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EDITORIAL

Preparationists Are Militarists.

When the present agitation for preparedness began, the preparationists disclaimed favoring militarism. "Adequate defense," they said, was all they wanted. Today the mask has been dropped. Universal compulsory military service is their demand. Nothing more extreme in militarism is possible. The terms "preparationist" and "militarist" have become synonymous. Both describe an advocate of practically the same military system for United States as prevails in Germany, France, Italy or Russia. s. d.



International Dangers.

Theoretically the Government of the United States is the creature of the public will, but, owing to the nature of the machinery through which the popular will finds expression, there are instances in which public servants can commit the country to a course of action not approved by a majority of the people. It will be conceded by the staunchest standpatter that a President of the United States can so shape international policies as to lead the country into war. President Wilson could certainly have brought about an invasion of Mexico; and he could as easily have precipitated war between the United States and Germany; and both results would have been brought about through his individual action. Though he lacks the power to declare war, he can so shape the course of events that Congress will feel obliged to support him.



Herein lies the danger of too much preparedness. If we have a big armament, a President may consider it a clever stroke to maneuver the country into a position where Congress will have to declare war. But if the armament be small, if the country be unready for effective fighting at once, the probability that a war will reflect credit upon the party in power will be much less; and the administration will be afraid to venture upon such a course for the sake of political prestige. A

peace-loving man may be able to restrain the belligerent spirits about him, in spite of the lure of an effective armament; but a belligerent in the President's chair will find such a temptation irresistible. He will maneuver the country into a position where the people will have to fight, not in support of a great principle, nor even in repelling the enemies of their country, but merely because a single man has put the flag in jeopardy.



Patriotic Work.

Splendid work for genuine national defense is being done by many congressmen. Warren Worth Bailey is working to bring together congressional opponents of militarism to save the country from the danger which the preparationists would inflict upon it. Congressman Sherwood of Ohio, himself a war veteran, is with him. Senator John W. Kern of Indiana is another whose work of defense against militarism is bringing upon him the abuse of those who would force universal compulsory military service upon the people. Congressman Clyde Tavenner of Illinois has for months been doing a great service in exposing the working of the armament ring. Militarists will find formidable opposition to their plans under such able leaders when Congress meets. s. d.



Knitting Together the Nations.

Lamentations are heard in certain quarters over the giving up of English in Cuban schools. It is not at all unlikely that if the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos controlled their own affairs they, too, under present conditions, would give up English in their primary schools. The ties of race, language and religion are too strong to be easily broken; and whatever is done for the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines would be quickly forgotten if recognition depended upon the teaching of a foreign language to their little children. If this country would hold the Cuban sentiment that now goes out to Paris and Madrid, let it establish complete free trade with the island. Free trade between this country and Cuba would soon develop such business ties that the people there would be as eager to cultivate our friendship as they now are to cherish European ties. As for Porto Rico, it should either be set up as an independent country or admitted to American citizenship. American ideals do not include the ruling of another people as subjects; and we are doubly guilty of a betrayal of these ideals when, after having robbed a people of citizenship in another country, we deny them citizenship in our own. In regard to the Philippines, we should take

advantage of this time, when a great war is being fought in behalf of the "little peoples," to secure the neutralization of the islands and establish their independence. International ties are not based upon language, but upon ideals. Liberty is equally dear, however it be spelled or pronounced.

s. c.



Homes for Soldiers.

The Australian Worker, commenting upon the plan for providing land and homes for returning soldiers notes a situation in that newly settled country that is surprisingly like that of older communities. The State Lands Department of New South Wales reports that there are no accessible Crown lands available for this purpose. There is plenty of good unused land in the State, but it has already passed into private hands. It is proposed to appoint a repurchasing committee to buy back these unused lands, and give them to the returning soldiers. This, as the Worker so clearly points out, means a sharp advance in the price of these lands, and big war profits to their owners. As an alternative the Worker suggests that the Government spend its money in making accessible lands that are now too remote from transportation.



This is the problem repeated throughout the world. Wherever there are two or more men, and one owns the land upon which all must live, there arises the problem of providing for the landless man. In this country we have rural credit schemes, and kindred plans to enable the working farmer and the home seeker to buy some land. And everywhere is heard the same story. Just as the buying power of the home seeker is increased, to that degree does the price of land advance. Nay, the price outstrips the buyer; for the speculator, knowing that future buyers will pay still more, advances the price to yet higher points, in his efforts to capitalize the future. Hence, no matter how easy the terms of credit made by the State, all such advantage goes down the maw of landlordism. If the returning soldiers, who have given so much for their country, settle down contentedly under this burden, it will go far to shake one's faith in man's love of liberty. But this is improbable. Before a way was known to prevent land speculation and distribute land values, it would have been inevitable; now it is impossible. s. c.



Inadvertent Admission.

The chameleonic Chicago Tribune, which is so prodigal with the truth in off years, and so parsimonious during campaigns, is now engaged in giv-

ing out facts that should be treasured up 'gainst the time when the paper will be on the other side. The Tribune has set out to have a big army and navy to back up the sentiment carried at the head of the editorial page, "My country, right or wrong." But to have a military establishment large enough to back a country right or wrong requires more revenue than is now in sight, so this paper is making a plea for an inheritance tax. Such a tax, the Tribune admits, is an encroachment upon private rights, but it justifies its course in these words:

Public policy has justified many invasions of private rights. A protective tariff, justifiable when it fosters desirable industries, takes money from the man who buys shoes and socks and gives it to the manufacturers of these necessities. The taxed man is usually poor, the beneficiary is made rich. It is a kind of tax on the birth rate. Public policy, which looks with complacency on the transfer of money from one citizen to another, from the poorer to the richer, will certainly admit an inheritance tax which takes money from those who can afford it, and pays it, not to other citizens, but to the government. An inheritance tax certainly disturbs fewer private rights than the protective tariff.

Yet the Tribune will be found next summer crying as lustily as ever for this same protective tariff.

S. C.



Is Another Haymarket Trial Taking Place?

Unless satisfactorily explained, reports that are coming from the trial in Los Angeles of Mathew Schmidt, accused with David Caplan of complicity with the MacNamaras in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building, must necessarily cause doubt of the fairness of his trial. Thus the Caplan-Schmidt Defense League sends an account of the examination of two prospective jurors. One, a retired capitalist, stated at the outset that it was his positive conviction that the Times Building had been intentionally destroyed by dynamite and that it would require strong evidence to change that conviction. He was challenged by the Defense for having a fixed opinion, but the challenge was denied by the Court. The other juror, a day laborer, stated his conviction that the building had been destroyed accidentally by gas, and that it would require strong evidence to make him believe the dynamite charge. He was challenged by the State for having a fixed opinion, and the Court sustained the challenge over the objection of the Defense. Another incident was the publication of a story, entirely without foundation, that Caplan had agreed to confess and turn State's evidence. Caplan denied this, saying that he had nothing to confess. But though the story was sent broadcast

by the Associated Press, if the denial of it was sent out, it was certainly not given the same publicity. There may be some explanation of these incidents that will destroy suspicion of unfairness. But if so, it should be forthcoming. The prosecution itself is a violation of an agreement made when the MacNamaras confessed.

S. D.



A Privilege of the Rich.

A public-spirited Chicago woman, Mrs. F. I. Lillie, has exposed to public view how police officials contemptuously disregard the rights of the poor, and how they contemptibly cringe to the rich. Mrs. Lillie had observed the arrest, for no legal offense whatever, of Miss Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House, who was helping some strikers in peaceful picketing. She promptly took Miss Starr's place and plainly told the policeman: "You do not dare to arrest me because I am rich. You do not arrest the rich." Many a poor person has been arrested, thrown into a cell and fined, or otherwise punished, whose only offense was to address remarks to a policeman less disrespectful or defiant than Mrs. Lillie's. But she remained unmolested. To arrest her would have meant risking a fight in the courts, such as a poor person can not make. The fight might have resulted in properly penalizing the policeman, or his superiors, for abusing power so as to violate the rights of a citizen. So the officer prudently refused to accept Mrs. Lillie's challenge. Picketing of a building in Chicago during a strike is not only a lawful proceeding, but can be done without fear of police interference, provided that rich women do the picketing.

S. D.



Locating the Cause.

Some important truths were presented at the meeting in Philadelphia on November 10 of the American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. Thus Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of Chicago tersely stated a fact in saying: "The question of saving babies is a question of a living wage, of housing and of food." It has taken a long time for so obvious a fact to receive recognition from a philanthropic organization. Mr. Kingsley is reported to have cited several investigations made in recent years in this country and in England. Were these investigations actually necessary? Did not the investigators know from ordinary observation beforehand that poverty is the principle cause of infant mortality? Another speaker, Dr. Haynes of New York declared that increased infant mortality from respiratory diseases in that city "might be traced directly to unemployment." So it would seem that responsibility for infant mortality rests, in the

last analysis, on the citizens who uphold conditions which cause unemployment and low wages. This would apply in New York City, for instance, to the members of the organization known as The Allied Real Estate Interests, which has been active in blocking legislation advocated by the Lower Rents Society, directed at the cause of unemployment, bad housing and low wages. The speakers who made clear the cause of infant mortality made clear at the same time the necessity of its immediate removal.

s. D.

Demonstrating the Singletax.

The Christian Science Monitor, which has so often had a kindly word for the Singletax propaganda, in an editorial word for the Frances Neilson, expresses gratification at the rapid growth of the movement, and says:

A very large percentage of the people one meets in the course of a year know something about the Georgian philosophy, and are desirous of knowing more. A large percentage of the people one meets would like to see the Singletax put to a practical test; in a large and fair way, in the United States, for instance.

While it is to be regretted that a complete application of the Singletax, in a large and fair way, can not as yet be held up to the doubting as evidence of the truth of the idea, there are nevertheless examples that prove every point involved. Few people realize how extensive the practice of taxing land values is. The whole system of special assessments for street improvements is a crude application of this principle. So in still greater degree are the present drainage projects in Minnesota, the irrigation systems in California, and the reclamation of arid lands in western States by the Federal Government. In none of these are the improvements on the land taxed, the whole cost being levied upon the land benefited, irrespective of its use or of the improvements.

These are plain and specific instances of the policy of untaxing labor products, and laying the cost of the government upon the land values. Does anyone anywhere raise his voice in opposition to this system? Can any give a logical reason why all government service should not be paid for in the same way? And is there anyone who can justify the Government's practice of laying the cost of the irrigation plants upon the lands served, without justifying the Bailey Amendment to the Alaska Railroad bill, which sought to levy the cost of the railroad upon the lands benefited? The Singletax idea is indeed making marvelous progress. And many of the very statesmen who raise the loudest outcry against the name, are unconsciously advocating the principle.

s. C.

Meaning of Terms.

The terms "free access to land," and "access to natural resources," as used by Singletaxers, appear to cause confusion in some minds. One correspondent says, "You surely do not mean it literally, because free access would mean that any person had the right to go upon any land at any time, recognizing no prior title, lease or occupancy to the resources of nature." Another insists that labor and capital now have free access to land. Any land owner is glad to welcome them to the use of his land.

By free access to land the Singletaxer means that labor and capital may use land without paying a private owner for doing so. That is to say, since all the land belongs to all the people, each individual has the same right as every other to use it. When the Government, therefore, grants to an individual the exclusive right to use a particular piece of land it can do so equitably only on the condition that the individual so favored shall pay to the Government—which represents all the people—the annual value that attaches to the land because of the service of the Government and the presence of the people. If each holder of land were required to pay this annual value, no one would hold land idle for purposes of speculation. And the land now held by speculators would be abandoned to the Government, or to people willing to pay its annual value to the Government.

Each individual citizen is clothed with the duty of paying his share toward the support of the Government that serves him. At the same time he has a pro rata right in the annual value of the land. Under present conditions we permit the landholder to retain for his private use the value conferred upon the land by society, and levy upon the property of all citizens for revenue to support the Government. Under the Singletax regime we would remit all taxes upon industry and levy upon land values alone. Consequently, the citizen would pay no tax at all, in the sense in which the word is now used; but on such land as he used he would pay its annual value to the Government, if he held the title, or to the landholder, if he rented; and that landholder would pay it to the Government. At present the citizen supports the Government and the landlord, too, and the landlord takes more than the Government—National, State, and local; but under the Singletax the citizen would support the Government only.

The difference between Singletax conditions and

present conditions lies in the fact that under the former the producer, whether laborer or capitalist, would retain all that he produced, save what was necessary to support the Government, and that he would pay to the Government in proportion to the service received from the Government. Whereas, under present conditions he must support the Government, and also all those who live upon their land holdings. Under the conditions proposed the producer would occupy the most productive land to be had, instead of going, as at present, past the good land held for speculative purposes to the inferior land. Not only would the land seeker be spared the discouragement of passing over the rich lands near the railroad stations to those lying at a distance, but labor and capital in cities would occupy the valuable vacant lots near the business centers, instead of going past these to the outlying sections of the city. The same reasoning applies to mineral and timber lands. Free access to land means that no one would pay to another for the use of bare land more than that other paid to the Government for his exclusive possession. s. c.



Land Titles in "Streeterville."

Captain George Streeter of Chicago, who claims ownership of some land formed in recent years in Lake Michigan, bases his claim on the fact that he discovered the land and was the first to occupy and use it. The fact is not disputed. Streeter's claim is precisely the same as many university professors and other upholders of property in land urge as a moral defense of that institution. If Streeter is not morally entitled to the land which he occupies, then there can be no moral basis for private property in land. Legally, the case may be different. The law is said to confer on owners of land along the lake shore title to any new land that may arise in the lake adjacent to their property. While the bottom of the lake remains covered with water it is public property. As soon as the action of wind and water piles enough sand adjacent to the shore to raise it above the lake's surface it becomes the private property of the holder of title to the shore. That may be law, but it is not justice. If private property in land is morally justified, then Streeter's claim is morally incontestible. s. d.



Wherein Ashtabula Leads.

Gerrymanders will become obsolete when the example set by Ashtabula, Ohio, will be generally followed. Ashtabula has the honor of being the first city in the United States to choose its local council by the Hare system of Proportional

Representation. That insures representation to all groups of citizens in proportion to size. Now that the Referendum has made it hazardous for a legislature to attempt a gerrymander, the time would seem favorable to apply the proportional method to elections of legislators and of congressmen. The Ashtabula plan of choosing representatives should be made the State and National plan. s. d.



A Gerrymander Blocked.

Direct legislation has proven useful in Ohio in preventing an attempted Congressional gerrymander. The Republican legislature re-apportioned the state in what politicians believe to be the party's interest. The Referendum was promptly invoked, and the gerrymander went to a popular vote. Republicans, as well as Democrats, Socialists and Independents signed the Referendum petition and helped to roll up a majority against the unfair apportionment. The voters prove to be fairer on partisan questions than their so-called representatives. s. d.



Honorable Contempt.

In holding Judge Ben Lindsey guilty of contempt of court, for refusing to violate confidence reposed in him, Judge John A. Perry of Denver places a very low estimate on respect due his position. A court that can not properly perform its functions, unless a witness before it stoops to dishonorable acts, is a hard one to respect. Judge Lindsey has chosen to respect himself in preference to Judge Perry's court. s. d.



Booker T. Washington.

A distinguished American and an able educator passed away in Booker T. Washington. His work may have seemed to some, even of his own race, as in too narrow a groove, but he believed in following the line of least resistance. He realized that he lived in a state of society where possession of property is a more efficient protection against injustice than constitutional guarantees. So he urged those of his fellow citizens, with whom he was racially connected, to fit themselves for acquisition of property in preference to seeking vindication of their legal or natural rights. He reasoned that given material wealth the Negro race could afford to be indifferent to prejudice on the part of the whites, and even to denial of political rights. In taking this view he deferred to the conventional opinion of his unprogressive white fellow citizens. What he seems to have overlooked is that individual prosperity is unattainable

by more than an- exceptional few, without fundamental economic reform. It may be that he felt that his students would themselves grasp the need of such reform, on coming in contact with the world. That must be the tendency whether he realized it or not, and is not the least of the important services he performed for his countrymen, both white and black.

S. D.



INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY

It was a fine and cheerful contribution on the subject of individual opportunity that appeared some time ago in *Successful Farming*, and yet it would seem that the keynote is nevertheless a false one. It is crystallized in the statements that under increased production of farm products, "how farm values would go up, and that is just what we want," and, further that, "success rests with each of us individually."

From both of these propositions we may dissent. With those who entertain a certain spurious and more or less prevalent sort "optimism," "success" to their thinking depends entirely upon the individual, but this is not true, per se. Measuring success by tangible results in accumulated and accumulating wealth, some of the most successful men are altogether unworthy men and not very competent men, and some of the least successful men we know are very worthy men and very competent. If success depended entirely upon individual worthiness and competence, under existing conditions, there would be no such cases as these last of which in fact there are thousands, for there are no exceptions to natural laws. Natural laws are invariable and inviolable. What is a fact is that under the economic conditions prevailing throughout the world, some men can and will achieve success as a result of worthy individuality, but all men can not. The successful individual may be the surviving fittest, in a sense, but he is or he may be the surviving fittest merely in getting for himself, irrespective of whether or not he renders an equivalent for what he gets. From which it follows, of course, that some others will not be able to get for themselves, no matter how much "equivalent" they render.

The increase of land values, also, is not desirable, per se. It is inevitable, generally, but it is not desirable unless that increase goes to the community that creates it, instead of going to any individual or individuals. No farmer, as a farmer, makes money from the increase in land values. When a farmer obtains money from increased land values, he does not get it as a farmer. He gets it as a land seller. He gets it by ceasing to be a

farmer. The man who subsequently farms the land—the farmer—simply has to carry that much heavier burden—or become a renter, and renters are ominously increasing in number, which means simply poorer farming and a larger mass of poor people. It is remarkable how many farmers there are who will readily assist in robbing themselves of a couple of thousand dollars a year that they have earned for thirty or forty years of their working lives, by opposing the abolition of land value speculation and monopolization, just so they may have a bare chance of getting three or four thousand dollars of increased land value profit that they have not earned.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE PUEBLO FIGHT

Pueblo, Nov. 9, 1915.

Official returns in Pueblo seem to show 213 against Singletax.

We had the ants completely whipped—so resort was had to rascality. This consisted in striking names off from the registered list of voters.

A lady came to our office and said they would not let her vote. She took her auto to the City Hall, where it was found a mistake had been made. She returned to the polls and voted. Most voters went home grumbling, however. Many went to vote late and had no time to correct the error.

A woman who owns her home and lived in it over thirty years could not vote. One of our watchers, Mrs. Brown, was served the same way, although she owns property and has voted regularly.

As our watchers came in I told them of these events, and invariably they said, "Why, there were cases like that in my precinct."

In one precinct our watcher said there were over forty such cases. In a colored precinct where the vote stood 95 for us and 30 against us, seventeen cases of the same kind were reported. There appears no reasonable doubt that this trick covered many more than 213 votes.

The voting place of one precinct was the court house; 422 votes were polled. The judges counted them into piles of twenty, and each judge counted a pile, results were added, the amounts being announced in so low a tone of voice that our watcher, Mrs. Bevard, could not hear, and neither judge had opportunity to know that any other judge had counted his pile of votes correctly. One of these judges, Corson, protested, but no one paid any attention and finally he counted along with the rest. He has since said there was no canvass of votes in that precinct—but that is about all anyone gets from him.

In short—the assessor cheated the people in the assessment, and the clerk's office cheated the people in the registration list. We won with the people, but could not control officials.

Pueblo is still the place in the United States to fight for Singletax. It can be carried.

One of the *Star-Journal* reports said we made a

great fight, and that everything we said was true, and that we had the data to back all statements.

The Pueblo gang was trying to elect Duke as city commissioner. He is six votes behind—but will not contest.

He does not want the election returns aired in court. Generally voters who would be with us would be against Duke—so striking names off from the list served a double purpose.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ESPERANTO AT WORK.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 30.

Many people, otherwise progressive, hesitate to accept Esperanto because of a lack of knowledge of its practical uses and accomplishments. The arguments expounding its beauty and simplicity, its possible advantages and probable developments are indeed many, and when used by such a master of English as James F. Morton are very effective; yet it seems that they lack that element of "punch" which is required to make the impression more permanent. There remains a tendency to exclaim, "Oh, well, that's all very nice in theory but it won't work out in practice." This was formerly one of the most formidable objections to meet, but since the outbreak of the European war, Esperanto has proven itself of such practical value, and has accomplished so many results, that even the most skeptical can be convinced.

"Amerika Esperantisto" reports that in England Mr. Paul Blaise has, by a series of lectures (given in Esperanto), collected \$10,000 for the Belgian Relief Committee.

On the Western battlefield there are now two Esperanto Red Cross automobiles, and it is claimed that they are rendering most efficient service to both sides.

From Switzerland, "Esperanto," the official organ of the Universal Esperanto Association reports the organization of the International Agency for War Prisoners, headquarters in Geneva, having for its main activities:

1. Furnishing information to friends and relatives concerning prisoners in France, Germany and England.
2. Sending parcels and money to prisoners; and
3. Assisting civilians who are caught in foreign countries.

There are many others, but these are the most important.

About two hundred men, mostly volunteers, are employed doing this work. From October, 1914, to January, 1915, the Agency received 900,000 letters and 17,000 telegrams. It sent out in reply 760,000 letters and 554,000 printed forms. It transmitted from friends to the prisoners 780,000 parcels, 980,000 "slips" (news-paper clippings, etc.), and 400,000 francs in cash, money orders, etc. In doing this work, the Agency spent 100,000 francs. Of this sum 80,000 were contributed by the republic of Argentina.

The progressive South American republic is not alone in its recognition of the practical benefits of Esperanto. The governments of Germany and France

have already more than semi-officially recognized it as THE international language. The latter publishes regularly "For France—through Esperanto," and sends it, together with other material, such as translations of official reports, free throughout the world. The former is sponsor for the "International Bulletin," a semi-monthly illustrated magazine, entirely in Esperanto, sent to all the neutral countries for the sole purpose of presenting the German side of the controversy.

Mr. Morton is right. This international auxiliary language is no longer a mere fad or fancy, but has proven its case. It is not only good and desirable, but practical and beneficial, and has received official recognition. It is time for the progressive men and women to awaken to a realization of its merits, to learn the language, and to join the movement for the furtherance of its use and recognition.

HYMAN LEVINE.



THE PREPAREDNESS FOLLY.

Philadelphia, Nov. 6, 1915.

What mischief is afoot that President Wilson has jumped from his lofty position into the camp of the would-be despoilers of their country, who would lead the way to universal slaughter? For "those who prepare for war go to war." In his apologetic Manhattan Club speech, the President indicates how keenly sensible he is of the grave danger of the step he is taking. This European war has shown us how easy it is (given thorough preparedness), to find an excuse for a defensive war.

This big armament program is being worked up in the most barefaced manner. Plattsburg is its most raw and vulgar exhibit. High finance is ever ready to set its sail to every wind that blows. And it would be a rebuke to its cunning if it did not utilize the dynamic of this great world excitement to ply its trade. It apparently has gained the Administration, hopes to have the public well educated by the time Congress meets, so that, without undue friction, it may get its itching fingers on that \$500,000,000 bond issue, proposed to finance this defensive, or rather offensive program.

Military experts tell us that our army and navy is in no condition to meet a first-class power, therefore we must prepare for defense. Such talk is particularly silly at this time; when all the first-class powers are very much preoccupied and will be for some time to come, and after that must pass through a long season of convalescence.

At this very time, most favorable for the lessening of the enginery of war, when the world is sick of battle; for the United States to turn reactionary would be criminal and inexcusable. Rather does it become our high privilege to help the nations of the earth by taking the first step in the way of peace. Happily we are in a peculiarly favored relationship to undertake such a mission. And it is the sacred duty of Congress to repudiate this insane and uncalled for program outlined by the Administration.

Big bond issues to pay for munitions of war, to afford gilt-edge securities for the few wealthy, to be paid out of taxation which falls most heavily on the poor, is a small part of the iniquity of the proposed policy. If this so-called defense program should be inaugurated it would be a most wanton sowing of the

wind. It would inoculate the American people with the virus of "supremacy-madness," to court envy and finally war.

Rather let our motto be, in time of war prepare for peace. And if peace be our goal, we don't want to start in the opposite direction. But give heed to the injunction, "Those who prepare for peace live in peace"—and the first requisites of any peace program must embrace free markets, free ports, and free and unobstructed trade. While the liberty of anybody to buy in the cheapest market is thwarted by the coercive power of State, there will be jealousy abroad and discontent at home, and finally war.

Democracy holds that merit sufficeth. Plutocracy demands pull and a standing army to make good the pull. Fair exchange is no robbery. Yet statesmen set up legal machinery by which we may get more than we give. But the world won't stand for it. Man is slowly being regenerated by fire—it is the part of wisdom to shorten the process. We must have the courage to renounce the imperious spirit and abolish legalized privilege as fast as practicable, that we may not court envy and enmity, and abide by the dictum of merit as the way to unfettered prosperity and tranquility of spirit.

To increase our armies at this time would be taken as a direct threat and an uncalled for and undiplomatic act, simply as a favor to a small interest at the expense of a whole nation. If we have a sincere desire to protect ourselves against invasion we will cultivate a whole hearted desire for service, and give no offense, direct or indirect. "The best defense against giving offense is—no defense."

W. E. JACKSON.



MALTHUS UP TO DATE.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 11, 1915.

Today's Washington Star states that appeals for the help of the American laboring man in liberating his "oppressed comrade" in Cuba have been received by the American Federation of Labor. Several inhabitants who have spread the trade union propaganda in the island have been cast into prison, and they will soon be tried and condemned to hard labor. Presumably they did their spreading in some objectionable manner. It is said that "one of the forms of persecution of the laborers is their expulsion from the island." Upon complaint to the police about the workmen, "they are violently and mercilessly deported." This sounds like exaggeration; it may be that they are kindly and mercifully expelled. At all events, they are not wanted in Cuba.

On the next page of the same issue is the following:

A wholesale migration of Porto Ricans as a means of relieving industrial depression in the island has been suggested to President Wilson by Gov. Arthur Yager of Porto Rico. It is believed to be the first instance in the history of the country when an official of the government has advocated emigration from the United States or one of its dependencies to a foreign land.

Despite its prosperity, "the paradise of Porto Rico is overpopulated," as Gov. Yager says. The island has 350 inhabitants to the square mile, and this is considered a burden too heavy for any country to support. In the opinion of Gov. Yager, at least 250,000 residents should be

asked to migrate, Cuba and Santo Domingo being specially mentioned as the desirable places for emigrants.

There is no ruthlessness—no brutality about this proposal. It is made in fairness to the natives, for their own benefit, and that of those who remain behind, and of the dependency as a whole.

The island has so prospered since American occupation that it now produces 375,000 tons of sugar a year, whereas it formerly produced only 50,000 tons. American influences have so raised the standard of living that the laborers' 60 or 70 cents a day is insufficient to gratify his luxurious tastes, and he is advised to travel.

The Governor has the courage of his convictions. This is the first logical solution of the problem of the pressure of population upon subsistence since the older writers suggested birth-restriction, pestilence and war. It marks a long step forward in scientific treatment of a difficult matter.

There are some impractical people who talk about taking taxes off industry and placing them on natural resources and community-created values, and so opening opportunity to all; but intelligent people see that this would mean prying loose the grip of monopoly and assailing the imprescriptible rights of property. Wishing to accomplish something practical, the governor does not waste time on visionary remedies.

And yet, it would seem an excellent chance to try the Singletax on this dog, and demonstrate to the steadily increasing number of Singletaxers the futility of their plan, if not to help the unfortunate Porto Ricans who now find themselves de trop.

The satisfactory thing about the proposed method of treating a distressing economic condition is the idea it contains of a consistent plan which it would not be difficult to elaborate. If deportation is good for Porto Rico it is good for the United States. A vigorous enforcement of such a policy would rid us of all undesirables. To deportation might be added segregation, and when these wards of the nation were all herded in designated localities we could inflict upon them more effectually the beneficent ministrations of our charity organizations. Consulting the temperaments and predilections of the victims, we might establish these leper colonies in all quarters of the world. Providing them with missionary teachers of political economy, they would learn to discriminate among themselves and segregate and expel their own undesirables. Controlling no land on the earth, they would doubtless transport them beyond the limits of terrestrial geography. To this extent, at least, the solution offered would be conclusive.

And this solution involves the settlement of another issue. It would make us unanimous on the subject of military preparedness. Our pestiferous protectorates of miserables would be objectionable neighbors, and a magnificent army and navy could be employed in the enforcement of our national policy. I am, myself, in favor of some measure of preparedness, and when deportation is recommended to the President as economically expedient, I feel that our preparation should be adequate.

WILLIAM WALLACE CHILDS.

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 16, 1915.

European War.

Rains in the low lands occupied by the German forces before Riga have compelled them to yield before the Russian offensive. Southwest of Dvinsk also the Germans have yielded ground. It is thought the Russians are in no danger from the invaders until the ground freezes hard enough to bear heavy guns. Elsewhere on the eastern front no important actions are reported. The Russians everywhere seem to be holding their line. On the western front almost continuous assaults and counter assaults have taken place in the Champagne district, and at other points along the French front. The casualties have been heavy, but no material changes in the line have occurred. Heavy cannonading is reported to be in progress, which may be the prelude to another general assault. [See current volume, page 1101.]



Serbia presents a continuation of previous activities, the steady advance of the Teutonic forces from the north, the inroads of the Bulgarians from the east, the retreat of the Serbians to the southwest and the slow advance of the Allies from the south. The Austro-German line of invasion is now almost directly west of Nish. The Bulgarian line is reported to have been advanced west of Uskub as far as Tetovo, which is within a few miles of the Albanian frontier. Within this slowly contracting area in north central Serbia the Serbians are fighting a rear guard action as they withdraw into the mountains. In southern Serbia they are holding the Bulgarians at bay. To the east of Drenovo, held by the Serbians, the Allies' line extends into Bulgaria beyond Strumnitza. Berlin reports 250,000 men as having been landed at Saloniki, but the Allies have given out no figures. It is reported that Kaiser Wilhelm will review his armies in the Balkans within a few days, and go on to Constantinople.



No material changes are announced either from the Italian front or from the Dardanelles. Greece continues a point of contention. King Constantine dissolved parliament, instead of yielding to the opposition, and has set December 19 as the date of the new election. This action is charged by the opposition as a suspension of parliamentary government, and an attempt to set aside the con-

stitution. The King appealed to the country a few months ago, and the decision was against him. It is charged that he expects a vindication this time through his power of keeping members of parliament at the capital so they cannot make a campaign before their constituents, and by keeping the soldiers at points where they cannot vote. Earl Kitchener is reported at the Island of Lemnos, which has been used as a base for the Dardanelles operations. It is said in London that his errand is in part to have an understanding between Greece and the Allies.



Renewed activity of the submarines is reported from various points from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, where ships have been torpedoed. The Italian liner *Ancona*, bound from Genoa to New York, was sunk by an Austrian submarine 350 miles out from Naples. Of 582 persons on board, about 300 are supposed to have perished, among them nine Americans. This is the worst disaster since the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the presence of Americans among those lost is giving rise to a similar controversy between the United States and Austria. Testimony is conflicting. Austria charges that the *Ancona* attempted to escape. Survivors testify that the vessel was fired upon without warning, that no time was given for leaving the ship and that shells were fired at the people in the lifeboats. The United States authorities are making an investigation on their own initiative.



Warsaw papers state that the Germans have assessed a charge of \$750,000 a year against the city for the maintenance of the military garrison at that point. It is reported from Belgium that the German military governor of the province of Hainault has sentenced an engineer to five years' imprisonment for declining to work under compulsion. Several other engineers have been sentenced for the same cause to four to twelve months. Eighty-seven workmen received sentences of eight to twenty-six weeks.



A part of the Swiss forces were relieved of duty on the 13th, on account of the feeling that the territory of the little republic will not be invaded. Insurance against Zeppelin raids in England has been provided for the homes of the poor by the British government. Twelve cents insures to the amount of \$125 for a year; 37 cents insures for \$375, the highest amount.



General Joubert, the hero of the Boer war, who was confined on the island of St. Helena, has joined the staff of the British commander, General French.

Japan.

Emperor Yoshihito was formally crowned on the 10th at the ancient capital of Kioto. Commoners and foreign representatives were, for the first time, permitted to witness the sacred ceremonies. That all might share in his happiness the Emperor commuted the sentences of criminals and gave \$500,000 to charity. Decorations were bestowed by the Emperor upon ambassadors and ministers—with the exception of the American and Swiss representatives, who are prohibited by law from accepting decorations. Emperor Yoshihito is the one hundred and twenty-second ruler of the Japanese Empire. [See current volume, page 1101.]

China.

Eighteen out of twenty-two provinces of China have given solid support to the proposal to establish a monarchical form of government. The Chinese government, however, in compliance with the protests of Japan, Great Britain, France and Russia, has announced that no change in the form of government will be made this year. [See current volume, page 1075.]

Mexico.

In response to inquiries by foreign governments in regard to protection of property belonging to their nationals, General Carranza issued on the 9th an official order that will mean the ultimate return to legal owners of all coal mines in the northwest Coahuila district, except those owned by persons antagonistic to the Constitutionalist government. [See current volume, page 1101.]

Prelates of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico, in convention at San Antonio, Texas, issued a statement in answer to General Carranza, in which they say:

Neither Don Venustiano Carranza nor any other person need have a fear that Mexican bishops and clergy may be an obstacle to the restoration of peace in Mexico, since such restoration has been the aim of all our works, writings, prayers, and exhortations to the faithful during the last years of civil war in our unhappy country.

We have not violated, even in the least, the laws of our country and we don't fear any accusation against us. The statement that we contributed \$11,000,000 to a new uprising is totally absurd. We do not regret having endeavored as good Mexicans to prevent American intervention in our country.

It is announced by the Carranza agency at Washington that bull fights and cock fights and all games of chance have been prohibited in the state of Mexico and Mexico City. Governor Alvaredo of Yucatan has called a congress of women to meet in Merida, the state capital, to discuss measures for the advancement of women and the home,

and how the government can serve them. This is said to be the first gathering of the kind in all Mexico.

No military activities of moment are reported. General Villa, with the remnant of his army, has left Naco for the interior.

Labor Conventions.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco on November 10 fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada denounced the European war. Ernest Bevin of the British dock workers said:

You are the only great country that is out of the war. God grant that you will not come into it. Three times the population of New York has already been exterminated. The whole of Europe is not worth that sacrifice.

Charles G. Ammon of the London Postal Clerks' Association said:

There is no need for conscription. Our country has more men than it can equip. Conscription is wanted by those who would have the strangle hold on labor after the war.

Fred Bancroft of Toronto spoke against conscription as follows:

The Canadian Trades and Labor Council has set its face absolutely against any conscription or compulsory service. And we are not by any means an element that can be neglected.

Resolutions have been introduced against the greater navy demand and are now in the hands of committees.

The International Association of Longshoremen in convention at San Francisco on November 12 appropriated \$1,000 for defense of David Caplan and Mathew Schmidt, now on trial at Los Angeles.

Complete Pueblo Result.

The official count in Pueblo, Colorado, gives the vote on the single tax repealer 3,255 in favor and 3,042 against, a majority of 213. The vote on adoption in 1913 was 2,711 for, to 2,171 against. In writing on the matter, George J. Knapp says:

We carried 18 precincts, or more than one-half of the total. Two are tied, and the enemy carried 15. We are beaten by 213 votes. The singletax vote shows an increase of over 300, as compared with two years ago. There is no doubt that we were defrauded in precincts 3, 4 and 24, and possibly in precincts 28 and 33 [the vote in these precincts, as returned, was, respectively, as follows: Precinct 3, for repeal 244, against 117; Precinct 4, for repeal 129, against 102; Precinct 24, for repeal 215, against 119; Precinct 28, for repeal 50, against 33; Precinct 33, for repeal 156, against 131.]

We were beaten principally because several days before election the names of several hundred voters

known to be in favor of singletax were scratched off the registration books. When these people went to vote they were told that they were not registered. I know of dozens and dozens of such cases and I learn of more of them every day who were refused the right to vote, although they had voted at the city election two years ago.

[See current volume, page 1099.]



Ashtabula Votes Under Hare System.

The first city election in the United States under the Hare plan of proportional representation took place at Ashtabula, Ohio, on November 2. There were seven councilmen to be elected, and fourteen candidates for the places. Party designations did not figure. All candidates were nominated by petition of 2 per cent of the voters. In voting the voter marked his first choice 1, his second choice, if he had any, 2, and so on down to 7, if he so desired. The total number of votes cast was 3,334, of which 362 were either blank or invalid, leaving 2,972 valid ballots. There being seven councilmen to elect, this total was divided by eight to determine the quota, or the number of votes required to elect one man. This made the quota 372. The eight candidates receiving the highest first choice votes were as follows:

McClure	392
Hogan	322
McCune	309
Gudmundson	292
Earlywine	289
Rinto	237
Briggs	211
Corrado	196

McClure was thus the only candidate whose vote exceeded the quota of 372. His surplus of 20 votes was accordingly distributed among other candidates as marked for second choice. But this gave none of the others a quota, so the 14th man was dropped and his vote redistributed in accordance with second choice markings. Where McClure was marked second choice, the third choice was taken. This elected Hogan and McCune. The thirteenth man was then eliminated, but it was not until all below the eighth had been dropped that seven obtained full quotas. Finally, Corrado, who was 8th on first choice, acquired a quota and displaced Rinto, who had been 6th. He was the only one below 7th on first choice to be elected. Of the seven elected McCune, Hogan and Corrado are members of the present council. Of the seven defeated, four are members of the present council. Of the new men elected one is a Socialist. [See current volume, page 831.]



Pennsylvania's Anthracite Coal Tax.

A reopening of the case declaring the Pennsylvania tax on anthracite coal unconstitutional was asked of the State Supreme Court by Attorney General Francis Shunk Brown on November 10. It

is estimated that the coal companies have secured from consumers about \$9,000,000 on account of this tax, which they have never paid to the State and which the decision invalidating the law relieves them from paying. In his argument for a rehearing the attorney general declares the opinion to be:

Contrary to all precedent in Pennsylvania, because it is the first time in the history of the jurisprudence of the State that classification for the purpose of taxation has not been sustained, and it is asserted to be the first time in the United States that a classification has been sustained for another purpose and not for taxation. If the public duty is greater in the one case than in the other, so may the class requiring greater duty justly be required to bear a burden of taxation not imposed upon the other, and classification is permissible in order to make it bear the greater burden.

[See current volume, page 1099.]

NEWS NOTES

—Ten feeble-minded male inmates of the Wisconsin State Home at Chippewa Falls were subjected to operations for sterilization on November 11. This was done under a law recently passed.

—Dr. Booker T. Washington, founder and head of the Tuskegee, Alabama, Institute, and prominent among American educators, died at his home in Tuskegee on November 14. He had been suffering from nervous breakdown.

—A cattle dealer, Hugo Kuhl, was convicted of usury at Dresden, Germany, on October 15 and fined 1,000 marks. He had violated a law passed last July, in buying two steers and selling them again within an hour at a profit of 120 marks.

—The Georgia legislature on November 15 passed bills prohibiting publication of liquor advertisements, and limiting the amount of liquor a person may receive from outside the State to two quarts of whisky per month, one gallon of wine and 48 pints of beer.

—Emma Goldman will deliver a series of nine lectures at the Fine Arts Theater, 410 South Michigan avenue, Chicago, from Sunday, November 21, to Sunday, December 5. The week day lectures will be on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of each week.

—A motion to repeal the rule outlawing the Chicago Teachers' Federation was made at the School Board meeting on November 10 by the recently appointed member, Max Loeb. Under the rules it went over for two weeks. [See current volume, page 1100.]

—For refusing to disclose a confidential communication of a twelve year old boy Judge Ben Lindsey was fined \$500 and costs for contempt of court by Judge John A. Perry at Denver on November 15. Lindsey has 30 days to appeal. [See current volume, page 789.]

—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was again prevented from speaking at Paterson, New Jersey, on November 12 by the police. Captain Tracy in charge said that his action might be unconstitutional but he was

"enforcing the law." [See current volume, pages 906, 983, 998.]

—The New Zealand national land tax yields £767,451 a year (including the graduated and absentee taxes, £258,135), or 12.97 per cent of the total tax revenue of £5,918,034. It is estimated that roughly one-third of the local tax revenue of £1,968,767 is derived from unimproved land values.

—Calvary Forum at the Calvary Presbyterian Church of Buffalo has arranged a program of speakers, including Norman Hapgood on November 21; Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit on November 28; Mayor Newton D. Baker of Cleveland on December 5; Professor Edward A. Steiner of Grinnell, Iowa, on December 12, and Thomas Mott Osborne on December 19. Later speakers will be Stanton Coit, Ida Tarbell, John Spargo, Dr. Woods Hutchinson, Scott Nearing, Charles Zueblin and others.

—A campaign of singletax publicity and organization will be conducted by Louis Wallis in Illinois as follows: Rockford and vicinity, Nov. 16-21; Elgin and neighboring towns, Nov. 22-28; Coal City and Grundy County, Nov. 29-Dec. 5; La Salle and vicinity, Dec. 6-12; Peoria, Dec. 13-21. Mr. Wallis speaks in churches, and before various organizations including city clubs, labor unions, etc. Correspondence in regard to future dates in Illinois and elsewhere should be addressed to Hugh Reid, Manager Peoples' Lyceum Service, 508 Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

—At the West Side Forum of Chicago on Robey street and Warren avenue the following dates have been made for speakers: Professor Charles Zueblin of Boston, November 21 and 28; John Spargo, December 5; Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit, December 12; Sir Horace Plunkett of Ireland, December 26; Reverend John A. Ryan of Washington, January 2; Stanton Coit of England, January 9 and 16; Harold Marshall of Boston, January 23; and Miss Jane Addams of Chicago, February 6. Frank P. Walsh, Scott Nearing and Walter Rauschenbusch are among later prospective speakers.

—Immigration into the United States in 1820 amounted to 8,385. In 1842 it had reached 104,565 a year. In 1854 the total was 427,833, but declined to 72,183 in 1862. With wide fluctuations in good and bad years it reached 1,026,499 in 1905. Five times since, the million mark has been passed, that in 1914 being 1,218,480. The immigration for the year ending June 30, 1915 fell to 326,700, and the emigration during the same period amounted to 204,074. The immigration for September amounted to 24,513, the emigration 22,156. The total immigration from 1820 to date amounts to 32,354,124. [See current volume, page 911.]

—In Berlin the prosecution of Professor Oscar Vogt of the Royal Neuro-Biological Institute for conversing in French on the streets ended on October 8 in acquittal. Conviction would have meant a fine of 50 marks and ten days' imprisonment. Vogt was arrested on complaint of Reverend Paul Kettner, a prominent clergyman. Acquittal was based on the fact that the conversation was carried on in a moderate tone, and that the use of French in this case was necessary, since the professor was discussing a scientific matter with his wife, a native of Paris, and with a French-Swiss governess in his

family. He was, however, fined 10 marks for creating a disturbance. This consisted in grasping the wrists of his accuser when the latter had threatened him with his cane, which resulted in the gathering of a crowd.

PRESS OPINIONS

Fool Friends.

Chicago Tribune, November 16.—Bureaucracy seems to be the state of being an ass. The order from the office of the postmaster general that removed the assistant postmaster in Winnetka for the reasons stated in it passed comprehension for stupidity, indelicacy, tactlessness, arrogance, and other qualities which make the complete numskull.

President Wilson, who has ordered the reinstatement of the Winnetka assistant, is said to be suffering from chagrin and embarrassment. It is difficult to see how any department of government could have given an executive a moment of more exquisite mental anguish than the postoffice did in his case.

Bureaucracy is an awful thing. It destroys the sense of proportion, and thereby the common sense. It enflames the egotism and fattens the pride. It exalts the petty vanities, and in the swollen importance which results good judgment struggles like a seed of grain in the weeds.

In this case it has set 10,000 tongues to clacking and has done the President about as much good as a case of smallpox.



Following Strange Gods.

Dallas Democrat, November 6.—The Wilson Administration has gone over to the Republican doctrine of a great navy and a large standing army; immense revenues being a necessary corollary. A tentative acceptance of a protective tariff has been made in retaining the duty on sugar. This program does not leave the Democratic party a leg to stand on. If this represents the sense of the people of the United States, Colonel Roosevelt is the logical man for President. He belongs with those who believe in vast aggregations of wealth. This scheme promotes all that is implied in that. If the people believe in preparation for war, on the scale outlined for a beginning, leading up to a world-defying navy and army, we may as well banish all notions of freedom and prosperity. The people cannot contribute such sums of money as will be necessary to make and maintain, in efficiency, this great fighting force. The common people will be forced to carry the burden. Those favored of Fortune will have wealth and honors. It has been said that the Democratic party could be relied on to act the fool when in power. But this scheme is not an accomplished fact. Let us cherish the hope that the labor of the country may not be set to work for army and navy contractors, feeding idle soldiers and building and re-building war vessels. The working people must take up this graft, with the Government, at Washington, and begin now. Write to your Representative and to both of your Senators; tell them you don't want this most outrageous thing done. Labor Unions and Farmers' Unions should get up a joint protest and

all sign and send it on. . . . This preparation for war is the great lever everywhere used to take the wealth created by labor for the use and behoof of others who do not labor. It is no part of democracy.—it is blazonry of royalty, the dividing line between classes—upper and lower. The people must save themselves from this infamous thing.



The Roll of Patriots.

Greenfield Bulletin (Pittsburgh), November 11.—Officials of the Navy League: J. P. Morgan—you know him. Thomas W. Lamont—Morgan's partner. William H. Porter—Morgan's partner. Henry P. Davidson—Morgan's partner. Charles Steele—Morgan's partner. Paul D. Cravath—on board of directors Westinghouse Company, and interested in manufacture of ammunition. Elbert H. Gary, of United States Steel Corporation, the chief beneficiary of armor contracts. Harry P. Whitney—his money is invested in the Westinghouse, American Car, Atlas Powder Company and Hercules Powder Company, war beneficiaries all. S. H. P. Pell—International Nickel Company, war order concern. Cornelius Vanderbilt—director Lackawanna Steel Company, large war order concern. Ogden L. Mills—director Lackawanna Steel Company. Fredrick R. Coudert—director National Surety Company. Has written surety bonds on contracts for the production of \$1,500,000,000 worth of war material. To furnish the list further in detail would take too much of our space, so we merely add a list of names of gentlemen who masquerade under the name of the Navy League for the express purpose of cutting this or any other Nation's throat for profit. Here are a few others: Francis L. Hine, Edmund C. Converse, Daniel G. Reid, Percy Rockefeller, L. L. Clarke, Robert M. Thompson. Here, Mr. Workingman, is your patriotic Navy League. They want the fruit of your toil. They hang like leeches on all human enterprises. Part of the price of your groceries goes in ever larger measure to these and other patriots. Do you remember the Chicago railroad strike? How the United States Army was sent there by President Cleveland to shoot workmen and break the strike. They fool you again and again. First they make you pay for the Army and Navy, and thereby amass huge wealth to themselves; they bleed you and they rob you. When you are desperate and strike, they shoot you. Are you afraid of Germany or Japan? Don't be silly, man. It is your hide they are after. Wake up! Read that list of names again. They are the boldest lot of sailors that ever trod a deck or hunted a rat hole.



A Lesson from the War.

The New Republic, November 6.—There is one lesson from England which overshadows all the rest. It is that no matter how well the Government machinery is improvised, it will not work without the active co-operation of labor unions. Fought as dangers to the state, regarded as a menace to security, they have proved themselves to be organizations which the nation cannot do without. Labor unionism has shown itself to be as much a part of the structure of society as the war department or the foreign office. Labor leaders have become ex-officio members of the government, for just as the

administration has to deal with clearing houses, chambers of commerce, engineering societies, so it has to deal with the natural groupings of labor. Even the most hardened Tory knows today that the support of workmen can be purchased only by a recognition of their power.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

FOR THE PEOPLE.

By James Jeffrey Roche.

- We are the hewers and delvers who toil for another's gain,
The common clods and the rabble, stunted of brow
and brain,
What do we want, the gleaners, of the harvest we
have reaped?
What do we want, the neuters, of the honey we have
heaped?
- We want the drones to be driven away from our
golden board;
We want to share in the harvest; we want to sit at
the board;
We want what sword or suffrage has never yet won
for man,
The fruits of his toil, God-promised, when the curse
of toil began.
- Ye have tried the sword and scepter, the cross and
the sacred word,
In all the years, and the kingdom is not yet here
of the Lord.
Is it useless, all our waiting? Are they fruitless,
all our prayers?
Has the wheat, while men were sleeping, been over-
sowed with tares?
- What gain is it to the people that a God laid down
his life,
If, twenty centuries after, His world be a world of
strife?
If the serried ranks be facing each other with ruth-
less eyes
And steel in their hands, what profits a Savior's
sacrifice?
- Ye have tried, and failed to rule us; in vain to di-
rect have tried,
Not wholly the fault of the ruler; not utterly blind
the guide.
Mayhap there needs not a ruler; mayhap we can
find the way,
At least ye have ruled to ruin; at least ye have led
astray.
- What matter if king or consul or president holds the
rein,
If crime and poverty ever be links in the bondman's
chain?
What careth the burden-bearer that Liberty packed
his load,
If Hunger presseth behind him with a sharp and
ready goad?

There's a serf whose chains are of paper; there's
 a king with a parchment crown;
 There are robber knights and brigands in factory,
 field and town,
 But the vassal pays his tribute to a lord of wage
 and rent;
 And the baron's toil is Shylock's, with a flesh-and-
 blood per cent.

The seamstress bends to her labor all night in a
 narrow room;
 The child, defrauded of childhood, tiptoes all day
 at the loom;
 The soul must starve; for the body can barely on
 husks be fed;
 And the loaded dice of a gambler settle the price
 of bread.

Ye have shorn and bound the Samson and robbed
 him of learning's light;
 But his sluggish brain is moving; his sinews have
 all their might.
 Look well to your gates of Gaza, your privilege,
 pride and caste!
 The Giant is blind and thinking, and his locks are
 growing fast.



PERMANENT PEACE

By John D. Barry in Washington Herald.

August Schvan, though he has had a long training as a military man, is the foe of war and the champion of peace. Since he came to this country a few months ago he has been trying to demonstrate in lectures before clubs and colleges that the efforts thus far suggested to secure and maintain peace are futile and that the only permanent way is by putting an end to the protective tariff and establishing universal free trade. In men like Prof. Giddings, of Columbia, one of the ablest of our economists, he has found enthusiastic supporters. "Nine-tenths of the wars are trade-wars," says Giddings. The Socialists would add another tenth.

Schvan belongs to a family long conspicuous in the public affairs of Sweden. He was a member of the Swedish guards and for four years he held a commission in the Austrian dragoons at Vienna. Kaiser Wilhelm called him to the staff college in Berlin. On his return to Sweden he was a member of the general staff in Stockholm. For several years he was active in Swedish diplomacy, both at home and in St. Petersburg. Meanwhile, his studies and his experiences were revising some of the impressions that he had formed from reading the kind of history that consisted largely of war records. He conceived such a detestation of war and he realized so keenly the waste it involved that he determined to devote himself to working against it, both by writing and speaking. It seemed to him that the best opportunity for his purpose was to be found in England. So a few years ago he settled down in London with the intention of becoming an English citizen and of-

fering himself for election to the House of Commons. The outbreak of the war of 1914 upset his plans. As he found he could be of little service in England he decided to come here. . . .

Like most of the best known economists today Schvan is a staunch free trader. Belief in the artificial restraints put upon trade he regards as a colossal folly in a world so misled that it prefers misery to happiness. He quotes the saying of Renan: it isn't the stars that give him an idea of infinity; it is man's stupidity. But just now mankind is having a lesson such as it has never had before. Great changes are bound to come out of this cataclysm. Never before in history has war been so abhorred. The world is ready to examine the causes of war, to get down to fundamentals. To ask the belligerents to enter into a compact not to fight any more is like asking professional criminals to conspire to stop their criminality. The only way to strike at the root of the evil is to secure freedom from those interferences to international trade which lead to bitter international competition for advantage and to those hatreds and suspicions that develop overwhelming armaments and war itself.

With universal free trade, Schvan believes there would be no need of armaments. So one hideous burden would be lifted from the great nations of the world. International differences there would still be; but they could reach settlement through the maintenance of an international tribunal or court. Each nation should be represented by judges according to population. The decisions should be enforced by a maritime international police, manned by men of the smaller seafaring and self-governing countries without colonial ambitions, like Norway and Denmark. The light armored cruisers needed might be taken from the navies of the world. The headquarters might be in some such place as Malta.

The plan sounds fantastic. But is it really so? It is surely not nearly so grotesque as our present way of living, and it is vastly more economical. Some one has said that if Roosevelt had come forward with a practical scheme for universal peace he would have made himself the greatest figure in the world. But he is temperamentally unfitted for this kind of greatness. To him there is no real greatness in public affairs free from the big stick.

What is to me most interesting about a man like August Schvan is that he represents a large number of people the world over, highly intelligent idealists with a strong, practical bent, who are thinking deeply and seriously about what lies behind war and what must lie behind peace if it is to have any real stability. Their investigating leads them into strange places. It upsets many firmly entrenched notions. It reminds the world that a sound understanding of

economics is essential to establishing of healthy international relations.

But, after all, where does the study of economics lead to? Inevitably it leads back to those simple Christian principles that all the civilized nations profess and practice when they feel so disposed. Of all economic theories there never was one more opposed to the Christian spirit than protection, the seeking of advantage for some people by imposing disadvantage on others and calling the result prosperity. It is the iniquity of the practice that August Schvan is trying to bring home to us, with all the wretched consequences in the struggle for a place in the sun, in the extravagant outlays for the collecting of taxes, for the support of really unnecessary governmental agencies, the intricate working needed to enable men to cripple one another and to change the course of nature and to open wide avenues for temptation to graft.



MAXIMS OF A MILITARIST.

For The Public.

Float a loan and let posterity pay the bill.

Christ was evidently a sincere peace advocate, but he was mistaken.

If the enemy violates the rules of the game, retaliate in kind.

In war, mere discourtesy to a woman is reprehensible, but it is not improper conduct toward her to kill her son.

"Peace on Earth" may be a proper sentiment for the angels and dreamers, but it has no place in the creed of practical men.

Prepare for war. As a result neighboring nations will also prepare for war. Consequently peace will be assured.

A man who will not fight for a government that inflicts a sweatshop, a slum-tenement, and a vicious system of taxation upon him is no patriot.

The way to build up a strong and virile humanity is by killing off all the physically superior males, and then propagating the race with defectives and cripples.

Posterity may want to fight wars of its own in alliance with our enemies and in opposition to the principles we now uphold, but let it first pay the war debt we have incurred.

Preserve a nice discrimination for the rules of the war game. The rules may have no value in themselves, and, in time of the highest necessity, it is not expected that they will be observed; but the rules do foster and uphold war in that they give it the apparently sober sanction of civilization.

This is no time to talk of the singletax, the conservation of human life, the establishment of social justice, or any other reform. Stop your chatter! Prepare for war; for, assuredly, nothing is so much needed to promote social justice

and establish the general happiness of mankind as a war.

ALVIN WAGGONER.



CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE LAND QUESTION.

(A lay sermon for readers of The Public.)

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me because I am anointed to preach glad tidings to the poor."

"I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly."

Surely the gladdest of tidings to the poor will be the removal of their poverty? Have we not too rashly assumed in the past that Christ's message to the poor contained a spiritual significance only, and enjoined an ignoble resignation to existing conditions? It is perhaps time we entertained the thought that Christ was first of all a man of profound common-sense; that he hated poverty as deeply as he despised wealth; and that he recognized as all sensible men do, the necessity for a sound physical and economic basis as the understructure of the spiritual life. What right have we to assume that the "Kingdom of Heaven" which he frequently told his followers was "at hand," did not mean the coming of the reign of justice on earth, and that it had only a mystic significance of the other-world sort? "To have life and have it more abundantly" is emptied of all meaning unless it signifies the whole area of life including its physical basis, the point where subsistence is earned, and where the soul with its covering of flesh comes into contact with solid fact, with mother earth. Once we get a conception of Christ not merely as a mystic or religious genius, but as a real man, as one who could love the world without being worldly, who was loyal to life and keenly sensitive to its most refined and elusive joys, who valued physical well-being and freedom from poverty as the necessary foundation of the higher life, we can feel that He is with us in all our efforts to remove the cause of poverty. Having caught sight of the knot in human relationships that is slowly strangling millions of our brethren, we feel impelled as followers of Him whose highest title is that He was "the just one," to untie it with the least possible delay.

That it can be untied is happily now being recognized by many of the most deep-thinking and far-seeing men of our time. To do so means that we must restore to men their rights in the fruit of their own industry and absolve them from the necessity of paying perpetual toll or tribute to the holders (for we cannot in any moral sense call them owners) of the earth's surface. It means also the opening up of the vast opportunities for human industry at present held out of use, thereby creating a centrifugal tendency in human affairs instead of the centripetal tendency which now pre-

vails, and which crowds men together so that they have "no room to live." It means restoring the natural economic equilibrium where wages will constantly tend upwards in proportion as men grow more skillful, more industrious, more wise and more efficient. It means reversing the current of competition so that employers may require to compete with each other for the privilege of employing men, and the truth will become apparent that it is the worker and not the employer who "gives work."

All these beneficent changes in human relations can, we believe, be effected by the simple means of changing our present basis of taxation, and shifting the burden of public income from industry and the products of industry on to those values which owe their existence to the presence and activity of the people, i. e., the economic value of land apart from buildings and improvements, and whether at present in use or out of use.

Harsh words are frequently used by opponents of this reform who do not understand the real bearings of the land question upon the economic and industrial problems which face society, and it is much to be regretted that the spirit in which so vital a question ought to be discussed is clouded by the use of expressions indicative of mere temper. Some misunderstanding might be avoided if the following considerations were carefully noted. (1) The actual ownership of land need not in the least degree be interfered with. (2) No more money need be taken from the community under the proposed system than will be required and taken under any system. (3) If land-value is adopted as the basis of taxation all other forms of taxation such as those on houses, income, and machinery will in proportion as the change is made, be discontinued.

Admitting these propositions it may be asked in what way the benefit to society and particularly to the laboring man at the base of the social pyramid, may be expected to show itself. The reply is that the benefit will come through an experience of conditions which have only been known in new countries before land has been monopolized, and under which the demand for human services of all kinds is always in excess of the supply. The laboring man, the seamstress, the clerk, the odd man with general capabilities but no specific talents, will all find opportunity to earn wages beckoning at every street corner. Following the law of supply and demand, it will be found that the remuneration of labor will have a constantly upward tendency. The increased productiveness due to increased skill and efficiency on the part of the workers, will not as now, go to increase land-value, but will accrue to the worker. All these results will follow the change in the basis of taxation because (1) the change will compel the holders of unused opportunities to seek for those who could and would use them. (2) It will stimulate present industry by ceasing the

penalizing of men who use their land privileges to the fullest advantage, as is necessitated by the exemption of those who keep their land privileges unused.

The proposed change in the standard by which each citizen's contribution to the public revenue is made, will not, we believe, seriously affect the present income of any who are using their land-privileges wisely and well, and who are offering no obstruction to the industrial and social development of the country. Such, indeed, will benefit indirectly by the absence of beggars and tramps and all the drafts upon their resources in the name of charity, which unemployment and poverty inevitably involve. They will also benefit directly as manufacturers and merchants by the presence around them of a prosperous and well-off people with money to spend on the products of industry. An immense home-market will have been discovered for the sale of commodities, which has hitherto been quite unexploited. The aim of the Singletaxer it cannot be too often repeated is not to "confiscate" anything, but to prevent confiscation. It is to remove the power by which land holders are permitted to appropriate the fruits of tomorrow's and the next day's labor, and are encouraged to prevent men using opportunities at present lying idle.

Our belief that we are on the eve of a great social reform rests upon our confidence in the innate sense of justice which lies at the bottom of the American character, and in that love of fair play which may be trusted to right a wrong as soon as it is clearly seen to be a wrong. Above all our confidence rests upon the fact that we are a Christian people, and that in spite of doctrinal scepticisms and apparent rejections, the spirit of Him who had compassion upon the multitude has permeated and leavened the hearts of men. We believe with Browning that "No man ever plucked even a rag from the body of Christ, were it but to wear and mock with, but despite himself he seemed the greater and was the better."

ALEX MACKENDRICK.



CAMP DOUGLAS.

(The Encampment of the Wisconsin National Guard.)

For The Public.

What pageantry is this to daze the eyes?
 A tented city splendoring the plain!
 The weary traveler, gazing from his train,
 Comes on the gleaming picture in surprise.
 A sentineled encampment, calm it lies
 Farm-bordered, foreign in this broad domain
 Of Peace and Happiness. Yet, there men feign
 War's brutal state, and battle dramatize.
 Such is War's subtle power that even I,
 Who loathe the monstrous thing, in dream became
 A Hindenburg. Invincible, I swept
 The enemy's expanse. How sweet to die

My royal troopers deemed it! And my name
Like a bright meteor through Time's heaven leapt.

—Charles H. Winke.

BOOKS

A BLIND LEADER OF THE BLIND.

Why the Dollar Is Shrinking. A Study in the High Cost of Living. By Irving Fisher. Published by the MacMillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

There lives in San Angelo, Texas, a good Single-taxer, who, speaking of the marked simplicity of Henry George's style, said: "All great truths are capable of statement in simple style—a style that is easily comprehended by Tom, Dick and Harry—the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker." Viewed by this standard, Irving Fisher, who is Professor of Political Economy in Yale University, might learn something in the presentation of a problem and its offered solution by a study of the works of Henry George.

For Tom, Dick and Harry are interested in knowing why the dollar has shrunk today to two-thirds of its value in 1896, but that popular triumvirate would find the present work far from a simple study in financial economics. To wade through many equations, to carefully follow plotted curves by the dozen, and to scan algebraic illustrations to the end that a proper formula may be written is excellent mental training, but confusing to the ordinary reader. Finally, it becomes quite clear that Professor Fisher's theory is that the price level is the result of a spirited contest between the money circulation and different forms of credit in the one camp, and the volume of trade in the other. And with this idea properly assimilated, Tom, Dick and Harry, pondering, will despair of any early relief. The effect of the war, for example, must cause both trade and circulation to drop, but as trade will drop faster than circulation, prices must rise—which prospect, whilst mathematically capable of demonstration upon Professor Fisher's theory, is also shrewdly suspected by the common man. And the war being over, by the Fisher theory, both credit and circulation will presently revive, but as credit will revive faster than trade, prices will rise still further.

But Tom, Dick and Harry are also prone to believe, perhaps vulgarly, that there is a much more satisfactory way out than standardizing the dollar, or stabilizing monetary units, and that with a juster system of taxation worry shall vex him but little who sits under his own vine and fig tree, as to the shrinking qualities of the dollar. For with access to uncultivated and idle lands that the taxation of land values would permit—but, what's the use? We know it. Pity 'tis

that the political economists have not gotten much beyond Ricardo and Adam Smith.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

EXPERIENCE OF A LUSITANIA PASSENGER.

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

What the situation must be on an ocean liner, known to be doomed to sink within a few minutes, is something that most of us would rather learn from description than personal experience. An interesting description of the Lusitania happening is given by one of the survivors. Probably Mr. Lauriat did not realize that his account constitutes a very good illustration of the need of such legislation as is contained in many of the provisions of the La Follette Seaman's law. He shows that many more lives could have been saved had there been better seamen on hand and less incompetency or carelessness in management of the vessel. The steamer was going at a slow rate of speed through the danger zone. The port holes were open so far down that when the vessel listed water rushed in and made her sink more quickly than she would otherwise have done. Even necessary appliances were lacking. One boat filled with women and children, which the author observed, could not be cut away from the ship in time to avoid capsizing, because no ax was at hand. There was general confusion and lack of discipline.

After giving the evidence of his own eyes, Mr. Lauriat reproduces the report of the British Court of Inquiry finding no fault with anything but the submarine.

As to the actual torpedoing of the vessel Mr. Lauriat says little. The mere statement that a ship filled with non-combatants was torpedoed was condemnation enough, which could not be made any stronger by any effort to add thereto. The inexcusable nature of the act is made clear by an editorial trying to defend it, in the Frankfurter Zeitung of May 9, reproduced in the book without comment.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Nearing Case. By Lightner Witmer. Published by E. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, 50 cents net.

—Inventors and Money-Makers. By F. W. Taussig. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Educational Hygiene. Edited by Louis W. Rapeer. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$2.25 net.

—Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy. By Charles A. Beard. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$2.50 net.

—The Executive and His Control of Men. By Enoch Burton Gowin. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Aristocracy and Justice. By Paul Elmer More. Shelburne Essays, ninth series. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

“Are you Appius Claudius?” asked the visitor of the man in tin armor at the pageant of Ancient Rome. “No, sir,” was the sorrowful reply, “I am not 'appy as Claudius was; I am as un'appy as I can be.”—Unidentified.

The New Parson—Well, I'm glad to hear you come to church twice every Sunday.”

Tommy—“Yes, I'm not old enough to stay away yet.”—London Opinion.

“Ah,” said the visitor; “this village boasts a choral society, I understand.”

“No,” said the native, “we never boast of it.”—Christian Register.

Stage-struck Maiden (after trying her voice)—“Do you think I can ever do anything with my voice?”

Stage Manager—“Well, it may come in handy in case of fire.”—Sydney Bulletin.

Niece—“I do think you are clever, aunt, to be able to argue with the professor about sociology.”

Aunt—“I've only been concealing my ignorance, dear.”

Professor Bilks (gallantly)—“Oh, no, Miss Knowles. Quite the contrary, I assure you.”—Boston Transcript.

“The Veil of Preparation”

... If possible, I wish to thank Mr. Dillard, through you, for his timely words on “The Veil of Preparation” in the November 5 issue of our Public. As a German I have had a hard stand among my countrymen since the war began, because I cannot espouse the German cause with them, but have little else but condemnation for it. And now what do I see my American fellow citizens do? They are “going the Germans one better.” To draw the lesson of preparedness from the war, instead of opening one's eyes to see what preparedness and militarism lead to—this is surely the greatest folly that the war has begotten; it is, to me, the saddest feature of it. Let us all stand up against this so-called preparedness and fight it tooth and nail.

H. C. BIERWIRTH, Cambridge, Mass.

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