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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

A Just Veto.....	121
The Ship Purchase Bill.....	122
Brawn Against Brains.....	122
Government by Commission.....	122
Getting the Other's Point of View.....	123
An Essential Point Omitted.....	124
Protection Admitted to be a Fraud.....	124
Free Trade and High Wages.....	125
Mars' Toll.....	125
Reassuring the Timid.....	125
Lords and Landlords.....	125
A Mystery.....	126
Texas Problems.....	126
Refined Meanness.....	127
Justice Frederick L. Siddons.....	127
Susan Look Avery.....	127

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Singletax Campaign in Henderson County, Illinois— Louis Wallis.....	127
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

Commission on Industrial Relations.....	129
Congressional and Executive News.....	130
Tax Reform News.....	130
The Land Question in Texas.....	131
Proportional Representation.....	131
Francisco Ferrer Colony Planned.....	132
Mexico.....	132
The European War.....	133
News Notes.....	133
Press Opinions.....	134

RELATED THINGS:

The Kings of Gain—Richard Warner Borst.....	135
Taxation—Louis F. Post.....	135
His Trophy—H. J. Dawtrey.....	137

BOOKS:

Our Daughter Republic.....	137
Pamphlets.....	138
Periodicals.....	138

EDITORIAL

A Just Veto.

President Wilson has done the right thing in vetoing the barbarous Burnett Immigration Bill. It was an act requiring more than ordinary courage. Back of this bill lay not only the mistaken reasoning of short-sighted labor organizations, but the powerful know-nothing prejudice which attributes to the "ignorant foreigner" nearly everything that goes wrong, and the reactionary spirit which unconsciously compliments the foreign-born citizens by placing responsibility on them for arousal of discontent over unjust social conditions. The President has saved the country from a disgrace which a large majority of both houses of Congress would have demagogically inflicted upon it.



The demand for restriction of immigration to the extent that it is not based on unreasoning prejudice is due to fear lest the later immigrants deprive the earlier ones or their descendants of jobs. But this they could not do if the first comers would use the political power they possess to loosen the hold of monopoly on natural resources. In a country capable of producing enough to support the whole population of the world, unemployment can be due to but one thing—to withholding of land from use. Stopping immigration won't remedy that. Even if it would afford partial relief it would not be justified. Morally a foreigner has the same right as any native to a place on American soil. It is not his fault that he was born abroad. An injustice to him is not to be excused on the ground that it may enable some persons here to escape the consequences of neglect to make proper use of their rights as citizens. If they will insist on upholding land monopoly let them bear the consequences, rather than be allowed to penalize innocent foreigners for it.



The claim has been made that restriction is for

the foreigner's own good as well as for ours. That is a matter on which the foreigner should be allowed to make his own decision. He would be justified in doubting our ability to manage his affairs properly when we have made such a mess of our own that we look on his coming as a calamity. He could with good cause question our judgment as to what was best for him when we are so blind as not to see how to get rid of the fundamental evil underlying all that is hurtful and wrong in our institutions. We have done nothing to justify confidence in our being competent guardians for any one.

S. D.



The Ship Purchase Bill.

Once more is the injury to the innocent bystander from warring nations painfully evident. Laying aside for the present the question of economic necessity for the Government purchase of ships to relieve the present stress, the possible international complications should give us pause. If it be possible for the Administration to secure by negotiation the approval of the Allies of the purchase of German or Austrian ships for South American trade there will be a field for their operation. But that the Allies will consent to the use of such ships, even though flying the American flag, in foreign trade that will in any way aid their enemies is not to be expected. War means the worsting of the enemy by killing its citizens and destroying its property. Since from its very nature it is a non-moral force, it is idle to expect belligerents to observe any moral rules or principles that do not make toward the desired end. Not only could Great Britain, from this point of view, object to America's purchase of German ships; but it could oppose it on the ground of the precedent that it would establish. For, if the United States Government, or its citizens, could purchase German ships, and change the flag, then any other government, and the citizens of any other government, could do the same. And while it might be possible for this Government to demonstrate its good faith in making the purchase; yet in view of the irresponsible character of certain governments it is clear that it would in such cases be difficult to prove that the sale was not a blind, under which German citizens were operating their own ships. The helplessness of neutrals, as manifested in the discussion of the ship purchase bill adds another to the mountain of reasons against war. It would be bad enough if belligerent nations could confine the evils of war within their own

borders; but when these evils spread themselves throughout the world it becomes intolerable.

S. C.



Brawn against Brains.

Endurance feats, such as six-day walking matches, heavyweight lifting, and a-quail-a-day eating contests, have ceased to be popular drawing cards; but Senatorial talking matches are still in vogue. When a minority in the United States Senate runs out of arguments, and realizes that it is to be outvoted, it resorts to a filibuster; and the success of the filibuster depends upon the physical endurance of the participants. This raises in a new phase the question of American inefficiency. Why is so little attention paid, when selecting Senatorial candidates, to their physical development? Let it not be inferred from this, however, that too much attention has been given to other qualifications, either intellectual or moral; but it must be apparent that their powers of physical endurance are not fully appreciated. What a tower of strength, for instance, was former Senator Allen of Nebraska, as compared with Senator Hoar of Massachusetts.



True, if the intellectuality of the United States Senate were sufficient to lift that body into the class of reasoning, deliberative assemblies, the quality of physical endurance would not be so important; but so long as it persists in deliberately waiving its rights, shirking its duties, and putting its power of action in the keeping of the leathern-lunged, it is clear that other qualifications than intellectuality and morality are required to make an efficient Senator. What, it may be asked, is the difference between an electorate that postpones an election day at the behest of a minority, and a representative body that delays action at the dictation of a few of its members? Possibly the answer to this question may lie in the fact that the members of the present Senate were not elected by a popular vote.

S. C.



Government by Commission.

It will be noted from the course taken by the Commission on Industrial Relations that whatever good is to come from arbitrary or autocratic regulation of trade relations, will depend upon the personality of those exercising the authority. Whether it is the result of design, or merely chance, the man who has been put at the head of the Commission is carrying out a constructive policy. Not only is he bringing out concrete facts, but, what is

of vastly more importance, his examination of witnesses is such as to bring out the state of mind of the men now at the head of industrial affairs. The testimony of employers and employes, of managers and strikers, taken in various parts of the country, is of interest, and has its value; but the testimony given by the great men of affairs in the East transcends in importance all that has been given before in this country. Men who are on a strike, or who manage big corporations during labor conflicts, may color their testimony in a way to make it useless as a source of real information. But if the public can become acquainted with the philosophy of the moneyed men of the country, if it can get at their real conception of life, it will know absolutely what has taken place on the field of action. The Catholic Church does not employ priests who teach Protestantism; nor do the heads of the Protestant churches employ ministers to teach Catholicism. Get a man's fundamental conception of life, and you will know what his subordinates are doing. It is for this that Mr. Walsh, and those acting with him, are most deserving of the public at large.

Suppose, however, that Mr. Walsh had had a different philosophy. What if his philosophy had been that of Mr. Rockefeller, or Mr. Sage? This valuable testimony would not then have appeared; and we should have been dependent upon the jumbled and contradictory evidence given by persons whose minds were aflame from the passions of the immediate conflict. And nothing that has ever been done to reach the captains of industry has had such a modifying effect as will the printing of the testimony now being taken. When they see in print their conception of social affairs, beside the conceptions of men and women who have glimpsed the new order, and know that the public sees it, they will be forced to attempt a defense of an indefensible position. That means their speedy overthrow. For, while a man may cling to an error in secret, or among others who are victims of the same error, he cannot do so in the face of a questioning world. The apparently irrelevant questions put to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., will lay bare the canker at the heart of the Colorado mining trouble; and Mr. Rockefeller's defense of his course will lead him and others to a realization of the truth.

s. c.



Getting the Other's Point of View.

The spectacle of a singularly gentle and harmless man, protected by a special guard when he

appeared as a witness before the Industrial Commission, comes as a shock to our sense of personal liberty. But had John D. Rockefeller, Jr., shown the same spirit at the beginning of the Colorado mining trouble that he now displays, there would have been no occasion for the special guard. He now says that if a formulated statement of the trouble is presented to him he will give it careful consideration. Better even than that, however, is the fact that he has already met for friendly discussion some of the principal persons connected with the Colorado struggle. Particularly striking was his invitation to "Mother" Jones to a meeting in his office, in order that each might be brought to appreciate the other's point of view.



This is not the position that he took at the beginning of the trouble. He then waived all responsibility, saying that he had put in charge able men in whom he had faith, and upon whom he relied for fair dealing to all. He posed then as a man standing at any cost for American liberty, as willing, indeed, to sacrifice his whole financial investment, rather than yield the right of any man to work for whom he pleased, upon such terms as he might choose. And he continued to shirk all responsibility while a state government was broken down by predatory interests, men and women murdered, and untold suffering caused.



If Mr. Rockefeller wishes to see himself as some others see him, he should contrast his position with that of "Mother" Jones. This old lady has devoted her life to the miners. Having no money, she could give only service; and not all the militia of West Virginia or of Colorado could keep her from giving that service. When she enters a courtroom she needs no special guard to protect her. She needs no guard at all. For there is not a man, rich or poor, good or bad, wise or foolish, who would do aught to harm her. Mr. Rockefeller, on the contrary, is the possessor of vast wealth. He is kindly disposed. He has given much money toward what he believes to be the good of society. He has also given much service. And yet he finds it necessary to keep special guards about his office, about his home, and even in a court where he goes to testify, lest some man should so far forget himself as to do him violence. Why this difference? It is not that "Mother" Jones has a kinder heart than Mr. Rockefeller. Or that she gives more for the betterment of society than he gives. It is due to the different attitude of each toward society. Mr. Rockefeller ac-

cepts present industrial and social conventions as just. He does not question the laws that enable him to amass a great fortune while compelling working men and women to live upon a pittance. Yet, seeing that this is a fact, he is willing to temper his power by giving of his fortune to supplement their meager earnings. "Mother" Jones, however, denies the righteousness of these laws. She insists that the workers shall have what they earn. And when the workers have their full earnings it will not be necessary for men of great fortune to aid them with charity. This is why men have kindly thoughts for "Mother" Jones; and why some men have bitter thoughts toward Mr. Rockefeller. Is his fortune worth the price? Is it worth being the son of the richest man in the world to surrender the privilege of going freely up and down the land, unprotected and unmolested? It is not charity that the people ask of Mr. Rockefeller. It is not almsgiving that will obtain him a place among real men. He may give away every cent of the vast fortune he controls, and yet be hated by the race. It is not charity, but justice, that will give him the security enjoyed by "Mother" Jones, and that will secure to him a place like hers in the hearts of all right thinking men and women. Seldom does a man have such an opportunity for service. s. c.



An Essential Point Omitted.

"Mother" Jones and the younger Rockefeller, meeting for the first time, find each other to be ordinary human beings. And "Mother" Jones is philosopher enough to see that Rockefeller is as much a victim of an unjust social system as any tramp, beggar or criminal. She spoke truly enough in remarking:

The young man means the best he knows how. But him raised in luxury, how could he know anything about real things? It isn't his fault, though—the raising he got is the cause of it. I see now the young man has been misrepresented. He's frank and he's open and he wants to do right, I think. For one I'm going to reverse what I've been saying about him.

And John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is reported to have been equally enlightened. He is said to have declared after the meeting:

I assured her that I believed that as a matter of principle the things of which she complained were wrong. Of course, there should be free speech, free assemblage, independent stores, public schools, and all that. We found that on all matters which we discussed we were in agreement.



But unfortunately there is no record that they

discussed essential and fundamental matters. Mr. Rockefeller, with all his wealth, lacks the power to grant his employes freedom. The most he can do is to refrain voluntarily from interference with free speech, free assemblage and other rights to which they are entitled. But a right held on sufferance only is no right at all. Mr. Rockefeller may change his mind, or control of his property may pass into other hands. There can be no state of freedom or justice in Colorado or elsewhere while the conditions last which empower men like Rockefeller to give or withhold from others, as they may see fit, the rights that are morally theirs. Perhaps the most serious defect in young Rockefeller's education is the failure to teach him that true liberty can not be dependent for existence on the consent of any man, or any group of men, however wealthy or powerful they may be. Controlling valuable natural resources, Mr. Rockefeller is able to control the men who must live thereon. It is only by changing the system that makes such control possible that social justice can be secured. Some efforts to do this in an orderly and lawful way have been made in Colorado and have met with the strongest resistance from such interests as Rockefeller's. Until he sees his way clear to reverse his position on this policy Mr. Rockefeller can not be helpful in bringing about justice anywhere. And there are no indications that such a course appeals to him. Had "Mother" Jones discussed that—as well she might—would Mr. Rockefeller still have said "On all matters we discussed we were in agreement"? s. d.



Protection Admitted to be a Fraud.

That the protective tariff does not benefit labor, but does increase prices of commodities is a statement not often found in standpat organs. So the following unintentional confession from Charles P. Taft's paper, the Cincinnati Times-Star of January 27, is noteworthy:

An immigration law that would protect labor itself as tariff laws protect the products of labor, would do more for the American who works with his hands, and for his children, than all the philanthropists, all the muckrakers, all the parlor Socialists combined.

So it is clear that tariff laws only "protect the products of labor," that is, the manufacturer. It is also clear that the rise in prices due to the tariff must be enormous, for the Times-Star clearly wants to impart the impression that similar protection to labor would do a tremendous amount for "the American who works with his hands." Consequently all the statements of protectionist organs for the past fifty years assuring the laborer

that the tariff raises wages very much and that it raises prices but little, if at all, must have been deliberate falsehoods. Well, even though laborers do believe that an immigration law will benefit them—though the Times-Star's confession stamps it as an untrustworthy guide—they can get along better without the tariff than with it. The Times-Star confesses that it only decreases the purchasing power of wages, and this confession is all there is in its statement that may safely be believed. Protection was long ago proven to be a fraud and a robbery. Those who would successfully advocate it need a much better memory than the Times-Star seems to have, in order to keep from tripping over their own deceptions.

S. D.



Free Trade and High Wages.

Endorsement by Henry Ford of absolute free trade should set to thinking those who still believe a tariff necessary for "protection to American labor." Ford probably pays the highest wages in America, and at the same time sees that his employes, in common with all other citizens, would be better off under free trade. In the face of such a fact how much attention is due the plea for protection presented by a Steel Trust magnate who pays his labor less for working twelve hours a day than Ford pays for an eight-hour day? And what need is there for investigation by a "scientific" non-partisan commission when Ford's object lesson points the way more clearly than any amount of statistics?

S. D.



Mars' Toll.

When the American Government undertook to fortify the Panama Canal, for the purpose of arbitrarily dominating an international waterway that should be open to all comers, it did not include as military expense all the money that is to be spent for that purpose. In addition to the great forts and huge guns at each end of the canal, and a standing army sufficient to police a nation, it requires the buying and fortifying of neighboring harbors and islands. Not only must the Government construct elaborate and costly defenses for the Panama Canal, but it must prevent any other government from constructing a second canal. Hence it proposes to lay out millions of dollars for rights of way through Colombia and through Nicaragua and Porto Rico. But why such an act? If the American Government handles its canal properly, there will be no occasion for the building of another. And should there be another built,

would it not be an additional accommodation to trade? Earthquakes are not infrequent in that part of the world. A canal might be put out of commission for years from such a cause. If there were two, the danger would to that extent be lessened. But because we have declined to neutralize the canal, and have undertaken to fortify it against the world, we are compelled to guard ourselves against the construction of competing canals. Fortifications are like lies, in that the first one may seem of small consequence, until it is found necessary to support it by another, and those two by still others; and so on until they overwhelm their creator.

S. C.



Reassuring the Timid.

Public enterprise on the part of wide-awake newspaper managers has resulted in many benefits to the citizen; but it may be doubted if anything quite so ambitious has been attempted as the scheme announced by the Chicago Tribune. This militant paper, in order to set at rest forever the whole question of military preparedness, has employed a "well-known writer and former war correspondent, to make an original investigation into the entire question of possibility of war, necessity of preparation for war, experience of the past, our present state of preparedness for war, and what, if anything, should be done to increase the efficiency of our army and navy." The result of these researches "will be printed in the Tribune each Sunday until completed." This will be of inestimable value to President Wilson and his Cabinet, to say nothing of the members of the House and Senate. That "The World's Greatest Newspaper" should thus generously have undertaken to relieve the citizens and their representatives of all further responsibility in the matter, demonstrates anew that America is not without those who can and will protect her from the savage Christians of Europe and the terrible Shintoists of Asia. Meanwhile, the rest of the country can give its attention to the comparatively insignificant problem of why the mass of the people cannot secure as much food and shelter as their ancestors did before science had added so much to the power of labor.

S. C.



Lords and Landlords.

Knowing the reckless bravery of British officers, and the consequent high rate of mortality among them, the presence of 178 Peers at the front might suggest the thought that the war may cause a falling off in the number of British landlords. But

it will not. For every lord killed at the front there will be another at home to take his place. And should it happen by any rare combination of circumstances that no heirs are left, the state will create a new lord. For, whatever would become of England if there were no lords to spend the rents of English land?

S. C.



A Mystery.

Why has bread gone up in price? Because the price of flour has risen. What has made flour rise? Because wheat has gone up in price. What caused that? The European war caused a demand out of proportion to supply. Why has there not been more planted so as to have a bigger supply? Because land values have been inflated so that it does not pay to buy or rent land on which to raise wheat. Can that be remedied? It can. Proper taxation of land values would compel those holding land out of use to let it be used. Why then is this not done? That is a question more easily asked than answered.

S. D.



Texas Problems.

Governor James E. Ferguson of Texas seems to understand the needs of the State but seems less informed on practical ways to satisfy them. In his message to the Legislature he touches on a number of problems and suggests solutions, most of which will not solve. What he frankly says himself about one of these suggestions might as well be said of all:

I am not wedded to my plan and I invite your most careful scrutiny of its merits. It may not please anybody. I have had an awful time trying to please myself.

It is much to be feared that he will continue to have a hard time pleasing himself and everyone else if he can think of no better way to solve the problem of landlordism in Texas than the one he has urged upon the Legislature. He would have rents of tenant farmers limited by law to one-fourth of the cotton crop or one-third of the grain crop when the tenant furnishes everything but the land. When the landlord furnishes teams, tools and feed he will limit rents to one-half of the crop. This method ignores entirely the essential point. That is, whether the landlord, who furnishes nothing but permission to use the land, is entitled to any rent at all. If he is entitled to some, then the arbitrary limitation proposed by the Governor is as likely to be unjust as just. If he is not entitled to any, then there is no reason why he should be allowed to get one-third, one-

fourth, or any other share of the crop. If bare land with nothing whatever on it to help the cultivator, except what nature has furnished, should have rental value, it is clear that the value cannot be due to any service performed by the landlord. Why, then, should he be allowed to collect a share of the crop? Has Governor Ferguson considered this?

The Governor says further:

Texas has so many homeless people and so much vacant and unused land suitable for homes that the work of the Thirty-fourth Legislature would not be performed unless some effort was made to pass legislation that might bring together the landless man and the homeless land.

In another part of the message he mentions that the German Empire is no larger than Texas, has no greater productive area, and "now supports more people in war than reside in Texas." Calling attention to so fundamental a problem is itself an important service which the Governors of most States have hitherto neglected. To that extent Governor Ferguson has done well. It should not be hard for him to see that the reason the resources of the State are unused is that conditions are so that it is better policy for the owners to withhold land from use than to let it be used. This state of affairs will not be improved by any of the suggestions offered by the Governor.



The tax laws of Texas require heavier taxes to be levied on land that is improved than on equally valuable land that is unimproved. Consequently many landowners figure that they may as well hold their land in an unimproved state until they get a chance to sell on a rising market. The remedy is to remove the incentive to such a policy. If taxes on all improvements and other labor products were abolished, and all public revenue raised by taxing only the value of bare land regardless of improvements, it would no longer pay to hold valuable land out of use and the landless man and manless land would come together without further legislative effort. That would also solve the farm tenant question far more effectively than through arbitrary restriction of rents. Forcing of unused lands into the market will create competition among landlords, which will be an easier and far more effective way to reduce rents than through compulsory laws. Governor Ferguson may be credited with good intentions, but these are useless without application of better methods than he proposes to carry them out.

S. D.

Refined Meanness.

The city of Chicago has a contract with the street railways by which the companies pay to the city 55 per cent of the gross receipts. The ostensible purpose of this agreement is to provide a fund for the construction of a subway; but it is one of the meanest tricks ever perpetrated upon a purblind public. For it is nothing less than a moral outrage that a great and wealthy city should levy a uniform per capita tax upon the people who use the street cars, compelling the errand boy, cash girl and scrub woman to pay the same amount of tax to the city that it does the richest man who uses the street cars. And, like all ill-gotten gains, the accumulated fund—which now amounts to nearly fourteen million dollars—is making trouble for the city. A subway plan submitted to the voters has been voted down; and the accumulated fund stands as a constant temptation to politicians. Various propositions have been made for its disposal. One is that the city should use the fund for the establishment of bus lines to relieve the present congestion. Another is that the fund should be used to pension street car employes. This, it would seem, is the limit in petty foolishness—or worse. In the first place, the city had no right to compel the patrons of the street cars to pay for the construction of a subway that would increase the value of adjacent lands, thus enabling the owners of those lands to secure a larger income, without being obliged to pay for the improvement. In the second place, the city has no right to use the money so contributed for pensioning the street car employes. Pensions are deferred wages; and if the companies should pay their men at all, they should pay the pensions as well. The fact that the pension proposition has been made by a mayor who is seeking re-election may explain why it was made. s. c.

**Justice Frederick L. Siddons.**

In appointing to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia Frederick L. Siddons in place of Daniel Thew Wright, resigned, President Wilson has performed for the District a service of unusual value. Judge Siddons is not merely an able lawyer, but like his former law partner, Jackson H. Ralston, is well known as a fundamental democrat. Men of his stamp are entirely too rare on the Federal Bench. In this case the change from reactionary and despotic Judge Wright to Judge Siddons is particularly inspiring. Should all vacancies be filled in this manner, there would soon be an increase of public confidence in the Federal judiciary. s. d.

Susan Look Avery.

The passing of Susan Look Avery, who died the first of February at the age of ninety-eight, marks the close of a beautiful life. Lacking but two years of a century, it was devoted throughout its long span to the service of mankind. Some minds are so intense and so circumscribed that they are capable of but one great passion; and when the cause which they espouse has triumphed they are unable to interest themselves in succeeding movements. William Lloyd Garrison II. used to say that the people slowest to grasp the truth of the land question were those who had been most active in the anti-slavery movement. This was not so of Mrs. Avery. Her mind was so evenly balanced that it grasped liberty and justice in the abstract, and applied them to each concrete case as it arose. She was an Abolitionist in Kentucky during the stormy days before the Civil War. She espoused the suffrage movement when its friends were few and feeble. She took up the Greenback and Populist movements in an effort to loosen the clutch of Privilege. And when that great apostle of the new democracy, Henry George, launched a movement to restore man's birthright in the earth it met with the same quick and enthusiastic response as did the call of Garrison, Phillips and Whittier a half century before. Fortunate are they whose well-tempered lives lead them with clear mind and stout heart to the closing shadows of a century; most fortunate are they whose ideals and aspirations are so sane and just that their love of humanity palls not, and their hand of service grows not weary. s. c.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SINGLETAX CAMPAIGN IN HENDERSON COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

Chicago, February 2, 1915.

The price of land in Henderson county has gone up so high that a young couple starting in life is practically barred from ever getting a home. Land purchased at fifty dollars an acre a quarter of a century ago is now held at one hundred and fifty. This price attaches to the soil even if improvements and buildings are not reckoned; which proves that the price is due to the pressure of population and the increasing demand for mere space. Mr. William T. Weir, the leading Singletaxer in this county, says that fully half the farms are worked by tenants, and that the proportion of such renters is increasing. The only way to get even a small farm is to take it on a mortgage, and then spend most of your life in paying off the debt, meanwhile carrying the taxes on the property as if you were the full owner of it. Mortgages are increasing, and farmers who own and work their farms feel that something is wrong but do not know what it is.

While Henderson county folk are more or less prejudiced against Singletax by the idea that it is a scheme to saddle the burden of taxes on the farmer, we must remember that this prejudice is exactly what the term indicates—a "pre-judgment." It is a notion arising before any real knowledge exists in the mind. While Singletax propaganda among farmers is no snap, even city people have their own difficulties in understanding the subject. No work that counts for anything in this world is easy.

When it is asked whether "farmers" are becoming interested in Singletax, it is always well to reply, "What is meant by farmers?" There are several classes of agriculturists, each with its own point of view, and each susceptible to a different sort of appeal. First, there is the farmer who owns and works his farm free of encumbrance. This class is dying out gradually. Next, there is the farmer who is carrying a mortgage—a large class in most agricultural counties. Then there is the farm laborer who holds no land, but who works for somebody else who does. Lastly, there is the growing class of farm tenants who pay the owner from one-third to half the crop as rent.

In talking Singletax to agricultural communities, it is necessary to make them realize that they are not independent of the outside world, and that country life and city life are vitally bound up together. Farmers, like city people, are prone to be narrow and provincial, and to think along the channels of their own immediate affairs. We have to show them that our present system of taxation, by fostering land monopoly, increasing ground rent, and burdening the processes of industry and business, runs up the prices which the farmer must pay for everything that he gets from the cities—clothes, sewing machines, farming machinery, sugar, beef, etc. In addition to this, the proportion of State taxes paid by each rural county is always too high. Taxation of land values, by reaching the more wealthy counties where the high land values exist (such as Cook county), would reduce the burden borne by the poorer ones. Out of a total tax collection (in round numbers) of one hundred and ninety thousand dollars (\$190,000) in Henderson county last year, thirty-five thousand (\$35,000) was handed over to the State government at Springfield.

It is instructive to notice the proportion between different classes of property taxed in this county. Personal property, such as household goods, farm machinery, horses, cows, etc. (round numbers) one million, five hundred thousand—\$1,500,000. Railroad rolling stock, tracks, improvements, etc., one million, two hundred and fifty thousand—\$1,250,000. Farm lands, town and city lots (an item, however, which includes "houses and improvements"), four million, eight hundred and fifty thousand—\$4,850,000.

In the latter item, the deduction of "houses and improvements" would still leave the land tax total at more than four million dollars. And while the first two items would be stricken from the list under Singletax, the railroads would be reached even more effectively by a tax on the high land values in their franchises.

There is very little land held "out of use," in the strict sense of the term, in Henderson county; but there is a good deal of it left wild and used only for grazing, which would be thrown on the market and

made accessible to more intensive use by the shifting of taxes from personal property and improvements to land values. The removal of taxes from things made by labor would stimulate the purchase of movable property, which, in turn, would drop in price under Singletax. These considerations, together with relief in the matter of State taxes, and the broadening of city markets for farm products as labor finds better employment through the abolition of land monopoly, ought to present an attractive picture to the majority of rural voters today. Of course, the difficulty here, as elsewhere in the propaganda field, is to stimulate the mind so that it can form an image or picture of what the world would be under Singletax. Over and above these lines of thought, however, it is imperative to awaken the rural mind to a sense of the absolute injustice of private monopoly of land, which is breeding on the soil of the United States an upper class of parasites which annually absorbs an ever-increasing tribute from the masses of the people for the use of the earth. The renting class is multiplying year by year, not only in the rural districts but in the cities and towns.

Henderson county has no north and south railroads, and it was necessary for us to travel in bobsleds and livery rigs from place to place. Four meetings were held at different points. These meetings were fairly reported in the county papers, all of which are issued weekly. Many sample copies of *The Public* were distributed, together with other Singletax literature. It is evident that the people of this county, like people elsewhere, are thinking along the lines of taxation and the social problem as never before. At Biggsville, a town having a population of four hundred and fifty, there were over one hundred and twenty-five present at the meeting in the high school auditorium. We can hardly emphasize too strongly the faithful work of Mr. Weir, who has talked Singletax all over the county for twenty-five years or more. He personally met all the expenses of our six-day campaign, and made arrangements for all the meetings.

Mrs. Wallis spoke on Singletax to a meeting of a ladies' club at which the attendance numbered thirty, and also spoke briefly on the work of Mrs. Mary Fels at the Biggsville meeting mentioned above. The participation of a woman worker in a campaign of this kind attracts the interest and sympathy of women, and thus gets the attention of the community as a whole more fully.

A considerable number of names and addresses was brought back to Chicago, which will be used by Mr. Bowmar to secure circulation for *The Public*, and from which Hugh Reid is compiling the card catalog for Henderson county. Mr. Reid is already in correspondence with other counties, and all communications relative to State work should be addressed to him, in care of the Chicago Singletax Club, 508 Schiller Building.

LOUIS WALLIS.



I have undertaken the work of teaching a great many years and have found that the human mind has great resources for resisting the introduction of knowledge.—Woodrow Wilson.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 2, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., spent altogether three days, January 25, 26 and 27, testifying before the Commission on Industrial Relations. To most of the questions relating to affairs of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company his answers were either pleas of ignorance or were otherwise evasive. It developed that although the younger Rockefeller had testified that his father had received but \$371,000 in dividends on his Colorado stock in twelve years he had, as bondholder received \$8,889,000, in interest during that period. In regard to industrial unrest, he admitted in his closing testimony that he had observed signs of it, but he knew of no remedy. [See current volume, page 105.]



Ivy Lee, publicity agent of the Colorado operators, testified on January 27. His matter had been sent to about 40,00 persons at the expense of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. In one of the bulletins sent out the statement was made that for nine weeks' work Frank J. Hayes, of the Mine Workers' Union, had received for salary and expenses \$5,720 or \$90 a day. John McLennan, another union official, \$4,152 or \$66 a day, and Mother Jones, \$2,668, or \$42 a day. Mr. Lee admitted that these statements were untrue, that instead of being payments for nine weeks they were for a year. He had endeavored to have correction made, he said, before sending it out, but had failed.



Robert Fulton Cutting testified on January 28. He is active in the counsels of, the New York Trades School, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the Bureau for Municipal Research. To the last named organization he said John D. Rockefeller gives \$70,000 a year. Asked if this was not conditional on the bureau adopting Mr. Rockefeller's views he said that the trustees hold the same views as Mr. Rockefeller, but that if they had not held these views they would not have gotten the money. Reverend Dr. John Haynes Holmes testified that he did not think any man had an ethical right to own \$100,000,000 and anyone who did should turn it over to the State. He said further that "The problem of expending a large fortune accumulated by labor and brains of other men is one of the arguments against accumulating it."

John D. Lawson, of the United Mine Workers, testified on January 29 after a personal interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He referred to the ignorance of Mr. Rockefeller made manifest in his testimony, and declared it was the very philanthropy of such as he which caused unrest. This philanthropy, Mr. Lawson described as:

Health for China, a refuge for birds, food for Belgians, pensions for New York widows, university training for the elect—and never a thought or a dollar for thousands of men, women and children who starved in Colorado; for the widows robbed of husbands, children of their fathers. There are thousands of Mr. Rockefeller's employes in Colorado who wish to God they were in Belgium to be fed, or a bird to be tenderly cared for.

Mr. Lawson recounted the different events of which Mr. Rockefeller had professed ignorance. The militia, in the mine owners' pay, had crushed the strike of 1903-4 by violating every known constitutional right which a citizen was thought to possess. Men were herded in bull pens, the writ of habeas corpus suspended and hundreds loaded on cars and dumped in the desert without food or water; a governor elected by 15,000, unseated and a man not voted for made governor; finally a blacklist which gave the men choice between starvation or exile. In summing up Mr. Lawson declared:

The causes of industrial unrest are not to be removed by promises of endless investigations or sudden willingness to hold conferences. They lie in:

The treatment of free men as chattels to be disposed of by deed and will.

Absentee landlordism.

The theft of natural resources, or in:

Indifference to the necessities and aspirations of those who toil in the dark for the benefit of those in the light.



Amos Pinchot testified that under present conditions he believed labor organizations necessary to prevent capital from crushing labor. Labor is restless, he said, because there are more men than jobs, which is due to the locking up of the resources of the earth. He instanced the monopoly of coal lands, iron ore, and timber lands, quoting men in the business. He endorsed Mr. Ford's statement that "the government should own the mines and other natural resources, which are the foundation of industry and labor." He did not believe the Golden Rule would work where one side to the controversy had all the power. Mr. Pinchot thought the great Foundations had a bad influence in spite of the best intentions. He charged a part of the press, and particularly the news agencies, with being unfair to labor. He opposed the entrance of the government into competitive business. In conclusion he said:

I do not believe that either the city, State or Federal Government should go into industrial production. Industrial production should be conducted by private

concerns. I believe in competition in industry. I do not hold with either monopolists or socialists, for both advocate the elimination of competition in industry. In order to have competitive industry which spells efficiency, we must make transportation and the raw materials which are the basis of industry accessible to all on equal terms. That is why I advocate government ownership of railroads and government ownership of natural resources with a leasing system such as is now in practice with regard to water power on Federal property.



Congressional and Executive News.

President Wilson on the 26th signed the bill creating the Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado, comprising about 200,000 acres of public lands. He vetoed the immigration bill on the 28th. The House will pass on the veto, without debate, on the 4th. The nomination of Henry Clay Hall of Colorado to succeed himself as an Interstate Commerce Commissioner was confirmed by the Senate on the 26th. A subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary made a favorable report to the full committee on the 28th on the resolution by Senator Morris Sheppard submitting to the States for ratification a Prohibition Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The ship purchase bill, which is supported by the Administration and which has been the subject of a filibuster by the opposition for the past ten days, suffered a reverse on the 2d, when seven Democrats joined the Republicans in voting to recommit the bill. [See current volume, pp. 17, 36, 56, 57, 76, 83.]



Tax Reform News.

Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza, of Houston, author of the Houston plan of taxation, has announced his candidacy for re-election on February 16. In his announcement he said in part:

I stand for the Houston Plan of Taxation, and propose to run for the office of Land and Tax Commissioner. I will show the benefits received by a majority of the taxpayers which is the direct result of the adoption of this plan of tax exemptions, rather than a plan of taxation. Five taxpayers (only) were sufficiently nery to attack the system in the open by signing a formal petition to the City Council asking that the Houston Plan of Taxation be abolished. The following are the five citizens referred to above: Jos. F. Meyer, J. J. Settegast, H. F. Cohen, S. Rosenberg, M. P. Geiselman. . . .

Those opposed to the Houston Plan of Taxation have been trying for a month to get some one to oppose me in this campaign. Up to Friday night they had failed to get the consent of any man to oppose the Houston Plan on the stump in the coming primaries. Therefore, I suggest that they persuade either of the above-named gentlemen to announce for Land and Tax Commissioner and let's place the question fairly before the people. These men are as well known as I am and much wealthier, with greater

influence, so why not take this opportunity to have the people select whom they want in the tax office—myself, the originator of the Houston Plan of Taxation or one of these men who are trying to destroy it, and would destroy it, if elected?

In conclusion Mr. Pastoriza states that if he should fail of re-election he will go back to his "Singletax Log Cabin" and—

After having rested for a time I will then start out at "My beginnings," and in the Legislative Halls, of this State, begin the fight for just taxation, which I have been carrying on in Houston for the past four years. I will never let up until I either win or am taken to the Great Beyond where there is no strife, no trouble, no injustice, but an endless life of our own making.

[See current volume, pages 85, 107.]



Suit against the Houston plan of taxation was filed by the individuals mentioned in Pastoriza's statement on January 22. They ask for a mandatory injunction directing the tax department to assess all property equally. The hearing is set for February 4. The city will contest and H. F. Ring will intervene and ask for literal enforcement of the constitutional tax provisions, including collection of back taxes for four years from all who have not paid.



In the Turlock irrigation district of Stanislaus County, California, a special election has been called for on February 19 on the question of exempting improvements from irrigation tax, so as to pay all irrigation expenses by land value taxation only, as is done in the Modesto and Oakdale districts. Commenting on this election the Ceres, California, Courier of January 21 predicts that the proposition will carry and says of the land value tax:

It is the only just tax, not only for irrigation, but all other purposes. There is no doubt that development in this community has been retarded because the greater improvements a man made on his land the greater would he be taxed for doing so, while the adjoining land, held by a non-resident speculator and unimproved, would pay tax only on the land value, yet the holder of the vacant land would profit from the industry and improvements of the real farmers on either side of him.

[See current volume, page 103.]



The Home Rule in Taxation proposition defeated at the November election in California, has been re-introduced in the Legislature for submission in 1916 by Assemblyman George Gelder who performed the same service two years ago. The popular vote of last November showed a gain of nearly 100,000 votes in favor of the measure as compared with 1912. [See vol. xvii, p. 1115; current volume, pages 16, 54.]

The Land Question in Texas.

In his first message to the Legislature of Texas on January 20, Governor James E. Ferguson said that the first duty of that body is as follows:

You should pass a law restricting land rents in Texas, and declare all contracts void and contrary to public policy whereby the tenant is required to pay a rent exceeding in value one-fourth of the cotton raised and one-third of the value of the grain raised, where the tenant furnishes everything for making the crop, except the land, excepting, of course, where the crops are made upon what is known as the "half system," in which event the landlord may charge a rent not to exceed one-half the value of all crops raised where said landlord furnishes all the teams, tools and feed with which to make the crop. . . .

To charge more than third and fourth rent in times of adversity like that through which we have been passing and through which we shall continue to pass for some time to come, means a condition of the tenant farmers of Texas but little better than the peons of Mexico. . . .

If the tenant farmer of Texas is charged more than a third and fourth of what he produces, he can expect nothing but a mere existence and no financial advancement of his condition. The peon of Mexico is getting the same. And the only difference is that the Mexican is now trying to destroy the government that permits such a condition to exist and has appealed to force, while the tenant farmer of Texas is still loyal to his government and has appealed to reason. . . .

Texas is an empire within itself. The kingdom of Germany, which now supports more people in war than reside in Texas, is no larger than Texas, and is no greater than Texas, and has no greater productive area than Texas. We have more varied natural resources than any spot on the globe. They await only the plastic hand of man to make them blossom like the rose. Therefore, we must have more people in Texas, and the right kind of people in Texas. We should welcome the patriotic man without means, because he is needed. We should welcome the man with means, because he is a necessity and one cannot exist without the other. . . .

Further in the message Governor Ferguson said:

Texas has so many homeless people and so much vacant and waste land suitable for homes that the work of the Thirty-fourth Legislature will not be complete unless some effort be made to pass legislation that might bring together the landless man and the homeless land.

In regard to taxation the only recommendation made by the Governor is the following:

The present crisis teaches the necessity of cotton and woolen factories in Texas. I desire to call your special attention to the platform demand to submit a constitutional amendment to exempt all cotton and woolen factories from taxation.

[See vol. xvii, pp. 735, 774.]



Proportional Representation.

A bill introduced in the House of Representatives, January 9, 1915, by Congressman Warren

Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania, amending sections three and four of the Act of August 8th, 1911, entitled "An Act for the Apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the Several States Under the Thirteenth Census," so as to give any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That instead of being restricted to the method prescribed in the Act of August 8th, 1911, entitled "An Act for the Apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the Several States Under the Thirteenth Census," any State entitled to three or more Representatives in Congress may, if its legislature so prescribe, elect its Representatives in Congress by proportional representation.

SEC. 2. That where the Representatives are elected by proportional representation, if the State is not entitled to more than nine Representatives they shall be nominated and elected by the State at large; if the State is entitled to more than nine Representatives they may, at the option of the State, be nominated and elected by the State at large, or by districts, each of which shall be composed of a contiguous and compact territory and shall be entitled to the number of Representatives that as nearly as practicable is in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Each of such districts shall be so composed that it is entitled to at least five Representatives. The districts of a State shall be determined in the manner provided by the laws of the State.

SEC. 3. That the election of Representatives by proportional representation shall be subject to the following regulations:

SUBSECTION A. The election shall be by ballot, which shall contain the names of the candidates for Representatives in lists, each of which lists may contain any number of names from one up to the full number of Representatives to be chosen in the State or in the district, as the case may be.

SUBSEC. B. I. Any group of electors, subject to such restrictions as the State may impose, may nominate one of the aforesaid lists, but no elector shall take part in the nomination of more than one list.

II. Each State shall have the option of permitting the use of party names and emblems in connection with the aforesaid lists, and may prescribe a primary for the selection of candidates of a group of electors.

SUBSEC. C. On the election ballots the several lists of candidates shall be printed in an order determined by the election authorities by lot. The names of the candidates on each list shall be printed in the alphabetical order of the surnames, and each name shall be followed by the candidate's

home address. The name of a candidate shall not be printed on the ballot unless he has previously filed with the election authorities a written acceptance of the nomination over his own signature. The form of the portion of the ballot devoted to Representatives in Congress shall be substantially as follows:

For Representatives in Congress.

Directions to Voters:

Mark a cross (X) opposite the name of one candidate only for whom you wish to vote. (If the candidate you vote for is found to be elected without your vote, or if he is found to have too few votes to be elected with it, your vote will be counted for some other candidate on the same list.)

Do not mark more than one name. If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return it to the election officer in charge of the ballots, and get another from him.

List 1.	List 2.	List 3.
[Home address.]	[Home address.]	[Home address.]
A.....	C.....	D.....
B.....	G.....	L.....
O.....	H.....	M.....
P.....	J.....	N.....
S.....	K.....	Q.....
T.....		U.....
V.....		
Y.....		

SUBSEC. D. The following method shall be used in determining which candidates are elected:

I. A ballot marked for candidates on more than one list shall be excluded from the count of the vote for Representatives in Congress. A ballot marked for more than one candidate on a single list, but not for candidates on more than one list, shall be counted as a vote for the list, but shall not be counted in determining the preference for any particular candidate on that list; the aggregate of such votes and the votes for each individual candidate on the same list constitute the total number of votes for the list.

II. The total number of valid votes cast shall be divided by the number of Representatives to be elected and the quotient shall be the full constituency.

III. The number of full constituencies contained in the total number of valid votes for a list shall be the number of candidates on that list to be declared elected on the first assignment of seats.

IV. After this first assignment of seats the remaining seats, if any, shall be assigned as follows: The total number of valid votes for each list shall be divided by the number of seats already assigned to such list, plus one, and to the list showing the largest quotient shall be assigned one additional

seat. If two or more lists show the same quotient, the chief election official of the State or district, as the case may be, shall decide the tie by lot. This procedure shall be repeated until all the seats have been assigned.

V. The candidates to be declared elected from any list shall be those receiving the largest number of votes on that list.

SEC. 4. That to any vacancy that shall occur in the delegation of Representatives in Congress from any State or district, as the case may be, which has elected its Representatives by proportional representation under the provisions of this Act, the chief election official of the State or district, as the case may be, shall appoint, to fill out the unexpired term, that candidate from the list on which the vacating Representative was nominated who of all the unelected candidates on that list received the highest number of votes.

SEC. 5. That all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.



Francisco Ferrer Colony Planned.

The Francisco Ferrer Association, which has conducted a modern school in New York City in accordance with the views of Ferrer, has decided that it would be better for the children to transfer its school to the country, concerning which an announcement is made of which the following is a part signed by Harry Kelly, Fred Hirsch and Leonard D. Abbott:

An option has been taken on a tract of 69 acres, a mile and one-fourth from the village of Stelton, N. J. Fifteen per cent of the land, or 10 acres, together with the 12-room farm-house and outbuildings, have been set aside for the Ferrer Association to conduct a modern school. Stelton, N. J., is 29 miles from New York City, on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. There is a macadamized road running to the property, which is known as the Randolph Farm, this property being located directly opposite the Fellowship Farm Association, a Socialist colony of 100 members. The price of land is \$150 an acre to the members, with the privilege of buying one or two acres for each adult over 18 years of age. . . . Individual titles will be given the members for the land. . . . There will be no compulsory co-operative features about the colony. We confidently expect co-operation between the members, but it will arise spontaneously from their own needs and will not be imposed on them as part of their membership. . . . Plans are being made for an open-air theater, as well as other forms of social life.

Headquarters of the colony are at 62 East 107th street, New York.



Mexico.

General Garza, latest Provisional President to assume authority, evacuated the City of Mexico on the 27th. His whereabouts is not given. The

members of the Convention have also quit the city. On the 29th General Alvaro Obregon at the head of 20,000 Carranza troops took possession of the Capital in the name of General Carranza, who had left Mexico City early in November at the threatening approach of Generals Villa and Zapata. Reports to Washington state that order prevails in the Mexican Capital, and that no foreigners were molested during the recent shift of Provisional Presidents. General Villa is reported to be at Aguas Calientes, and General Zapata somewhere south of Mexico City. [See current volume, page 109.]



The European War.

The close of the sixth month of the war finds the belligerents deadlocked in positions not materially different from those occupied at the end of the third month. Russian troops are making a little headway in East Prussia, the Germans hold their position before Warsaw, and the Austrians and Germans are fighting desperately in the Carpathians. Heavy fighting has occurred along the Aisne River, and in Belgium, but with small results, aside from the casualties. The conspicuous feature of the week has been the successful activities of German submarines in torpedoing merchant ships in British waters. [See current volume, page 109.]



Russian troops in three divisions are heading for Koenigsberg, fortress and capital of East Prussia. The northern army is at Tilsit, the central army is a little northeast of Insterburg, and has taken Pilkallen; the third army is at Darkekmen, endeavoring to approach Insterburg from the south. Both Russians and Germans claim gains in Poland, north of the Vistula. Less activity is reported from the Warsaw front; but renewed vigor is apparent in the struggle for the passes through the Carpathians. The steadily increasing Russian forces in Bukowina, preparatory to a descent into Transylvania, has caused the sending of German re-enforcements. The opposition of the Austro-German forces in defense of the Carpathian passes is taking the form of a general battle. The Russians claim successes at Dukla and at Wyszkw. The struggle along the Dunajec and Nida Rivers is still indecisive. The situation as a whole in the East appears to favor the Russians.



Severe fighting has occurred in the vicinity of Soissons, with heavy casualties, but without material change in the lines. The Germans have made some gains at Craonne, and the British have regained their lost trenches at La Basse. The Germans are reported to be concentrating forces for an attack on the Ypres front. As a whole, the week has brought no material change in the lines.

Russia reports a defeat of the Turks in the Sari-Kamysh region, capturing the commanding general and his staff. Three Turkish army corps—120,000 men—are said to be approaching the Suez Canal near Port Said. The advance guard has been engaged by the British Patrol near El Kantara, twenty-eight miles south of Said, but the main army has not come within striking distance.



Great interest centers in the operations of German submarines that have undertaken to pick off British merchantmen in British waters. Submarine U-21 has sunk two merchantmen in the English Channel off Havre, and three in the Irish sea. The crews were warned to take to their boats, and were afterwards picked up by passing vessels. Other ships report having been pursued by the submarine. As this submarine has been operating 1,500 miles from its base these activities denote great resourcefulness.



Italy has called her last reserves to the colors, and the public sentiment in favor of the Allies is increasing. Roumania grows more restless and demonstrative. Holland, at the behest of Premier P. W. A. van der Linden, holds her entire army of 200,000 ready for action. Riots in Hungary mark the application of drastic conscription laws.



The Rockefeller Foundation, which has maintained an independent bureau for the relief of Belgium since the last of October, will withdraw from active work in that field, and leave the management to one agency. It is announced that this does not mean that the Foundation will not make further contributions if necessary to the relief of the Belgians.



The steamship Dacia, formerly of the Hamburg-American line, but bought by an American citizen since the beginning of hostilities and admitted to American registry, left Galveston on the 31st with a load of cotton for Rotterdam. Great Britain has announced, in answer to an inquiry by the American government, that she would not recognize the validity of the transfer of German ships to the American flag during hostilities.

NEWS NOTES

—German exports to the United States in 1914 amounted to \$15,905,125. This shows a falling off of \$31,552,185, as compared with 1913.

—The next session of the Louisiana Legislature will be the first in twenty-five years not unanimously Democratic. One Progressive Senator and seven

Progressive Representatives will have seats in the new body. [See vol. xvii, pp. 603, 1091; current volume, page 11.]

—The German government is putting prisoners of war at work reclaiming a large stretch of swamp and moorland in the region near the Kiel canal. Should circumstances compel release of the prisoners before the work comes to an end then convicts will be put in their places. Speaking of the ultimate result of this work Bodenreform of Berlin says in its issue of January 5: "Where now for many kilometers stretch heath, swamp and moor, where in summer meadow larks, plover and wild ducks congregate and where in winter, storm and bad weather greet the occasional traveler, a village of industrious small farmers will have arisen."

—Foreign commerce of the United States for 1914 amounted to \$3,902,900,051, as compared with \$4,276,614,774 for 1913. Of the \$373,714,721 decrease, \$3,320,479 was in imports and \$370,394,242 in exports. Exports to Austria in December, 1913 and 1914, were \$3,162,652 and \$2,700; to Germany, \$33,210,285 and \$2,194,035; to Belgium, \$5,740,512 and \$758,282; to Russia in Europe, \$4,971,120 and \$479,429; to France, \$18,341,017 and \$37,585,679; to the United Kingdom, \$64,092,740 and \$33,863,254; to Italy, \$9,109,962 and \$26,162,688; to Netherlands, \$10,070,070 and \$12,427,794. There was a great falling off in exports to Austria and Germany, and a small increase in exports to the Allies.

—Traffic through the Panama Canal has increased from 24 ships of 106,288 tons in August, to 99 ships of 446,415 tons in December. The tolls collected for those two months amounted to \$11,610 and \$411,895 respectively. The total number of vessels that have used the Canal up to January 1, 1915, is 356, and the tonnage is 1,743,899. The tolls collected amount to \$1,547,100.45. The distribution by routes is as follows:

Route.	No. Vessels.	Cargo Tonnage.
Coastwise, eastbound	74	399,450
Coastwise, westbound	81	353,230
U. S. Pacific coast to Europe.....	51	351,880
Europe to U. S. Pacific coast.....	10	45,732
South America to U. S. and Europe....	37	230,942
U. S. and Europe to South America....	21	104,828
U. S. Atlantic coast to Far East.....	36	224,134
Far East to U. S. Atlantic coast.....	2	14,500
Miscellaneous routings	8	19,203
Vessels without cargo	36
Totals	356	1,743,899

December marked the passagé of the first vessels from the Far East, one from Japan and one from China, for the Atlantic coast of the United States. [See current volume, page 63.]

—Louis Wallis will speak in Baltimore Saturday, February 6, at noon to the City Club on the Singletax. In the evening, to Singletaxers of Maryland, on the New Outlook for Singletax. On Sunday morning, the 7th, at the Westminster Presbyterian Church, on Religion and the Industrial Problem. In the afternoon, at the Episcopal Church of the Ascension, on "Unemployment." In the evening, at the Lafayette Square Presbyterian Church, on Religion and the Industrial Problem. During the 8th, 9th, and 10th, he will fill other dates in the same city. From the

14th to the 21st, Mr. Wallis will speak at the Ford Hall Forum, Boston, the Melrose Forum, the Brockton Forum, and other points in eastern Massachusetts.

PRESS OPINIONS

An English View of the Ship Question.

Daily News and Leader (London), January 6.—Great prices were realized at the sale of German prize vessels at the Baltic yesterday; and the cause is not in doubt. The demand for ships of all kinds is greater than the supply. That is one reason, for what it is worth, why the British public can afford to look with calmness on the discussion now going on in America on the Ships Bill. Everybody in this country is interested in the breaking up anything like a shipping ring at the present moment, and for that purpose the more ships that can be got into general traffic quickly the better. To allow the sale of German ships in America will do something, if not in itself very much, to promote that end. Against this it may be urged that the purchase money would go to Germany. It would; but it would certainly not be great enough to have very much effect on the course of the struggle. Americans naturally look at the matter from quite a different point of view to ours. They have their own problems—such as the railway monopoly—which are more or less acutely affected by a question of this kind, and which make them look upon the matter as far more an American domestic question than a European one.



The Price of a Place in the Sun.

The Panjabee (Lahore, India), December 3.—If the pronouncements which have so repeatedly of late been made regarding the future of India . . . have any meaning, the end of the war ought to see the beginning of a resolute endeavor to place India, within the shortest possible time, on a level of equality with the more progressive parts of the Empire. . . . The demand which India makes and which it is her clear duty to make, she has been making ever since the birth of her political and national consciousness. The war has strengthened and accentuated this demand, not because it has afforded an opportunity to the people of India to demonstrate their loyalty, but because it has created a situation which has made it the easier for British statesmen to realize that the path of justice to India is also the path of self-interest. . . . The only conceivable ground, apart from the question of her fitness, on which India's demand for equality could be resisted was that she had given no proof to England of the staunchness of her loyalty. The war afforded a unique opportunity in this respect, and how India has utilized this opportunity is matter of history. What India now demands—and the demand is as logical as it is just—is that the fitness of her people should henceforth be the only determining factor in her political evolution, and that the Government as the supreme executive of the nation must set itself resolutely to the task of developing this fitness.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE KINGS OF GAIN.

For The Public.

In agony the people cry to thee,
 Thou blindfold goddess of the balanced scales!
 They feebly strive to draw the cruel nails
 From out the palms of pale humanity
 And lift the drooping form down from the tree
 Of king's oppression. Yet their emprise fails;
 For on the morning wind a trumpet hails;
 The holy task's completion may not be.

Behold the tattered army of the poor:
 They seek not open plain nor wear the hues
 Wherewith the monarchs brand their cattle; thews
 And faces grimed, they pass a darkened door.
 The trumpet?—'Tis the whistle blast amain;
 For other princes thrive—the Kings of Gain!

RICHARD WARNER BORST.



TAXATION.

Louis F. Post at the 209th Anniversary of Ben
 Franklin with the Cleveland Ben Franklin
 Club, January 28, 1915.

There is an old saying, and a familiar one, that nothing in this world is certain but death and taxes. May I distinguish the two? Both may be certain; I won't dispute that. But death is within the domain of science, and taxes it seems are not. At any rate our present tax laws are a bewildering omnium gatherum of fiscal odds and ends.

An attempt to classify and define taxes has been made by the Census Bureau of the United States. It was a courageous undertaking and a work conscientiously and intelligently done. They say:

"Taxes are enforced proportional contributions of wealth, levied and collected in the general interest of a community from individuals and corporations by virtue of the sovereignty of the nation or State for the support of governments and for the defrayal of expenses growing out of the public needs, which are levied without reference to the special benefits which the contributors may severally derive from the public purposes for which the taxes are required."

That is a remarkably close approximation to a perfect definition. Let us analyze it.

The Census Bureau tells us that taxes are "contributions." Well, they are contributions in the sense the Census Bureau means and says; that is, they are enforced contributions. But enforced contributions are what a hold-up man gets from you on the street at midnight with both your

hands raised and one of his toying with a pistol while the other searches your pockets.

Then the Census Bureau describes these enforced contributions as "proportional." But you know that our taxes are not proportional. However, as the sponsors for them pretend that they are proportional we may disregard this part of the Census definition on the ground that the definers were trying to state, and properly, not what taxes really are but what they profess to be. For the same reason we may drop from the Census definition the idea that taxes are levied and collected in the general interest.

Having now reduced the definition to its substantialities, we may proceed to analyze it.

There are three essential points in the definition. It tells us in the first place that taxes are enforced contributions; that is to say, taxation is confiscation. In the second place it tells us that taxes are levied or collected by the sovereign power of the State or nation; that is to say, the State or nation is the confiscator. In the third place it tells us that taxes are levied without reference to the special benefits which taxpayers severally derive from the expenditure of taxes; that is to say, taxpayers who get no special benefits from public expenditures are robbed for the enrichment of those who do get special benefits from public expenditures.

But the Census Bureau goes further than to give us its definition. It gives us also the multifarious material which it had to wrestle with. There is a "general property tax" which is planned to snatch whatever can be got wherever it can be found. Then there are "special property taxes" which snatch at what the general property tax has not succeeded in snatching. Then come poll taxes which tax a man for being alive, and occupation taxes which tax him if he tries to keep alive by his own useful work. Of the same ilk are business and income taxes. These reach out for a different class. But like the others they make no distinction between profits and incomes that are earned and profits and incomes that are not earned. There are several other kinds of taxes in the Census classifications, but with almost negligible exceptions all are levied and collected without reference to whether the taxpayer gets any special benefit in return for his tax or not.

As a matter of fact some people do and some people don't. Of two persons who pay the same amount of tax, for instance, for the building of a city hall or to maintain police guardianship or for fire protection, both persons will benefit alike in a certain personal sense of safety and in a certain fact of safety; but one of them will be able to get a higher price or more ground rent for his building-lot and the other will have to pay the higher price or ground rent if he buys or leases that lot.

So there you have our present system of taxation as the Census Bureau truly shows it to be. There is no scientific principle about it, unless you count legalization of robbery as a science. Some students of taxation, perhaps most of them, go so far as to say that not only is there no scientific taxation now but that no scientific taxation is possible. If you read their books you will be inclined to agree with them on that point if on nothing else. At least you will concede that they themselves don't know of any science of taxation. But even if there can be no science of taxation that does not dispose of the subject in its scientific aspects. Taxation is not an end; it is only a means. The end is public revenues. The means may be taxation or it may be something else. It had better be something else if the world's preceptors in taxation are to be everlastingly the old robber barons of the Rhine and the old blackmailers of the Scottish Highlands.

Though there be no science of taxation there is a science of public revenues. The scientific core of public revenues is "quid pro quo." It is the same as the science of commerce. There are piratical possibilities in commerce, and in the past they were fostered. This was done according to "the good old plan that he shall get who has the power and he shall keep who can." But commerce has learned, and fiscal students must learn, the natural law of "quid pro quo." It is of the essence of the science of public revenues that the public shall be paid for the pecuniary benefits it gives; that it shall be paid only for those it does give; and that it shall be paid by the persons who get what it gives. This is the benefit principle of public revenues. It is the principle of the honest merchant in his business, or the manufacturer or the printer. It stands out in strong contrast with the ability to pay principle, which is piratical. It is scientific.

What do we mean by scientific? Doesn't science refer to natural relationships? Isn't it scientific to work in harmony with natural law? If that is so, then robbery is unscientific, for robbery is in conflict with natural law. Robbery conflicts with natural economic law because robbery is unproductive. Robbery conflicts with natural economic law and natural moral law because robbery is obstructive of the property rights of producers. Perhaps the unscientific character of robbery may be summed up in the one conclusion that it conflicts with natural political law because it is anti-social. A community of mutual plunderers is unthinkable. A community only partly so is thinkable only in so far as it is not so. Social life depends upon production and exchange; the more universal the production and the freer the exchange the more perfect the social life. And if taxation is what its students so often say it is and must be, then it is robbery and therefore outside the domain of science.

But public revenues are within the domain of science whether taxation is or not. Public revenues have a scientific basis; that is, they are natural. This is certainly so if human association is natural. And who can deny it? Isn't man a social animal by nature? Isn't he a co-operative animal by nature? Doesn't he specialize, and doesn't he trade—both from a natural impulse and with naturally beneficial results? Of course that is true. And out of those natural characteristics and from natural necessity human society springs.

We may agree that human society is only the expression of an intermingling of desires and powers that are individual. Nevertheless, that intermingling develops common needs, social needs, needs of the social solidarity. One social need, for instance, is roads or streets for common use. Another may be guardianship against disorder, fire or calamity of one kind or another. There are many other common needs, and they multiply as the social organism becomes more and more complex.

Now how shall we provide for those common needs? Must we not create some kind of social agency? Call this agency whatever you like, but unless you are a pagan, worshiping or fearing words and other fetishes, placing form above substance, you will not object to calling the social agency "government"—national, State, city, county, township, or school government. How, then, shall we support government? How shall we support this agent of the people as a whole? Out of common revenues, is the obvious answer. But that answer necessarily contemplates the possibility of a science of common revenues. For if society is natural, and if society naturally needs an agent, and if the agent naturally needs financial support, then there must be some way in harmony with the natural laws of physics, economics, morality and politics of providing that support. In other words, a science of public revenues must be possible. At any rate this inference makes a first-rate working hypothesis.

We now come to the crucial question. What way is there of raising public revenues which would be in harmony with those natural laws? Taxation? Not necessarily. Not at all to the extent that taxation is robbery, for robbery is unscientific. Unless government "earns its keep" naturally, our working hypothesis must go. Unless government is naturally self-supporting, then the anarchist who denies all necessity for government has the best of the argument. But government is in fact self-supporting—naturally so. Perhaps the better statement is that government would be self-supporting if government itself were not robbed of its own earnings.

Look at your own city of Cleveland. Wouldn't it pay any man, and pay him well, if he could contract to give to your city the best possible

government—and should actually do so—in return for the resulting social values within the territory of Cleveland?

Do you ask what I mean by social values? I don't mean those conveniences that everybody would have at will—the convenience of driving through the streets or of passing one way or another on the sidewalks or of going into the parks, nor any such intangible privileges. The social values I mean are those that are measurable financially. The contractor who should take these as his pay for giving you good city government would get inordinately rich out of his contract. The better the government he gave you the richer he himself would be; for the better the government the larger the measurable social values.

What do I mean by measurable social values? Everybody would understand if I were talking about private investments instead of public revenues. By measurable social values I mean those social values that are measured by the selling price of building lots. The values of building lots rise and fall according to the size and prosperity of a city and the kind of government it has. If you should turn your city affairs over to a contractor requiring him on the one hand to give you the best possible government, and giving him in return the annual ground rent value of the site of your city, his pay would be the earnings of—well, of whom? of what? Of the manufacturers? of the storekeepers? of the printers? of the wage workers? of any of the workers of Cleveland whether employer or employe? Not at all—not as workers, not as individuals. Would your contractor's pay, then, be the earnings of the men of Cleveland and New York and Europe who own the city of Cleveland? By no means. These do not even help to give value to the site of Cleveland—not by owning it at any rate. It is Cleveland herself that makes the site of Cleveland valuable. If, then, you gave your civic contractor the values of the city of Cleveland by yearly amounts you would be giving him the annual earnings of Cleveland, wouldn't you? Well, why give those earnings to a contractor? Why not make Cleveland her own contractor? Why not let Cleveland govern herself and live upon her own earnings?

That would be scientific. It would be on the "quid pro quo" principle. Every man that paid Cleveland for a location would pay in proportion to the business and other social advantages which that location gave him. He would pay in proportion to the value that Cleveland is giving—not has given but gives now—to that location. If public revenues were got in this way there would no longer be enforced contributions for public revenues. Everybody would pay in proportion to the financial benefits the government gave him. It could not be any longer said that taxes are levied or collected regardless of the special benefits

which their expenditure confers. Public revenues would be collected and paid in proportion to benefits.

In addition to all the rest, the "ground hog" would be dispossessed. This is where the question of public revenues links arms with social health. If the "ground hogs" were driven out, ground users would take their places. Think what that would mean. It would mean abundant business and abundant employment. And this is only another way of saying that the ghost of bankruptcy would no longer haunt business men and the wolf would stop howling at the door of the worker.



HIS TROPHY.

H. J. Dawtrey in Magazine of The Free Religious Movement, Dundee, Scotland.

Scene—An English Hospital: A Highlander with a German Helmet.

"So you've brought back his helmet, Sandie, my man;
And you killed him, I guess? It's a trophy you've won?"

* * * * *

"Na-a, na-a!" replied Sandie, "that wasna the plan; The man was a freend, gin ye'll wait till I'm done. I dressed his wound an' he sorted mine. No' a word could we speak, the ane tae the ither; But I lookit at him, an' I kent him a brither; An' I gid him my bonnet, in token, ye ken. He lauched, an' he grippit my han'—an' then He gied me his helmet; an' it cam' tae my mind, Here's a trophy, thocht I, of a newfangled kind. I dressed his wound, an' he dressit mine; No' a word could we speak, the ane tae the ither; But tho' he was German, I kent him a brither."

BOOKS

OUR DAUGHTER REPUBLIC.

Liberia. By Frederick Starr. Published by the Author, University of Chicago, Chicago. 1913. Price, \$1.00 net.

The little nations of the earth suffer through the big people's war. Just a note now and then in the world news tells their plight: How no merchant ships have put into port for many weeks either to fetch or carry; how all the accustomed comforts are gone; and how longer isolation threatens ruin and death.

The Republic of Liberia is one of these sufferers, too far away and too weak-voiced to be heard above Europe's battle-din. But this should not prevent Americans from remembering the kinship and extending practical sympathy. Professor Starr's handbook of the country,—its topography, climate and population, its political story and financial struggles and present needs—and his ap-

preciation of the nation's worth to Africa and the rest of the world, are both a revelation and an appeal to the true chivalry that is part of American democracy.

The only fault to be found with the book by most readers is that—in spite of its having been written by a traveler thither—it creates out of the unlonged-for unknown a new land desirable to see and impossible to visit.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

In the Service of Peace.

The American School Peace League, organized in 1908, to promote "through the schools and the educational public of America the interests of international justice and fraternity," has published a little essay by its secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough St., Boston, on "The War: What Should be Said About It in the Schools?" Mrs. Andrews believes that those superintendents who, at the beginning of the school year and at the first ghastly tidings of the war, requested that it be not discussed in the school-room should now, "when the significance of this world object-lesson comes more and more into light," not lose this "supreme moment for teaching history and examining into the causes of the catastrophe, the meaning of militarism, and the principles that should govern the terms of peace.



The report for 1914 of the work of the World Peace Foundation (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston)—whose creator and endower, Edwin Ginn, died a year ago—is an inspiring record of international labor for permanent peace. So inconspicuously and quietly does it co-operate with all the great agencies for peace that even the regular recipients of its scholarly and invaluable pamphlets, will be amazed at the scope of the Foundation's influence as shown in these reports of its chief workers. To take one of many instances: How many of David Starr Jordan's enthusiastic auditors know that for their much appreciated opportunity to hear him, they are partly indebted to the Foundation? That the Foundation is alive to the European war's greatest danger for the United States, Mr. Edwin D. Mead shows in closing his annual address as chief director: "The militarist's argument that great armaments are peace preservers, has absolutely broken down. These have proved, as we have so solemnly warned the nations, the great menace and not the true defense; and sobered men everywhere now see that the only possible solution is that which we have steadily urged. There are those who will not see it; and we deceive ourselves if we do not prepare for a stiff and long campaign against a powerful party which still strives to make the country draw the false lesson and push it, by demand for great armaments, into intensifying here the very evil which has wrought the ruin in Europe. . . . It would not be less than a crime against humanity if we, at such an hour, safest of nations and never so safe as in the long exhaustion of all the European nations which must follow the war, should be

betrayed into leading or supporting the forces of reaction, instead of leading bravely in the policy of progress."

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Toward Permanent Peace.

The Woman's Peace Party, headquarters of which are Hull House, Chicago, is prominent in The (New York) Independent of January 25. All women readers are urged to join, and the remarkable leaflet sent out by the party just after its organization on January 10 is printed in full. For the same Independent, one of the Peace Party's four vice-chairmen, Anna Carlin Spencer, writes a fine article entitled "Women and War," illustrated by portraits of Jane Addams, the Peace Party's Chairman, and a group of its other officers, including Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Thacher Post. "All enlightened and free women," writes Mrs. Spencer, "especially those of neutral countries, should make a protest, compelling in its solemn appeal, against war as the supreme outrage on the moral nature of humanity. On a sure sense of ethical values rests all the permanent progress of the race; war, and the things that make for war, give a dual and self-contradictory direction to the idealism of youth, and to the ethical judgment of maturity. . . . The dependence upon "the judgment of battle," among nations as among individuals, has long been the supreme atheism; it denies the sovereignty of truth and justice."*



There has been formed in Holland, as reported in the January Advocate of Peace (Boston), the Dutch Anti-War Council (Nederlandsche Anti-Oorlog Raad, 31 Theresiastraat, The Hague) composed of representatives of all organizations in Holland which are interested in a lasting peace at the end of this war. The Council states its objects in a manifesto to the Dutch people: "(1) A study of the causes which have led to the present war and which might lead to new wars in the future. (2) An examination of the means by which a conclusion of the present war might be promoted and a peace concluded which would not carry the seeds of new wars in it. (3) A study of the consequences of the present war on economic, moral, and intellectual aspects of life. (4) A consideration of the reforms which will have to be made in national and international relations so as to prevent wars in the future. (5) The formation of a strong national and international organization of all pacifists."

A. L. G.



A Triumph of Pacifism.

In "The last phase of the great war, the German invasion of America," Ray Stannard Baker, in a fanciful sketch in the American Magazine for January, gives a clever account of the practical workings of pacifism. After Germany had triumphed over the Allies she realized that her victory would not be complete until she had subdued the United States,

*See Public of January 29 at page 110.

and forthwith set about the task. The question of meeting this invasion at once aroused a keen contest between the militarists and the pacifists of America. The discussion was carried on with great heat in Congress, in the press, and throughout the country. But the tide turned finally in favor of the pacifists on account of a speech by a woman. "I was against war," she says, "on principle in time of peace. How much more am I against war now that it threatens us with the horrors that we so recently have beheld on the battle fields of Europe? I will say to the Germans that I do not hate them. I have no cause to hate them, and I refuse to kill them. I refuse to kill them, and then hide my stained hands in the folds of any flag." The triumph of the pacifists over the militarists led to the disarmament of the country in the face of the approaching invasion. This of course was misunderstood by the war-maddened Germans, who entered New York's undefended harbor with great caution, and landed their army on Long Island. The clever way in which Mr. Baker describes the change of sentiment in this country, the natural course of events, and the final outcome, is a most fascinating piece of literary work, and should be read by every one having at heart the progress of civilization.

S. C.

On Democracy.

Democracy is "a state of social consciousness," says Joseph Dana Miller in an essay on "The Difficulties of Democracy" in the January number of the International Journal of Ethics (Rumford Press, Concord, N. H.). No political expedients, in the author's opinion, will in themselves bring democracy. So long as the mass of mankind is to be swayed by the opportunity for bread that it wants and has not, so

long will democracy be only a name. Direct Legislation, for instance, will not insure democracy; for every man needs leisure to study legislative measures and candidates' characters, and wide-awake leisure is what very few men now have. Thus is political democracy dependent on economic democracy—the equality of opportunity.

A. L. G.

"Mamma, mayn't I go to the fancy dress ball as a milkmaid?"

"You're too small."

"Well, can't I be a condensed milkmaid?"—Beck's Weekly.

"Then you don't think I practice what I preach, eh?" queried the minister, in talking with one of the deacons at a meeting.

"No, sir, I don't" replied the deacon. "You've been preachin' on the subject of resignation for two years, an' ye haven't resigned yet."—Tit-Bits.

The following witticism is ascribed to the late Senator Hoar. The Senator once had a dear friend ill with appendicitis and was becoming uneasy, when a letter announced joyfully that the surgeons had

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declared the illness not appendicitis, after all, but acute indigestion. "That is good news," said the Senator. "I rejoice that the difficulty lay in the table of contents rather than in the appendix."—Sacred Heart Review.



"Look here!" said an excited man to a druggist. "You gave me morphine for quinine this morning."

"Is that so?" replied the druggist. "Then you owe me twenty-five cents."—Christian Register.



Tom, five years old, sat looking at a plate of cold tongue.

"What's that?" he asked at last.

"Cold tongue," was the answer.

CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

Feb. 5—Discussion of Methods of Propaganda. 508 Schiller Building, 8 p. m.

Feb. 6—Dance in Hamlin Park Hall. Admission Free by ticket.

Feb. 12—Louis P. Lochner, Secretary The Chicago Peace Society, "Some Lessons of the Great War."

Otto Cullman,
President.

E. J. Batten,
Business Secretary.

"Are you going to eat it?"

"Certainly."

"Well, have you ever had any before?"

"Yes."

"Did I eat it?"

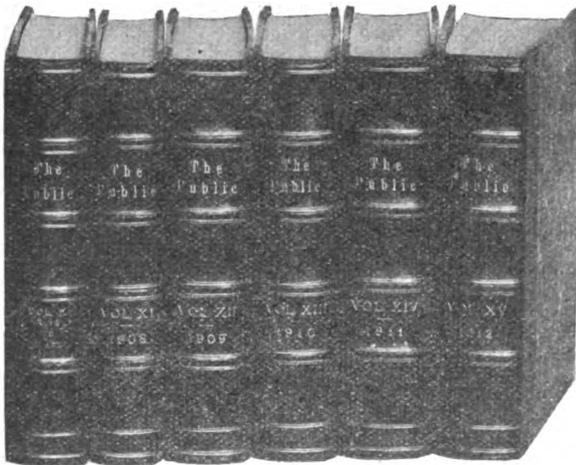
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