

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
The Iniquitous Emergency Tax Bill.....	937
Campaign Expenditures Should Be Investigated.....	937
Poor Mexico .....	937
What Menaces Mexican Peace.....	933
Undiplomatic Diplomats .....	938
Heroes and Dogs.....	939
The Gully Belligerents.....	939
A Fair Deal For All.....	940
Paying Twice for the Same Thing.....	941
Senator Sherman and the Singletax.....	941
Taxation in Ohio Political Platforms.....	942
Progressivism in Delaware.....	942
Using Vacant Lots for Propaganda.....	942
Suspicious Silence.....	943
War and Peace—Harry W. Olney.....	943
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Communitas in Mexico—E. S. Westrup.....	943
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
A Hint to the Farmer.....	944
Money in Recent Elections—Judson King.....	944
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
The European War.....	945
Injunction Asked Against Naval Censorship.....	946
Washington News.....	946
Mine Owners Reject Peace Plan.....	947
Injunction Fight in Toledo.....	947
Possible Bequest for Suffrage Cause.....	948
Delaware Progressives.....	948
Questions for Candidates.....	948
Mexico and the United States.....	948
News Notes.....	949
Press Opinions.....	949
RELATED THINGS:	
Mothers of Men Awake—Will Atkinson.....	950
Joy of Life.....	950
As to Mother Goose—Alice Thacher Post.....	951
The Progress of Proportional Representation—C. G. Hoag .....	951
Rent—Edmund Vance Cooke.....	952
CARTOON:	
The Land of the Free.....	953
BOOKS:	
Rural Education .....	954
Immediate Measures .....	955
Books Received .....	955
Pamphlets .....	955

## EDITORIAL

### The Iniquitous Emergency Tax Bill.

The Senators who did such good work in defeating the "Pork Barrel" appropriations can add to their laurels by defeating the emergency tax measure which has passed the House. They should do this not only because the reduction of \$73,000,000 in river and harbor appropriations makes a tax measure needless that is designed to raise \$105,000,000, but also because even a deficit is to be preferred to the outrageous taxes which this emergency measure would levy. In an effort to save Privilege from further taxation, the House bill levies an assortment of taxes that can not be justified on any ground that would not with equal force furnish justification for a burglar or highwayman. A sense of justice should be sufficient to induce the Senate to reject the bill.      S. D.



### Campaign Expenditures Should Be Investigated.

If for no other reason than to allay suspicion, the Norris resolution for an investigation of Roger Sullivan's and Boies Penrose's campaign expenditures should be passed promptly. It can not be smothered, defeated or postponed without strengthening a suspicion that will not be complimentary to the candidates or to the Senators whose votes accomplish such a result. If there is nothing to conceal, Messrs. Sullivan and Penrose should urge their friends to support the resolution.      S. D.



### Poor Mexico!

No doubt we shall hear some I-told-you-sos from our jingo militants, should revolution break out afresh in Mexico. And there will be demands for intervention, if not for annexation. But the peace advocates should not expect too much. When we consider the amount of violence and injustice that still obtains in the United States in spite of our unparalleled opportunities, we should not be

too exacting in our demands of a country like Mexico. Conditions that in a rich country like the United States keep labor almost at the point of bare subsistence, in a poor country like Mexico force labor below the point of independent subsistence, and compel a resort to arms. It is not that the Mexican is by nature warlike, but that economic conditions make a life of peace impossible. Should the Constitutionalist government restore economic conditions to a normal state, peace and quiet will follow; but should it fail to remove the economic evils, then it will have to make way for one that will.



The Mexican Constitution of 1857, to restore which has been the professed aim of the Constitutionalist party, is one of the most liberal ever written. But, as Carlyle said of the Constitution of the French Revolution, it will not march. The difficulty lies in the fact that no man has yet arisen in Mexico who has been able to protect the people in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, without depriving the classes of their privileges. Diaz solved the problem by suspending the Constitution. Madero undertook to make the Constitution march, but the classes overthrew him. Carranza promises to do what Madero attempted, but Villa distrusts him. Privileged classes are loath to surrender their privileges; and there is a subtle influence in the Capital city that dissipates the resolutions of the camp. It may at this distance seem a small matter that Villa should insist upon Carranza's carrying out the agreement of Guadalupe, but his cruder mind may argue, false in one false in all, and conclude that if his chief will not observe a military pact he will not enforce the Constitution. Villa is willing that Carranza shall be provisional president now, if he will agree not to be a candidate at the election; or that he may be a candidate at the election, if he will give up the provisional presidency. But since the control of the election machinery is the strongest point in the candidate's favor Carranza hesitates to accept either alternative. This, however, is distinctly a Mexican affair. We may regret the necessity for further fighting, but pressing troubles of our own bar us from meddling with those of Mexico.

s. c.



### What Menaces Mexican Peace.

Mr. Guterrez de Lara, in his work on "The Mexican People," tells of enactment by the Mex-

ican congress in 1857 of a law of which the following is the first article:

The right of property consists in the occupation or possession of land, and these legal requisites cannot be conferred unless the land be worked and made productive. The accumulation in the hands of a few people of large territorial possessions which are not cultivated, or made productive, is against the common welfare and contrary to the principle of democratic and republican government.

For the practical application of this sound principle, the Mexican people have just passed through a bloody revolution. The break, or threatened break, between Villa and Carranza is, at bottom, due to suspicion that plans are afoot to deprive the people of the fruit of their victory. Refusal to furnish satisfactory evidence of the groundlessness of these suspicions is the one thing that will bring on another civil war. Permanent peace can be assured by making secure the right of every Mexican citizen to the use of Mexican soil.



The application of the principle of the land for the people will not be a hard matter, if the will to do so be not lacking. The holding of large territorial possessions in an unproductive state can easily be prevented through public appropriation of the rental value of land. This will not only free the land, and open opportunities for employment to all who want them, but will make unnecessary all taxes on labor or its products. The income from land values will provide ample public revenue. Upon those who block the adoption of such a measure must rest the responsibility for another period of bloodshed and revolution in Mexico, should that calamity actually occur.

s. d.



### Undiplomatic Diplomats.

In view of the repeated indiscretions of foreign representatives to this country, and the absolute failure of the negotiations that preceded the breaking out of the European war, a doubt arises in some minds as to the fact of the vaunted superiority of the old-world plan of training diplomats, as compared with the American method of selecting them from the people. A man who devotes a lifetime to doing one thing becomes proficient in the technique of that one thing; but he not infrequently loses thereby his sense of proportion, and so fails to adjust his learning to the practical affairs of life. If international relations be a sparring for points by the representatives of individual sovereigns, then the technical training is the essential requirement; but if representa-

tives are sent abroad for the purpose of acquainting the people of foreign countries with the nature and desires of our people, it is evident that a man coming directly from the people may be a better representative than one who has spent his whole life in the artificial atmosphere of embassies. Possibly there may come with the changes that follow this war an overhauling of the diplomatic service. It is conceivable that there might be an international understanding as to salaries paid and expenses incurred, similar to the limitations of expenditures of candidates for office in this country. There has been altogether too much flunkyism, and too little democracy. Questions of etiquette and social precedence have been allowed to overshadow the worth of nations and the rights of man.

S. C.



### Heroes and Dogs.

The cartoonist's inscription under a sketch depicting a file of green soldiers in charge of a drill officer, "In war you're heroes, in peace you're dogs," is too true. One would think he had entered a different age to follow the files of the newspapers before and after the breaking out of the war. The English press seemed to have been afflicted with the worst lot of bullies and loafers for fellow citizens that ever burdened a nation. They had no sense of justice, no regard for property rights, no feeling of patriotism. But a change came, as in a night. The loafers and bullies were whisked out of the country and their places were filled by sturdy English yeomanry. The men who had been such a vexatious nuisance to their "betters" had suddenly been discovered to be the bone and sinew of the country. It is no longer

"Tommy this, and Tommy that, and 'Chuck him out, the brute,'"

but it is

"'Savior of 'is Country,' when the guns begin to shoot."



Some of the better class of English papers have been quick to realize the changed conditions; and while a few of the class organs continue to abuse working men for their lack of patriotism, the really representative journals are disposed to view the matter from the working man's point of view. The London Daily Herald, the Nation, and the News and Leader, in particular, have been most appreciative of the situation—the last two no less than the first, though the Herald is the personal organ of George Lansbury, and is devoted espe-

cially to the cause of the common people. The point made by these papers is that a man's a man, that the war is fought in behalf of all, and that all must share in its burdens. And sharing in the war's burdens does not mean the giving of life or limb by the working man, and the sacrifice of a percentage of his wealth by the rich. The point most strongly emphasized is that the man in the ranks must neither himself become an object of charity, nor feel that his family will be helpless at his death. If crippled in mine or mill he receives compensation; if killed, his family is pensioned. This much must be accorded him when he enlists in the army. Both the Herald and the Nation are bitter in their denunciations of the self-appointed committees that are busying themselves in collecting funds for the widows and orphans of men killed in battle. This, they insist, is a government duty. The government has become the employer, and it must treat its employes at least as well as it requires private employes to treat them.



The Nation, after quoting the Manchester Guardian's account of the difficulty the soldiers' wives had had in securing allowances, declared:

The whole system of charity must go. It is infamous that the wives of these men should have to seek help from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association or from anybody else. If these men are heroes facing the German legions or when they are picking up the German sailors out of the sea under a heavy gun fire, let their wives be treated as heroines, not as mendicants or paupers. . . . Every soldier's family ought to have at the very least a pound a week from the State. . . . Mr. Lloyd George is to speak next week. Let him tell the nation that the men and women who are making its name glorious by their courage and self-sacrifice are not to be treated in this obsolete and hateful spirit; that they are not to be left to the chance charity of philanthropists and employers, and that the State, which is eager enough to fly the noble flag of democracy, is going to accept the obligations that attach to the simplest conception of a democratic civilization.

However this war may result, and whatever may be the shifting of international boundaries, it is quite clear that there will be a marked and distinct change in the relations of the "masses" and the "classes." The heroes of war will not again be the dogs of peace.

S. C.



### The Guilty Belligerents.

A correspondent desires an expression of opinion concerning the attitude of those English papers which have declared against peace until a complete victory for the Allies will have been won. There is the same condemnation due these papers

as is due all who encourage further bloodshed. In view of the fact that all aggressive war is indefensible it seems strange that any reader of *The Public* should consider any other verdict possible. There is no moral difference between the attitude of these English papers, and of the American papers which demanded intervention in Mexico, or of German papers which oppose peace except on terms that can not be obtained without further bloodshed. Every agency, whether English, German, French, Austrian or Russian, which encourages prolonging of the war for a single day, occupies a position morally indefensible. That nation will be the first to cease adding to its load of guilt and dishonor which first becomes willing to accept the best peace terms obtainable without further fighting.

S. D.



### A Fair Deal for All.

Some weeks ago a plea was made to the religious zealots who were accusing *The Public* of being partial to their opponents, that they take a broader view of the matter and exercise a little more charity toward their fellows. Since each accused the paper of being favorable to the other side, it was possible that both were wrong. And now a similar difficulty has arisen over the European war. The pro-Germans think the paper is partial to the Allies; while the anti-Germans declare it favors the Germans. What better can *The Public* do than to let its accusers speak for themselves? From liberty-loving Massachusetts come these words:

For the last year I had enjoyed very much the articles printed in *The Public*, because in most of them any one could see a spirit of fairness; but I am very sorry to say that I have noticed since the beginning of the European war that spirit of fairness regarding the same has greatly vanished. You will probably say it is because I am a Frenchman. If so, you are very much mistaken (in the first place France doesn't need German sympathy, Germany needs it all and more too) because I have asked of persons of other nationalities what they thought of the *Public's* attitude in this matter. They said they could smell German in all the lines written about the war. . . . We don't want any more Napoleons, and the Kaiser thinks he is a second one, but the first one was a great man apart from his bloody wars, and in ten short years accomplished a great deal, while this idiot of Kaiser, the first war he undertakes will mean his Waterloo. And instead of being looked on as a great warrior he will be held by the future generations as the greatest criminal of them all. . . . Please discontinue sending the paper, since you have to write thus to please the Germans in the United States. That's what I have been told by people who have lived in the West.

But *The Public* is defended from these pro-German charges by one who writes from the great State of Illinois, and not more than a day's journey from the town where Elijah Lovejoy was mobbed for daring to speak his mind. Let it be noted, too, with what enthusiasm the defense is made:

Although I know the few following lines are so much labor lost, you seeming to be so blinded by prejudice that you could not distinguish between a shotgun and a barndoor, nevertheless let me suggest a wee bit more modesty in making charges. You talk about Prussian—that seems to lie heavy on your stomach—atrocities as though you had [stood] by and seen, or as though you had the documents in your pocket that clearly prove your assertion. If you will just make a slight change in your statement, and make it suffered instead of committed, you will be more than justified. The Belgian's warfare has been that of a ferocious wild beast that ought to be cleared off the face of the earth to make room for something better. It is a pity that the *Public* that has been this long number of years so notoriously fair must fall in your hands to soil its pages with your vicious unfairness.

There, what paper was ever more thoroughly cleared of the charge of partiality than *The Public*? That the paper has not favored the Allies is proven beyond the shadow of a doubt by the direct testimony of a Frenchman. That the paper has not been partial to the Germans is equally well proven by the unqualified evidence of a German. Or, looked at from a different point of view, though *The Public* might be guilty of bias toward one side or the other, it manifestly is impossible that it should be biased toward both sides; and since each critic declares so emphatically that it does not lean toward his side, is it not possible that it may stand upright between?



*The Public* does not raise this question for the purpose of self-laudation, nor would it do so if these were the only letters of the kind that had been received. Other well-meaning persons, filled with patriotic zeal, have written to say the paper is biased toward the other side. This does not in any way harm the editors, but it may very seriously handicap the correspondents themselves in their efforts to better conditions in this world. The editors have kept their personal opinions on the war out of *The Public*, not because they had none, but because they believed such expressions of opinion would do no good among its readers at this time. They hold that it is of small moment which of a number of armed men in a frontier town is first to pull his gun, or what may be the technical points of honor involved. They are op-

posed to this gun-toting, man-killing practice in this day and age; and they are doing what they can toward bringing about the disarmament of nations. It is not a question as to whether the war was forced upon Germany, or imposed upon France; nor yet is it a question of Germany's whipping the Allies or of the Allies beating Germany. Rifles are poor instruments for determining truth, or for establishing justice. But, presumably, the war will end ultimately; and when it does end The Public hopes to see the nations disarm, and Justice come into her own.



To such as revile the paper, and accuse it of unfairness, this may be said: You may feel disappointed that The Public does not advocate your cause during the present war, but are you justified in charging it with standing for the other side? President Wilson has voiced the highest sentiment in calling upon Americans to remain neutral. These are portentous times. It is possible that this country may be the means of securing a lasting peace at the conclusion of present hostilities. But such a service cannot be performed by one holding the views expressed in either our French or German correspondent. Rather must it come from a people who, realizing their own delinquencies and shortcomings, yet having done a little toward setting up a democracy and establishing the rights of man, can say in all gentleness and sincerity: Here is a plan by which we have accomplished something; try it; we can all accomplish more by working together.

s. c.



### **Paying Twice for the Same Thing.**

Chicago has been trying for a number of years to establish a system of outer parks that shall embrace spacious woodlands, dells, and picturesque spots in a state of nature. The question has been voted affirmatively twice at the polls, but has been defeated both times by some flaw or technicality. It will come up a third time at the November election. The interesting feature about the matter is that whereas the lands needed for these extensive parks could have been bought for five million dollars when the question first came up, the same lands will now cost fifteen million dollars. As these lands are all unimproved, the question arises, why the advance? Complaints are heard of the rise in the cost of living and of war prices; but food stuffs have shown no such soaring propensities as these wild lands. The owners of these lands have done nothing to them aside from a few

little touches to change their appearance. But there is one decided change. Whereas these lands were then in touch with a city of a million people, they are now in touch with a city of two and a half million people. It is quite clear that the people of the city as a whole have conferred this added value to these lands; and it is equally plain that under our present method of doing things the people who trebled the value of these lands will have to pay for them a second time before they can use them.

s. c.



### **Senator Sherman and the Singletax**

In a public statement on September 27 Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, unconsciously but none the less openly and clearly, admitted the superior fitness of his Progressive opponent for the Senatorship, Raymond Robins. The admission was in an allusion to the fact that Robins has a better grasp of economic principles than he, and is more willing to advocate just principles. All of this was involved in Sherman's reference to Robins as an advocate of the Singletax and his own confession of ignorance of and opposition to the principle. He further declared that while social justice legislation was being enacted and he was writing statutes, Robins was advocating Singletax. Well, whatever statutes Sherman may have been writing, it is clear that they have failed to establish social justice. They must have been the kind of statutes, the writers of which thunder loudly against evil conditions, but carefully avoid disturbing the causes of these conditions, or offending the beneficiaries. They must have been such statutes, the writing of which gives aid and comfort to predatory interests, because it deludes the public into a false belief that something effective is about to be done. While Sherman was thus engaged, Raymond Robins was endeavoring to show the people the right road to justice. For this he has earned the opposition of the Illinois plunderbund, and the reproaches of Senator Sherman.



What are Senator Sherman's objections to the Singletax? According to the Chicago Tribune they are as follows: "It is taking from those who have and giving to those who have not. It is a leveling of possessions. It is an equality of economic opportunity." In view of the fact that these objections were offered without so much as a word to show that the Senator has the slightest idea of what the Singletax is, his objections may safely be attributed to ignorance. He objects to the Singletax; first, because "it is taking from those who

have and giving to those who have not." Will the Senator maintain that none of those who have wrongfully obtained it, and that none who has not been wrongfully deprived? If he will not so maintain, then he must knowingly and deliberately have assumed the position that those, who have wrongfully obtained, should be allowed to keep, and to obtain more in the same way. Was that his position while writing "social justice" statutes? If he does maintain that no one has more nor less than is due them, what was the object of his statutes? Was he endeavoring to take from those who have what honestly belongs to them, and give to those who have not what was not theirs?



Concerning the principal statute which Senator Sherman helped to put on the books he is discreetly silent. This was the infamous Allen law which took from the people of Chicago the right to their own streets. Incidentally it was a case of taking from those who had but a little and giving to those who have much. It was taking from the people what belonged to them and bestowing it on some predatory corporations to whom it did not belong. That kind of taking and giving was clearly not objectionable to Senator Sherman. His objections seem confined to the return of legally stolen property from possession of the plunderbund to its rightful owners.



What can only be excused on the plea of ignorance is Senator Sherman's reference to Singletax as "a leveling of possessions." Before the campaign is over, if he has the courage to continue the Singletax discussion, he will contradict that statement more than once. In fact, he did contradict it in his very next statement: "It is an equality of economic opportunity." How can there be "leveling of possessions" with "equality of economic opportunity," unless all possess equal ability? Even Senator Sherman should be able to see the absurdity of the position he assumes. Is this lack of knowledge concerning Singletax a fair sample of the Senator's information on other public questions?

S. D.



### Taxation in Ohio Political Platforms.

Both the Progressive party and Republican party of Ohio have taken advanced ground on taxation in their State platforms. The Progressive party declares unequivocally for county home rule in taxation and a partial exemption of per-

sonal property. The Republican party's declaration is not so flat-footed. It is "we pledge ourselves to home rule in the valuation and assessment of all property for taxation." Considering the source, such a pledge is gratifying indeed. Although it only speaks of "valuation and assessment" and is silent on the question of a tax system, yet this omission is not as serious as it may seem. Home rule in valuation and assessment is all that the city of Houston, Texas, has, and Houston's right thereto lacks even legislative approval. But the city has made good use of home rule in valuation and assessment. It has assessed land values at 70 per cent, improvements at 25 per cent, and personal property at zero. Given the right pledged to them by the Republican convention, Ohio cities can do the same.



The Democratic party's platform is silent on the tax question. Two years ago it declared unequivocally for home rule in taxation, but the pledge has not been kept. Possibly that explains the silence of this year. To have repeated the pledge would have directed attention to the failure to keep the previous one, and resulting questions and comment might have proven embarrassing.

S. D.



### Progressivism in Delaware.

On State issues the Progressive party of Delaware has taken advanced ground. Besides declaring for the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, woman suffrage, municipal home rule, and the commission form of government, it adopted a taxation plank which deserves the approval of the State's thoughtful citizens. The plank denounces the tax system which handicaps the improver and encourages the land speculator, it declares inimical to progress the fact that so much unimproved land is held by persons who are making no use of it, and it advocates remedying this state of affairs by empowering counties and cities to untax labor and increase taxes on land values. These planks embody a policy that would be extremely beneficial to the State, and citizens of Delaware will do well to elect the legislative and executive candidates who honestly advocate this program.

S. D.



### Using Vacant Lots for Propaganda.

A propaganda idea that might well be followed in other cities is that adopted in Chicago by Mrs. Annie Wallace Hunt as chairman of the Taxation Committee of the Woman's party. She is re-

questing owners of vacant lots to allow signs to be placed on their property reading as follows:

Everybody works but the vacant lot. I paid \$— for this lot and will hold until I get \$—. The profit is unearned increment made possible by the presence of this community and the enterprise of its people. I take the profit without earning it. What are you going to do about it? The chairman of the taxation committee of the Woman's party of Cook County has the remedy in pamphlet form. Send to Mrs. Hunt, Room 214, Hotel La Salle, city, for a copy, and then get to work.

This is an extension of the methods followed by J. J. Pastoriza in Houston, Laurie J. Quinby in Omaha, Fay Lewis in Rockford, Illinois, L. D. Beckwith in Santa Margarita, California, and probably by other equally candid land speculators elsewhere. But Mrs. Hunt has improved on the idea by endeavoring to enlist land owners to whom such use of their lots would not otherwise occur, or who, if they favor such use, would neglect to attend to the matter themselves. S. D.



### Suspicious Silence.

The City of Chicago has the opportunity to take possession of an automatic telephone system. The system belongs to the Illinois Telephone and Telegraph Company, the franchise of which provides forfeiture of its system to the city whenever the number of its bona fide subscribers falls below 20,000 or whenever it may agree to sell out to another company operating in Chicago. Both of these conditions have come about, but so far from taking advantage of the terms of the franchise the city council is actually considering seriously a proposition to allow sale of the plant to another corporation, and this proposition does not provide any consideration whatever to the city in return for its permission. Why council should consider such a proposition has never been explained. Equally mysterious is the explanation of the silence on this subject of every daily paper in Chicago with the exception of the Day Book. S. D.



### WAR—AND PEACE.

Human nature is prone to magnify the details of war into events themselves of importance—forgetting that war is of importance only in so far as it retards or accelerates the progress of civilization, and that any battle, or any deed in any battle, is of importance only in so far as it contributes to the best settlement of the war in the interest of mankind as a whole. It is this dwelling on the details of war, and the honor

paid to the heroes of war, that is so largely responsible for keeping alive the war spirit in our "human" hearts—that makes so grievously apparent the "thin crust of civilization." When war is done, if only its horrors be remembered, then is the world nearer to lasting peace. And evidence is not lacking, despite the present war, that the masses of men grow always nearer to this belief.

In this war, even though—because, indeed—our sympathies are with all of Europe, we of America cannot but hope for a decisive overthrow of military autocracy, and for a general disarmament. The plea of the military autocrats, for the need of "expansion," in the sense of forceable occupation of additional territory, is only too apparently false. Break down the barriers of race and international hatred that spring from armed "peace", from a constant exaltation of national valor in past wars, and, more than all else, from international trade restraints, and "expansion" will come, as nature intends it should come. Given only a single international or inter-racial marriage annually, and it is only a matter of time until races and international hatred shall disappear. Tear down the artificial barriers that prohibit community of trade-interests, and you hasten the day when Europe shall be as truly one nation as the Caucasian element of our own country is, or is about to be.

Expansion? Has not every German as true a natural right to every foot of French or English soil as any Frank or Briton? And ought not every Briton or man of France beneath God's sunlight, be just as truly at home "where e'er the Rhine grapes purple bloom" as in his own native land? Hasten the coming of peace, Peace!

HARRY W. OLNEY.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### COMMUNITIES IN MEXICO.

Monterrey, N. Leon, September 21.

Mr. B. F. Butterfield of California has ably described the land communities of the Indians in the States of Sonora and Sinaloa. It would be a mistake to suppose that that is the only kind of land communities in old Mexico.

In the State of Nuevo Leon, settled in the beginning mostly by Spanish families, exist large estates, the bulk of their land taking most of the area of the State, which are inheritances handed down for one or two centuries to families and their descendants in common. Their original owners, mostly favored by the Spanish crown, were never careful to make a will relating to their estates. According to Mexican law, as long as the absence of a last will

is not denounced by one of the rightful heirs, the land is continued to be held in common by all heirs. Not all heirs happened to have equal number of children; so, after the second generation, all their heirs had not the same right, many of them began to sell to strangers a part or all of their inheritance, and this unequal distribution of the rights amongst them is made more difficult to determine at the present time, when we consider that there are no precise genealogical trees, no records of the families and their offspring and no documents whatever to throw light on that, but only the word of the eldest among the living ones as to who has a right and how much of it or if none at all.

According to Mexican law, anyone having a right, however small, in a community, is entitled to fence in and use as much land as he desires from the unallotted, and that he holds in the name of the community but for his own exclusive benefit. This has brought into the communities a certain class of land grafters who, buying a small right, fence in a large tract and make exclusive use of it in various ways. The rest of the members cannot protest.

The communities cannot be divided under existing laws, for if a number of the members in one, for instance, decides to divide, only one of them might appeal to Federal courts alleging hurt to his private interests and thus all proceedings are indefinitely stopped. Nevertheless most of the members of the communities are earnestly hoping they will be divided some time, so they can get their rightful share of the inheritance. Accordingly every one of them makes only the absolutely necessary improvements on the land he has fenced in for fear some time or another land and improvements may fall to the lot of another.

Very few of these communities are defined as to their membership. Fewer still have a regulation of their own and an organization. Perhaps out of five hundred communities in Nuevo Leon, not half a dozen are duly organized. They were not instituted by law, but have grown out of the peculiar conditions of the region. Still every one of the right-holders defends his right by all means at his command when it is attacked in some way by others. This fills the courts of the land with the disputes of the communities and their shareholders. Lawyers have grown fat from them. Not only are these fights between one shareholder and his neighbor in the same community, but there are difficulties between one community and another, in many cases limits being undefined and land unsurveyed.

To survey the land and justly divide it among the shareholders would require the herculean labor of a just and wise government and a long retinue of the appropriate employes. It would not take less than ten or fifteen years, and to enforce its decisions it must have the strength of the whole nation back of it.

The actual local Government and its Agrarian Committee are grappling now with this situation and trying to solve the problem. They believe it better to apply revolutionary methods to it and do away with this vexing question once for ever in a quick and forcible way.

Can any Single Taxer suggest an effective and practical remedy for it?

E. S. WESTRUP.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### A HINT TO THE FARMERS

San Francisco, September 24.

Farmers in the Modesto and Oakdale irrigation districts were able, under the Home Rule provision of the irrigation law, to exempt their improvements and personal property from irrigation taxes. That exemption lowers the taxes of the farmers, and raises the taxes of the speculators. That's the reason the farmers in those irrigation districts are in favor of Home Rule in taxation.

A few weeks ago an irrigation district was formed in the southern part of Shasta County, and one of the main arguments used in favor of forming the district was that the farmers could exempt their improvements and personal property from taxation for irrigation purposes.

The Amendment for Home Rule in Taxation will give all farmers in California the same power that the irrigation law gives to farmers in irrigation district. It will give the farmers of any county the right to vote taxes off their improvements and personal property—if they want to do that. How does it help a farmer to pay more taxes on fifty acres of an improved farm than a speculator pays on fifty acres of unimproved land?

CALIFORNIA LEAGUE FOR HOME RULE IN TAXATION.



### MONEY IN RECENT ELECTIONS

Washington, D. C., Sept. 24.

The Lorimer scandal shocked the nation. A Senate investigation showed that Senator Stephenson spent \$108,000 to secure his nomination at a primary election and we were again shocked. The nation is due for some more shocks. Penrose has been nominated in Pennsylvania and Roger Sullivan in Illinois.

Senator Norris has introduced a resolution demanding an immediate investigation by the Senate of the amounts spent in each of these primary elections. It is being strenuously opposed.

Vast sums but in lesser amounts are being spent all over the nation to defeat the people's candidates and to elect reactionaries. The Special Interests are determined to control the next Congress. They care nothing about a candidate's party politics so long as he is secretly or openly for them.

"But," you remind me, "we have a Federal law which prohibits corporations from contributing to campaign funds; another law which requires publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures and which prohibits a candidate for the House of Representatives from spending more than \$5,000 or a candidate for the United States Senate from spending more than \$10,000 to secure his election."

Of course we have. BUT—these laws are jokes. A "corporation" cannot contribute, but a "person" who may be connected with the corporation may spend any amount he chooses. Publicity is required of national party campaign committees operating in "two or more states," but none from state or local committees. A candidate must report the

amount he spends, which must be within the limit named, but certain "exceptions" are provided which permit him to spend in effective campaigning a hundred times that amount or more, with no publicity.

Moreover, and note this point, no publicity is required of outside organizations working in behalf of a candidate. I might file a report truthfully that I had spent \$2,500 to secure my election to the U. S. Senate, but the people would not know that a Manufacturers' Association had spent \$150,000 of their own money for me. The present laws are cotton twine designed to bind giants.

The lower House recently passed the Rucker bill, which professed to amend and codify the present laws, but it retained all the big jokers of the old laws. The National Popular Government League made a strenuous protest, and succeeded in knocking out the "two states" joker. Senator Owen went before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, and in the form of a substitution bill offered amendments to the Rucker bill, which were proposed by our league. All these changes were adopted by the committee and then some, so that the Rucker-Owen bill now pending in the Senate is a tremendous step in advance. This bill should be immediately enacted by the Senate and concurred in by the House. If it is not, there will be no adequate publicity upon the real sources of campaign contributions and expenditures in this coming election at which one-third of the Senators and all of the House members are to be elected.

The reactionaries of all parties are determined that this bill shall not pass at this time, and it is likely that they will succeed in killing it unless they hear from the people. The enactment of this law will check the flow of money in favor of candidates of the special interests, and this is the reason why the readers of this paper who desire the next Congress to be a people's Congress should immediately write both to their Senators and Representatives in Congress to work for and vote for this bill in effective form. They should also demand the passage of the Norris resolution for an investigation of Pennsylvania and Illinois.

JUDSON KING,

Executive Secretary The National Popular Government League.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, September 29, 1914.

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### The European War.

The campaign in the West has been confined to the activities in the north of France, and in Belgium, in neither of which have material changes been officially announced. In the East Russia, Servia and Montenegro continue to make head against Austria. And in the Far East Japan announces gains in its Kioa-Chau campaign. Offi-

cial censorship is rigidly enforced in all countries, which keeps from the public all details as to the number of men engaged, the exact position of the armies, and the extent of the casualties. The week appears, on the whole, to have been favorable to the Allies. [See current volume, page 922.]



### The Franco-German Campaign.

The position of the two armies in the north of France shows little change after another seven days of almost continuous fighting. The line still extends from Metz to the junction of the Aisne and Oise rivers, near Compeigne, thence north to Perronne. The eastern end of the line has moved a little north of Nancy; and although German troops are still to the southeast of Verdun, that fortified place still remains in the hands of the Allies. Rheims has withstood the attacks of the German center. And the German right has been forced back a short distance. The advance of the Allies along the German right in an effort to turn it back upon the center has resulted in extending the line of both armies farther toward the Belgian border. Both armies are well entrenched, and the action now partakes more of the nature of a field siege than of a battle. Fighting is almost continuous at some point along the line. Hand to hand conflicts are reported, when bayonet charges are made with deadly effect. Night attacks have been conducted by picked men on an extensive scale. Both sides claim gains, but military experts hold that the fortunes of war have slightly favored the Allies. Reinforcements are being added to both armies, and while the numbers are not given by the official reports, the gain in strength is supposed to be in favor of the Allies. The casualties are said to be very heavy, but are not given officially.



### The Campaign in Eastern Europe.

No decisive action has taken place between the German and Russian armies, since the latter was driven back from Koenigsburg in Eastern Prussia. The German advance into Russian Poland has ceased, and troops are moving to strengthen the Austrian lines from Cracow southward. The Russian forces in Galicia have continued to push back the Austrian line until the tip of the right wing is now south of the Carpathian Mountains, the left is at Cracow, and the center has been forced to yield two of the forts protecting Przemysl. The control of the Galician oil fields is likely to handicap the Austrians and Germans by depriving them of their chief supply of gasoline. Russian reinforcements continue to pour in, and a decisive battle is expected at an early date. Austrian arms on the south have been equally unfortunate in their struggle with the Servians and the Montenegrins. The Servians

and Montenegrins are reported to be within ten miles of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.



#### Belgium.

The movements of the Belgian troops have been confined for the most part to the vicinity of Antwerp, where successes of a minor nature are reported from territory to the south of the city. The German forces are reported to be placing the deadly siege guns that did such effective work at Liege and Mons to reduce Antwerp. The foundations for these guns are made of concrete, and the mounting is a slow process. They throw a shell weighing 2,500 pounds. Zeppelin airships have passed over the city in the night, and bombs have been dropped, but apparently without method, and with little damage.



#### Japan.

No naval activities have been reported before Kiau-Chau, but land operations are noted in a general way. Eight hundred British and 400 Indian Sikhs were landed on the 23d to co-operate with the Japanese in the campaign against Kiau-Chau. The censorship remains close, but it is evident that no decisive action has yet taken place.



#### On the Sea.

The German fleet remains under the protection of fort guns, while the British fleet patrols the North Sea. Such actions as have occurred have been confined to cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines. A report issued by the British admiralty on the 28th covering the naval operations to that date states that twelve English ships representing a tonnage of 59,331 have been sunk by German cruisers. Eight other ships, aggregating a tonnage of 2,979, have been sunk by mines in the North Sea; and twenty-four fishing craft have been captured or sunk. Seventy-four British ships with a total tonnage of 170,000 are detained in German ports. As against this, the admiralty states that 102 German ships, with a total tonnage of 200,000, are detained in British ports since the outbreak of the war. Eighty-eight German ships, aggregating 338,000 tons, have been captured by the British since the beginning of hostilities. One hundred and sixty-eight German ships, with a tonnage of 283,000, have been held or captured by the Allies.



Such details as have been given out by the British and German governments place the loss of life from the sinking of the three British cruisers by a German submarine on the 22d at about 1,400. The work was done by a single submarine, and the whole operation occupied less than one

hour. Minor engagements are reported from the Baltic between the German and Russian ships, and from the Adriatic between the Austrian and French ships. Nothing of the nature of a naval battle has yet taken place.



#### Africa.

General Louis Botha, Premier and Minister of Agriculture, one of the most prominent of the Boer war generals, has taken supreme command of the British forces operating against German Southwest Africa. The campaigns have not as yet assumed formidable proportions. The British have seized Luederitzbucht, the German diamond field, and the Germans have made an attack on Walfish Bay in Cape Colony. The French gunboat Surprise has taken possession of Coco Beach in Kamarun, the German colony of western equatorial Africa. Coco Beach lies at the entrance of the Muni River, which enters the sea at Corisco Bay. This territory was ceded to Germany as a result of the Franco-German Congo agreement in 1911.



#### Injunction Asked Against Naval Censorship.

On account of failure of the wireless station at Siasconset to comply with naval censorship regulations it was ordered closed by Secretary Daniels on September 24. An application for an injunction against the Secretary was at once filed in Federal District Court of Eastern New York by John W. Griggs, president of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company. [See current volume, page 831.]



#### Washington News.

The so-called war tax bill passed the House of Representatives on September 25 by a vote of 234 to 135. Eleven Democrats and one Progressive were included in the opposition. The bill now goes to the Senate. [See current volume, page 924.]



The Senate passed on September 27 the amended river and harbor bill which appropriates but \$20,000,000, instead of \$93,000,000, as voted by the House. The House on September 26 adopted the Senate amendments and passed the amended bill. [See current volume page 924.]



The Alaska coal lands leasing bill passed the Senate on September 26. It had already passed the House. It now awaits the President's signature. The House took up on September 26 the Jones bill providing antonomy for the Philippines on which an extended discussion is expected. The Senate on September 28 adopted two resolutions for investigation of the Standard

Oil Company. One directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the company's control of pipe lines. The other directs the new Trade Commission to investigate what effect the Supreme Court's dissolution decree has had in restoring competition. [See volume xiv, pages 458, 465; current volumes, pages 323, 891, 898.]



The President signed on September 26 the Trade Commission bill, which thus becomes a law. He announced that the members of the Commission will not be appointed until the December session of Congress. [See current volume, pages 783, 898.]



The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections on September 23 asked Senator Norris of Nebraska to produce witnesses to substantiate charges made by him in a resolution calling for investigation of campaign expenditures of Roger Sullivan and Senator Penrose. On September 25, Carl Vrooman, assistant Secretary of Agriculture, appeared. He had been a candidate against Sullivan, but had withdrawn to make it possible for the opposition to solidify. He furnished the committee with names of persons who he said can substantiate the charges of improper expenditures. He further declared that the monthly expenses of Sullivan headquarters in Chicago amounted to more than the total amount filed by Sullivan with the Senate. On being asked whether he did not feel that he might be endangering his official position in thus appearing against a party candidate Mr. Vrooman replied, that the job could "go hang," if it necessitated silence on Sullivan. [See current volume, pages 807, 899.]



Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo on September 25 published, as he had previously declared he would, the list of 250 banks which are holding money in excess of their reserve requirements and are at the same time refusing to make loans. These banks are all in the smaller cities. He also sent telegrams to the clearing houses of New York, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis telling of cases brought to his attention of high interest rates charged correspondents, and that banks found doing business in this way will be deprived of additional national currency, and of deposits of government funds. [See current volume, page 925.]



#### Mine Owners Reject Peace Plans.

The three-year truce plan suggested by the Department of Labor in the Colorado strike zone was rejected by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company on September 22 and by the Victor American Fuel Company, the Rocky Mountain Fuel

Company and forty-one smaller concerns on September 23. The rejection followed a conference between President Wilson and a delegation representing the mine owners. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company objected to the provision requiring it to re-employ all strikers who have not been convicted of crime. The other companies had the same objection and in addition declared unwillingness to enter into a three-year truce or to submit grievances to the arbitrament of a Federal Commission. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sent the President a telegram on September 22 expressing a desire for peace, but also expressing approval of the position taken by the companies in regard to the suggested peace plan. President Wilson informed the visiting delegation that he would consent to no change in the three-year truce plan, that the operators must accept the basis of settlement agreed to by the miners, or stand responsible before the country for the result. [See current volume, page 925.]



#### Injunction Fight in Toledo.

Federal Judge J. M. Killets of Toledo on September 23 cited for contempt Harry J. Howard, managing editor of the News-Bee; Negley D. Cochran, former editor, now of the Chicago Day Book, and John Quinliven, business agent of the Central Labor Union. The proceedings grew out of the local street railway situation. Since March 27 a city ordinance has been in operation limiting street railway fares to three cents. The street railway company's franchise has expired, but it nevertheless fought the ordinance and on September 12 Judge Killets held the ordinance invalid and confiscatory. Quinliven criticized the decision in a union meeting and on this account was cited for contempt. Howard was cited for an editorial which appeared last March in which he said that Judge Killets was no more than a two-legged man. Cochran was cited for writing an editorial which appeared in the News-Bee the day after Howard appeared in court. In this editorial Cochran declared that the paper did not want to censor judicial decisions and would not allow judicial censorship of the paper's policy. On the following day the judge amended his charges with a complaint that from 1903 to date the News-Bee had fought the street railway company and made it embarrassing for a judge to administer justice to the company. The judge finally decided to dismiss Howard but left the complaint standing against Cochran and the News-Bee Publishing Company. Quinliven's case was postponed pending decision of Cochran's.

In stating his position Judge Killets said:

This court is not attempting a censorship of news. It is simply insisting upon, as a principle of law, that when an officer of a court, and the highest officer at that—namely, the Judge—is attending to his duties

with reference to matters before him nobody has any right to attempt to influence, by fear or favor, the action of that Judge. There is the larger and more impersonal question of a free press and a free judiciary involved here. The only question here is: Is not a court to be permitted while it is cogitating or determining what is to be done, in a case to be submitted, to transact that business without annoyance?

In answer to this the attorney for Cochran replied:

I say our Government does not contemplate such power. That would be censorship such as of which we have never read. In comparison with such a censorship that of Russia and of the wars would be mild. The biggest questions of the nation are before our courts. And I say that there is no power that can place on the public a bushel which will smother the interest the public is taking in our public affairs. I do not agree with the Court in the statement that so long as any court has in its heart consideration of a matter that no matter where the court is, just so long must every one refrain from interfering. No speaker would dare speak for fear the Judge might be in the audience, and no writer would dare pick up his pen and write an article for fear the Court might read the article.

No decision has yet been rendered. [See current volume page 901.]



#### Possible Bequest for Suffrage Cause.

A news dispatch on September 26 states that the will of Mrs. Frank Leslie, former publisher of Leslie's Weekly, provided a bequest of \$1,500,000 to be used for the promotion of woman suffrage. The will has not yet been probated and definite details are consequently unknown.



#### Delaware Progressives.

The Progressive party convention of Delaware met at Dover on September 22 and nominated for Congress Reverend George E. Reed of Wilmington. The platform criticizes the Wilson administration on national issues, but contains progressive planks on State issues. The taxation plank is as follows:

We believe that the holding of unimproved real estate for speculation in no way contributes to progress.

We believe that a system of taxation which handicaps the improver of real estate and encourages the holder of unimproved land is wrong.

We deplore the fact that much of the unimproved land in our state is held by persons who are adding nothing to its business activity, and are in many cases non-residents. We affirm that such a condition is inimical to progress.

To encourage the use of land for manufacture, building and all other useful purposes, we believe that each county, city, town, village or other community should have power to lessen the taxes upon the improvements upon real estate within its boundaries and to proportionately increase the taxes upon

community made land values, thereby removing or lessening the handicap which is now placed upon business activity and discouraging the holding of land purely for speculation.

A graduated inheritance tax is also demanded.



#### Questions for Candidates.

Congressional candidates of all parties are requested by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to answer the following list of questions:

1. Will you, if elected, vote against any measure abrogating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?
2. Will you, if elected, vote against—
  - a. Segregation in the federal service?
  - b. Residential segregation in the District of Columbia?
  - c. Segregation in Jim Crow cars in the District of Columbia?
3. Regardless of whether you advocate racial intermarriage, will you oppose the passage of a law making such marriage in the District of Columbia invalid, since the enactment by states of such laws has led to the degradation of Negro women and children?
4. Do you under any circumstances justify lynching?
5. Do you favor the enforcement of Clause 2 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution?



#### Mexico and the United States.

Close upon the announcement that the United States troops would be withdrawn from Vera Cruz, a serious break occurred between General Carranza and General Villa. On the 23d General Villa disavowed the First Chief of the Constitutionalists, and announced that neither he nor any of his delegates would attend the convention called for October 1 at Mexico City to designate a provisional president. He further announced that he would back his stand with arms. Many conflicting reports come from the Carranza people in Mexico City and from the Villa partisans in the north. Actual fighting is reported between Carranza troops under General Benjamin Hill and the troops of Governor Maytorena of the State of Sonora, who has sided with General Villa, and declared his state independent of the government of Mexico City. General Villa has formally announced that he will not be a candidate for the presidency, and it is reported that for the sake of peace General Carranza will give a similar promise when all military candidates are eliminated. General Villa demanded that General Carranza resign in favor of Fernando Iglesias Calderon, who has been allied with neither faction. The Washington administration is hopeful that the rival factions will come to an agreement before the meeting of the conference, which has been

postponed from the first to the fifth of October. [See current volume, page 926.]

**NEWS NOTES**

—The final results of the Swedish parliamentary election give the Socialists 57 seats, the Conservatives 86, and the Liberals 57. The Socialists gained 14 seats from the Liberals, the Conservatives retaining their former strength.

—Sir James Whitney, Premier of Ontario and leader of the Tory party in the Province, died at Toronto on September 25. He was 70 years old. Sir James was one of the most bitter opponents of reciprocity, of home rule in taxation, and of other progressive measures.

—Thorwald Siegfried, the Seattle attorney charged with contempt by Judge Humphries, was purged of the charge by Judge Frater on September 15. The contempt charged was based on letters written by Siegfried to the Bar Association urging investigation of Humphries' conduct. [See volume xvi., page 1065.]

—A preliminary move toward organization of the Illinois Robins Democratic League was taken on September 28 at Chicago. The following are the officers: President, H. A. Foster, Fairbury; vice presidents, George E. Dickson, New Lenox; Frank Bode, Jacksonville; secretary, Hugh M. Reid, Chicago; treasurer, Woodruff Saul, Chicago; executive committee, Walter Niebuhr, Lincoln, chairman; Newell C. Knight, Chicago; O. B. Britton, Taylorville; William H. Sage, Chicago; A. B. Chance, Havana; R. F. Henkle, Canton.

—The Bureau of Railway Economics has issued a summary of expenses and revenues of steam railroads of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, as follows:

	Amount 1914.	Per mile of line.
Total operating revenues.....	\$2,991,398,735	\$13,266
Freight .....	2,061,262,870	9,141
Passenger .....	683,794,096	3,033
Other transportation.....	211,694,535	939
Nontransportation .....	34,647,234	154
Total operating expenses.....	2,155,072,345	9,557
Maintenance of way and structure .....	406,545,230	1,803
Maintenance of equipment....	523,252,049	2,321
Traffic .....	62,454,734	277
Transportation .....	1,083,716,135	4,806
General .....	79,104,197	351
Net operating revenue.....	836,326,390	3,709
Outside operation—net revenue...def.	1,968,787	def. 9
Taxes .....	136,757,620	607
Operating income.....	697,599,983	3,094

The report covers 225,486 miles of lines.

—Complete returns of the Illinois primary show that Roger Sullivan failed to receive a majority of the votes cast for the Democratic senatorial nomination. His plurality over Stringer was 28,836. But the three other candidates, Woods, O'Hara and Traynor, polled a combined vote of 44,453. The majority against Sullivan was accordingly 15,617. The total Democratic vote throughout the state was 290,917, as against 405,048 votes cast for Wilson in 1912. The Republican vote was 210,935, as against

253,613 cast for Taft. [See current volume, page 899.]

—The New York State direct primary on September 28 resulted in nomination by the Democrats of James W. Gerard for Senator and in the renomination of Governor Morton H. Glynn. The Republicans nominated James W. Wadsworth for Senator and District Attorney Charles S. Whitman for Governor. The Progressives nominated Bainbridge Colby for Senator. For Governor Frederick M. Davenport was apparently successful over former Governor William Sulzer by a small majority, but complete returns may change this result. Sulzer received the Prohibition nomination.

**PRESS OPINIONS**

**Where To Get Revenue.**

Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal, Sept. 11.—The effect which the war may have upon our entire tariff system may be very marked. . . . With foreign competition absolutely destroyed now, a condition likely to exist for years following a declaration of peace, there can be no earthly reason for continued protection against the "pauper labor" of Europe in the interest of our "infant industries." There will be nothing against which protection will be needed. . . . Instead of a high wall to keep out imports we probably shall agree that we need a very low wall to encourage imports to come in. Naturally, the question then would arise concerning revenue with which to run the government. Customs duties would be eliminated. Well, we already have an income tax, started very low. . . . We are laying a war tax now which will produce \$100,000,000 annually. With one or two exceptions the law as tentatively drawn does not bear oppressively. Many possible sources of revenue through a stamp tax are not touched. "Unearned increment" in land, for instance, still is untaxed. England is finding this a most productive source of revenue. Such a tax in the United States would about pay all expenses of government. Of course, we shall have it some day. Those old-timers, those G. O. P. standpatters who are planning and dreaming of another protective tariff campaign, should wake up.



**How Patent Laws Obstruct Industry.**

Chicago Herald, September 8.—A Wisconsin manufacturer of machinery, and not personally interested in the chemical industry . . . cites an American court decision in favor of the German patentee of a drug used in medicine and against the American maker of the same thing under another name. We are now cut off from supplies of this drug through the suspension of German exports because of the allies' mastery of the seas, which the German fleet has not yet attempted to dispute. American chemists would naturally endeavor to supply the lack. Yet should they do so it seems that the agents of the German patentee, who cannot now supply it from his own works, might under our patent laws stop them. Our deprivation of this special drug may, perhaps, be easily endured. The case

is different in the important matter of dyestuffs and other industrial chemicals, for which we have depended on Germany, and some of which are patented. Are our patent laws to prevent us from supplying ourselves with these? Of course the alien patentees may not take the dog-in-the-manger attitude feared by the Wisconsin man. If they should then it is evident that our patent laws are too "protective," and should be changed. Any assertion that we should go without necessary things because alien patentees cannot now supply them is intolerable.



#### Hearst On His Good Ship "Piffle."

The Star (San Francisco), Sept. 12.—By concentrated effort one can imagine Joe Cannon working for the initiative and referendum, or Brother Taft advocating recall of the Judiciary, or Roosevelt supporting the Wilson administration, or Kaiser Wilhelm advocating popular government in Germany. But is there any imagination that can bear the strain of imagining Hearst sincerely working for peace? Aesop's fables are still the best that have been written, but Aesop could have turned out better ones if he had known the Chief of Fakers, William Randolph Hearst.



#### Russian Censorship in the United States.

The Truth Seeker (New York), Sept. 5.—The indictment of Margaret H. Sanger, editor of the Woman Rebel, gives added point to our warning with regard to the perils in the path of freedom of expression in our country. The impatient and (as we conceive them) shortsighted representatives of certain elements in the radical movement. . . . seem to us blind enough as to underlying causes and the need of fundamental education in the direction of mental emancipation, which will lead to peaceful change in the right direction; but their error is more than overmatched by the rank stupidity of the constituted authorities, in pouring oil on the flames of social discontent by their arbitrary intermeddling with the expression of grievances, be they real or imaginary. The Woman Rebel is frankly opposed to conditions as they are, and circulates among those of like mind, who are assuredly entitled to an organ of their opinions, right or wrong. Its editor has not been engaged in any plot looking toward a violent assault on the existing order, but has commented, as was her right, on what others have done. If she chose to see heroic character in certain rebellious spirits, who may or may not have been planning violence when overtaken by the catastrophe which destroyed them, that again was a matter of her point of view, and not an incitement of others to any form of outbreak. . . . It is no more a crime to praise Arthur Caron than to praise the German Kaiser or General Villa. All is in the point of view. . . . We believe that democracy is sufficiently robust to stand unlimited criticism and all the revolutionary talk that can be put forth. If our hopes are disappointed, it will be solely because the government of the United States is not sufficiently democratic to believe in itself, and to grant equal liberty of expression to all.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### MOTHERS OF MEN AWAKE!

For The Public.

For ev'ry rifle shot an echoing sigh,  
For ev'ry drop of blood an answering tear,  
Men bleed—a thousand witnesses are by,  
But widows moan when only God may hear.

Mothers of Men, awake! Teach all your sons  
No duty calls them to accept war's gage—  
To face the battle roar and feed hell's guns —  
All wars are waged to buttress Privilege!

No country needs to offer up its youth  
On Mammon's altar for war's specious wage.  
Mothers! Teach all your sons this solemn truth—  
All wars are waged to buttress Privilege.

No powder need be burned to teach the right;  
Justice and reason rouse us not to rage;  
War lord and land lord urge us on to fight,  
All wars are waged to buttress Privilege!

Love for all men alone may make us free;  
This truth we learn from prophet, seer and sage,  
There is no right in any war's decree;  
All wars are waged to buttress Privilege!

For ev'ry rifle shot an echoing sigh,  
For ev'ry drop of blood an answering tear;  
Men bleed—a thousand witnesses are by—  
But widows moan when only God is near.

WILL ATKINSON.



#### JOYS OF LIFE.

From a Private Letter Written By a Young  
Business Man in the Far West.

The thing I chiefly like about business is the busy part. I like to think and act under pressure. Emergencies, quick decisions, resourceful lines of action, all appeal to me. The perfect system and order I also like. The utmost accuracy and efficiency all about me, and the systematic handling of work, please me. Incidentally, I gain a living from my business, and this is such a pressing necessity that I am kept at the wheel pretty constantly.

I don't like a big city. To know everybody, their children and the names of their dogs, is the delight of my existence. I love people—not to study beneath a microscope, but to mingle with, play with and sympathize with. I like to know people in all walks of life. I like to play chess with a millionaire lumberman, and I like to go deep into the virgin forests with an idealist—provided he is democratic (I use a small "d") and a "good scout."

## AS TO "MOTHER GOOSE."

From a Private Letter.

You ask me what I think about nursery rhymes for little children.

We have to distinguish between nursery rhymes and nursery rhymes. There are some, especially among the very modern ones, which are amusing or clever or sentimental, without having much value. There are some among the older nursery rhymes, which, however, you may not find in any ordinary collections, which are not of much value and may be even coarse. In large collections of nursery rhymes, especially those gathered as a matter of folklore, you will find many that have political origin that would be of no use in our own nurseries, and you will find some which should become obsolete with the advance of refinements. But any good collection of nursery rhymes which includes many of the older well known ones, it seems to me has great value for our children.

For one thing, these little rhymes tell stories in very brief form. Before the child can take the complications of the longer fairy story it can grasp the distinguishing features of the little rhyme. The best of these rhymes are very condensed dramatic pictures of the life the child knows—the life that it is in contact with, with its mishaps, its adventures, and its satisfactions. Things tumble down, little animals get lost, there is a plum in the pudding, little boys fall asleep at the side or around the haystack. There are ecstasies in which impossible things are done, as the cow jumps over the moon. All these things are vivid pictures presented to the child in language that it can understand, with plenty of color and with delightful climaxes. There are kings and queens, just as in fairy books, but these ideal personages like eating bread and honey in the kitchen and counting their money, giving a glamor and a charm to our common life—to the things that later will become the expressions of greater idealism. At first the little child is right up against the floors and the chairs and the tables and the haystacks, and so on.

With our excessive daintiness we often try to talk to the little children simply about certain very lovely things. We are a little sentimental about it. We talk about the little lambs as if they always just had little blue ribbons about their necks and gamboled on the green. The nursery rhyme tells us about the little lambs running away. That is a good healthy dramatic act. The trouble with the kindergarten is that it is too often sentimental and goody-goody in its connotations. I think the Montessori system gives the intellectual counter-irritant. But both of them leave out, it seems to me, the simple dramatic values of our common life, and the appeal that they make to the imagination. Our sentimental preferences and logical analyses are not adequate for the child's demands.

The fact is that the whole of life is good. The children must run up against it all sooner or later, and we must begin while they still sit on our knees to stimulate an interest in the whole of it. I believe very much in beginning quite young with the great stories of adventure, of enterprise that have been told in all ages,—the Homeric stories, the Sagas, the Hindu stories, if you please. They appeal to the child's imagination, and they give a oneness to the human life and a brilliancy to it. They give radiance to the great enterprises of our own life, and finally to the great joy of our own life and to the great last adventure.

ALICE THACHER POST.



## THE PROGRESS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The recent final passage of the House of Commons of the Irish Home Rule Bill, which provides for the election of the entire Irish Senate and of some of the members of the Irish House by proportional representation, is only one of many recent events showing that the reform is rapidly making its way round the world.

In *Holland* a Royal Commission, recently appointed to consider the matter, has reported unanimously in favor of applying P. R. to the election of both chambers of the Dutch Parliament and also to that of the councils of the "communes" or local governments.

In *Denmark* the Minister of the Interior introduced into the Lower House in April a bill for the election of that House by P. R. It is said that the bill has passed through all its stages in that House and is now, or very recently was, before the Danish Upper House.

In the *Transvaal* a recent vote of the Provincial Council has restored to Johannesburg, Pretoria and Roodeport-Maraisburg the privilege of using P. R. in the election of their municipal councils. The reactionary decision of the Provincial Council that is thus rescinded, which was made towards the end of 1912, was due solely to the desire of the Provincial Council, of which reactionaries were then in control, to prevent the Labor Party from electing its proportional share of the members of the municipal councils in question. The reactionary decision was received with disfavor generally by the press of all parties throughout South Africa.

In *Switzerland*, nine cantons of which already use the proportional system in the election of their cantonal legislatures, a vote is to be taken in the autumn, under the provisions of the Initiative, on the question of applying P. R. to the election of the National Council. The measure will probably carry by a very small margin. The reason why about half of the voters are expected to vote against the measure is that about half of

them belong to the Radical Party, which, as it now governs the country, is naturally loath to approve a measure, however just in principle, that is likely to result in leaving it in a minority.

In France proportional representation has been one of the leading issues for several years. Though two bills providing for the election of the French Parliament by P. R. have passed the Chamber of Deputies, in each case by a majority of over one hundred, the reform has met defeat each time at the hands of the Senate. The results of the recent general election in France, however, has been a "great victory for P. R. Estimates of the attitude of the new Chamber towards electoral reform state that its supporters number 352 as against 202 declared opponents, while the remaining 48 members of the Chamber are classed as indeterminate. No doubt the action of the French Senate in rejecting on two different occasions the very conciliatory measures of proportional representation sent up by the Chamber stimulated popular resentment and helped to secure this overwhelming verdict.

"The opposition of the Senate may be a source of gain to the cause of P. R. in more ways than one. The last project submitted by the Chamber fell far short of what the more ardent proportionals desired, and they offered it at a considerable sacrifice in the hope of gaining at least a partial recognition of their principle. Henceforth they intend to renounce compromise and accept nothing less than the full measure of reform. In view of the elections, a spirited manifesto was issued by the organizations working for P. R. and placarded throughout the country, calling upon the elector to give reality to the principle of universal suffrage by the adoption of the proportional system of election. It was signed by the office-holders of the five P. R. associations—*Bureau de Groupe Parlementaire* (M. le député Chas. Benoist, President); *Comité Républicaine de la R. P.* (including men so distinguished as M. Henri Bergson and M. Anatole France); *Ligue pour la Représentation Proportionnelle* (M. le Sénateur Yves Guyot, President); *Ligue Radicale et Radical Socialiste de la R. P.* (M. J. L. Bonnet, President); *Comité Extra-Parlementaire de la R. P.* (M. l'avocat Henry Lémery, President); and by 281 of the outgoing deputies." (The passage quoted is from the June issue of *Representation*, London.)

Since 1906, when P. R. was introduced in Germany for the election of 152 of the 160 members of legislative council of Hamburg and for that of 23 out of 92 members of the Diet (legislature) of Württemberg, the system has been adopted for certain communal councils in Bavaria, Baden, Oldenburg, and Württemberg, for certain industrial and commercial courts, for the representative bodies of the insurance societies (which are welded into a system of state insurance), and for the legally-constituted committees representing the

workmen of certain great industrial companies such as the New Photo Company of Steglitz and the famous firm of Zeiss at Jena. A resolution endorsing P. R. for the Reichstag itself was barely rejected in 1913 by a vote of 140 to 139.

In *New South Wales* many influential men, including the premier, Mr. Holman, have declared for P. R. In *South Australia* the Liberal Party which declared for the reform when out of power; unfortunately, however, it has done nothing for the reform since it came into power. In *Western Australia* the Chief Electoral Officer, Mr. E. J. Stenberg, has just issued an official report on electoral systems, drawn up after a journey round the world, in which he recommends P. R. for the election of the legislature of his province.

Coming to our own continent, we find that the Liberal Party of *British Columbia* recently declared for P. R. after giving the question thorough consideration at its convention.

In *New York* a State P. R. League was founded on June 3rd. (Temporary Secretary, John E. Eastmond, 175 St. James place, Brooklyn.) In the same state an excellent P. R. bill for the election of members of the proposed constitutional convention was introduced by leading Progressives. In *Indiana* the Progressive Party, at its convention in Indianapolis on April 18th, declared for the reform unequivocally in its platform.

Even if no account was taken of the unquestioned success of proportional representation in the countries in which it has been in use some years, including Belgium, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Tasmania and nine of the cantons of Switzerland, this list of the advances that the system is everywhere making at the present time should convince anybody that the reform ought to be thoroughly looked into by Americans at once so that it can be adopted for the election of our city councils and our State legislatures, our national House of Representatives and our Electoral College, when the first opportunities arise for changes in the election of those bodies.

There is a good deal of information on the subject in a thirty-two page U. S. Senate Document on *Effective Voting* that was printed at the request of Senator Robert L. Owen.

As I have a number of copies of that document here at Tamworth, N. H., I shall be glad to send a copy to any reader of *The Public* who asks me for one.

C. F. HOAG,

General Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.



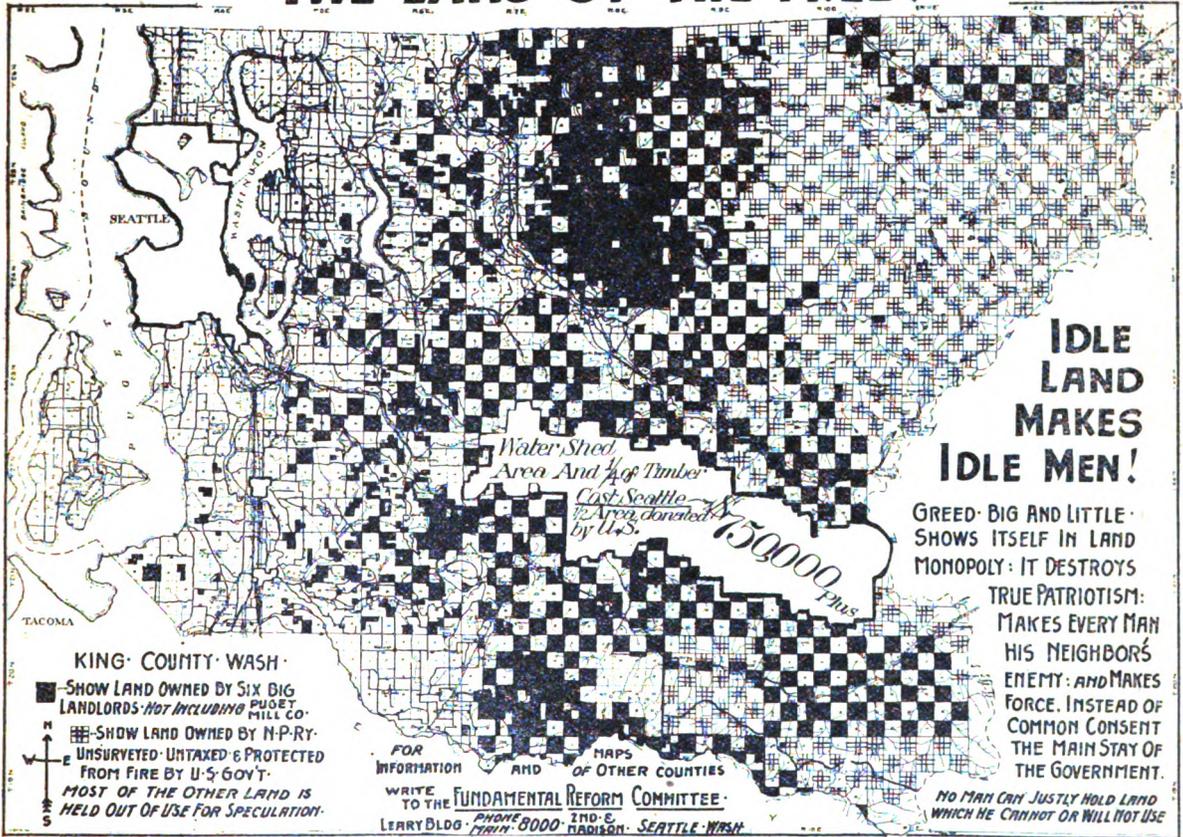
## RENT

Written for the Cleveland Singletax Club.

You may tinker with the tariff and may make some simple gains,

You may put on tolls or take 'em off, inducing party pains;

# "THE LAND OF THE FREE!"



You may monkey with the money, but the lack of it remains,  
 For the Mother of Monopoly is laughing as she reigns.

Rent! - rent! who is it pays the rent?  
 A dozen days in every month the worker's back is bent;  
 Figure it in dollar bills or work it by per cent,  
 But with his dozen days he pays just rent, rent, rent.

You may "minimum" the wages, you may let the women vote,  
 You may regulate the railroads with a legal antidote,  
 You may jail some Rockefeller, or may get a Morgan's goat,  
 But the Mother of Monopoly is laughing in her throat.

Rent! rent! who is it pays the rent?  
 A hundred days in every year a business profit's spent;  
 Figure it in "overhead," or state it by per cent,  
 But all your hundred days are gone for rent, rent, rent.

You may institute Foundations, you may educate the dubs,  
 You may librarize the Bread Line, and establish Slummy Clubs;

You may ostracize the Demon Rum and eugenize the cubs,  
 But the Mother of Monopoly is smiling at your snubs.

Rent! rent! who is it pays the rent?  
 A score of years in life you spend to get one document;  
 From your cradle to your coffin you must bow to its assent,  
 And that's your 'little, old receipt for rent, rent, rent.

I look across the rented world and idle land I see,  
 Whose owner doesn't work it, for he's working you and me,  
 And on the first of every month all tenants bow the knee,  
 And pay the rent of vacant land, in great or small degree.

Rent! rent! who is it pays the rent?  
 The worker's hands are busy and the business back is bent;  
 The idle lands advance in price and every single cent  
 Of that advance is paid by us in rent, rent, rent.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.



Vengeance does not become respectable by being called punishment.—Joliet Prison Post.

## BOOKS

### RURAL EDUCATION.

*The Work of the Rural School.* By J. D. Eggleston and Robert W. Bruere. Published by Harper & Bros., New York. Price, \$1.00 net.

Some months ago an English school man, who had been visiting the educational institutions of this country, was asked on his departure what was his most vivid impression. His reply was: "Lavishness and luxury." Considering what this inspector had seen we need not be surprised at his answer. He had not seen a single school two miles away from a city or from a railroad track. Had he made the circuit of almost any country in any of our states he would have had a very different story to tell.

The two most astounding facts about education in America have never been brought home to the minds of the American people. These tremendous facts are first the enormous disproportion between the amount of money which is spent on institutions of higher education and the amount spent on lower schools, and secondly, the enormous disproportion between the amount which is spent for education in cities and towns and the amount spent in rural districts. In these days we are undergoing many investigations. Here is a field which really needs fair and thorough investigation and a publication of the facts.

The condition of rural schools in almost all parts of the country is disgraceful. In the present volume I find the following statements which perhaps underestimate the bare, bad facts: "Sixty per cent of the country schoolhouses in the United States are unfit, from the standpoint of health and sanitation, for the use of children. Tens of thousands of schoolhouses are not schoolhouses, but shambles. In tens of thousands of them the work is purely and absolutely formal, and in these the schoolroom, instead of being a place of life, is a place of death to youth and hope and enthusiasm."

The consolation is that attention is beginning to be called to such facts. The present national Commissioner of Education, Mr. Claxton, knows and realizes their importance. Educational associations are more and more discussing the subject. Moreover a number of books on country life and country schools are appearing, prominent among which is this volume by Messrs. Eggleston and Bruere.

It is a wise and timely treatise on its important subject, and no one can read it without wishing that it may have a wide circulation and careful reading not only among schoolmen but among all classes of citizens. That we must "hitch up education with life" is naturally its keynote, but

the authors are far from bowing the knee to any modern idol of vocationalism. "The education of the children who are to enter industry," they say, "should not be specialized during their public school career; specialization should be left to the industry itself and to the higher technical schools. For it must be remembered that the object of industrial training in the schools is not the enslavement of the children to any vocation, but the highest development of their capacities." At the same time they show the uses of so-called practical subjects and oppose the separation of cultural studies in one school and the practical studies in another. Their attitude is clearly set forth in the following passage: "It is often said that a practical education is a bread-and-butter affair; that it destroys the finer spirit and vision of a people; and that 'man cannot live by head alone.' It is undoubtedly true that without a vision the people will perish. It is also true that man cannot live by head *alone*. But a man should not be trained to live on his own visions and on another man's bread. He should be so trained that he will be able to have both visions and provisions."

But the main value of the book lies in the fact that it deals with and emphasizes the rural schools. It treats in a most helpful way of such subjects as the Widening Outlook of the Rural School, Co-operative Demonstration Work, Demonstration Work Through the Rural School, Consolidation and Transportation. Each of the fourteen chapters is full of good sayings. The tone is perhaps at times a little too dogmatic, because every community must work out its own salvation in its own free way, but where so much is good one is loth to find fault.

One notable feature in the book can not be overlooked. I refer to the clear and outspoken manner in which it deals with the land question, showing the evils of the exploiter, who buys to sell for an unearned profit, and also the injustice of assessments. It is of course idle to talk about rural betterment without discussing various phases of the land question, and yet it is true that most writers and speakers who discuss the improvement of rural conditions are guilty of ignoring the fundamental issue. It is one of the unique merits of this book that it does not dodge this issue. "The state superintendent," say these authors, and let us hope they are right, "will see, and in his campaign of education will instruct the people in the close relationship existing between the rural school work, the land question, and the question of taxation." I should like to quote in full, were it not too long for this notice, a passage giving a conversation between a state superintendent and a county superintendent who was wondering how to get more money for the schools when the tax rate was at the maximum allowed by law. "How about your assessments?" asked the state superintendent. "Oh," said the county superintendent, "the assess-

ments are very low." And so the conversation continues to the conclusion that the best thing to do is to "preach justice in taxation."

The book is printed in bold, clear type, and the illustrations are aptly chosen.

JAMES H. DILLARD.



## IMMEDIATE MEASURES.

**"Broke": The Man Without the Dime.** By Edwin A. Brown. Published by Browne & Howell Co., Chicago. 1913. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Edwin A. Brown, the author of this remarkable book of first-hand experience, is a resident of Denver, and the possessor of independent means. Some years ago he began to feel the pressure on his conscience of the sight of the misery of our homeless men, women and children. He began, too, to suspect that the aid extended them by charities was not even good as a palliative; that it was, in short, pretty much of a bluff. But he determined to make no charges against systematized charity until he should really have found out for himself how things stood. So he disguised himself in ragged clothes, left all his money at home, and started out to see what his home city of Denver would do to him, when he threw himself upon its tender mercies with no possessions, but with an honest purpose to do any work that there was to be done. What Denver did was a plenty—so much so that he extended the experiment to other cities, to see if, perchance, Denver was a horrible exception to the rules of civilized conduct.

Well, the story is about the same in all cities, although its details vary infinitely. Jail, and treatment within its walls far less decent than that given dogs and horses, clubbings by brutal and quite anarchistic police officers, impudent, patronizing refusals of aid by the paid servants of "charitable" bodies, occasionally ruthless exploitation by those same bodies or by private employers, such is the list of what the homeless and workless man or youth or woman in America may expect.

While alive to the fundamental causes of the condition of such men, Mr. Brown has set himself a task in this book more immediate than their removal. While we are educating people in regard to those fundamental causes, the poor are still with us. And as education is a slow process they are likely to be with us some time to come.

Mr. Brown's plea is for a Municipal Emergency Lodging House, to be established in every city, and to be regarded as one of the routine services to be extended to those who need it, and to be as little regarded as charity as roads and libraries are regarded as charities now.

He devotes quite a little space to explaining the workings of the Municipal Emergency Home,

and the facts he gives in regard to it clearly show that his own scheme is not in the least visionary.

As we have said, however, the actual scheme of Mr. Brown is a palliative, and the value of his book is not measured by the possible successful operation of his particular contribution to our palliative remedies. Rather the main value of the book lies in his graphic and transparently uncolored and unexaggerated pictures of the situation of the homeless. Often he quotes long conversations with these men and boys—conversations, not as they would develop between these people and an inquiring superior, but as they developed between man and man of the lower world—for Mr. Brown went into the experiment so thoroughly that he was never suspected by his comrades of the road.

If any one wishes to know why even hoppers in California have been driven into a strike which was followed by murder trials (of strikers, of course, not the deputy sheriffs who shot them), he should read this book. If he wonders why the unemployed are so unattractive in appearance and so "ungrateful" when charity does provide for them—in a slight degree—he should again read this book.

Written, not with the sophistication of the professional sociologist, but from the heart of a man who has gone out among his fellows to feel their miseries and to alleviate them, it will appeal most strongly to men of good will in whatever social camp they are fighting.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—*Ethics of Evolution.* By John Scott. Published by the Author, 28 N. Meigs st., Dayton, Ohio. 1914.

—*Why Is the Dollar Shrinking?* By Irving Fisher. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

—*Sunlight and Shadow.* By Louise W. Kneeland. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

—*The Gospel of Jesus and The Problems of Democracy.* By Henry C. Vedder. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois.* By Rufus M. Potts. Part I, Fire, Marine and Inland Insurance. Published by State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill. 1914.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Labor Laws of the United States.

A compilation of labor laws of the United States with notes regarding court decisions has been issued by the federal Department of Labor. It contains

the information which almost anyone interested in labor legislation will be glad to have at hand. It tells what laws have been passed for regulation and inspection of factories and mines, and of conditions of employment of women. It tells about minimum wage legislation, mothers' pensions and similar matters. Students will find it a most convenient work of reference.



One morning, when the general appeared for breakfast, the cook came before him and said, in a troubled tone, "Pardon me, your lordship, I have set the table in the dining tent, as usual, but there isn't any bread!"

"No bread!" roared the general. "Why didn't you buy some?"

"There isn't any to be had; the stores are all run out," replied the cook.

"Well, don't stand there like a blooming idiot! Why under the sun don't you get me some toast?"  
—Youth's Companion.



"Who was that tough-looking chap I saw you with today, Hicks?"

"Be careful, Parker! That was my twin brother."

"By Jove, old chap, forgive me! I ought to have known."—Boston Transcript.



A gentleman called at a Chinese laundry for his

clothes. On receiving the package he noticed some Chinese characters marked upon it. Being curious, he asked, pointing to the lettering:

"That is my name, I suppose?"

"No. 'Scription," was the Chinaman's bland reply. "Lil' ol' man, cross-eyed, no teet!"—Everybody's Magazine.

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the clothes about 30 minutes in cool or luke-warm water, rub lightly, rinse and hang out.

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gives special attention to these "question" difficulties. One section of the book is devoted to "Typical Questions and Answers," arranged under the following heads: "Questions on Economic Effects," "Labor Questions," "Business Questions," "Money Questions," "Miscellaneous Problems."

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## Are You Reasonable?

If you expect the liberal-minded voters who do not know The Public to be as wise, politically, as you are, maybe you are a trifle unreasonable. See page 958.