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EDITORIAL

Completing the Circle.

In nothing has man shown greater ingenuity than in the making of instruments to destroy life. Beginning with the knotted club of the cave man, we have the wide sweep of spears, slings, bows, swords, guns, liquid fire, deadly gases, and again the knotted club. Dispatches from Flanders recount how men with lead-weighted clubs, studded with large boot tacks, knocked in the head their opponents when charging a trench. And so men, after thousands of years of civilization, burrow themselves holes in the earth, from which to sally forth to knock out each others' brains with clubs. What a commentary on progress. s. c.



Information which Preparationists Should Give.

Suppose Congress agrees to spend hundreds of millions in a way to satisfy the preparationists. Then suppose some other nation, noting this at once, increases its military expenditures in order to acquire an armament in excess of ours. Are the preparationists prepared to speak out now and say what we must do under those circumstances? Are they ready to admit that we must still further increase our expenditures in order to keep ahead of the other nation at every cost? If not, will we not be as unprepared as we are now? Or if we must keep ahead with spending, what must be the end? Answers to these questions should not be postponed or evaded. Even preparationists should realize the wisdom of looking before leaping. Theodore Roosevelt, the National Security League, or some other recognized preparationist authority should furnish the reply. S. D.



Beneath the Preparationist Movement.

That special interests are back of the preparationist movement there is little room to doubt. Reactionary protectionists see in it a means of forcing restoration of high tariff rates,

and believe that a war scare will prove more forcible than the threadbare falsehood about "pauper competition." Then there are the elements which hold with ex-President Taft that "in a nation of 100,000,000 there are liable to be riots, mobs and insurrections which cannot be regulated except by the presence of an army." The present seems a good time to secure the consent of the people to establishment of a big military institution, ostensibly for use against a mythical foreign enemy, but actually for the purpose so plainly outlined by Mr. Taft. To these must be credited the interests so well described in the October Commoner by William J. Bryan.

Now, a new power has arisen in the land and demands control of the taxing power. It is the preparers of preparedness—the battleship builders and the manufacturers of munitions. They have been making enormous profits supplying the belligerent nations with fighting material, but the European war must end some time. . . . and what will these concerns do for watermelon-like dividends then? There is only one way to insure their continued prosperity—they must lash this country into a state of chronic fear, and then coin the fear into dollars. They already have their subsidized organs setting up a false standard of national honor—the duelist's standard; they are glorifying brute force. They are transplanting upon American soil the European tree of hatred which is bearing its bloody fruit across the Atlantic.

Mr. Bryan has touched the militarists on a sensitive spot. That is evident from the renewed torrent of abuse poured upon him since he made so clear the true inwardness of the movement. But at the approaching session of Congress proof of Mr. Bryan's statement will be furnished by the militarists themselves. In opposing, as they surely will, the proposition for government manufacture of armaments, they will leave little cause to doubt that back of preparationist agitation is not unselfish patriotism, but such sordid motives as those to which Mr. Bryan refers.

S. D.

Ten Years of Shivers.

Advocates of preparedness were rejoiced to see the Wilson Administration come out for a larger army and navy. Some of them, however, are discouraged at the length of time allowed to accomplish the work. The naval program contemplates building dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts until 1925. In other words, for ten years to come the United States will be at the mercy of any little whip-snapper country that may choose to make us dance. For a whole decade the chills will run up and down the spinal columns of the disciples of preparedness every time a door slams.

S. C.

No Bonding of Posterity.

Discussing the preparationist program, Senator Borah showed himself in one respect, at least, to be a statesman. He said:

We certainly ought not to be called on to issue bonds. It would be unwise and unjust to do so. A slipshod, slovenly program of sliding this debt for defense onto posterity by the sale of bonds would ultimately kill any program of preparedness and ought to.

The program ought to be killed anyway, but if we are going to be foolish enough to adopt it, we should not ask posterity to pay for our folly. If there is any danger threatening it is directed against the living generation, and the living generation should pay whatever it may cost to avert it. Future generations will have their own problems to meet and ought to decline assumption of any burdens that should have been borne by men of today.

S. D.

An Alternative.

Those timorous worshipers of the golden calf who have invested money in war bonds, and who fall into a state of panic at the mere mention of the word "repudiation," need not despair. There is an alternative. It will be possible for the people of European countries to pay the war debt upon one condition, and one condition only—that they repudiate landlordism. It becomes daily more evident that either the landlord or the war debt will have to be repudiated. Capitalists with money at stake may well ponder the situation.

S. C.

Public Ownership and Private Financiers.

It is an unusual occurrence for prominent American banks and bankers to tell the public that government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones has been successful anywhere. Yet the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, Lee, Higginson & Co. of Boston, Cassatt & Co. of Philadelphia, the Central Trust Co. of Chicago and other financial concerns, in advertising an issue of Italian government bonds, make the following statement:

Italy, with a population of about 36,000,000, has today a national debt of about \$3,247,400,000, or about \$90 per capita. The Government owns about 76 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country. It also owns all telegraph and substantially all telephone lines. These public utilities represent an investment of about \$1,396,000,000. If this portion of the debt, represented by productive assets, be deducted, the net national debt would be \$1,851,300,000, or \$51 per capita.

So it appears on the authority of these financiers that the national debt incurred in gaining these

public utilities is not a public burden but is represented by "productive assets." It will be a good thing to remember whenever the question of government ownership of natural monopolies comes up in this country.

S. D.



Wherein Governor Hunt Offends.

Governor Hunt of Arizona has kept order in a mining strike district without disregarding the constitutional rights of the strikers and without resorting to violence. When he sent the militia to the scene of the strike at Clifton he ordered strict impartiality in dealing with lawbreakers, whether strikers, agents of mine owners or the mine owners themselves. Consequently there have been no riots nor Ludlow massacres. But one unusual thing has happened. A petition is being circulated for Governor Hunt's recall on the alleged ground that he "has deliberately attempted to foment and encourage class hatreds and divisions. That he has been partisan and prejudiced in his dealings with the most vital interests of the State and that, by a program of unconcealed and deliberate catering to the most radical elements, he has created a condition approaching anarchy in certain sections of the State." So it appears that unless a Governor takes sides in a strike against the strikers he caters "to the most radical elements" and creates "a condition approaching anarchy." There is little possibility that such reasoning can bring about the Governor's recall. But the attempt to do so will probably make him popular.

S. D.



Still They Come.

Chancellor Day will have to look to his laurels. Professor Joseph F. Johnson of New York University has entered the lists with the declaration that oppressive taxes, wars, poverty and numerous other ills are due to an excessive number of babies in the world. Matrimony, he says, should be discouraged. The world is now producing babies faster than it can furnish raiment and food. If the Professor has his way, no stork will be allowed to alight in this country until prospective parents can convince the authorities that they are capable of supporting a child. And as for the world war, the Professor says:

The birthrate in Germany, for instance, grew so rapidly that the nation could not support its population. Colonies were formed and they grew. The products of these colonies had to have an outlet. Hence, conquest.

Declaring that babies born in poverty mean more taxes, he says:

Regulate child-birth, and you will have bared one of the principal causes of the taxation trouble.



Here is the man whom the trustees of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania have been looking for. With Professor Johnson in the chair of political economy, they need not lie awake nights for fear something would be said to the students that would embarrass their parents. Or, if Chancellor Day has sufficient confidence in his own position to brave the claims of such a brilliant rival, the New York Dean might find a congenial berth in Syracuse.



It is now quite evident that Congress should lose no time in appointing a commission, with power to make ante-mortem autopsies, to inquire into and determine the mental status of educators. With the Foundations looking for hookworms, cancer germs and what-not, nobody is looking for the microbes, germs, bugs, or whatever it may be that gets into the brains of educators and university administrators.



If Germany, with a population of 310 per square mile, had to go to war to find room for her people, what a craven lot the Belgians were to rest content with a population of 652 per square mile. If Professor Johnson were to attempt to rid the world of its troubles by cutting down the population, he would have to reduce it to a single inhabitant. For, if there remained two men, and one of them owned the land upon which the other had to live, there would still be a wage problem, a social problem and an over-population problem.

S. C.



Qualifications for School Board Directors.

The Chicago School Board has numbered among its members men and women of almost every race, nationality and religion; but it remained for the present mayor to select seven citizens for members, only one of whom had a child in the public schools. The mere fact of parenthood does not, it is true, necessarily qualify one for membership in such a body; but, other things being equal, it might be supposed that those best qualified would be found among the citizens who were themselves patrons of the schools. Three of the new members have no children at all; one did have children in the public schools—and might thus retain a personal sympathy; a fifth has two children under school age; a sixth—a woman—has one child in school; while the seventh has four

children, two under school age and two in private schools. This man seems to have achieved the height of absurdity in qualifying for an office. That a man or woman belonging to a religious denomination that maintains its own schools should seek to govern the public schools has been questioned as a matter of good taste; yet such person might have his own children in the schools, and thus demonstrate his belief in the system; but that any man or woman should aspire to be a director in the public schools while sending his own children to private schools would seem to be the height of presumption.

s. c.



A Question of Revenue.

It matters not whether the problem at issue is one of the contending empires, or of digging a village sewer, the finding of the necessary revenue to defray the expense is the all-important thing. And those persons living at a distance from Chicago who have looked on with amazement and apprehension at the perennial struggle between the teachers and the Board of Education will find the same bone of contention, revenue. Chicago has a good public school system. It is not under the control of any church or religious body. It is not the instrument of any political party. Its teachers are not devoting all their attention to securing an advance in salaries. Its School Board is not using the buildings for manufacturing or merchandising purposes. This fact, however, stands out above all others: The teaching force is too small to discharge fully its duty in educating the children. There are too many pupils to a teacher, and too many in a room.



The remedy for this overcrowding and under-teaching is more buildings and more teachers; but more buildings and teachers mean more taxes, and this brings in a new element. Certain business interests, particularly the real estate owners and dealers, object to paying more taxes. Other interests contend that there is ample revenue to be had if the authorities will avail themselves of their opportunity. Among those who hold and press upon the public attention this view are the teachers themselves; and as those among them who belong to the Teachers' Federation have been very active, and have presented such a plausible plea as to cause much embarrassment to the tax dodgers, these latter, unable to answer the arguments, have sought to secure the teachers' discomfiture by breaking up their organization.



Had the school board of earlier days retained

the square mile of territory that is now the heart of the city, the present board would have had ample funds to erect all necessary buildings and employ all the teachers needed. This would have avoided the present trouble. But there remains the same potential revenue. If the citizens of Chicago who own property that receives a direct pecuniary value on account of the civic services rendered by the city will pay that value into the public treasury, there will be ample funds for school purposes. There will be no settlement of the question, there will be no peace between the School Board and the teachers, until the public adopts the policy of collecting annually from landholders the value that the city confers upon their land. There will be tried all manner of makeshifts and evasions, just as there was in settling the slavery issue; but no real settlement will be made until all economic values are apportioned to those who create them.

s. c.



Vancouver's Tax System.

The Dallas, Texas, News objects, in its issue of October 23, to the suggestion that Vancouver should have increased its tax on land values sufficiently to forestall speculation. It says that "is as much as to say that the theory might have been vindicated by killing the town." Unfortunately the News offers no explanation of this remark, unless it would have it understood that land speculation is the leading industry of the city. Further on the News asks why the city should raise more revenue than it needs since "with its existing tax rate, Vancouver raises enough revenue to support its government." If that were true it would show the city to be far ahead of most other places. Nearly every other city is refraining from some legitimate activities or postponing some needed improvement on account of lack of revenue. Others are going into debt for such things. Is it true that Vancouver is able to supply all such needs without going into debt merely through levy of an insignificant tax on land values? That would be splendid were it true. But it is not. The city has a big debt and could well use more revenue in paying it off. There are other things for which public money might profitably be spent.



The News declares that the singletax "hasn't a ghost of a show to be vindicated in spots," and "won't get a look-in without at least a statewide sweep." A "statewide sweep" would surely have far better results than application "in spots," and a nation wide application would be still better.

But an application in spots would be a good thing nevertheless. The spots where it would be applied would be better off than other spots similarly situated. Eventually that would lead to state-wide and nation-wide application. Single-taxers have enough confidence in this to hope that Vancouver and other places, which have taken steps in the right direction, will increase their land value tax sufficiently to make land speculation unprofitable. If under such circumstances it cannot be vindicated, they will surely cease further efforts.

S. D.

Conserving Small Gardens.

Professor Seligman of Columbia University, in his address before the National Housing Conference at Minneapolis, urged as one reason against the untaxing of buildings that the shifting of the tax from the building to the land would tend to the building of skyscrapers for tenements and to the destroying of home gardens in the suburbs of large cities. This thought has been expressed by others who have feared that the taxing of vacant and improved land alike would tend to cover all land with buildings, to the exclusion of sufficient light and air. Professor Seligman admits that such a tax would lower the price of land; the taking of the whole land value would leave merely a nominal selling price. Why, then, as the land grows cheaper, should we expect people to use less of it? The taxing of vacant and improved land alike will tend to put it to use, but use does not mean covering it with buildings to the exclusion of light and air, or, in suburbs, of gardens. The more buildings put up, the greater will be the competition for tenants; and landlords with the commercial instinct will provide light and air as an attraction for their buildings. For the same reason the builders of suburban homes will allot ground for garden and chickens.

The confusion in the minds of these critics arises from overlooking the interest charge paid on the garden. The suburban homeseeker must now pay, let us suppose, \$500 for a lot upon which to place a \$1,500 house. If he wishes more than a back yard for garden and chickens, he must pay \$500 for another lot. As three-fourths of the home tax falls upon the building, Professor Seligman sees in the small tax on the second lot an inducement toward gardening. What he overlooks is the interest. Though the tax now be light, the interest on \$500 at 6 per cent amounts to \$30. If the tax be raised, Professor Seligman admits the price of the lot will fall. Hence, if the selling

price drops to \$100, the tax can be raised \$24 before the burden on the holder will be increased. Not only can the homeseeker afford to pay more tax on the vacant lot used for a garden, because of the smaller outlay of capital, but he will save a similar outlay of capital in the lot used for the house.



If there is such a thing as natural law in the economic world, the rule that cheaper goods increase consumption will apply to land. Instead, therefore, of tending to skyscrapers and the elimination of gardens, the movement will be toward normal height of buildings and the garden plot. Not only will it cost less under the application of the Singletax to have a garden, but the increased wages that will result from the opening up of opportunities to labor, and the closing of the tolls to deadheads, will make people better able to rent or own buildings with light and air in cities, and to have gardens in the suburbs. The Singletax will stand the test in both city and country.

S. C.



Back to the Farm.

A number of editors in small towns in southern Illinois have united in sounding an alarm at decline of rural population. They say:

"Ninety-three out of the 102 counties in the State of Illinois showed a decline in population in two or more rural townships between 1890 and 1910. Fifty counties actually declined in population between 1900 and 1910, while the cities made our State show an increase of more than 16 per cent in the same period. We desire a united voice raised against the drift cityward; for it is against reason and will more and more breed the anarchy of hunger. He that is hungry knows no law. We appeal to our fellow county editors in Illinois to join in considering what weakens our rural communities, and what we can do to stop the weakening process."

Not only did rural population decrease between 1900 and 1910, but rural tenantry increased. What other result could have been reasonably expected to follow the inflation of rural land values that took place during that decade? As the prices of farms advance is it not natural that fewer farms will be bought? And is it not natural that the owners will take advantage of opportunities to put tenants in charge of their farms and retire to live at leisure from the rents? Now, if the editors would change this tendency, they must work to remove the cause. Population cannot come back to the farm while farm prices are inflated. To lower prices to the natural level, withholding of valuable land from use must be discouraged. The means most available for this is taxation. Removal of

taxes from personal property and improvements and raising of all public revenue by land value taxation will make it more profitable to put land to use than to withhold it. That will force unused land into the market, bring land prices down to where they ought to be and make return to the farm easy and attractive. Now, are these Illinois editors willing to urge adoption of this method? If so, they will be going about the solution of the problem in the right way. If not, their efforts are foredoomed to failure.

S. D.



A Legalized Lottery.

If an announcement were made that 30,000 lottery tickets were for sale or had been sold in the United States by private individuals, and that 700 prizes were to be distributed, very many people would be shocked. Federal and State authorities would bestir themselves to suppress the scandalous proceeding. Sermons would be preached on the folly of those who had bought tickets, at about one dollar each, with but one chance in more than 40 of winning a prize. There would be denunciations of the conductors of the lottery for inducing people to part with hard-earned money to participate in a gamble. Well, no such lottery is being conducted by individuals, but the United States Government is doing it. Moreover, it is carrying on the game in such a way that the players risk far more than those who played the old Louisiana lottery, while the value of the prizes is more problematical.



The Government lottery is to take place in North Dakota. Seven hundred homestead sites are to be raffled off. The number participating in the drawing will be 30,561. That means 29,861 must be disappointed. Nominally there may be no charge for participating, but many of the disappointed ones have come at considerable expense from a distance. In order to register they have wasted time that could have been more profitably spent. They would have been better off had they been allowed to gratify their gambling instinct by spending one dollar each for a lottery ticket, which they could have done without much interference with the ordinary routine of their lives.



Criticism of this Government lottery would be unjust, perhaps, were there not more than enough unused locations within the United States to furnish everyone with a homestead site who wants one. Because State and National governments encourage withholding of these sites from use we

have 30,000 homeseekers engaging in this gamble.

S. D.



Progress of the Indian.

Cato Sells, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his address at San Francisco, expressed the belief that the American Indian would soon arrive at the point of self-support. Investigation among the Indians of the Southwest has convinced him that they have the will and the ability to succeed. He called upon the white race to have patience and to expect of the red man not a revolution, but an evolution. He asked fairness at the hands of the white man. Allotments of land should be made in accordance with its quality, and not its surface area. There were thousands of acres, he said, on Indian reservations, where a hundred acres would not feed a rabbit; and he proposed that the public be given photographs of the "Painted Desert" as well as of the small alfalfa patch. To allot the Indians a farm apiece and throw open the rest of the reservation to white settlers oftentimes foredooms the Indian farmer to failure. Instances are given by the Commissioner where the best white farmers could not succeed.



The question of land has been a bone of contention between the white man and the Indian from the time of Jamestown and Plymouth. The homestead laws and the mineral and timber laws were well-intended; but their application and execution too often rested in the hands of unworthy men. The public domain and the Indian reservations are now so small, however, that there is no reason why the public cannot keep its censorious eye upon government officials and secure a fair deal for the Indian. There is no reason why he should be given oil lands, or other mineral lands, worth millions of dollars, or put upon lands that would starve a rabbit. Of all the minor races that have come under the subjection of the white race, there is none more deserving of justice than the American Indian.

S. C.



Did you ever see a pail of swill given to a pen of hungry hogs? That is human society as it is. Did you ever see a company of well-bred men and women sitting down to a good dinner, without scrambling or jostling, or gluttony, each, knowing that his own appetite will be satisfied, deferring to and helping the others? That is human society as it might be.—Henry George.



A man is judged by his deeds; also by what he doesn't do.—The Mediator.

THE VEIL OF PREPARATION.

Some veil has always been ready when deeply interested "leaders" have wanted to have a public policy put into effect. "Preparation" furnishes the veil at this time. Let us hope that the real thinkers and the quiet voters of the country will not be deceived and will be able to see through the veil.

The proposition is to spend millions and then surely billions in "Preparation." If we begin the policy, who can say where it will stop? Have the people no better use for their money? And where is the danger?

Will any one tell us what foe is likely to threaten this country with war? The Japanese terror has been paraded. Is there any more likelihood of an attack from that source than there was two years ago? The Japanese have shown within these two years various indications of a desire for continued friendship. Has the awful war in Europe indicated in the slightest degree any likelihood of an attack upon us? On the contrary, is it not evident that none of the nations of Europe will be in condition to invade America after the exhaustion of the present conflict? And why, why, should any European nation want to attack America?

The fact is that there never has been a time when there was less need of "Preparation" than now. The country is simply being rushed by a clique of men into an excitement for militarism veiled under the pretense of "Preparation," and the politicians are afraid to oppose the apparent trend. The outlook is the most alarming for the future of civilization in America that has appeared within a generation. If this country is to be turned from its policy of expecting peace into a policy of expecting war, it will be the greatest blow to the development of democracy that could possibly be conceived. If there ever was a time when this republican-democratic Nation could serve the world by example, now is the time. Shall we keep our heads, or shall we rush into the policy of European folly? That is the supreme decision.

The militarists and their followers, the preparationists bid us look at the poor Belgians and see what happened to them. Can any one show a single point of resemblance between Belgium and this country that would in the remotest degree bear upon this question? The real question, as I said, is, who would want to attack us? And the important matter at this moment is to get the American people to think soberly, and see if they can find a sober answer to this question.

Many have been drawn into the ranks of the preparationists who would not be there if they had taken time to think. Instead of thinking independently they are following the trend of an organized force which is endeavoring to change the whole policy of our government as founded and upheld by the men who had true ideals for the future. The great founders meant that this country should indeed be different from other countries, and they deeply believed that our example would be the sign of a better way for all nations. We have come, by reactionary and interested designings, by a false view of patriotism, and by the insane influence of a wild spirit now abroad, to a parting of the ways. The choice will be tremendous in its consequences.

J. H. DILLARD.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE VALUE OF FREEDOM IN OUR UNIVERSITIES.

Marietta, Ga., Sept. 17.

The dismissal of Doctor Scott Nearing, one of the most virile writers on economic and social problems in this country, from the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, has brought into prominence once more the ever interesting problem of academic freedom. The usual number of varying conceptions are being set forth and extreme views are not without warm advocates. Some cry out for license rather than liberty, while others would rigidly restrain rather than reasonably control. The path of safety certainly lies between these, but that it needs to be more clearly marked out perhaps none will deny.

One of the most unfortunate utterances on the present case has come from Doctor James R. Day, the Chancellor of Syracuse University. In it he suggests that a university is not unlike a partisan newspaper. He says: "That (dismissal) is what would happen to an editorial writer of The Tribune if he were to disregard the things for which the paper stands and, for instance, write Bull Moose or Democratic politics into The Tribune because such was his conscience or convictions. Conscience is not an infallible guide, as any novice knows, and convictions must be more than honest; they must be correct."

If our universities are like partisan political organs it is lamentable indeed, but it is best for the public to know it if it be so, and the startling analogy drawn by Doctor Day may well arouse alarmed attention. It has not been long since a law was passed requiring newspapers to publish at certain times an exhibit showing the owners of the stock and bonds. This law was no doubt enacted so that the public might know whether the policies advocated by the papers were determined by the self-interests of the owners. In spite of this law the suspicion is frequently expressed that newspapers are not at all judicial in their attitude toward public questions. The public has almost ceased to look for

independence on the part of editors. They are frequently looked upon by the public as gifted writers who have been retained to give forceful expression to the views held by men higher up. What a given paper will have to say in its editorial columns about a matter of public importance can frequently be anticipated with an alarming degree of accuracy.

But many have believed that the freedom which is necessary for political and social progress was still found in our colleges and universities and they will be shocked at the position taken by this chancellor of a great university that the highest duty of a professor is to advocate before his classes what the institution stands for, just as it is the duty of an editor to advocate what his paper, that is the owners of its stock, stands for. Doctor Day says: "Convictions must be more than honest; they must be correct." That is easy to say, but passing hard to apply. Who is to say when they are correct and when incorrect. Must the professor go by the chancellor's office on his way to the class room and have his lecture approved before he delivers it? Or must he consult with the trustees and interrupt them in the midst of their large and absorbing money-making activities until they express their agreement with his views.

This theory set forth by Doctor Day would be well enough if certainty were as easily attainable as he implies it to be. It is easy to declare with glibness and complacency that convictions must be correct as well as honest, but unfortunately the truth is many times found after long search. It is an achievement, not an insight. Probability is the guide of life when certainty is impossible. The American people have fondly believed that their universities stand for a relentless search for the truth and for the best modes of its application to the needs of a social and industrial order becoming every day more involved and complicated. If our universities cannot serve a world in motion they cannot serve the present generation and they cannot more seriously hamper themselves than to send abroad the impression that they propose to restrict the spirit of research. As to Doctor Day, many will not be able to forget his fiery defense of plutocracy set forth in his "Raid on Prosperity" as specious and spectacular a defense of monopolistic abuses as has been presented in the last few decades. That it was as heartily approved by the defenders of privilege as the writings of Nearing are disapproved few will doubt.

If our universities are to be the fortified fastnesses of our modern industrial feudalism instead of the fountains of a fructifying freedom, we may expect the ills of an insurgent socialism to increase at an alarming rate. It was a wise man who said that error can be overcome only if you will unfetter truth.

REMBERT G. SMITH, D. D.

THE REAL MENACE TO THE NATION

Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 27.

The production of feeble-minded children has more than doubled in the United States in the past ten years.

If this alarming increase continues it will counteract the millions on millions of dollars that this nation will spend on preparedness in the way of battleships, submarines and big guns.

Thousands of children are suffering from lack of proper care in this country; half of them die before they reach school age, six years, and those that grow up are weaklings, mentally, morally and physically. They make a class that create a rotten place in the national life. They are not only unfit to fight in any army, but they are so low in vitality that they are unable to feel loyalty, patriotism, love of home, and cannot be depended upon.

Guns, powder, ships, aeroplanes and all other implements of war must be operated by human beings, and the first requisite of a successful army is healthy people, well fed and well housed. Germany's success is due to the fact that in that country children are well nourished, child-poverty, as it prevails in this country and in England, being almost unknown there before the war, or at the present time.

I propose that the War Department investigate the effect of child-poverty in this country. Captain Edward B. Clark, who has recently returned from the British trenches, said that the half starved recruits of England's new army are having enough to eat for the first time in their lives. I propose that we feed all the children so that they can grow up strong in body and mind, for peace or for war, because underfed people are dangerous to the nation in peace and in war. It is the custom to let children suffer because their parents are incompetent or criminals. Many people believe that children should be punished by poverty, and relief withheld from them in order to make the father better, thus punishing children to reform the parents. This policy is disastrous. We should feed all children well, regardless of the wisdom or folly, vice or virtues of their parents. We must do this or we will have a weak link in the chain of the national life which may ruin us. The care of all the children is so important that every county and city should have inspectors to search out and abolish every case of child-poverty.

Eight hundred million dollars collected by taxation was spent in the United States last year to maintain institutions for dependents and defectives—more than double the cost of ten years ago.

Nearly every taxpayer worries over the amount of his taxes, but very few ever investigate what is done with the money. If they did they would find that the cost of maintaining persons who are ruined by child-poverty is much more than it would cost to abolish child-poverty.

Army officers are greatly alarmed at the increasing number of undersized, poorly nourished and weak muscled men who apply for enlistment.

Fifty per cent of the men who try to enlist in our navy are rejected because they are below a normal physical standard or are mentally and morally undesirable, is the report of Admiral Ross, U. S. N.

All the big guns and battleships in the world will avail us nothing in time of war if we do not prepare healthy, sturdy, red-blooded men.

HENRY NEIL

When we learn to sing that Britons never will be masters we shall make an end of slavery.—Bernard Shaw in *The Revolutionists' Handbook*.

A dead fish can float down the stream, but it takes a live one to swim up.—Unidentified.

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, November 2, 1915.

Election Results.

Woman suffrage was defeated in New York on November 2 by about 200,000 majority, defeated in Pennsylvania, by about 150,000, and defeated in Massachusetts by about 130,000. Governor Walsh was defeated by about 6,500. The Taxation Amendment in New York was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The new constitution was defeated by about 250,000. Ohio defeated prohibition by about 70,000, and defeated the so-called constitutional stability proposition, limiting the use of the Initiative, by about 75,000. In Detroit the proposition to municipalize the street railways failed to receive the necessary three fifths affirmative vote. In Cleveland Harry Davis was elected mayor. In Pueblo, Colorado, where an eleventh hour move was made to repeal the local Taxation Amendment, the result is close, according to a dispatch from John Z. White, the official count must decide. The Chicago Tribune reports that the provision was sustained.



California Referendum Election.

At the referendum election in California on October 26, eleven propositions were submitted to a popular vote. All but one seem to have been rejected. The one carried relates to filling of judicial elections, and is of but local importance. The non-partisan direct primary law passed by the Legislature and referred on referendum petition to the people was rejected by a majority of more than 43,000. Among other measures rejected were a rural credit measure, a measure requiring a two-thirds vote to carry initiative measures for bond issues, a taxation measure considered reactionary, an excess condemnation measure, and a measure to extend exemption of church property. [See current volume, page 1023.]



District of Columbia Affairs.

At the hearing by the Joint Congressional Committee of the District of Columbia on October 28, W. D. Mackenzie of Washington made the argument in behalf of the brief of the Tax Reform Association of the District. In regard to revenue matters he said:

There are two methods whereby the fiscal relation between the District and the United States government may be equitably adjusted—first, by seg-

regating Federal and municipal expenses, and second, apportioning cost according to the relative value of land in the District owned by the national government and by the residents of the District. The present system of taxation and assessment should be reformed in order to lighten the burden of taxation on the small home owners of Washington, and especially to prevent any burdensome increase of taxation if Congress should decide to withdraw some portion of the amount now contributed by the Federal government.



In showing how the present system is a help to privileged interests he said:

In some respects the present system of appropriating funds has favored various forms of special privilege and encouraged pernicious activity on the part of lobbyists and promoters. It is a well known fact that lobbyists have in the past used influence with the District committees of Congress to divert appropriations for public improvements to favored sections of the city.

Another form of special privilege has been the use of public streets by private corporations without paying to the city full value for the privilege. Discriminations in the assessment of property are an extremely valuable privilege at the expense of the average taxpayer. How far these discriminations have prevailed in the District of Columbia will be considered later. Those who have a special pecuniary interest in the maintenance of the present fiscal system have taken the position that while theoretically municipal suffrage and self-government may be desirable, these political rights must not be demanded lest the permanence of the half-and-half system be thereby endangered. In fact, they have used our political helplessness as a plea for special financial favors at the hands of Congress. The half-and-half system has been a contributing factor, although not the only one, in the enhancement of land values in the District of Columbia, which has resulted in immense fortunes for the favored few and expensive home sites and high rentals for government employes and other working people, and slum conditions for the poorest-paid classes of workers in this city.



Figures were presented from the brief of the Tax Reform Association, which shows the proportion of government and privately owned property in the District to be as follows:

	Under private owner- ship.	Under U. S. owner- ship.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Value of land.....	63.6	36.4
Value of improvements.....	62.7	37.3
Value of both land and improvements..	63.2	36.8

This made it apparent that under the half and half system the government contributes more than its proper share toward the local revenue. After presenting arguments against taxation of personal property and improvements, Mr. Mackenzie said:

According to the estimates of the Tax Reform

Association, the correct division between land and improvement values is \$350,000,000 for land and \$235,000,000 for improvements, making up the total of \$585,000,000 shown by the assessors' report for the fiscal year 1914. If all improvements were exempted from taxation, and the rate of taxation on land values doubled, the total revenue from realty values would be approximately \$7,000,000, or an increase in revenue of over \$1,000,000, as compared with the revenue of \$5,950,000 under the present system of taxation. The reduction in taxes on small homes would be more than made up by the increased revenue which would be derived from lots and tracts held out of use for speculative purposes, from the extensive grounds surrounding many of the homes in the fine residence section and from the valuable building sites, whether occupied or unoccupied, in the business section of the city. The Tax Reform Association urges that means be provided for the proper and equitable assessment of property, including an increase in the number of assessors, annual assessment of real estate, etc. In the brief of the Tax Reform Association, exhibit F, there is published a table showing comparative rates of taxation, compiled from bulletin 126, United States census, covering nineteen cities with populations from 200,000 to 500,000, including Washington, D. C. From this table it appears that the average tax per \$1,000 of estimated true valuation is \$13.18, as compared with \$10 per \$1,000 in Washington; also that the average tax per capita is \$17.26, as compared with \$16 in Washington. If the census figures are accepted as approximately correct, the taxes of Washington are considerably lower per \$1,000 of property value and slightly lower per capita than the average for nineteen cities of approximately equal population.

Questions directed to Mr. Mackenzie from time to time and remarks made by Senator Works of California, and Congressmen Gard of Ohio and Cooper of Wisconsin, indicated some misunderstanding and hostility. [See current volume, page 1025.]



On October 30 James Hugh Keeley of the Tax Reform Association addressed the Committee. Senator Works of California and Senator Saulsbury of Delaware both raised objections about the colored vote. In answer Mr. Keeley said that a quarter of the colored population is floating and cannot maintain residence, while the resident Negroes are well educated. He said further:

Washington as a whole would resent the imputation that colored voters could not be trusted. It is the demagogues in high life who fear the colored vote here, and they fear it because they think it would be too democratic.

Concerning conditions prior to 1878, he said that no popular form of government existed then since the District was controlled by a board of public works in no way responsible to the people. The Negroes did not run the city at that time. The troubles were due to President Grant and the board of public works. Congress merely made a scapegoat of the colored population in

order to make the best retreat it could from a humiliating situation. A. J. McKelway, representing the Committee of Forty on self government, also addressed the Joint Committee and showed that lack of self government is fatal to civic pride.



Home Rule in Connecticut.

The Board of Trade of Willimantic, Connecticut, has under consideration a new city charter to be framed in accordance with the home-rule-for-cities law passed by the legislature at its last session. Under this law a new charter may be framed on petition of ten per cent of the electors. Among other powers given is to make provisions for "levying, assessing and collecting taxes."



Back-to-the-Farm Movement in Illinois.

Editors of 14 weekly newspapers in southern Illinois have formed an organization to push the back-to-the-farm movement. One page of each issue of their papers is to be devoted to this purpose, and other country editors are urged to join. The editors in the movement are George M. LeCone, Effingham Democrat; F. W. Lewis, Robinson Constitution; Frank L. Shup, Newton Press; Charles Bradshaw, Carrollton Patriot; T. N. Lakin & Sons, Vandalia Union; Norman Bennett, Marshall Democrat; J. B. Stout, Lawrenceville Republican; Roy L. Seright, Louisville Republican; Orin M. Lewis, Salem Democrat; Barton & Niccum, Toledo Democrat; D. P. Moors, Olney Times; John W. Gadis, Sullivan Progress; C. T. Kurz, Jerseyville Republican; Sam Little, Hillsboro Journal.



Chicago School Affairs.

Mayor Thompson's nominees for the Board of Education were requested by a sub-committee of the city council to answer the following questions:

1. How long have you been a continuous resident of Chicago?
2. Will your business interests permit your attendance at meetings of the board regularly and at all times in the year?
3. Do you have any children, and, if so, have they attended or are they at present attending the public schools?
4. Do you approve of the policy of permitting the city council, which levies and appropriates all taxes for public school purposes, to investigate the finances of the board of education?
5. Do you approve of the Loeb rule?
6. Do you believe that the board of education should forbid its employes to belong to labor unions?
7. Do you believe that the board of education should forbid its employes to belong to organizations which are affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor?
8. Do you favor the development of social centers and the opening of assembly halls, gymnasiums and swimming pools of the public schools for the free

use of the public during hours when the school is not occupied by school children?

9. Do you favor the extension of vocational education in the public school system? If so, do you favor the unit plan, or the dual system as outlined in the Cooley bill?

10. Are you pledged to the election of any member for president of the board of education, or for the election of any individual for superintendent of schools? If so, to whom?

11. The committee would be pleased to receive a statement of your views regarding any questions of policy, etc.

All answered. These showed that two of the appointees, Reverend W. P. Brushingham and A. Sheldon Clark are not legally eligible. The law requires five years continuous residence in the city before appointment. Only one appointee, Mrs. Thornton, has a child attending the public schools. W. N. Selig admitted that business matters will not allow him to attend meetings regularly. Answers to the fifth and sixth questions were invariably so framed as to leave doubt of the appointee's position. Even the reappointed member, Mr. Peterson, who voted for the Loeb rule, returned an evasive reply. Mrs. Thornton was the only one who answered unqualifiedly in favor of the unit plan for vocational schools. Mr. Huehl was the only one to equivocate in answering the eighth question. The others plainly declared themselves favorable. Mr. Huehl, Mr. Peterson, Mr. Brushingham and Mrs. Thornton returned equivocal answers to the fourth question. The others were favorable. [See current volume, page 1054.]



At the council meeting on November 1 it was decided by a vote of 40 to 28 to vote separately on confirmation of each appointment. This is regarded as a test vote with the result, a defeat of Mayor Thompson. Action on confirmation was postponed until November 8.



Chicago Garment Workers' Strike.

The killing of a striking garment worker at Chicago on October 26 and wounding of three others by a non-union worker brought public attention most forcibly to resorts of violence on both sides. Acting Chief of Police Schuettler bitterly condemned the club women who have interfered with and protested against violence by the police. He also condemned the city council for investigating the matter, saying that this encouraged violence on the part of strikers. Up to the time of the shooting there had been 876 arrests, mostly of strikers or sympathizers, in connection with the strike as follows: Disorderly conduct, 623; unlawful assembly, 59; assault and battery, 57; loitering, 39; assault, 19; intimidating workmen, 19; malicious mischief, 16; assault with deadly weapon, 14; distributing handbills, 13; resisting an officer, 10; assault with intent to kill,

3; carrying concealed weapons, 2; murder, 2.

A protest meeting against the apparent partisanship of the police in this dispute and also against the employment of "sluggers" was held on October 31. Addresses were made by Miss Jane Addams and others. A list of strikers and sympathizers assaulted by police and "sluggers" was furnished for publication on November 1. The list contains 306 names. Many of the victims are women or young girls.



Mexico.

What may be the deciding battle of the Mexican revolution is taking place at Agua Prieta, across the border from Douglas, Arizona. Carranza forces, said to number 7,000, occupy the town, and General Villa with ten to fifteen thousand men is attacking. Large United States forces are entrenched on the American side of the line to see that no firing into Douglas occurs. A number of people in Douglas have been wounded. [See current volume, page 1053.]



The transference of the Villa wounded from the hospital at Chihuahua to Juarez is taken to indicate a purpose to abandon the Villa capital for the border town.



John Lind, who was President Wilson's special representative in Mexico during the early days of the Administration, is on his way to Mexico to act as advisor to General Carranza.



China.

Opposition to the proposed change of the Chinese government from a republic to a monarchy developed on the part of the Allied countries engaged in the European war. It was feared that the change might be attended by armed resistance, and more war at this time is not desired. The Chinese government, however, insists that the matter is in the hands of the people, and that a postponement of action cannot be secured. The minister of foreign affairs assures the Japanese and the European representatives that the governors will be able to maintain order during the transition to the monarchy. [See current volume, pages 956, 1005.]



European War.

The Teutonic drive through Serbia is still the main feature of the week's campaigning, though with continuous heavy fighting on the eastern, western, and Italian fronts. General von Hindenburg has continued his efforts to take Riga; but neither that city nor the fortified town of Dvinsk shows any sign of yielding, and at no point between the two have the Germans been able to cross the Dvina River. South of Riga the Russians forced

them to abandon their position on the right bank of the Missa River. In Galicia the Austrians are holding their position on the Stripa River. The Russians appear to have sufficiently recovered their strength to hold their line from Riga to Bukowina. [See current volume, page 1052.]

No material changes in the lines have taken place on the western front. The French have continued their assaults in the Champagne district, which have been met by counter assaults by the Germans. The net result is the small advance of the French, and enormous casualties in both armies. Frequent assaults and much cannonading have taken place on the British front, but no attack in force has been made.

Italy continues her vigorous campaign in the Trentino and on the Isonzo front, in both of which small gains are reported; but at no point has a decisive blow been delivered the Austrian line.

The Serbia campaign continues to grow in importance. The German advance up the Morava Valley has reached Kraguievatz, the Serbian arsenal, which was occupied on the first. Kraguievatz is about fifty-five miles southwest of Belgrade. The Austrians, who form the left wing of the German advance, have met with fierce resistance from the Montenegrins. The Bulgarians from the East have taken the fortified town of Pirot, which brings them within a few miles of Nish, the temporary Serbian capital. In the South the French continue to press back the Bulgarians, and are reported to be in possession of the fortified Bulgarian town of Strumnitza. The British troops landed at Saloniki are now with the French. A large force of the Allies is said to be on its way to Saloniki, or to Enos. It is reported also that the Russians are landing troops at the Bulgarian port of Varna on the Black Sea. Another report is that Russia has a large force ready to cross Roumania to Bulgaria as soon as she secures permission. Rumors persist that Roumania is on the point of joining the Allies. Greece remains unshaken in her neutrality. No developments are reported from the Dardanelles.

Politics arrested attention in the fall of the French cabinet. The Viviani coalition cabinet resigned on the 28th and was succeeded by another coalition cabinet, led by Briand, and including some of the leading men of France. The members include: Aristide Briand, premier and minister of foreign affairs; Charles De Freycinet, vice-president of the cabinet and minister of state; General J. S. Gallieni, minister of war; Rene Viviani, justice; Louis J. Malvy, interior; Rear Admiral Lacaze, marine; Alexander Ribot, finance; Pro-

fessor Paul Painleve, public instruction; Marcel Sembat; public works; Etienne Clementel, commerce; Gaston Dumergue, colonies; Jules Meline, agriculture; Albert Metin, labor; Emil Combes, Leon Bourgeois, Denys Cochin, and Jules Guesde, ministers without portfolio. Premier Briand declared that the war would be waged in accordance with the original declaration of the Allies, and that under no circumstances would France make a separate peace. A similar declaration was made in the British Parliament by Lloyd-George. And Japan on the 19th signed the agreement of the Allies not to make a separate peace, or to make any concessions to the enemy without the consent of the other members to the agreement. The pact now includes Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Japan.

British casualties from the beginning of the war to October 9, according to a written statement of Premier Asquith to the House of Commons, were 493,294, distributed as follows:

Western area: Killed—Officers, 4,401; other ranks, 63,059. Missing—Officers, 1,657; other ranks, 61,134. Total casualties in all operations: Killed—Officers, 6,660; other ranks, 94,992. Wounded—Officers, 12,633; other ranks, 304,832. Missing—Officers, 2,000; other ranks, 72,177. Totals—Officers, 21,293; other ranks, 472,001.

It is reported by a recruiting agency that 30,000 weekly will be required to fill up the British ranks and meet the new requirements. Canada promises to have 250,000 men under arms by spring.

NEWS NOTES

—Twenty-one school children lost their lives in a fire in a parochial school at Peabody, Massachusetts, on October 28.

—The city budget of New York City for 1916 will be \$214,000,000, or about \$15,000,000 increase over the present year.

—The report of the British prison commission shows that in 1914 sentences were imposed on 114,283 persons in the United Kingdom, a decrease from the previous year of 37,000.

—November 14 will be anti-saloon day in churches of Cook county outside of Chicago. The plan is that on that day every church will call on the mayor of its locality to close Sunday saloons.

—Receipts of San Francisco municipal railway to the Exposition grounds from February 20 to October 15 were \$1,031,493.75. The estimated net profits, according to the San Francisco Star, are \$1,000,000. [See current volume, page 621.]

—The entire printing plant and mailing room of The Ground Hog at Cleveland was destroyed by fire on the night of October 26, thus delaying issue of the paper. Arrangements for resumption of publication were promptly made by David Gibson, owner and publisher.

—The United States Supreme Court on October 28 decided that ownership by the Central Railroad of New Jersey, of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Company constitutes restraint of trade. The Central railroad is itself owned by the Philadelphia & Reading Company.

—Registration of applicants for the drawing of homestead sites in Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota ended on October 31. The number registered was 30,561. The number of sites to be distributed is 700. The drawing takes place on November 4. [See current volume, page 1055.]

—The Pennsylvania Supreme Court on October 28 declared unconstitutional the act of 1913 placing a State tax of 2½ cents a ton on anthracite coal. Since passage of the act the coal companies have added the tax to the price of coal, but have never paid it to the State, and are now relieved by the decision from so doing.

—The Arizona anti-alien labor law was declared unconstitutional by the Federal Supreme Court on November 1. The law required that at least 80 per cent of employees of individuals or corporations employing more than five persons must be American citizens. The law was enacted on initiative vote of the people. The court found that it violated the constitutional requirement that all persons be given equal protection of the law.

—Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who is conducting Arctic explorations under the auspices of the Canadian government, writing from Cape Kellett, Banks Island, September 3, reports his departure for the north with the best equipment he has ever had. The North Star with five men sailed August 4, and the Polar Bear with ten white men and nine Eskimos under his own command sailed September 3. He carries 100 dogs and provisions for two years. It is his intention to explore the region extending from the new land north of Prince Patrick Island westward to 145 west longitude. [See current volume, page 931.]

—Report of the naval board detailed to investigate the sinking of the United States submarine F-4, March 25 last at Honolulu, when twenty-one members of the crew were lost, to Secretary of the Navy says:

The primary cause of the disaster was the corroded condition of the lead lining, and in consequence of certain rivets in the port wall of the forward battery steel tank.

The secondary causes of the disaster were (A) The poor diving qualities of the vessel, and (B) the consequent failure of the vessel promptly to respond to measures taken to bring her to the surface.

No responsibility is fixed, but a general criticism is made that a number of the submarines were believed to be unsafe. [See current volume, page 886.]

—Opposition to increased army and navy expenditures was expressed by the Singletax Club of Pittsburgh in a letter to President Wilson on October 29. The letter declares that the European war is "proof positive that enormous military establishments are not guarantees of peace and prosperity," and further that

increased expenditures for the army and navy are most unwise and very dangerous to the worldwide movement toward democracy, and that the part of wisdom lies in devoting the energies of the nation to our internal problems of injustice which are undermining our strength,

and far more threatening than any foreign foe. And further, that our foreign diplomatic policy be based upon the policy of the thirty peace treaties, expressing our firm conviction in the ultimate triumph of the doctrine that "Right makes Might."

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 1006) for the eight months ending August, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for August, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,232,758,886	\$1,150,784,196	\$1,081,974,690 Exp.
Gold	10,902,690	223,796,660	212,893,970 Imp.
Silver	32,195,543	22,489,419	9,706,124 Exp.

Total . . . \$2,275,857,119 \$1,397,070,275

The exports of merchandise for August, 1915, the thirteenth month of the European war, were \$261,975,771, as compared with \$110,367,494 in August, 1914, and \$187,909,020 in 1913. The imports for August, 1915, were \$141,729,638, as compared with \$129,767,890 in August, 1914, and \$137,651,553 in 1913.

—The statement of Panama Canal tolls for the first eleven months that appeared on page 863 of the current volume was misleading. The sentence "The tolls, not including \$80,872 on American ships, amounted to \$4,343,383," would have been intelligible had "American ships" read "Government ships." The larger amount refers to the tolls collected on all merchantmen and on the government ships of other nations. The smaller item, \$80,872, refers to the amount levied on United States government ships, which for purposes of bookkeeping, is deducted from the gross earnings. The earnings for the full year, not including \$114,085.89 levied on United States Government vessels, amount to \$5,102,063.37. Reckoning the tonnage on the same basis, the receipts of the Suez Canal for 1914 amounted to \$24,148,398.85, or four and five-eighths times the amount of tolls earned by the Panama Canal during its first year of operation.

PRESS OPINIONS

Direct Legislation and Equal Suffrage.

The Star (San Francisco), Oct. 23.—Equal suffrage was defeated in New Jersey, and the suffragists must now wait until a Legislature deems it advisable to submit another equal suffrage amendment. That would not be necessary if New Jersey had direct legislation. But perhaps the men of that State are not yet fit for self-government.

No Justice for the Penniless.

Cleveland Press, Oct. 27.—The cost of Roosevelt's defense against the Barnes libel suit, which, though won, has been appealed, was in the neighborhood of \$53,000. A few more victories like this and T. R. will have to take to the Chautauqua platform to earn a living. What would happen to a man who had made an equally true statement in regard to Barnes, but did not happen to have the \$53,000?

Who Bears the Burden?

Collier's Weekly, Oct. 9.—We would like to make a distinction between paying and bearing taxes.

The paying is done by those who must actually turn over the money to the governmental authorities, and the lengths to which they will go in trying to defeat new measures and to dodge old ones have been abundantly illustrated in the history of our income and tariff taxes. In any change these men are the ones that have to be considered, and they will be heard from no end when Congress gets together this winter and tries to raise the additional revenues that will be needed for the Federal Government. On the other hand, if a tax is clearly laid out and exactly enforced through a period of years, it becomes a fixed item of cost in the lines of business affected, and has to be borne by all who have any dealings, direct or indirect, with those businesses. Most taxes are paid by squealers and borne by consumers.



Where Public Economy Goes.

Oak Leaves (Oak Park, Illinois), October 2.—We demand cheap gas and cheap electricity and cheap transportation on the supposition that low prices for these public utilities are a benefit to the consumer, but as a matter of fact they are a benefit to the consumer only when the consumer is a land owner. To the citizen who owns his home lower gas rates will be of financial value, but to the citizen who rents his home lower gas rates will mean in the end that he will have to pay enough more rent to make up for the saving on gas. The same is true of every other commodity or service for which he has to pay. When street car fares go down land values go up and the tenant has to pay more rent. When electric light prices go down land values go up and the tenant has to pay more rent. Even if all these things were free in Oak Park, if water and gas and electricity and transportation were furnished to every resident without a penny of direct cost, it would only mean that land values would go up proportionately. . . . The financial advantage of everything that goes to make life worth living, under our present land system, accrues to the land owner and to the land owner alone. Everyone else who enjoys the benefits of society in any form has to pay the full value to the landlord.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THESE LATTER DAYS.

By Olive Tilford Dargan (from "Path Flower").
 Take down thy stars, O God! We look not up.
 In vain thou hangest there thy changeless sign.
 We lift our eyes to power's glowing cup,
 Nor care if blood make strong that wizard wine,
 So we but drink and feel the sorcery
 Of conquest in our veins, of wits grown keen
 In strain and strife for flesh-sweet sovereignty,—
 The fatal thrill of kingship over men.
 What though the soul be from the body shrunk,
 And we array the temple, but no god?
 What though the cup of golden greed once drunk,
 Our dust be laid in a dishonored sod,
 While thy loud hosts proclaim the end of wars?
 We read no sign. O, God, take down thy stars!

OLD TOM HARDER'S REMARKS.

For The Public.

What about the trouble with Bilkins? No trouble at all for me, but he seemed to have a lot of it. Yes! He represents the Infant International Machinery Co. an' he come out where I was plowin' corn to sell me a self-binding automatic stacker.

Yes. He started the trouble himself. He seemed to have the whole burden of protectin' American industry on his shoulder an' wanted me to carry some of it for him. He was strong as Samson on tariff schedules, an' on fair play an' common sense as weak as Samson after he had his hair cut.

He sed he was goin' to have tariff-makin' taken right out o' politics an' put in the hands of its scientific friends. I wanted to know if he thought tariff-makin' was a permanent industry, an' he wouldn't tell me. He sed a tariff league, begun with a determined and intelligent backin', was now perfected, that was goin' to prevent unfair foreign competition with our industries. They was goin' to try to make a kind of a tariff that would take hold when prices went down an' let go when prices got to goin' up. There wasn't any use of a tariff when prices was mountin' higher.

I asked him where they got the intelligence that could back up such fool propositions as them. I sed if he got hold of anything like that which would work in wheat an' corn an' hogs I'd take a job lot of it, but he was awful hard o' hearin' an' went on to say that such an arrangement would forestall the German method of cuttin' prices temporarily in one section of the trade to choke off opposition an' would at the same time protect the American MANUFACTURER and the American public. Yes. He sed it jest that way. Manufacturer in big letters.

I sed that was the most wonderful thing I ever heard of. It was like a wind that would blow hot an' cold at the same time. I sed if it would give the manufacturer high prices for his product an' his customers low prices at the same identical time, maybe it would stop the American method o' cuttin' prices temporarily to starve out a competitor.

He sed he didn't know anything about that, but all the manufacturers wanted was for the country to insure them a good profit all the time an no interruption to business, bein' as they was the most important part o' the producin' community.

I sed, maybe that was so. People that was as silly as that would need some sort o' codlin' or they couldn't make a livin'. I'd be afraid, though, that a small body of men with their heads crammed full o' tariff rates an' scientific thunder clouds

would make mistakes in gettin' this double-headed protection for the farmers an' the manufacturers. Of course they would be more subject to righteous arguments an' pecuniary influence than a great big Congress.

They would more easily see great benefit o' cuttin' out the competition that hinders the growth of the big industries. I sed if the big industries would spend a little less time an' money in politics an' a little more tryin' to improve their methods o' doin' business, an' try to make their business a little better instead of a little bigger they wouldn't be so scary of foreign competition. They might find out that foreigners are as scary as themselves an' are callin' on governments for protection against us. I sed I thought maybe foreign industries was about as ignorant an' avaricious as we were. Then Bilkins got mad an' tried to sell me a second-hand reaper for a hundred dollars more than the list price o' new ones. Which was about all I could expect from a man with such a beclouded mind.

GEO. V. WELLS.

LOBSTERS I HAVE MET.

HE COULDN'T SEE INTEREST OR RENT.

For The Public.

It was framed up for us to meet Sunday morning at 9:30 Net. Burns called for me on that cold, snowy, blustery morning, and we hiked away through the drifts to his office. The watchman had steam up and the rooms were nice and warm. Wadsworth came in a few minutes later.

"Good morning, Will," greeted Burns, "you're on the job all right, didn't get scared out by the storm, eh? Some hero."

"A little thing like a blizzard wouldn't scare me out," replied Wadsworth. We took chairs. Burns got out his pad of paper with the notes he had made at our first session.

"We're off in a bunch," he said. "How did you come out with the fisherman and his seine? Do you still think the seine belonged to the community, even though the fisherman made it?"

"I won't agree that he made it all by himself," smiled Wadsworth. "Someone else had to grow the cotton and others had to make it into twine. That is why I said the seine ought to belong to the community."

"Oh, that's it, eh?" Burns plucked the ash from his cigar. "I wondered how you got so far from St. Louis. Will, what part of a man's product is he entitled to keep?"

"All of it," replied Wadsworth.

"You said a mouthful, shake!" said Burns, offering his hand. "We agree on one thing at least, without argument. Make another remark like that, I'll say you're dead smart. It's a weakness I have, Will, to think a man is wise if he agrees with me."

Burns wrote on his pad and underlined it.

"A man is entitled to the full product of his labor, accent on the 'full'."

"Now, Will, if a man catches a fish, he's entitled to the whole blooming fish, ain't he?"

"He sure is."

"It is his to eat or to swap, as he sees fit. Is that right?"

"Without a doubt."

"Suppose he trades half a dozen fish for enough twine to make a seine with; does he get as good title to the twine as he had to the fish?"

"He would in a capitalistic system of production."

"Oh, come away from those beans, Will. Where do you get that noise?" Burns referred to his notes.

"I have explained how electricity, as well as political economy, was put on the hummer by the use of terms that involved more than one idea. You agreed one term for one idea was the candy; now you use the term 'capitalistic.' That has a definite a meaning as electricity. If I ask you to define it you will have to resolve it into factors and define *them*. Besides you're off your trolley. Let's get back on the line again. I asked you a straight question; instead of answering it right off the bat, you ring in a preconceived notion which you're afraid might get a black eye if you give the only logical answer possible in view of admissions already made. Let's get going again." Burns was biting his cigar something fierce.

Wadsworth and I laughed. Wadsworth had to go through with it.

"Well, I think you're right," he chuckled. "I'll admit the fisherman would have as good title to the twine as he had to the fish."

"That being the case, if he made a seine with his twine he owned the seine, didn't he?"

"I guess that's right," assented Wadsworth.

"Of course, it's right," sputtered Burns. "The idea of a man bringing a load of prunes through a snow drift, and with such a wind blowing. Can you beat it?"

Much laughter.

Burns began again. "If the seine belonged to the fisherman he had a right to lend it, didn't he?" "I'll admit that," said Wadsworth.

"And he had a right to fix the price," continued Burns.

"So long as he didn't fix it too high," chimed Wadsworth.

"No, I won't accept that, you're rocking the boat again," said Burns. "The seine is his. The others are free to accept or reject his offer. Given such a condition and you must admit the owner has a right to fix the terms, just as he has the right to name the price he will work for."

We waited for Wadsworth. He searched the dope books he had brought—nothing doing. "I guess I'll have to give in," he said finally.

"Of course, you will," chirped Burns. "You can't claim a man owns something and then deny him the right to make terms for it. If you ever sprung a notion like that on a class in logic you'd have to buy on the spot."

Business of laughter. Wadsworth handed us cigars and made ready for his inning.

"Well, now I want to ask you a question," he said.

"Fire away," said Burns.

"How do you reconcile the principle that a man is entitled to the full product of his labor with your statement that he ought to pay interest for the use of capital? Doesn't the interest come out of what he produces?"

"On what he produces *with the aid of Capital*," answered Burns. What he pays comes out of the value of the time he saves. With the aid of Capital labor can produce sooner, or, to put it in another way, it can produce more in a given time. This is why time governs the amount we pay for Capital. When a man employs Capital he takes in a partner, just as he does when he employs labor. What he pays to either the capitalist or to the laborer is for a service rendered."

"Then there is the question of rent," further objected Wadsworth. "In our last session you proposed that if the miners went to mining on their own account, under the singletax system, they would have to pay a tax equal to the full value of the land. Wouldn't that come out of the value of the ore they produced?"

"All payments must be made from production," replied Burns. "But when a man paid the single tax he would be paying for a privilege given him by the community. The miners, for instance, would pay for the privilege of excluding others from a part of the earth, or for the benefits they received from government. They could pay this tax, and they could pay interest for the capital they employed and still retain the full product of *their* labor."

"I will have to think about that before I agree to it," said Wadsworth. "What we started out to discuss was, 'why does the laborer's return remain so low in spite of all improved methods employed in production?' What do you say is the answer?"

"I'll answer that by asking you a question," said Burns.

"Suppose the people of this country—the whole population—a hundred millions, should emigrate to China; and the Chinese, four hundred millions, should come here; what would be the effect on the value of land in this country and in China?"

"Would the tools of production and the buildings remain here, and in China, just as they are now?" asked Wadsworth.

"That's the idea," said Burns, "each fellow would take nothing along but a night shirt and a lead pencil."

"Why the land here would go up in value; the

land in China would go down," replied Wadsworth.

"Put me hep," smiled Burns.

"Why that's easy enough," argued Wadsworth. "There would be four times as many people here and only a quarter as many in China. Population makes land values, doesn't it?"

"Population, plus, Will," chortled Burns. "That's where the definition stuff comes in handy. *Land values are produced by the conditions the community has created and maintains.* These values may be compared with that part of a current in electricity which is consumed in heat. The rest of the current is consumed in power, or light, just as the other values produced by the people are consumed as food, clothing and shelter. The current is generated by a dynamo in which is set up electrical pressure, or voltage, of high or low potential, depending on the speed of the generator and what it is calculated to produce. Our people are some generators, they are keyed up to produce, on the average, about forty times as much as a Chinaman—they travel at great speed. Will, I don't believe the land values of all China amount to as much as those of our six largest cities, with less than thirteen million population.

"Then you claim the land values in China would rise, and in the United States they'd go down, if the people were switched?"

"As sure as you're a foot high," responded Burns. "Keep in mind that every advantage our civilization affords increases the value of land. The Chinese have little productive power compared with us, therefore they produce small values compared with us. They don't compare with us even from the neck down, let alone from the neck up. We're a husky bunch of mutts here. We know almost everything that is known about production; where we hit the toboggan is in distribution. We're about a tie with the Chinese when it comes to that."

"I agree with that," said Wadsworth, "but I don't see the answer to my question."

"Cull the answer out of my explanation of the source of land values," returned Burns. "If the value of the conditions we create is appropriated by the owners of land, all the producers have left is what they keep after satisfying the land owners. Producers bid against each other for land—that tends to increase its value; and they bid against each other for a job—that tends to reduce wages. The producer is caught coming and going."

Burns got up from his seat and continued, as he walked across the room. "The modus operandi is this," he said. "A few ginks own the earth; the rest have to use it—they bid against each other for the privilege—become ambitions to increase their pile—invent new ways of copping the kale—bid higher for land—invent some more—borrow—hire help—bid more for land—advertise—expand—get more land—hire more help—kite checks to

meet the pay-roll—value of land keeps on increasing—more rent to pay—nervous prostration—croak.”

Wadsworth smiled as Burns finished. “Some system, eh?” he said.

“Some system is right,” assented Burns. “You have been led to believe,” he continued, “that the employer, the owner of Capital, is the guy that cops. You’ve been led up a blind alley. Usually he is up against it harder than his men. He bids against others for land, and he bids against his competitors for business. This compels him to cut his costs to the lowest point. He must pay his help only what he has to—they will work for him for a little more than they could make working for themselves. This is what finally determines wages—what labor can earn working for itself. Naturally, it can earn most on the best land. That land is either in use or is held out of use for a ‘rise.’ Ever get next to what a ‘rise’ means? That’s where little Silas gets his. Labor must make terms with him or mooch on the poorer land, or to land which is free. It is what labor can earn on the best land that can be had for nothing that determines what it will work for others for.”

Wadsworth was all attention while Burns stood there driving his points home. “So that’s your answer to my question?” he remarked.

“That’s the answer, Will,” concluded Burns. “You can think that over, and get this: If you put a hundred men on an island, whether one man owns the island or owns the other ninety-nine, will make no difference, either to him or to them.”

It was 12:45, and we had to hustle home for dinner.

M. J. FOYER.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

For The Public.

Here poured forth the human flood
Onward from the shell-wrecked wood,
Here defending valor stood—
Mire and rotting flesh and blood.

All that tender mothers knew
Taught them kindness ere they slew—
Love and faith and justice wait
For the evil will of hate.

Led by shibboleths outgrown,
Nor by history’s wisdom shown,
Forced by power and romance
Marched the Slaves of Circumstance.

There a hand’s decaying skin
Cunning shaped the violin;
There a loathsome brain once caught
Flashes of creative thought.

Here, from joy and progress led,
Art and melody are dead.

Wrenched from usefulness to pain,
Lie the king-made sons of Cain.

GEORGE W. PRIEST.

BOOKS

APPLYING FREEDOM TO THE MONEY QUESTION.

The New Philosophy of Money. By Alfred B. Westrup, Ph. D., second edition. Published by Maud Denning, Westrup, 539 East 42nd Place, Chicago. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

One reason why the present money system persists is because so many of its opponents hold that full control must be vested in the federal government. That means that a majority of both houses of Congress and the President must not only favor a change, but must be agreed on the particular system that is to take the place of the one in force. To secure that they must wait until an overwhelming majority of the people of the United States become convinced of the paramount necessity of adopting the change which they advocate. It is not enough, under such circumstances, that a nation-wide majority favor abolition of the gold standard. It must be agreed on the substitute. Gold standard advocates may rest easy, if nothing less than that can end their favorite system.

But Dr. Westrup shows how to effect a change without waiting for the majority. He presents a plan that can be put into effect by any group of individuals who wish to do so. All they ask of the Government is that it keep its hands off and allow them to make their own mistakes, if their views should be mistaken. The plan is that of a mutual banking association which will issue paper currency to any individual who will deposit security with it deemed sufficient. The plan requires no other legislation than repeal of the ten per cent tax and other obstructive laws.

The author devotes considerable space to explanation of the advantages of his plan and to answering objections. But much of this seems unnecessary, whether convincing or otherwise. The essential fact seems to have been unwittingly touched upon by Edward Atkinson in a hostile discussion, which Dr. Westrup reproduces. Mr. Atkinson said:

If Mr. Westrup proposes to make such an organization, why does he not proceed to do so? He is as free to move in the matter as others are free to refuse.

Had Mr. Atkinson been correct, the money question could have been settled long ago. But unfortunately he was wrong. The ten per cent tax on other than federal issues barred the way then, as it still does today. But the remark showed what Mr. Atkinson, though a strong upholder of the gold standard, thought was and should be the case. He made clear that freedom is all that is

required to demonstrate the correct, and also the incorrect, solution of the money problem, just as it is essential to solving every other problem. With that established, the good or bad features of Dr. Westrup's plan may be left to be demonstrated by practical application.

One thing that Dr. Westrup seems to have overlooked is that, however great a truth a propagandist may wish to spread, he should temper his zeal with discretion. While it would be correct to say that one honestly in search of truth should not be repelled by too pugnacious a presentation, yet human nature must be taken into account. Then also one may properly advocate mutual banking without insisting on or bringing in discussion of anarchism, or without an irrelevant argument over the comparative importance of the land question and money question. To bring such matters in is not only unnecessary but is unwise, inasmuch as Dr. Westrup's arguments on these seem far from convincing. But those interested in the money question may profitably read what he has to say on that subject, reserving for some other time consideration of the irrelevant matter.

S. D.



THE TORY POINT OF VIEW.

Essays and Speeches. By Charles G. Dawes. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. Price, \$3 net.

William Morris loved a well gotten up book and was wont to maintain that the art of book making was born full grown and perfect, but began to decline at once. It was his purpose to make perfect books. As a book, the present volume would have met the approval of William Morris, but his appreciation of the book would have been offset by his disapproval of the author's views. For the Riverside Press has made a volume that is well bound and substantial, finely printed with the best of type and most careful of indexing, and as such, every reader or rather booklover will approve it. But for the views of Mr. Dawes therein set forth, there are other things to be said.

Once, at Kelmscott House, a visitor was expressing his views as to the utter unreliability of the common man's point of view. Morris fidgeted about a little, then said, "Now you really must not talk like that or people will take you for a fool." And in the main, Mr. Dawes expresses opinions very like those of Morris's visitor. Unfortunately, Mr. Dawes says his things well, with a show of logical sequence if you will only grant his assumption that wisdom lies with the men in authority. His speeches are elegant in diction and abound in felicitous phrases, but the general tenor is "All's well with everything if Wall Street or its Chicago equivalent is left alone." To find just where Mr. Dawes stands on any political question, picture to yourself the point of view of Tom John-

son or Joseph Fels, take the opposite side and you get the view held by Mr. Dawes.

There is a writing on the Initiative and Referendum that might well have appeared in the pages of the Unpopular Review so deep is the mistrust therein reflected for the vox populi. There is an essay on the Money question that makes one realize with a start what a deep gulf lies between those that have seen the cat, and those that have not. And when enthusiastic Singletaxers will set to work in earnest to bring masters of finance to a right way of thinking, the movement will go by leaps and bounds. But not yet—not yet—for the most optimistic will find a gentle melancholy cast upon his soul after a reading of Mr. Dawes.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Satellite Cities.* By Graham Romeyn Taylor. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*The Lusitania's Last Voyage.* By Charles E. Lauriat, Jr. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—*The Socialist Party in the Reichstag and the Declaration of War.* By P. G. La Chesnais. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London. 1915. Price, paper, one shilling, net.

—*The Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in Canada and the United States.* By Robert Murray Haig. A report prepared for and published by the Committee on Taxation, City of New York, Room 914, Municipal Building. 1915.

—*Some Probable Effects of the Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in the City of New York.* By Robert Murray Haig. A report prepared for the Committee on Taxation of the City of New York, Room 914, Municipal Building. 1915.

PERIODICALS

The American Magazine.

Singletaxers and other radicals will find a story to their liking in "Destiny," by Carl Mathison Chapin in the November issue of the American Magazine. Those who have read "The Lost Island," by Sheldon and Vescelius, or "A Senator at Sea," which was current in radical circles about 25 years ago, will find a familiar situation in an island claimed as private property by the man who saw it first and who uses his property rights in the conventional way. The story is marred by an illogical ending, but the unreasonable nature of this is too evident to detract attention from its true moral. Upholders of existing conditions will find therein a presentation of the working of a principle which they favor, and they ought to applaud the enterprising discoverer for utilizing his opportunity to appropriate by legal means the property of another, and regret his carelessness in finally allowing himself to be euchred out

of his gains. An article to suit peace advocates and one that militarists may profitably read is entitled "The War Buzzard." It gives a graphic account of a real soldier's experience in the trenches. Other matter, entertaining as well as educational, will be found in this issue. S. D.



"I suppose that when you were in England you did as the English do and dropped your 'h's.'" "No," moodily remarked the returned traveler; "I didn't. I did as the Americans do. I dropped the V's and X's."—San Francisco Star.



"A dollar!" haughtily snapped the customer. "Do I look like a man who would wear a dollar tie? Is there anything about me to indicate that?" "Beg pardon, sir!" meekly interposed the assistant. "The half dollar counter is at the other end of the shop!"—Sacred Heart Review.

THE NEARING CASE

By LIGHTNER WITMER, Ph. D.
Head of the Department of Psychology
University of Pennsylvania

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