with his neglect to support the Bailey amendment to the Alaska railroad bill, which sought to levy the cost of building the road upon the lands benefited. Senator Lewis replied that he was in London attending the Safety-at-Sea Conference during the consideration of the Alaska railroad bill. And when asked if he still held the ideas embodied in his District of Columbia bill, which exempted personal property and improvements from taxation, and if he approved of the principle underlying the Bailey amendment, which would lay the cost of building the road on the lands benefited—after the manner of the government irrigation works in the arid lands of the West—he replied, under date of November 23:

I not only remember the introduction of the measure in 1897, but I remember a speech I made upon the same subject since I have been in the Senate. This was made before the committee, as well as in a public gathering at Washington.

If the Bailey amendment is tendered to the Alaska bill, or any amendment embodying the Bailey amendment, or if there is an opportunity in which the provisions referred to can, either by me or any one else, be added to the bill, it will receive my open, public, constant and avowed support.

Here is a clear and definite declaration of principle. It must be assumed that Senator Lewis means what he says. If he shall suit the act to the word he will stand forth as a champion of the newer order. The principle involved in the District of Columbia bill, introduced by Mr. Lewis in 1897, and in the Bailey amendment to the

Alaska railroad bill of 1914 is fundamental. Its adoption will mean a new social as well as a new political order. The exemption of personal property and improvements from taxation means a greater encouragement to industry than all the protective tariffs and subventions imaginable; and the laying of the cost of a public improvement on the lands benefited by that improvement means the elimination of a greater monopoly than was ever dreamed of by the framers of the Sherman Law. It would be difficult to conceive how a more inviting field could be offered to a clever and ambitious statesman. While the principle involved will be opposed by some of the standpat interests, the opportunity for its introduction piecemeal is so inviting as to seem irresistible to any man who would write his name large on the scroll of fame.

Congress has already embodied this principle in the law governing the reclamation of the arid lands of the West by requiring the owners of the lands benefited by the irrigation to pay back to the Government, in small annual installments, the cost of the Government work. Precisely the same conditions are offered in the case of the Alaska railroad bill. The building of that railroad from the sea to the mineral lands of the interior will confer large values upon the lands in Seward and at various points along the road. If the owners of those lands will pay back to the Government, in manner and form similar to the practice of the owners of the arid lands of the West, the cost of the road, the burden will not fall upon the general American public, as the present law provides, but upon the men who received the pecuniary benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit received. The frank declaration of Senator Lewis gives fine promise of the future. The Public is willing to charge to profit and loss the Senator's sins of commission and omission and to open the account anew. He stands debited by the opportunity that pertains to his exalted position; he will be credited with every deed in behalf of democracy and the rights of man. s. c.

Concentration and Division.

There used to be told a silly story about a conversation between an alleged Socialist and an inquirer. The inquirer was made to ask:

Suppose all property in the world were to be equally divided, would it not all drift back into the same hands that hold it now?

A real Socialist would want to know what such a question had to do with the case, but the one in the story replies:

O then we would divide all over again.

That story ought to be rewritten to apply to the man or woman who wants to stop concentration of land ownership by helping persons with little or no means to buy land. There was a time when most American farmers owned their farms, and we had an approximation to an equal division of land. This was the case in Oklahoma only 21 years ago. But the dwindling of available public lands and inflation of land prices have caused land ownership to drift into fewer and fewer hands. Like the pseudo-Socialist in the story some well-meaning people see the remedy in another divide. They want it done somewhat after the manner that the British Government has pursued in helping Irish tenants to buy out the landlord. They forget that should this method restore the equal ownership that once prevailed, there will have to be continual redivisions to keep it so. What is wanted is not a land purchase scheme, but removal of the cause of concentration. There will be concentrations as long as land values can be privately appropriated.



Clearing the Labor Atmosphere.

The indictment by a Chicago grand jury of fifty-four men on the charges of graft, bribery and slugging, in connection with recent disputes between labor and capital, should be made the means of removing all doubt as to the origin of these troubles and of fixing the responsibility. These men should have a fair trial, so that their acquittal or conviction will leave no doubt in any mind as to their guilt. If found guilty of the offenses charged, the punishment should be swift and sure. Violence cannot, and will not, be tolerated in a country enjoying a free press, trial by jury and unlimited suffrage. We make our own laws; and we must observe these laws. Force accomplishes no good anywhere until peaceful education has brought a movement to the point of success; and whenever force is introduced it lessens the gain that would have come had the educational process been allowed to continue to its logical conclusion.



Labor, of all interests, can least afford to forego the advantages of fair and open dealings. If selfish, designing men have foisted themselves upon the movement for their own advantage; or if overzealous partisans have been guilty of the acts charged, the men who have the real interests of Labor at heart should avail themselves of every means to remove all taint that may attach to the legitimate movement. The needs of Labor are the needs of the public in general, justice; and

the way to get justice is through education as to the cause of injustice, and patience and persistence in its removal. Truth, liberty and justice are not palpable things to be seized and held by force; they are the flowers of the human soul that have their roots in knowledge. It is not "strong arm," but strong mind, work that is to win the cause of Labor. The appeal to force to settle disputes between Labor and Capital, as between nations, merely delays the solution of the trouble.

S. C.



A Chance To Show Impartiality.

It is to be hoped that indictment of sluggers in Chicago will not stop with those charged with acting on the labor side. The stories of slugging on the other side seem to be well worth a grand jury investigation also. So too would seem to be charges against the police of brutality and of illegal arrests. It is not strikers alone who bring such charges. Their stories have been confirmed by well known social workers and others who have investigated and have been subjected in consequence to outrageous treatment. Slugging encouraged or participated in by police is at least as bad as when committed by partisans of labor. Now is a good time to prove that the crusade against labor-slugging is not a partisan affair.

S. D.



What the Flynn Verdict Means.

The Paterson, New Jersey, jury which acquitted Elizabeth Gurley Flynn did much more than uphold the cause of free speech. The verdict of acquittal must necessarily have been based on the belief that police witnesses had deliberately lied. It furthermore implies that some city officials had planned to send an innocent individual to the penitentiary. And since the evidence against Mrs. Flynn was substantially the same as that which sent Patrick Quinlan to the penitentiary, the acquittal means that Quinlan was wrongfully convicted. But he is nevertheless in prison serving a seven year term. The verdict in the Flynn case means that the State of New Jersey commits a new crime every day that it fails to release him.

S. D.



People talk about agitators, but the only real agitator is injustice; and the only way is to correct the injustice and allay the agitation.—Sir Charles Napier.



Murder and capital punishment are not opposites that cancel one another, but similars that breed their kind.—Bernard Shaw.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

AMERICAN PROBLEMS MUST HAVE FIRST CONSIDERATION.

New York, November 27.

The following letter is self-explanatory:

Your number 49 of a letter chain asking for aid to buy anesthetics for the Allies received.

Anesthetics, medicines and a cure for poverty in America is necessary, and yet our newspapers and our "society" are doing nothing towards its solution, or the aiding or mitigating the awful suffering of those afflicted by it.

Doesn't it seem curious, if not pitiful, that there are millions of dollars being sent from this country to aid the Allies or the Germans and Austrians, while poverty sits with its grinning teeth on the housetops of every city in America? Doesn't it seem to you that it is the foreign government's duty to provide whatever is necessary for war, inasmuch as it has gone to war? Doesn't it seem to you that if foreign nations call on their men to give the greatest thing in the world—their lives—for their country, that these nations ought also to call on its rich citizens to give all property necessary for the defense of their country? The poor are burdened by war taxes and the rich cast theirs also on to the poor. Large landed estates in England are untaxed, and thousands of tracts of land are idle, war profits are made and yet the poor give their all, including their lives, and governments have not the courage to use, in addition to lives, all property necessary, and we here in America are asked to help by all kinds of appeals.

My sympathies are with the Allies, but I personally feel that those of us who face the problems here should give what we can spare of money and time and effort to the alleviation and solution of our tremendous problems, and not be led astray by the glamor of the war on the other side and its tremendous appeal to our sympathies.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

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 December 7, 1915.

Congress Meets.

The Sixty-fourth Congress assembled on December 6. The House contains 229 Democrats, 196 Republicans, 7 Progressives, 1 Socialist and William Kent. Independent. The Senate has 56 Democrats and 40 Republicans. Champ Clark was re-elected speaker and Senator Clarke of Arkansas was chosen president pro tem of the Senate. Congressman Mann of Illinois was chosen minority leader by the Republicans of the House, and Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire by the Senate Republicans.



President Wilson's message was delivered on December 7. He repeated the recommendations for a big army and navy made in his address on November 4 in New York City at the Manhattan Club and he also repeated his condemnation of citizens led into disloyal acts through sympathy with

a foreign belligerent. He urged a government merchant marine as a temporary expedient until private capital should enter the field. To expedite this he recommended "That we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way." He recommended for Porto Rico and the Philippines adoption of bills which had been submitted to the last Congress for "alteration and reform" of their government. In regard to revenue, there will be a deficit of \$297,000,000 for the year beginning July 1 next, should the increased naval and military recommendations be carried out and the sugar duty and emergency taxes be discontinued as the present law requires. To meet this he suggests retention of these taxes, a lowering of the income tax exemption, lowering of the point at which the surtax begins, increase of the surtax, a tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline, of 50 cents per horsepower on automobiles, a stamp tax on bank checks, a tax of 25 cents per ton on pig iron and of 50 cents per ton on fabricated iron. Passage of the conservation laws introduced in the last Congress was urged, as were also rural credit legislation, the creation of a commission to investigate advisability of changes in railroad legislation, and aid to industrial and vocational education. A large part of the message was devoted to discussion of the Monroe doctrine. The President repeated his assurance that there would be no coercion of Mexico. He suggested co-operation with all independent nations of the Western Hemisphere and referred to the recent Pan-American conference as an illustration. [See current volume, page 1100.]



Tavener Challenges the Navy League.

In a letter dated December 2 to Colonel Robert M. Thompson of the Navy League, answering a denial that the members are financially interested in preparationist agitation, Congressman Clyde Tavener of Illinois says in part:

On November 19th I publicly stated that inasmuch as the Navy League insisted that its management and backers are entirely free from any atmosphere of war-trafficking influences, I would, as soon as Congress convened, introduce a resolution providing for an investigation of the League, specifically requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the League, past and present, to take the responsibility of testifying, under oath, whether they are interested or ever have been, in war-trafficking firms, or concerns which stand to profit from the proposed \$500,000,000 bond issue.

On November 21st I received a letter from you threatening a suit. I consider your letter nothing more nor less than an attempt to intimidate me into abandoning my plans to seek a Congressional investigation of your organization. When I am right the Navy League can not intimidate me.

I now desire in all good faith to take the responsibility of making a suggestion to the Navy League. I suggest that you call a meeting of the Board of Directors and go on record in favor of the Govern-

ment manufacture of battleships, submarines, armament, munitions, etc., in order that the people may obtain the preparedness which you are advocating at cost. I recommend that you either do this or fold your tent and quietly take your departure from the national capital.



Punishment for Unneutral Acts.

Dr. Karl Buenz and three other officials of the Hamburg-American Line were convicted on the 2d by a jury in the United States District Court at New York on the charge of conspiracy to deceive and defraud the United States Government by obtaining clearances for relief ships laden with supplies for German cruisers in the Atlantic early in the war. The maximum penalty for each indictment is two years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. Dr. Buenz, George Koetler and Adolph Hochmeister were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia; William Rand, the fourth member, was sentenced to one year and one day. The men were released on \$10,000 bail each, pending an appeal.



Secretary of State Lansing requested of the German government on the 2d the recall of Captain Boy-Ed and Captain Von Papen, naval and military attaches of the German embassy in Washington, for "objectionable activities in connection with military and naval matters."



A Constructive Peace Program.

The American League to Limit Armaments responds to President Wilson's invitation to those who differ with him, by making the following propositions:

1. Take the initiative at once to secure a League to Enforce Peace, with drastic, concerted non-intercourse as a first penalty for faithlessness and the use of an international police force as a last resort. This powerful method of defense deserves the widest study and emphasis as the only surety for permanent peace. It would take less time to accomplish this than to carry out the five-year program of war preparations.

2. Urge Congress to pass the law advocated by the American Bar Association giving federal control over aliens, and thus prevent such helplessness of the national government as was shown when Italians were lynched in New Orleans, and Louisiana refused redress.

3. Pass an immigration law based on the just and equitable treatment of all nations, and limiting immigration from every country on the basis of a percentage of those of each nation already here and naturalized, i. e., on the basis of our capacity to assimilate the different races. This law, while admitting very few Orientals, would satisfy the demand of the Japanese that they shall not be treated as an inferior race. This plan, offered by Professor Gulick, long resident of Japan, seems to suggest a

true solution of a problem which, if neglected, will breed friction and future trouble.

4. Give independence to the Philippines as soon as the people of those islands are unitedly ready for self-government, and after obtaining from the principal powers a guaranty of their integrity. They are not, like Belgium, a highway between hostile nations who have elsewhere impassable boundaries, and the guarantee of their integrity would not be broken. Japan would refuse them as a gift if they had to fortify them. Put the price of one battleship into advancing education in the Philippines. This would impress Asia even more than the return of the Boxer indemnity. The price of another battleship put into Mexico for education would forestall many difficulties. Let it be remembered that an \$18,000,000 battleship may be destroyed instantly by a submarine, and becomes useless in any case after a few years, while education sets in motion permanent forces of civilization and democracy.

5. Decide to ask the nations at the third Hague Conference to join with us in guaranteeing the integrity of the Latin republics and thus relieve us of the growing burden of the Monroe Doctrine, while accomplishing all the good that it ever aimed at. This would remove what is said to be the danger and the chief necessity for a greatly increased fleet on the Atlantic. How could any nation refuse to consent to it without advertising its purposes of aggression? Even if this were not done, a Pan-American agreement would relieve us of the onerous burden of suspected imperialistic designs which our policy now encourages.

6. Save American life. Put the price of an eighteen million dollar battleship into saving the lives of over 600,000 Americans who perish from preventable causes every year. This, wisely expended, might save most of them and leave a great potential defense. Germany's preparation of strong, healthy men for peace has been her chief preparation for war. She saved her men and never permitted such reckless waste of life as we submit to every year.

7. Put whatever war preparations we make into coast defenses and submarines, such as have kept the greatest navy on earth from bombarding a single German port in fifteen months of war and which could amply defend us at 3,000 miles distance from a supposable future enemy. Such defense makes a reserve army useless and would save heavy taxation.

8. Wait until the present devastating and bankrupting war is over before adopting any policy of increased war preparations. Let us not throw away our priceless opportunity to lead the general decrease of armaments at the close of the war.



Henry Ford Sails.

The Oscar II sailed from Hoboken on December 4 with Henry Ford and American delegates to the peace conference which he has planned. The delegates were as follows: A. E. Adams, Iowa University, Iowa City; the Rev. Charles F. Aked, San Francisco; Miss Blanche Anderson, Andrew J. Bethea, lieutenant-governor, Columbia, S. C.; Lloyd M. Bingham, New York; Daniel Bidwell, New York; Miss Katherine W. Blake, New York;

Miss Lottie Mae Blair, Augusta; Meyer D. Block, New York; Mrs. Inex Milholland Boissevain, New York; Miss Katrina M. Brewster, Vassar College; Neal Campbell, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; Edwin Ralph Cheney, Philadelphia; Mrs. Ada Moss Clark, Palo Alto, Cal.; Willis G. Conant, Tarrytown, N. Y.; J. V. D. Crisp, New York; J. B. Davis, California; Mrs. Fayette Damborg, Miss Grace de Graff, Portland, Ore.; Miss Roberta Duboise, Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Louise Eberle, New York; Mrs. Joseph Fels, Philadelphia; John T. Franzee, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Wilfred Grenfel, New York; Mrs. Helen Loring Grenfel, Denver; Miss Ora Guessford, Des Moines; Miss Elizabeth Hall, Barnard College; Governor L. B. Hanna, North Dakota; S. Dix Harwood, Urbana, Ill.; J. B. Hirsch, New York; C. A. Hixenbaugh, Lincoln, Neb.; Miss Florence Holbrook, Chicago; Frederick Holt, Detroit; Mrs. Frederick Holt, Detroit; T. A. Hosteller, Washington; Ellis O. Jones, Forest Hills, L. I.; Jenkin Lloyd Jones and wife, Chicago; Lee E. Joslyn, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Alfred W. Klieforth, Chicago; Mr. Larusson, New York; Miss Alice Lawton, New York; Paul S. Leahy, New York; Judge Ben B. Lindsey and wife, Denver; Mrs. William Bross Lloyd, maid and three children, Winnetka, Ill.; Louis P. Lochner, Chicago; Donald Love, Oberlin, O.; Ernest L. Mandel, New York; Dean S. S. Marquis, Detroit; Louis Maverick, San Antonio; George F. Milton, Chattanooga; Henry C. Morris, Chicago; E. H. F. Moutihan, Williamstown, Mass.; T. E. Montgomery, New York; Miss Blanche Mullen, Lawrence, Kan.; R. S. Neely, New York; Lars P. Nelson, Denver; Mrs. Thomas E. Oliphant, New York; Mrs. Alice Park, Palo Alto, Cal.; Dr. Charles Pease, New York; Miss Marion Penn, Purdue, Ind.; Charles Phelps, Cushing, N. Y.; Gaston Plantiff, New York; Earl Potter, Colorado Springs; Edward M. Riis, New York; ex-Senator Helen Ring Robinson, Denver; Mrs. George Rublee, Washington; Miss Elinor E. Ryan, Columbus, O.; Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary; Mrs. May Wright Sewall, New York; E. S. Semler, Rolfe, Ia.; Mrs. Rebecca Semler, Rolfe, Ia.; Tove Semler, Rolfe, Ia.; Miss Clara Schuchtermann, Oakland, Cal.; Bernard Straube, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Nora C. Smithe-man, New York; Monroe T. Smock, New Plymouth, Idaho; Mrs. Charles P. Stewart, New York; Mrs. Maxwell Swain, Brooklyn; Carl D. Thompson, Chicago; Sam A. Trufant, New Orleans; Hendrik W. Van Loon, Ithaca, N. Y.; Miss Julia Grace Wales, Madison, Wis.; M. R. Waldo, New Haven, Conn.; Mrs. Harriet Bishop Waters, New York; Mrs. Mary W. Watkins, Charlottesville, Va.; Mrs. Elizabeth Watson, New York; William Wagner, Seattle; Nils R. M. Werbull, Denver; Mrs. Gulli Werbull, Denver; John Werbull, Denver; Nils Werbull, Denver; Arthur L. Weatherly, Lincoln, Neb.; Miss Marion Weinstein, New

York; Wayne Welman, New York; the Rev. W. M. Wright, Little Rock, Ark.; George Wythe, Austin, Tex. Another ship, the Frederik II, will sail on December 8 with additional delegates. [See current volume, page 1171.]



Opposing Preparedness.

In resolutions opposing the preparedness program, the Woman's Singletax League of Maryland on November 30 at Baltimore declared:

RESOLVED, That true preparedness should consist in the abolition of our poverty-breeding economic system; in the equalization of opportunities for all through the elimination of special privilege, by the untaxing of labor products and the unlocking through taxation of the great national resources of this nation.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we call upon Congress to disregard the attempts to place this country upon a level with the unfortunate nations of Europe by setting up a great military establishment, and to direct its energies instead to the promotion of peace and justice within our own borders by relieving the burdens of labor and levying for its needs upon the social values created by all.



The People's church of Washington, D. C., in similar resolutions declared:

That instead of providing for "military preparedness," we urge that such expenditure of money and effort as would otherwise be devoted to an increase in the army and navy be directed to the discovery and removal of those domestic evils which tend toward strife and of foreign war, and that this be supplemented by the effort to establish proper judicial tribunals for the settlement of disputes that may arise among nations.

Resolved, That we invite every church congregation and every organization standing for the advancement of ethical principles to join us in this effort to have our government remain true to the policy that has made us a great, free nation, and true to the great ideal of humanity—the Brotherhood of Man.



The Labor War.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was acquitted on November 30 at Paterson, New Jersey, of the charge of inciting to violence. Mrs. Flynn had been arrested by Chief of Police Bimson, on refusing to obey an arbitrary order to leave town. She had insisted on her right to speak, and was met by the reply, "You may have the right to speak, but we have the power to prevent you." The jury was composed of Hudson county citizens, objection having been raised against selections from Passaic county, in which Paterson is located, on account of prejudice against the defendant. Mrs. Flynn announced her intention to speak in Paterson again. [See current volume, page 1123.]

Fifty-four indictments were returned in Chicago on December 3 against individuals charged with graft and slugging in labor cases. The charges of graft relate to extortion of tribute from business men by business agents under penalty of calling a strike for refusal. The indicted include 46 labor men, three plate glass dealers, two saloonkeepers and two bartenders.

In a letter to Mayor Thompson of Chicago on December 1, the Church Federation Council resented the slur he had cast upon it for inquiring into the garment workers' strike. The Federation said in part:

The Chicago Church Federation Council would respectfully call your attention to the fact that the inquiry conducted into the garment workers' strike at our ministers' meeting was in every way fair, comprehensive and judicial. All parties to the strike were invited to present their case.

Violence was denounced by every speaker. The ministers took sides with neither party. No resolutions were adopted nor even contemplated. The net result of such an inquiry must of necessity make all parties more reasonable, temperate and law-abiding.

When the Mayor of Chicago makes such a charge against the clergymen he has been invited to address we feel called upon to repudiate the charge and to pronounce it unworthy of the chief executive of 2,000,000 people.

[See current volume, page 1173.]

For protesting against brutal slugging and unwarranted arrest of a garment striker by a plain clothes policeman in Chicago, Attorney Geo. Waterman was arrested on December 1. For a similar act Mrs. Frank R. Lillie, wife of Professor Lillie of the University of Chicago, was arrested on December 6. A mass meeting of university professors and students to protest against police brutality was held the same day.

Socialist Mayor Hinkel of Hamilton, Ohio, appointed as special policemen on November 27 forty strikers to guard the plants at which they had struck. In answer to a protest he informed the employers that "the ordinary citizen shall have the same consideration before the law as the most wealthy."

Chicago School Affairs.

Of Mayor Thompson's three latest appointments to the School Board, only one, Charles F. Ffrench, declared himself unqualifiedly opposed to the rule against the Teachers' Federation. The two other appointees, Charles R. Young and Edward Piggott, returned equivocal replies to the Council's questions. All three declared themselves opposed to the dual vocational plan and in favor of the unit plan. Messrs. Piggott and Ffrench have sent their

children to the public schools. Mr. Young said that he would have done so, had he any. On December 6, by a vote of 30 to 35, the City Council postponed confirmation of the three until December 10, which prevents them from voting on appointment of a new superintendent on December 8. [See current volume, page 1172.]

Tax Reform News.

The report of the Tax Commission of Cleveland to Mayor Newton Baker estimates the cost of valuing land in the city for taxation to be \$51,457.20. The cost of assessing personal property and buildings is \$109,985.90. Land values represented 55 per cent of the total duplicate, which was \$872,385,855 in 1914. The local tax rate was 15.1 per cent. Examples are presented of assessments under the general property tax of typical manufacturing plants, banks and mercantile establishments, office buildings and individual homes, showing considerable variation in the working of the system. The committee voted on a number of recommendations, with the result summarized as follows: It favors unanimously abolition of the uniform rule; classification of property for taxation, with a recording fee for mortgages to be then exempted from taxation; and appointment by the Governor of a Taxation Commission to prepare a tax code for the State. A considerable majority favor raising of State revenue by indirect taxation and permitting a tax on growing land values for purposes of local operation, and if a State tax limit is maintained, of granting all local subdivisions the right to exceed the limit by taxes on increases in land values. By a majority of one the commission approved raising of revenue for local operation by a tax on land values, and a direct and progressive State inheritance tax. It disapproved of a progressive tax increasing as the value per front foot of land increases in lieu of the present rate for local purposes; increase in the liquor tax, and county home rule in taxation matters. A number of individual papers were submitted. One by John A. Alburn advocated abandonment of the general property tax and local option in taxation for counties and municipalities. Professor of Economics C. C. Arbuthnot of Western Reserve University presented arguments for and against concentration of taxes on land values, and finally advocated taxation of future unearned increment. Classification of property, home rule for cities and suggestions of various kinds of taxes were contained in a paper by Thomas P. Ballard. John D. Fackler presented figures from the tax duplicate, showing how a change to Singletax would affect a selected list of individual tax payers of different classes. W. O. Mathews advocated reform, but not abolition of personal property taxation. A State inheritance tax and a progressive tax on land values

was advocated by County Auditor John A. Zangerle. The tax returns are given as follows:

	Cleveland.	City and county.
Real estate	\$597,095,070	\$ 743,679,450
Personal	200,269,245	229,627,848
Public utilities	75,020,550	90,580,760
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$872,384,865	\$1,063,788,058

The public utilities figures include \$32,849,810 of real estate in Cleveland, and do not include \$46,050,840 in real estate returned by the State Tax Commission as personal property in the county and included in the general real estate column. The report is signed by Bascom Little, John A. Alburn, C. C. Arbuthnot, Thomas P. Ballard, Chester C. Bolton, N. L. Danby, John D. Fackler, Thomas S. Farrell, W. A. Greenlund, Alexander Hadden, W. P. Mooney and John A. Zangerle. [See current volume, page 1172.]

The Brooklyn Central Labor Union on November 26 endorsed the proposition to transfer local taxes from buildings to land values, and filed a brief with Mayor Mitchel's committee on taxation to that effect. The brief says in part:

Organized labor appreciates that no single measure will secure to the workers of the country the value of what they produce, and to that value they are entitled.

Organized labor indorses, however, the recommendation of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations made by the three representatives of organized labor on that Commission and the chairman, to wit:

The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on unproductive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.

We indorse the transfer of taxes from buildings here to land values for the following reasons:

The worst land monopoly in the world exists in New York City. Most of the value of land in New York City is owned by a few thousand people. Taxing land values more heavily will compel these families to pay more nearly a fair share of the governmental expenditures, which, together with the presence of population, have given the land they hold its value.

It will give better housing at lower rents. Taxes levied on buildings limit the supply of buildings, and so keep rents high. Rents, like wages, are determined chiefly by the law of supply and demand.

A large proportion of the workers of the city are obliged to live in crowded quarters, unsanitary and unsafe, because the present tax system makes this sort of building, paying very little taxes, more profitable than healthy, safe tenements.

It will increase home ownership. Taxing buildings at the same rate as land values permits the holding of large acreage tracts out of use in all boroughs of the city, except Manhattan, until they can be sold to would-be small home owners at speculative prices. The owner of a small home has to pay, on the average, nearly four times as much taxes as the owner of a vacant lot adjoining, al-

though the construction of such a home increases the selling price of vacant lots near by.

It will make more employment. Transferring taxes on buildings to land values will, as stated by the United States Industrial Relations Commission, force much unused land into use, and stimulate the construction of buildings, thereby giving more employment directly.

It will make working conditions safer. Untaxing buildings will stop the present premium upon old fire-trap factories, and the penalty upon constructing safe ones. Fire prevention and labor laws should be enforced, but Government should stop taxing owners of buildings heavily for complying with the requirements of safety and health.

[See current volume, pages 1054, 1146, 1149.]



Delaware Prize Contest.

The Singletax Society of Delaware announces a prize contest, the winner of which will receive free tuition in any of the following courses in the University of Pennsylvania: Arts and science; biology; education; finance and commerce, or \$150 yearly for four years toward the expense of tuition in architecture; chemical, civil, mechanical or electrical engineering; chemistry, or \$150 yearly for four years toward tuition in any other college the student may select. Only members in good standing in the fourth year classes, session 1915-1916, of the high school in the State of Delaware will be eligible to enter the contest. The prize will be awarded for the best article on "The Singletax, What It Will Accomplish and Why." All manuscripts must be in the secretary's hands by August 1. Information may be had of John F. Thomas, secretary, 606 King street, Wilmington, Delaware.



Mexico.

Typhus fever is reported to be epidemic in Mexico City, with a high death rate. The same vagueness and unreliability surround these reports as have marked the military and political affairs. Interruption of the industrial life of the nation and the flocking of the people to cities is credited with causing dire distress among the poor, particularly of Mexico City. Lack of sufficient food has weakened the people physically, and the want of orderly government has led to such unsanitary conditions that a disease like typhus is a serious menace. After the withdrawal of the American Red Cross Society, at the request of General Carranza, local authorities are said to have been unable to cope with the situation. That conditions may not be as bad as press reports indicate may be inferred from the news from Monteray, Mexico, that preparations are under way for the triumphal entry of General Carranza into Mexico City the first of the year. [See current volume, page 1170.]

Military operations appear to have resolved themselves into contests between the triumphant Carranzistas and the fugitive bands of Villa and Zapata followers. General Villa's army is said to have been completely broken, and the scattered bands are trying to elude their pursuers. A great many have surrendered. The whereabouts of General Villa himself is not given.

China.

The disturbance at Shanghai on the 5th, which was first reported to be a mutiny on a small Chinese war vessel, appears to be an outbreak of unruly mobs. A party of forty approached the ship in a motorboat, overpowered the crew and turned the vessel's guns on the arsenal and on other war vessels. The rebels were subdued by the men on the companion ships. Attacks on the police station in Shanghai and on the French concession were fruitless. [See current volume, page 1147.]

European War.

Peace rumors daily increase in number, and seem to spring up in all parts of the world. All are officially denied as fast as they arise, but the persistency with which they spring up is taken to indicate a desire on the part of the belligerents. Little activity is reported either from the eastern or from the western front. Continuous fighting goes on at some point on the lines, and artillery firing is frequent, but little practical result is to be noted. In the Balkans there is less fighting, but no less intensity of interest in the situation. The Serbians have ceased to offer open resistance to the invading armies, except in Montenegro, where they have joined the Montenegrins in opposing the Austrians, and in the south near the Greek border, where a few have united with the Allies. Others who have been driven into Grecian Macedonia are making their way eastward in Macedonia to join the Allies. The main German advance appears to have been halted in order to give attention to the threatened invasion of Bulgaria by Russia. Large German forces are said to have been diverted to Rustchuk on the Danube river to guard against a Russian expedition that is rumored to be ready to come up the river. Roumania has closed the Danube river, for the purpose, it is said, of preventing Austrian monitors at Rustchuk from going down the river to bombard Reni, Russia, where Russian forces are said to be gathering. Roumania is also commandeering shipping in her ports, which some think indicates an intention to aid the Russians; but no open declaration or move has been made. The Allies maintain their line in southern Serbia and Bulgaria.

Italy continues her fierce assaults upon the fortifications surrounding Goritz, but has been unable to capture the city. Italian troops are re-

ported to be landing at Avlona, Albania, to assist the Serbians, but no details are given.

In spite of peace rumors, efforts are being put forth by all the belligerents to prepare for an indefinite continuation of the war. Russia has ordered the training of the class of 1917 to begin in 1916 to swell the armies now undergoing reorganization and re-equipment. The meeting of the Duma, prorogued September 16, and expected to reassemble December 8, has been indefinitely postponed by Emperor Nicholas. Three members of the Austrian cabinet resigned shortly after the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm to Emperor Francis Joseph, but nothing else has taken place to indicate a change in policy. Representatives of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Belgium and Serbia met in general war council in Paris on the 7th. General Joffre, commander and chief of the French armies, presided over the meeting.

NEWS NOTES

—The police census of New York City on December 2 shows a population of 5,253,885.

—Theodore Roosevelt on November 30 forbade the use of his name on the Nebraska Republican primary ballot.

—Clarence Darrow will speak at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on "The Basis of Ethics," on Sunday afternoon, December 12.

—After passing appropriation bills the Illinois legislature adjourned its special session on December 1. [See current volume, page 1148.]

—The German Bodenreform League has obtained permission to distribute English Singletax literature in the prison camps, where English-speaking prisoners of war and interned civilians are confined.

—An explosion of 10,000 pounds of black powder at the Upper Hagley yards of the du Pont company at Wilmington, Delaware, on November 30, resulted in the death of 31 workers and injury of six more.

—The Massachusetts Teachers' Association at Boston on November 27 passed resolutions against compulsory military training in the schools. A similar resolution was tabled at a meeting on the same day at Trenton by the Federation of District Boards of New Jersey.

—Spanish Premier Eduardo Dato, together with his cabinet, resigned on the 6th when the leaders of the opposition served notice on the government of a motion to give economic questions in parliament priority over certain military measures thought to be necessary. [See current volume, page 1170.]

"The best brought-up children are those who have seen their parents as they are. Hypocrisy is not the parent's first duty.—Bernard Shaw in *The Revolutionists' Handbook*.

PRESS OPINIONS

Failures That Succeed.

Joseph Dana Miller in a letter to the New York World, November 29: Your assumption that the proposed voyage of Henry Ford & Co. on a peace ship in behalf of the termination of hostilities is destined to be a failure is probably an accurate prediction. But maybe the sapient editor of my favorite newspaper misses the psychological effect of this audacious project. Fail it probably will, but there are some failures more glorious than successes. As Louise Imogene Guiney sang of the Brook Farm experiment—

Matched with failures so high-hearted,
All success is mean beside.

Christ failed, the Gracchi failed, Mazzini failed, Henry George failed. Thus far, and as we see it. But we do not see it all. For the truth is that humanity is advanced and civilization bent to nobler purposes as much by its failures as by its successes. So here's success to Henry Ford—and if that cannot be, then the next best thing—oftener a nobler thing—a glorious failure!



A Pacifist Hero.

Philadelphia North American, December 1.—When the steamship Ryndam docked in New York one day last week a quiet young man of pleasant demeanor came ashore, answered a few questions for the newspaper reporters and passed on about his business, which was chiefly to build up his impaired health by a few weeks' rest. . . . Known fifteen months ago to many persons as a novelist, to many more as an attractive sort of political reformer with some harmlessly extravagant ideas and to a few, including his townsmen, as one of the sanest and most forceful of this country's experts in social betterment and municipal government, he is today an international figure—literally a hero to millions of people. His name is Brand Whitlock. . . . Some powerful personage—we hope it was president Wilson himself—selected him for the post of minister to Belgium. Happily for the country, he was not chosen on the ground that he was "a deserving Democrat." As a fact, he is not a Democrat at all; nor is he a Republican, nor yet a Socialist—at least as those terms are meant by partisans. His political platform is patriotism and democracy—with a small "d." He accepted the appointment with pleasurable anticipation, because it promised him, along with an opportunity for public service, some months of comparative leisure which he might devote to literature. Grimly fate must have smiled as she saw this writer start for Brussels, of all places in the world in search of tranquillity. For a few months his life was placid enough. Then suddenly the storm of the war broke, and within twenty-four hours Belgium was an inferno of confusion, panic and bloodshed. . . . While Minister Whitlock and his aides struggled with his distracted compatriots, the envoys of France, Great Britain and Russia departed and he was directed by Washington to take over their diplomatic affairs. So he put the unfinished manuscript of his novel in the safe and became

acting minister for three other countries besides his own—stay, it was for four countries, because the German envoy, after apologizing for the invasion as a "military necessity," also withdrew, and left the imperial legation in charge of his colleague from Toledo, Ohio. And then, like scud flying before a gale, came the pitiful throngs of refugees. . . . The young minister forgot his literary work, forgot his health, forgot everything but the misery and terror that surged around him and the opportunity he had to make the message of the flag that waved over the legation a reality. His tireless energy and common sense reduced the relief work to an efficient system, and the commissioners who finally took charge had only to develop his plans. His unflinching courtesy and cheerfulness inspired all with whom he came in contact. His steady counsel allayed alike the agitations of panic and the impulses of outraged patriotism. Belgian public men came to rely upon his judgment almost as implicitly as the despairing refugees upon his gentleness and solicitude. . . . Last New Year's day, had not Mr. Whitlock begged that the demonstration be abandoned, half the population of Brussels and its suburbs would have gathered at the legation to acclaim him. . . . The explanation of Whitlock's triumph is simple enough. He is a man of intelligence and force; he has honesty, wisdom, strength, courage, an indomitable sense of justice, and a deep, unswerving passion for humanity. He is a democrat by instinct, by education, by conviction. The brotherhood of man is to him more than a phrase; it is a creed; and he lives up to it every day of his life. He was in Brussels exactly what he is in Toledo. Politicians have sneered at him as "another Golden Rule mayor"; but a nation pays him tribute as a Golden Rule diplomat, and the world will hold him in honor when the names of great soldiers are forgotten. . . . For fifteen months he was the one figure in war-torn Belgium which stood for civilization, for the rights of men and women against the necessities of war. . . . Let him not regret too deeply that the crisis prevented his writing a book. For he has written a chapter in American history, and one that will be read with pride by his countrymen always.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE BALLAD OF BETHLEHEM STEEL.

or

THE NEED FOR PREPAREDNESS.

A Tale of the Ticker.

For The Public.

A fort is taken, the papers say,
Five thousand dead in the murderous deal.
A victory? No, just another grim day.
But—up to five hundred goes Bethlehem Steel.

A whisper, a rumor, one knows not where—
A sigh, a prayer from a torn heart rent—

A murmur of Peace on the death-laden air—
But—Bethlehem Steel drops thirty per cent.

"We'll fight to the death," the diplomats cry.
"We'll fight to the death," sigh the weary men.
As the battle roars to the shuddering sky—
And—Bethlehem Steel has a rise of ten.

What matters the loss of a million men?
What matters the waste of blossoming lands?
The children's cry or the women's pain?
If—Bethlehem Steel at six hundred stands?

And so we must join in the slaughter-mill,
We must arm ourselves for a senseless hate,
We must waste our youths in the murder drill—
That Bethlehem Steel may hold its state.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



THE WHEREFORE OF PREPARED- NESS.

Part of a Letter Under Date of November 23 from
ex-Governor Charles N. Herreid of South Dakota
to the South Dakota Peace Society.

Just now it is fashionable to swagger about
"preparedness." It takes courage to help stay the
mad rush of the oncoming military deluge. To
oppose it means being classed as a "mollycoddle"
and coward.

Those opposed to the new program maintain:

1. It contemplates expanding our existing mili-
tary aristocracy; demolishing our American ideals
of democracy.

2. It contemplates useless, scandalous and un-
bearable financial burdens upon the people.

Who are clamoring for an extra billion-dollar
military appropriation? Who are financing this
propaganda—filling magazines with war scares;
sending lecturers over the country; organizing
"preparedness leagues," etc.?

For example, take the so-called "navy league."
Here are some of its officers: J. P. Morgan with
four of his partners, Thomas W. Lamont, W. H.
Porter, H. P. Davidson and Charles Steele, all
coining millions out of their war loans, and mil-
lions out of their investments in plants producing
war munitions; Paul D. Cravath, director West-
inghouse Co.; Elbert H. Gary, head of the U. S.
Steel Corporation; Harry P. Whitney, leading
stockholder in the Westinghouse Co.; the Atlas
Powder Co. and the Hercules Powder Co.; S. H.
P. Pell, Cornelius Vanderbilt and Ogden R. Mills,
all connected with the big war order concerns, the
big factories for munitions of war, whose stock
has gone up from par or less to \$100, \$600 and
even \$960 per share. These are the patriots
moulding public opinion for "preparedness"—
preparedness for raids upon the treasury. . . .

Never was there less danger from a foreign foe.
We are in greater danger of having our country
devastated from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a

tornado than by any nation on earth. This war
scare is mercenary—the work of those interested
in war contracts and *those dependent on a system
which already has produced during one generation
an aristocracy, indolent, extravagant and arrogant.*

On February 27, 1914, on the floor of Congress
it was said that there were then 210 retired rear
admirals with salaries from \$5,000 to \$6,000 a
year, for life (besides perquisites); that some had
been retired at 38 years of age for the sole purpose
of making room for others pushing for the retired
class; that the only danger of war was . . . "in
the ranks of the rear admirals and generals as to
whose wives and daughters shall drive the bays or
drive the grays, paid for by your unsuspecting
constituents!"

Congress was about to create a raft of vice-
admirals with salaries of \$11,000 per annum.
Why?

"Actually our rear admirals and our captains
when visiting abroad, entertaining princes and
other captains at the expense of your unsuspect-
ing constituents and breaking champagne bottles
for their delectation and entertainment—we were
in a sad dilemma because we did not have enough
vice-admirals to get around ahead of other func-
tionaries abroad when the punch bowl was opened."
(See Congressional Record.)

"In 1910 there were 861 navy officers and 1,015
army officers on the 'retired' list!—writing articles
and giving out interviews about our 'unprepared-
ness.'"

For nearly fifty years this official class has been
largely recruited by appointment and by marriage
from the families of members of Congress and
cabinet and "the ruling class," and Congress must
take care of its own progeny; hence its liberality.
If the people knew that we now have accumulated
about three regiments of officers on the "retired"
list drawing salaries for life greater than our col-
lege presidents there would be an insurrection
among the taxpayers.

On an average about 36 per cent of the officers
are constantly "off duty." Imagine 36 per cent
of all our teachers, or any class of toilers, on a
lark, at the expense of the government!

If these regiments of retired officers could be
marshalled in their glittering uniforms and man-
euvered before an assembled multitude of toilers!
What an object lesson for the tin bucket battalions
who are now asked to stand as a starter another
("indirect") tax burden of about \$25 per family.

Congress, dominated by this ornamental class,
appropriates the money. It is spent by its bene-
ficiaries—many, it is claimed, are also in the
service of the contractors and armament factories.
If a scandal is threatened, a court-martial will
conveniently attend to it.

Listen to this as a sample of military business
methods: Some weeks ago submarine K-2 went
to the bottom of the sea with all aboard, owing to

criminal defects in construction for which the contractor was responsible. On November 4 the Associated Press from Boston, reported that the rear admiral (now retired) in charge of inspection was brought before a court-martial charged with neglect and careless methods of inspection during its construction. A brother officer testified that the admiral only had eleven (11) assistants on the job of watching the contractor and this number was too small! And in half an hour the officers acting as a court, found the rear admiral not guilty! Very prudent, not knowing how soon they themselves might be "on the carpet"!

Three years ago I took from the government's printed year book these facts:

For twenty-eight years, every year except one, the navy officers had spent, and a stupid Congress had appropriated to cover deficiencies, \$164,104,-422.48! And the regular appropriations for the navy had been about one and two-thirds billion dollars.

And the record of the army is quite similar.

For years we have spent more money preparing for war than any other country except one. Since the Spanish-American war we have spent over four hundred million dollars more on our navy than even Germany. It is conceded much of it has been wasted—buncoed by war supply contractors, extravagance and waste everywhere. And now these same pay roll heroes ask for appropriations to spend—doubled and trebled. Where will it end? Nothing but death can shake this increasing class from the salary lists.

There are now in active service 225 vessels of all characters, which is thirty-six more than two years ago. We now have under construction and authorized seventy-seven vessels, of which nine are dreadnoughts, twenty-three are destroyers, thirty-eight are submarines, and seven are auxiliaries. In the navy are 4,355 officers and 53,171 men.

What we need is not increased appropriations, by billions, but rottenness exposed and the system purged. . . .

Let our government contribute liberally toward the education of the masses. "Give us men"—that is true "preparedness." Let us deal justly and honorably with all nations. Let the billions which the administration now proposes to spend for frightful, wasteful, munitions for human destruction, be in part at least, spent for human amelioration and advancement. Let every true and brave patriot repeat J. G. Holland's fervent prayer:

"God, give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready
hands;

* * * * *

For while the rabble, with their thumbworn creeds,

Their large professions and their little deeds—
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps!"



THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE SANITARY PROBLEM.

Remarks By Major-General W. C. Gorgas, Surgeon
General U. S. Army, Before the Clinical Society
of Surgeons at Their 24th Meeting in
Washington, D. C., November
the 26th, 1915.

Gentlemen of the Society of Clinical Surgeons:

The Secretary of War had expected to welcome you here this morning but he was unexpectedly called away last week and has not yet returned.

I am very glad of the opportunity of speaking to such a body of professional brethren upon the economic aspects of the sanitary problem. I want particularly to dwell upon certain phases resulting from sanitary work at Panama and at Havana. We were very anxious that the results achieved at Panama should impress the South and Central American Republics and induce them to follow along the same lines. Most of these countries are poor and cannot at present go very extensively into sanitation; they can only afford to adopt cheap and inexpensive measures.

Many of the lay writers in discussing the construction of the Panama Canal have spoken of sanitation as costing twenty million dollars, 5 per cent of the total cost of the construction of the canal. Such an expenditure as this would be entirely beyond the means of the countries referred to. Fortunately, these statements are not true. Many of these writers have been led into error from the fact that the official reports speak of the sanitary department as having cost twenty million dollars, but the expenditures of the sanitary department bear no relation whatever to the expenses of sanitation. The sanitary department had many of the functions besides those of sanitation. Of this twenty million dollars only three and one-half million was spent on sanitation. This, if estimated for each individual of population, would amount to about one cent per day per capita, such a sum as is entirely within the means of the poorest South American Republic; but still this is not a fair estimate. Our sanitary work at Panama should not have cost one-half as much as it did. We were there working, not primarily for sanitation, but to build the canal, and had to accommodate ourselves to methods and regulations that were cumbersome and expensive if sanitation alone had been the sole aim of the work. Similar sanitary work at Havana is a much better measure of what sanitation should cost in the tropics. At Havana we had only sanitation to consider and the military governor, General Wood, left us free to carry out the work in the most effective and

economical manner which we were able to devise. In Havana our sanitary work was very much more successful than our sanitary work was at Panama, and the cost at Havana was only one-fourth of a cent per day per capita. I feel very confident that with my present experience I could carry out the work if I were given the same authority which I had in Havana at one-half the cost; that is, at one-eighth of a cent per day per capita. What I wish to emphasize is that such sanitary work as is necessary in the tropics is inexpensive, but measures directed against special disease are not the greatest good than can be accomplished by sanitation.

Before these great results that we can all now see are possible for the sanitarian, we shall have to alleviate more or less the poverty at present existing in all civilized communities. Poverty is the greatest of all breeders of disease and the stone-wall against which every sanitarian must finally impinge.

During the last ten years of my sanitary work I have thought much on this subject. Of what practical measure could the modern sanitarian avail himself to alleviate the poverty of that class of our population which most needs sanitation? It is evident that this poverty is principally due to low wages; that low wages in modern communities are principally due to the fact that there are many more men competing for work than there are jobs to divide among these men. To alleviate this poverty two methods are possible, either a measure directed toward decreasing the number of men competing for jobs, or, on the other hand measures directed toward increasing the number of jobs.

The modern sanitarian can very easily decrease the number of men competing for jobs; if by next summer he should introduce infected *stegomyia* mosquitos at a dozen different places in the southern United States he could practically guarantee that when winter came we would have several million less persons competing for jobs in the United States than we have at present. This has been the method that man has been subject to for the last six or seven thousand years, but it does not appeal to me, nor, I believe, to yourselves. This method is at present being tried on a huge scale by means of the great war in Europe. I do not think that I risk much in predicting that, when this war is over and we shall have eliminated three or four million of the most vigorous workers in Europe, wages will rise and for a long time no man will be unable anywhere in Europe to get a job at pretty fair wages.

But I am sure that every sanitarian would much rather adopt measures looking toward the increase of jobs rather than, as we have done in the past, submit to measures that decrease the number of competitors for jobs.

I recently heard one of the members of the Cabinet state that in the United States 55 per cent

of the arable land, for one reason or another, is being held out of use. Now suppose in the United States we could put into effect some measure that would force this 55 per cent of our arable land into use. The effect at once would be to double the number of jobs. If the jobs were doubled in number wages would be doubly increased. The only way I can think of forcing this unused land into use is a tax on land values.

I therefore urge for your consideration, as the most important sanitary measure that can be at present devised, a tax on land values.

BOOKS

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of Wealth. By Richard T. Ely. Published by The Macmillan Company. New York. 1914. Two volumes. Price \$4.00 net per set.

This work is based upon twenty-two years of class work by Professor Ely, and comprises an inquiry into the nature and origin of the laws and practices of society regarding property, and the nature and scope of contracts. It is not a book for popular reading, but rather for the use of students, and for readers who wish information beyond the scope of magazine articles. The work presents not only a history and analysis of the prevailing ideas of property, but the 995 pages contain copious references to and citations from authorities.

This is a day of reading, thinking and discussing of economic subjects. Many schools are clamoring for public attention, and a multitude of individuals are presenting panaceas for the ailments afflicting the body politic. So much, indeed, is written and said, and so far have some gone afield in their efforts to make their points that such a work as *Property and Contract* will be welcomed for its re-statement of terms and conditions.

Not that all readers will agree with Professor Ely's conclusions. The conservatives will hesitate to follow him into some of his advanced positions; and the radicals will be impatient at the way he lags behind. But while the book would not serve as a text book for either it will nevertheless be of use to both. The book is valuable to radical reformers who would make fundamental changes in the social and political order, on account of its analysis of prevailing laws and customs. By showing what has been done, and the manner of its doing, the book fortifies the reformer with precedents, and enables him to throw his weight with the natural trend of events.

Chapter VI on the social theory of private property, and Chapter III of the Appendix, on Vested Interests, are particularly interesting.

Noting that radicals who insist on social progress "are willing to sacrifice vested rights and to urge the state to break faith with those who have trusted it," while the "conservatives shrink with horror from such a violation of economic justice as the abolition of vested rights," Professor Ely commends the example set by John Stuart Mill to both radical and conservative. Mill, he says, scrupulously insisted "that government, standing for the people, should keep faith with individuals and with economic classes." Continuing, Professor Ely says:

Our American nation, acting through both Federal and State government, has extended a general invitation to the people to acquire full property in land; and the invitation has been accepted by Americans, while people have come from the ends of the world to acquire property in land, in accordance with our own conditions. . . . Now it is seriously proposed, because of an abstract doctrine of natural rights, to deprive the land owners of their land values. It is not believed by the author that the American conscience will ever accept this proposition. If a mistake has been made, it is the mistake of the nation, and not of one particular class in it.

It is this conservative position on the question of human rights that prevents Professor Ely from occupying the high position in the economic world that his talents and industry entitle him; but this very conservatism makes his work of value to the radical who would know the position of the most advanced conservative. S. C.

WHAT CHRIST WOULD SAY NOW.

The Last Incarnation. Translated from the French by A. Constant. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. Price \$1.00 net.

The author, writing in the year 1840—a copy of the first English edition of his book was discovered on an Illinois farm and dragged to the light by a certain "inquisitive boy" early in the fifties—presents the Prophet of Nazareth such as he imagined he would speak and act in his time. But, as our time with respect to social and industrial conditions differs little from that of Constant we might assume that Constant's reincarnated Christ has something to say even to men and women of our time.

The matter is presented in nineteen legends, depicting different scenes, in which Jesus appears instructing, rebuking, consoling, as the situation demands. He speaks in the first place to the common people, the "Sinners" and the insane not excluded, but also to judges, priests and philosophers.

As representative of fine Christian spirit pervading the book I will quote the following passage from the second legend. Speaking to children in the presence of priests whose teachings he had criticized, Jesus says:

You are all brothers, because God is the father

of you all; and he loves you all, the poor as well as the rich, but more particularly the poor, because they have more to suffer. Be therefore like God your father: love each other, all of you, without distinction; but love most those who are the weakest, the smallest and the poorest, in order that you may be like your good father, who will see it and who will bless you.

AUGUST DELLGREN.



"Tact," said the lecturer, "is essential to good entertaining. I once dined at a house where the hostess had no tact. Opposite me sat a modest, quiet man.

"Suddenly he turned as red as a lobster and fell into a fit of confusion on hearing his hostess say to her husband:

"How inattentive you are, Charlie. You must look after Mr. Blank better. He's helping himself to everything.'"—Sacred Heart Review.



Flubdub—Isn't there some fable about the ass disguising himself with a lion's skin?"

Synicus—"Yes, but now the colleges do the trick with a sheepskin."—Buffalo Courier.

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That evening Elsie appeared to be unusually

silent and thoughtful. When bedtime came, and she knelt down to say her prayers, there came the usual petitions, and then, with a slight pause, she resumed in a very earnest manner:

"And now, God, please take good care of Yourself, for if anything should happen to You, we should only have Mr. Wilson—and he hasn't come up to father's expectations."—Philadelphia Ledger.

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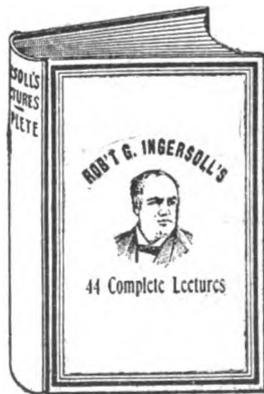
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CONTENTS

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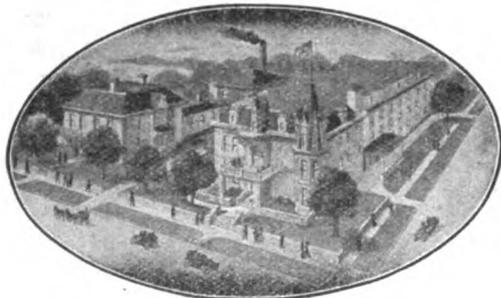
Dec. 10—Dinner Kimball's Cafe, 116 W. Monroe, 6 p. m., 50c. Speakers: Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit and Rev. Fred A. Moore, leader of the West Side People's Forum. Rev. Father Thomas E. Cox will preside.

Dec. 17—Competitive Talks by High School Students.

M. J. Foyer, of Toledo, "The Singletax."

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Debater's Handbook on the Singletax

H. W. Wilson & Co., well-known publishers of the Readers' Guide and other reference works, have put on the market a Debater's Handbook on the Singletax. The book gives affirmative and negative briefs.

Following the briefs and a bibliography are a number of articles in favor of the Singletax, reprinted from The Outlook, Kansas City Star, World Almanac, The Public, The Survey, The Atlantic Monthly, World's Work, The Congressional Record, American Magazine, Arena, etc.

Sixty pages are devoted to negative discussion—reprint matter by Professor Seligman (quoted from Essays in Taxation), Charles H. Shields, Adam Short, George Fallon and Professor A. S. Johnson and a lengthy but vastly entertaining criticism by Newton N. Taylor. Mr. Taylor says that there is "no possible excuse for so visionary, revolutionary and disastrous a scheme as the Singletax." This quotation is a fair sample of much of the negative matter which Singletaxers will find as entertaining as an armchair session with "Innocents Abroad."

In the affirmative brief there are several errors, but on the whole this new book is very valuable. It contains much material that has not hitherto been accessible except in the scattered files of innumerable periodicals.

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