

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and  
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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CHICAGO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1915.

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## EDITORIAL

### The Forestry Question.

In Part Two of this issue of The Public is presented a proposition in regard to forest conservation. Appended thereto is a coupon for those who wish to be heard on the matter. These coupons should be sent, when filled in, to the address of the committee as given thereon.      S. D.



### Children and Hogs.

It is interesting to compare the findings of the Children's Bureau, in its investigations into the causes of infant mortality, with the suggestions of the Agricultural Department for the housing of hogs, cattle, and other farm animals. Contrasting the picture of the ordinary tenement with the latest conception of hog pens and cow barns, one gets the impression that it pays to take care of hogs and cows.      S. O.



### Fortunate Houston.

Intelligence and progressiveness were clearly displayed by the people of Houston, Texas, on February 16. On that day they re-elected Joseph J. Pastoriza by a vote of 5659 to 1663 as Land and Tax Commissioner. The issue was the Houston Plan of Taxation which Mr. Pastoriza instituted four years ago and under which land values are assessed and taxed at a higher rate than improvements. Mr. Pastoriza stood squarely for reelection on continuation of this plan. His opponent stood for taxation of improvements on the same basis as land values. He made a vigorous campaign while Mr. Pastoriza merely announced his position in two advertisements and trusted to the voters to think for themselves. The result shows how four years' experience has affected public opinion. It not only discloses confidence in Mr. Pastoriza and appreciation of his public services, but it is an emphatic endorsement of the principle that taxes should be so levied as to exempt

labor products and to make land values the source of public revenue. Houston deserves admiration on the part of the many less fortunate cities of the country.

S. D.



### Voluntary Blindness.

There is an anecdote of a countryman who, after getting for the first time a good look at a camel, turned about and said: "There ain't no such animal." That countryman had about the same kind of a mind as the man who in spite of all experience still declares the general property tax an ideal system. It explains why, with the working of the Houston system of taxation before him, a member of the Texas legislature, named Haxthausen, still demands "constitutional taxation." It explains why the Fort Worth Star-Telegram in its issue of February 19 shuts its eyes to facts and logic and declares:

Just and uniform taxation for all classes and kinds of property not already in the exempted list appears to be about the only thing that a consistent Democrat can consistently stand for.

It is a queer kind of consistency that will declare at the same time for just taxation of all kinds of property, and uniform taxation of all kinds of property. The two expressions are contradictory. Uniform taxation does not distinguish between property produced by human labor and property that nature has produced. Just taxation does so distinguish. Uniform taxation does not distinguish between values created by the individuals possessing them and values created by others than the legal owners. Just taxation does make such a distinction. Uniform taxation does not take into consideration whether it will discourage industry or encourage it; whether it robs the person taxed or takes for the State what justly belongs to it. Just taxation is based on such considerations. If the Fort Worth paper and Legislator Haxthausen would be of some service to their constituencies they must get out of the "There-ain't-no-such-animal" class.

S. D.



### Getting to the Land.

Much interest has been aroused during the last few months by efforts to get the unemployed upon the land. Since man can live nowhere but on the land, the spectacle of idle land and idle men has been a little too much for the self-complacency of the smug standpatter. And the efforts made by organizations, political bodies, and individuals, looking to the moving of the unemployed out upon the idle hands, have received at least the sympathetic encouragement of the general public. But

upon every side the complaint is heard that there is no adequate means for bringing the two together. Pliable and tractable as human nature is, it is not an easy task to set a carpenter, or a blacksmith who may be out of a job, to growing onions and cabbage. Men have not only their trades and callings, but they have their states of mind; and when these have endured for twenty to fifty years they are not easily changed. Consequently, it is a difficult matter, with the present machinery at hand, to find the particular person among the unemployed who is fitted for the particular onion or cabbage patch that is available.



Thus are we again brought face to face with the differences between the ways of man and the ways of nature. As well try to add a cubit to our stature by taking thought as to arbitrarily direct man in his ways. The machinery for putting man upon the land, which seems to be so painfully lacking in the present emergency, is already in operation in the commercial life of the nation. It is daily and hourly distributing men over the earth, in city, town, and country, putting some in mines, others in forests, and upon the sea and the farm, governed everywhere by the one guide to human activities, the individual's own inclination, and everywhere correcting the mistakes by moving them from one place to another. Not all of the scientists, philosophers, and social reformers, have devised or suggested anything approaching in the remotest degree the completeness and thoroughness of this system. Nor has the wisdom of the age been able to suggest one improvement, save only to remove the laws that interfere with the system's free operation. Nature, when she made the bird to mount into the air, and the flower to turn toward the sun, endowed man with the instinct to go to the earth. It is only because human laws stand between him and the object of his desire that we have an idle land and an idle man at the same time. Remove these laws that empower the few who stand between man and land to collect toll of the many for the use of the bounties of nature, and efforts to get man to go upon the land will be as unnecessary as a school to teach fish to swim.

S. C.



### Easy Money.

While the city of Chicago is wrestling with the problem of the unemployed, and the newspapers are filled with accounts of the various undertakings to relieve the situation, the Tribune prints a

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## The Singletax in Relation to Forestry

Being a Preliminary Report of the Forestry Resolution Committee Authorized by the 1914 Joseph Fels Fund Conference.

The following resolution was offered for adoption at the Joseph Fels Fund Conference, held in Washington, D. C., January 15-17, 1914, by Mr. Louis S. Murphy, and was seconded by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, both of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The conservation of our forests is vital to the prosperity of every citizen and every industry and to the continued welfare of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The taxing annually, as a land value, of the value of standing timber is unjust, encourages the premature cutting of the forests and discourages the practice of forestry by which a new forest crop may most surely be secured; and

WHEREAS, The Singletax movement stands for conservation in its most fundamental and comprehensive form;

BE IT RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this conference that the Singletax as applied to forest lands should provide for:

(1) *An annual tax on the value of the bare land for that purpose to which it is best adapted by its location and physical character; and*

(2) *a "cutting" or "yield" tax on all timber matured in the virgin forests, the tax to be collected from the timberland owner when said timber is actually cut; the stumpage value at the time of cutting being taken as the basis for the tax; and*

(3) *the exemption from taxation of all planted or other forms of "second growth" forests grown and matured under man's supervision.*

Mr. Murphy's remarks in support of his resolution were as follows:

"With the constantly widening circle of interest which the Singletax is commanding in the United States as well as in other countries, I believe we owe it to ourselves as well as to those whom we invite to join with us not only to make the principle clear, but to devote some little attention to pointing out its general application. For various reasons attention has thus far centered on making clear the application of the tax to land—that is, land surface apart from the natural resources in water, minerals and forests. The fundamental idea there is to tax away the rental each year as it is produced, thereby forcing the land to its highest use. When we go beyond the mere surface considerations of land and say that the values of all natural opportunities are land values, without making it clear that we nevertheless recognize a difference in the form of the land value requiring a modified application of the tax, we lay ourselves open to being misunderstood.\*

The difference between timber and soil in the virgin forest is not alone that of external appearance. They differ in their form of value and they differ as to the kind of rental each is capable of yielding. If we had been trained to think of all values which attach to land as "rent," the first of these differences would need no explanation. Instead, our conception of land value is firmly linked with a capitalized value, and it is because we allow ourselves to generalize from that point that a misconception arises.

When we deal in a timberland transaction involving the virgin forest we are dealing with two

classes of values. The first of these, the value of the land surface, is a capitalized value; the second, that of the timber, is rent, uncapitalized. When we purchase land we purchase, among other things, the privilege of collecting the "soil rent," but when we purchase the standing timber we purchase the "timber rent" itself. In other words, *the stumpage price of timber in the virgin forest is the premium (or "rent") which the lumberman pays to the landowner for the privilege of logging a particular piece of timber in place of another, less accessible or of poorer quality, where the same expenditure of labor force would produce less wealth.*

But why, it may be asked, is not the stumpage value of virgin timber simply the accumulated soil rent? If the timber was the produce of labor it would be that and more. But therein lies the difference between the stumpage value of virgin timber which is "timber rent" and the stumpage value of timber grown by man's exertion, which is "wealth," and comprises accumulated "soil rent" and "wages" (or capital). The timber rent of a virgin forest is directly comparable to the mineral rent of a mine. The land is scarcely more than a storage place for the standing virgin timber and has a rental value entirely apart from it.

There are, of course, other elements in the stumpage value of most virgin timber which has been in private ownership for any considerable time, for the owner may have contributed protection, have built roads and railroads and improved the driving qualities of the stream, each of which would enhance the value of his particular piece of timber. But certainly the net stumpage value, after the human elements have been deducted, is properly "timber rent."



Besides this difference in denominational values of land and timber we have different forms of rental: Strictly speaking, land devoted to the production of timber yields the same kind of rental that the timber does, namely, a periodic one, but as in most forms of production land is capable of yielding up its rental annually, I shall not press the point of making an exception of forested land. With timber, however, we must, it seems to me, recognize and make allowance for this periodicity.

\*Land in its broadest, economic sense comprises the four great divisions of our natural resources, namely, land in the narrower sense of surface area or soil; water, in its relation to water power, irrigation, etc.; minerals, including all mines, quarries, oils, natural gas, etc., and primeval forests. Collectively these comprise land values and the economic use of each involves land rent. But it will be clearer if we recognize the four as yielding each a distinctive kind of rent, namely, soil rent, water rent, mineral rent and timber rent, respectively. Accordingly, this discussion concerns solely soil rent and timber rent.

The forest tree actually yields up its store but once in a generation—and that is when it is mature and is cut. We may trade in the rental which it represents standing in the virgin forest, but the fact remains that the actual rental can only be collected once and by that process the tree is destroyed. Now if the rental is yielded once, is it not logical to tax it once, when it is yielded, as we do the rental of the land itself? Is it not, in fact, quite illogical to collect the rental by fractional annual installments, making it possible for the landowner who cuts his timber now to escape paying the full amount of rental of such timber, while making another owner who may actually be performing a public service by conserving his timber for several years bear an unjust burden of taxation in excess of the full rental which his timber finally yields him?

If we are concerned primarily in forcing the timber into use, then the method of applying the tax annually is the more effective way to go about it. If, however, it is fundamental justice which we seek, the idea of "one rental, one tax" is, in my judgment, the proper one. The timberland owner is by this method being exempted from nothing but an injustice, of which he is as much entitled to be relieved as anyone else. Nor is the public losing anything by this method, for it will get all the advantages of an appreciation in value that the owner would get. Only let it be known that the soil rental will be collected annually and that the timber rental will be collected whenever it is yielded, and I venture to say that the speculative holding of land out of its best and most productive use, in order to collect the rise in value of the virgin timber, will soon cease. At any rate, it is as far as I feel that we should go in attempting to force such timber to be cut. It is, in fact, an entirely parallel procedure to that where the land alone is to be taxed since we would apply the tax in each case when the owner would naturally receive the rental.



There seems to be little occasion for a discussion in detail of the propriety of exempting planted or cultivated forests from taxation under the Singletax plan. Almost without exception every Singletaxer with whom I have talked on this subject accepts the "forest crop" idea at once and admits the reasonableness of exempting it as any other crop would be exempted. Beyond the exemption of this class of forest, however, there exists a difference of opinion, some Singletaxers standing out for a tax on all natural growth. Perhaps, however, we would not find ourselves so far apart after all if each were willing to concede to the other a not too literal definition of the terms "planted or cultivated forest" and "natural growth." I am free to admit that as between the

virgin forest at one end and the strictly artificial forest at the other, it is hard to draw the line exactly if we would go after every last unit of value which smacks of an unearned increment.

It is in the right turning of a phrase defining what is and what is not "planted or cultivated forest" and "natural growth" that the effect of the Singletax on the future practice of forestry in the United States will be measured. I might almost venture to say that we could better afford to keep planted forests on the taxable list than to draw a too fine line on the so-called "second growth."

Market conditions are not such in this country today as to permit our employing methods of artificial regeneration on our forested lands as is done in Germany and other countries abroad. It has consequently been found necessary to develop an independent system of American silviculture to fit our virgin forest conditions. There are two principal objects which this system seeks to attain in the conversion of the virgin forest into the second growth forest. These are to so harvest the virgin crop that the large, mature and highly valuable timber will be released for present use and that the under developed trees below middle size will be conserved uninjured. These latter trees will at best barely cover the cost of their logging and manufacture, because producing a very low grade of material, and they also involve a high percentage of waste. It is upon these trees, too—which we hope to bring to maturity within the next twenty-five or thirty years—that we depend to produce the seed to establish the new crop and to help to extend our diminishing virgin supply. You can see, therefore, why it is essential that we extend the crop idea to include more than merely the planted forests. If we are to recognize the artificially regenerated forest—the planted forest—as the only form of forest to be exempted from taxation and thus place at a disadvantage the development of the vastly more important forms of "second growth" with which our system of American silviculture is chiefly concerned, we shall find ourselves in a very backward and discouraging plight when we come to account to future generations for our stewardship."



Mr. Murphy later presented to this committee the following additional argument:

At first glance the subject seems a rather complicated one, but in reality it is most simple. Since land, according to Henry George, embraces all nature exterior to man himself, we may very properly substitute for "land" in this sense "nature" itself. The Singletax is then a tax which concerns itself solely with natural values, values which labor has had no part in creating, values which arise solely from the competitive demands of population to put the natural elements to productive use.

Certainly the forests the Pilgrim Fathers found

growing on the shores of Massachusetts Bay and extending westward for hundreds of miles in an almost unbroken expanse of wilderness were an element of nature undefiled. There is consequently no question but that the value which resides in what remains of those forests today is clearly a taxable value under the Singletax. There is no valid reason why the user of forest resources should not render to the public a fair return for the privilege. It matters not whether a use of nature involves applying the hoe or other implements, or improvements to the soil in the production of a crop, or the construction of a building; the axe and the saw to the natural forest in the production of logs; the pick to the vein of mineral in the production of ore; or concrete and steel to running water in harnessing its power. In each case there is a value which flows to the owner of these natural opportunities by virtue of the demand for such use and which is irrespective of the labor necessary to be expended in their development.

The justice of the principle which seeks to recover by means of a tax such part at least of these community created values as are needed to support the machinery of government cannot reasonably be called into question. But can we say as much for the justice of applying the Singletax *annually* to natural timber values, as many Singletaxers imply when they advocate taxing the combined value of the timber and the land on which it stands as a land value?

A just principle may too readily be unjustly applied, either through ignorance or design, and the principle thereby becomes discredited. For example, the inheritance tax as at present applied is an entirely legitimate application of the general property tax principle. But supposing instead of a 10 per cent tax for instance being levied at the time an estate passes to the heirs-at-law, the law should provide for the annual taxing of the heirs-at-law on their inheritance-to-be at the general property tax rate on the assumption that they will receive their several portions sometime in the future and on the principle that in the meantime the government must have money to pay its annual running expenses, and consequently can not wait till the present owner of the estate dies and the heirs actually receive their inheritance. Could a law possibly be devised which would put a greater premium on homicide? Would not the son and the daughter feel like making way with the father at the earliest opportunity so that they might be relieved from the further payment of any such unreasonable and burdensome tax?

Absurd and unjust as such a law would be, it is an almost exact parallel to the unenlightened and unjust method by which the timberland owner and the mine owner, for that matter as well, are now taxed, and as many would have them continue to be taxed under the Singletax. The timberland owner bears a similar relation to the growing timber which he owns as the heir does to the estate he is to inherit. The timberland owner receives no more benefit from his timber than does any other member of the community so long as it remains uncut. Yet we tax him as though he profited by it annually. The timber may appreciate in value from year to year through growth or a general rise in value, but such increased value remains an inseparable part of the standing timber as the increased value of a father's estate remains a

part of that estate. Ultimately both the timberland owner and the son will profit from such increases, but when that time comes the State steps in and takes its share of the profit, too, if it has the good sense to tax its timber property as it taxes its inheritances. Nor could the timberland owner under such a regime sell his standing timber and collect the full value for it while shifting his taxes to another, for the value of the tax to be levied in the future would constitute a lien and would be deducted from the stumpage value of the timber in the same way that the value of a mortgage would. It must be evident that to tax timber values annually, even under the general property tax principle, is at least as morally indefensible as to tax inheritances annually. To perpetuate this method under a Singletax regime, therefore, would be to discredit a principle which above all things else seeks to establish justice where now there is injustice.

Morally defensible as is the yield or stumpage tax method of taxing timber under the Singletax, we may well inquire whether such a procedure is justified in economics. Since economic rent is at the foundation of the Singletax principle, this brings us to a consideration of the relationship of the stumpage value of nature-grown timber to economic rent.

Rent is merely a value which flows at his pleasure to anyone possessing natural opportunities that are in demand for use by labor and capital. As one writer has put it, rent is "what the land is worth for use." Applying this separately to the several distinct elements comprising land, we may say that rent is what the land surface or soil, what the forest of nature, what the mineral in the ground and what the waters are "worth for use." Rent is the sole, the fundamental, value which attaches to land—to nature—in an unimproved state.

Both timber and soil, or land surface, are a part of land in the larger economic sense—a part of nature, that is—yet each is a separate and distinct part which functions in its own particular way. The surface part of land, which overshadows all the other natural elements in extent, importance and value, is capable of being used year after year and consequently of yielding to labor an annual return to almost whatever use it may be put. Hence labor is willing to pay annually as rent what each particular acre or square foot of surface is "worth for use." The idea of economic rent as an annual value is thus a most natural one to fall into. But there is absolutely nothing limiting rent exclusively to such an annual value albeit it is the most common. For if the natural state is such that to use is to destroy utterly its state of nature, as is the case when standing timber or an ore deposit is used by being cut or mined, these particular elements of nature are "worth for use" merely the stumpage value per thousand board feet in case of the timber or the royalty value per ton in the case of ore. In other words, both the stumpage value of nature-grown timber and the royalty value of a mineral deposit are rent. But the owner can collect such value from the user of these natural elements but once for each unit used since each particular thousand feet of standing timber can be cut (i. e., used) only once, and the same is true of each ton of ore mined.

With these fundamental differences in rental val-

ues clearly in mind, let us see where the plan of taxing both timber and soil, or site, values in the same uniform manner will lead us. Take, for instance, the effect of a 1 per cent tax on a tract of bare land and on a body of timber each valued at \$500. The \$500 value as applied to the land would be a capitalized value based on an annual rental, let us assume, of \$25. A 1 per cent tax on the land value consequently would amount to \$5, taking one-fifth or 20 per cent of the rental. A similar tax on the timber value—that is, its stumpage value—which is entirely a rental value, while it would take exactly the same amount, namely \$5, would take in reality but one one-hundredth of the rental. Is it not clear that such a method of applying the Singletax, which aims to take rental values solely, is extremely inequitable as between different natural elements, such as lands and forests? Is it not clear that in applying the Singletax to the timber value in the example under consideration, the timber value would either have to be taxed twenty successive years at the 1 per cent rate or be subjected to one 20 per cent yield tax in order that the two classes of rentals might be equally taxed?

The annual tax plan would involve administrative complications too obvious and too numerous to mention. With the yield tax plan in operation, however, it must be evident that a community in which a body of timber is situated would lose nothing ultimately by waiting to tax the timber when it was cut, except possibly the present use of or the interest on the amount a 20 per cent tax would yield now if levied on the present stumpage value. This loss, however, should be more than offset by the greater taxable value ten or twenty years hence, or whenever the yield tax is collected, due to a rise in stumpage prices, when the community would take its share of the profits with the timber owner.

There is yet to be considered the matter of expediency. Is it good policy to let the timber owner hold his timber as long as he pleases? Will it not retard development in the community and encourage timber speculation and monopoly? Should we not tax the timber annually to force it into use on the same principle that we tax land? Increasing the tax on the value of an immovable and indestructible element such as the land tends unquestionably to force it to its highest use. It is self-evident, however, that the reverse must be true as regards a movable and destructible element like timber.

From the purely silvicultural standpoint of the forester it can not be denied that to cut off all the virgin forest growth as rapidly as possible would be desirable. Wood produced by such growth as takes place in the virgin forest scarcely more than offsets the loss through death and decay. Replaced by a young and vigorous forest on the other hand, there would not only be more wood produced, but there would be little or no waste and decay. Yet we have scarcely made a beginning in the growing of these new forests. The reforestation of denuded lands in government ownership alone will take several decades and on top of that many more decades will be required before these new forests begin to yield a supply of usable products. This is equally true of forest land in private ownership.

In the meantime, we must have a supply of timber

and our virgin forests with what saving we can effect by conservative utilization and the substitution of other materials for wood wherever possible must be made to furnish that supply. The government timber supply can not begin to handle this situation. We must look to the private timber holdings in large measure to bridge the gap. The hoarding of timber consequently for the next twenty to fifty years under certain circumstances will be far from a thing for a man to be cried down and punished for. Henry George himself in one instance went so far as to say, "Where public policy forbids anything that would hasten the cutting of timber, natural timber might be considered an improvement, like planted timber, which would not add to taxable value." Public policy undoubtedly at the present time demands that we use every means to encourage conservative measures in handling our present timber supply, though we need not go so far in the matter of taxation as to exempt it from taxes ultimately and entirely.

It must be remembered, too, that the local community has no such direct influence in creating the value of natural timber and mineral resources as it has in creating soil or site values. Both of the first named natural resources may have a value where there is no local community at all. The standard of value is more nearly a world standard, and the chief consideration in any particular instance is the cost of transporting the products of these natural resources to the markets of the world. The local community though is a factor, and often an important one, in giving to a forest its full value, and this is particularly true of the virgin forest wherein are mixed indiscriminately woods of considerable value and those of little or no value.

As it is now only a little more than half the wood in the tree is utilized in American logging operations as against a utilization of 90 to 95 per cent in countries like Germany. Nor is this entirely the fault of our lumbermen. I heard one say not so long ago that the lumbermen would be glad to bring out of the woods the branches, the roots and even the holes in the ground where the roots had been if they could find anyone who would buy them at a price that would cover merely their labor cost. The nearer the selling value of a forest product approaches the labor cost of marketing such product the nearer the market must be, due to the cost of transportation. The lumber industry in the United States today is periodically embarrassed by overproduction in the lower grades of lumber. They can dispose of all and more than they are now cutting of first quality stock, but the local market in and near our principal lumbering regions is distinctly limited. Here then is where the local community comes in; it provides a market for cheap lumber, cordwood, fence posts, poles and a variety of other similar commodities made from low grade material which must otherwise be left in the woods and be wasted. The presence of local communities in close proximity to the forests is the secret of Germany's high utilization.

The first result of attempting to tax a forest into use would be to force the cutting of the most valuable woods and products since the owner could thereby salvage the bulk of the value subjected to taxation. This would, however, profit the local com-

munity scarcely at all. They could not buy any cheaper, for such grades of products, which bring a price independent of the local market, would be profitably shipped to the populous centers, and even abroad. Nor would they gain much from an increased demand for labor, for the mills would cut but little more in quantity, but would merely substitute a larger cut of high grade logs for an equal amount of low grade which they now cut. Then, too, in the haste to realize the maximum of value the logging would be carried on at top speed and recklessly. Only the choicest parts of the trees which were cut would be taken out of the woods. The inferior and worthless species would be left standing or be broken down by the felling of the trees of the better sort. Thus the ground would be so encumbered as to be a constant and serious menace from fire, as well as to be almost useless for the carrying on of either forestry or agriculture. By such a penny-wise-pound-foolish policy the community would suffer a reduction in taxable value and would inherit as well a condition causing a tremendous drain on its resources in the prevention of fire and the bringing of the area back into productive condition.

Some doubtless might suggest legislation to prevent such conditions developing, the establishment of a forestry board or commission, for instance, to regulate cutting and enforce protection and reforestation. But such a proposition would hardly appeal to any considerable number of Singletaxers, particularly on second thought. It would be too much on the order of anti-trust legislation, with the workings of which as a regulator of monopoly we are all too familiar. We must not allow ourselves to be misled into thinking we can apply the Singletax in a manner to encourage the owners of timber to practice destructive lumbering and then counteract that tendency by regulative measures to force them to practice constructive forestry.\*

It may not even now be clear that the policy of leaving the timber owner to decide when he shall cut his timber will not retard the development of a community. While there may not be any pressure exerted directly on the timber to force its cutting, there is this to be remembered, that the land on which the timber stands is subject to an annual tax upon its own independent value. In the absence of a local community, the land will have little or no value and will consequently go practically untaxed. A growing community, however, will cause the land to have an increasing value accompanied by a proportionately increased tax. It will finally reach a point where the pressure of the community will be great enough so that the owner can no longer afford to hold the land itself idle, a mere storage place for his timber, but will be compelled to put it to a higher and more productive use. He will then cut his timber as a first step, for even though the soil is true forest soil, he will want to secure the productive value it is capable of yielding under a thrifty forest growth.

\*It must not be assumed from this that the writer does not believe that any regulative legislation in the interests of the public welfare is needed, for there is grave need of it. Taxation, just or unjust, is a small factor in promoting present wasteful methods of timber exploitation.

On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that any such contingency could arise as to occasion the land tax to work a hardship on an owner by compelling him to sacrifice on his timber before it would pay to cut it. Virgin timber invariably becomes valuable sooner and appreciates in value faster than the land does on which it is growing.

There were some at the Fels Fund Conference who raised the objection to the proposed method of taxing the stumpage value of virgin and other forms of exclusively nature-grown timber that it would constitute a tax on industry. That this is not so can perhaps best be shown by an explanation of how the stumpage value of such timber is at present determined. The price which manufactured lumber of a given quality brings per thousand feet board measure at the nearest market is first ascertained, and from this is deducted what it will cost to convert and deliver to that market an equivalent unit of timber. The amount remaining after deducting such necessary labor and capital costs, including a reasonable operating profit, will constitute the stumpage price per thousand board feet for the timber. It would matter not at all how little or how much the owner had paid for his timber he could get only so much for it. Any tax on that value, therefore, would be borne solely by the owner of the standing timber. And whether or not such a tax would constitute a tax on industry would depend on how much labor and capital had been expended in producing the timber which he had for sale. In the case of virgin timber this would be very little, chiefly represented by carrying costs such as protection from fire, trespass and the like, which could be deducted from the gross amount before applying the tax.

As to the stumpage value of timber produced by man's efforts through the practice of forestry, such a value would constitute true forest capital arising from the application of labor to the soil. It would, therefore, be no more subject to taxation under the Singletax than a crop of wheat. It will be some years, yet, however, before any such forest crop will represent as complete a capital value as does the wheat crop at present. So long as a sufficient supply of virgin and natural second growth forests remain to set the standard of timber values with which the cultivated forest must compete, so long, in most instances, will it be unprofitable for a man to practice forestry with the same degree of intensity that he can agriculture now. If, however, he practices as intensive forestry as conditions will permit, he should not, in my judgment, be taxed if he cannot show a full 100 per cent labor value in his crop.

It must also be borne in mind that the element of time is a most important factor in the practice of forestry, whereas in agriculture it is almost negligible. The farmer sows and plants in April, cultivates in May, June, July and August, and harvests in September. Such obligations as he contracts for seed, fertilizer, wages, taxes and general running expenses in the spring and through the summer are liquidated in the fall or early winter by the sale of his crop, paid off within the year at least, so that his interest account is a compara-

tively small item. But how about the timber farmer, the silviculturist? He plants an acre of new forest today at a cost of \$10 in labor and young trees, which he or his successors will harvest, let us say, fifty years hence. Do you realize what that single day's investment of \$10 would amount to if it were to be invested at 5 per cent interest and forgotten for fifty years? It would be worth the tidy sum of \$114.67! And so it would be with every dollar in labor or capital invested throughout the time the crop was maturing. Thus the simple matter of taxes on the land alone at, say 10 cents a year, would accumulate with interest to \$20.93. It is thus readily seen that the agriculturist can afford to invest in labor and capital a much larger amount than the silviculturist can, even though the forest crop may yield a much greater gross return than the field crop. The point to all of which is that even in the case of second growth forests, upon which the owner has apparently bestowed but slight attention, we can not now draw too fine a line in deciding to tax his return from its sale.

There remains only to be added that the proposal to relieve standing timber from an annual tax, substituting therefor a cutting or yield tax, is no new and untried proposition. The method has been advocated for many years by technical foresters and students of forest taxation in the United States. And as a result of this campaign the principle has been enacted into law under varying degrees of restriction as to operation in such progressive forestry states as Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan. All the author has done, or claims to have done, therefore, is to translate this advanced forest taxation principle into Singletax terms, thus bringing the Singletax movement into the van of progress in the effort to conserve one of our most valuable natural resources. Under the General Property tax application of this forest tax plan, all forests would be taxed as indicated in proposition 2 of the resolution. The Singletax similarly applied, while safeguarding the forests of nature from unjust taxation to a like degree, offers even greater encouragement to forestry, as it does to all industry, by exempting from taxation values arising from the expenditure of labor or capital in production. Hence it exempts from taxation forests grown under man's supervision, proposition 3.

The resolution then proposes expressly to tax when cut the timber which has grown and matured in the virgin forest because clearly this represents to a large extent a natural value, which under the Singletax should be taxed. The resolution further proposes to untax or exempt from taxation planted and all other forms of second growth forests grown and matured under man's supervision, since their labor value is largely a capital value. The further question as to whether or not, and to what extent to tax second growth forests matured largely or entirely under natural conditions and with little or no aid or attendance from man is a matter solely of administrative detail in carrying out the general principles as formulated above, and was purposely left out of consideration in the resolution therefore as not being within its scope and purpose to define.

## APPENDIX.

The urgent necessity of crystallizing the views of Singletaxers regarding the rational application of the Singletax to forest lands is emphasized by the following extract from the report of the Fifth National Conservation Congress referred to in the first paper of this supplement:

**"Singletax" a Danger to Forestry.\***

The single tax, applied to forests, forces cutting regardless of demand. This means the utter waste of all but the choicest part of the tree; the export to foreign countries, hence the loss to us, of the surplus above our present wants; and the early destruction of a source of tax revenue which should be stable and enduring. It also means the wrecking of the great-majority class of lumberman—the small independent men who have no great financial backing—and placing the control of lumber prices with those who are in position to take advantage of the situation without the slightest benefit to the consumer or any desirable effect of distributing forests among small hands, such as is argued by single-taxers in the case of farm lands. It means only over-cutting and, to accomplish this as economically as possible, only by the largest and perfectly organized operations such as require great capital. With respect to the growing of new forests, to supply the future consumer, continue a tax revenue, and preserve streamflow, the result would be even more suicidal, for destruction of the project would be attended with no salvage whatever. The forests simply would not be grown.

The only alternative to these evils, under single tax, would be to separate forests from land absolutely, regarding the former as improvements, a distinction impossible to arrive at justly and practically

(\*) Fifth National Conservation Congress, Forestry Committee. Advance Copy of Paper on The Present State of Forest Tax Legislation; Basic Principles of Wise Forest Taxation, with Definite Suggestions for Legislation; The Taxation of Forests in Europe; and Bibliography of Forest Taxation, by the Sub-Committee on Forest Taxation. Chairman, Gifford Pinchot, Washington, D. C. Acting Chairman, F. R. Fairchild, New Haven, Conn.; H. S. Drinker, South Bethlehem, Pa.; E. T. Allen, Portland, Ore.; E. M. Griffith, Madison, Wis., Washington, D. C., November 18, 19 and 20, 1913.

(\*\*) May doubtless be obtained gratis from the association at its offices, Yeon Building, Portland, Oregon.

## FOREST TAXATION AND THE SINGLETAX \*

By Louis S. Murphy.

The report of the sub-committee on taxation of the Fifth National Conservation Congress last November would lead one to believe that the adoption of the Singletax would not leave a tree standing or even permit one to grow; in other words, would force the destruction of the forests and absolutely discourage anyone from attempting the

\*Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, Gorham, N. H., July, 1914.

Reprinted from Forestry Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, December, 1914.

ever be considered seriously in any forest community, it will be highly necessary to exempt forest lands wholly from its application, either by continuing them under the old general property tax or preferably placing them under a yield tax system which, in under conditions grading from virgin forests to purely man-grown reproduction with even the former existent to a certain but unmeasurable degree because of fire protection afforded by the owner. It is wholly unlikely that the public would seriously consider exempting all speculatively owned forests from taxation. To continue regarding them as land, under single tax, would have the destructive effect described. To exempt them but compensate by increasing the tax on the land which bears them would require over-taxing identical land, now denuded but which should be reforested, so that reforestation would be impossible. Consequently, should single tax effect, applies the income-tax principle to this class of property.

The significance of the above indictment of Singletax is manifest when one considers the standing throughout the country of the National Conservation Congress and remembers that it is organized for the serious purpose of promoting the interest of the country at large in the right use and conservation of our great natural resources. Another instance of the same sort is a circular of some thirty odd pages recently published by the Western Forestry and Conservation Association entitled "The Case Against the Singletax."\*\*

Aside from quoting the most telling parts of the report of the Conservation Congress reprinted above, the publication is largely devoted to the recitation of arguments directed against the whole Singletax movement as the only means available for saving the forestry situation. It is an able publication and brings together the best that the opposition has to offer against Singletax. It presents no new material, no new arguments which could not be readily met by any one versed in Singletax, yet with the reputation and the publicity facilities of this association behind it, its effect on the progress of the Singletax movement in the Pacific Northwest can not but be severely felt.

practice of forestry. This conclusion doubtless has as a basis the general statement of Singletax propagandists to the effect that "virgin forests are a part of land, a free gift of nature, and should consequently be taxed as land or as a land value." On the strength of such a statement this assumption follows that the value of the land and the value of the timber are to be added together and taxed on an annual basis.

But the assumption is in error in at least two fundamental particulars. The assumption first of all ignores the fact that the term "land" has an economic as well as a common meaning. It is patent that if interpreted in its economic sense the above statement is perfectly intelligible and clear: otherwise it is not. Land in the economic sense

comprises all the elements of nature, the rocks and soil, the forests, the minerals and the waters. When it is understood that the above basic statement simply means, therefore, that the forest—the virgin growth—is a part of nature and that its value should consequently be taxed as a natural value, must we conclude that the only way open to us is to tax it as land surface is taxed? Herein lies the second error in the committee's assumption that it is necessary on the theory that being a Singletax there can be but one way to apply it, or some Singletaxer may have said so, misled, undoubtedly, by the archaic general property tax idea.

The Singletax is simply a tax on the utility values in nature. There is nothing whatever in either the spirit or the letter of the Singletax doctrine requiring that timber be taxed annually. There is, consequently, nothing in reason to prevent the tax being applied in the form of a cutting or yield tax. In fact, it can be shown that such method of application is the one simple and sensible way to apply it to timber and mineral resources as well. Both of these resources have a utility value entirely different from the utility value of either the soil or a water right. The two latter may be used, so far as we know, year after year, indefinitely, and it is therefore proper that they be taxed annually. But a given group of trees in the forest or a given portion of a vein of ore once cut or mined may not be so utilized again. That value which attaches to them in their natural state, therefore, cannot justly be taxed more times than it can be taken from nature. In the

case of the forest, nature may produce more trees in the same place, but their value will be a new and entirely distinct value.

And if, therefore, we tax a piece of virgin timbered land by laying an annual tax on the market value of the bare ground and a yield tax on the value of any timber that is cut, how will this force the destruction of our forests? Such a method of taxing forests, the committee tells us in the main body of its report, will not force the cutting and destruction of our forests, but will aid in their conservation and conversion into well-managed and regulated forests.

The committee's fear that the adoption of the Singletax will operate to the detriment of the practice of forestry may likewise be set at rest. As a tax exclusively levied upon natural values, labor and capital values of all kinds are expressly exempted under the Singletax. Now those who have attempted to practice forestry themselves or have induced others to do so know that it involves the investment of both labor and capital. So that to the extent that forestry is practiced under a Singletax regime there would, to that extent at least, be a decrease in taxes on the value of the forest until with the planted or regulated forest there would be no tax on the value of the forest at all. The soil would, of course, be taxed annually according to its market value as it should be. Instead, therefore, of being destructive in its effects, the Singletax would be constructive so far as our forests and forestry are concerned, whether applied to the virgin forest, the planted forest or any of the transitional forms.

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I am in entire agreement with the foregoing and ask that you record your vote on the ballot provided below for that purpose and that you return the same promptly. Those particularly who do not agree with the proposals of the resolution are urged to send in with their ballots any criticisms they may have to offer so that the committee may have the full benefit of such criticism in its work of summarizing the ballot.

Respectfully submitted,  
**JAMES H. DILLARD, Chairman.**

February 22, 1915.

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The Forestry Resolution Committee,  
 Care Joseph Fels Fund Commission,  
 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Gentlemen:

I desire to be recorded as . . . favorable to the adoption of the forestry resolution defining the correct principles for applying the Singletax to forests.

Very truly yours,  
 Name .....  
 Address .....  
 .....

.....1915.  
 (date)

Please do not fail to vote and to return promptly with any criticisms you may have to make. Your name and address are essential.

full page advertisement of its own, calling the attention of the world to the fact that Chicago lands are a good investment. Note this:

Ten years ago a man bought a lot in a Chicago truck garden. That same lot sold less than a month ago for \$90,000. Of course this man made his investment with foresight and discrimination. There are several corners within the limits of the city of Chicago which a few years ago were truck gardens, and are today worth many thousands of dollars. Some of these corners are changing hands at very big prices, five figure prices. There will be other parcels of outlying Chicago real estate which will make as big profits for the purchasers, and in as short a time. But the men who will reap these profits will be the men who shall have seriously considered Chicago. Nearly every investor who has purchased outside business property in Chicago during the last five years has made money. To realize profits from such investments required no extraordinary talent, no "inside information." The values were there, and those who took advantage of them made the consequent profits.

The advertisement goes on to show that prices are still low, and that there yet remain fortunes in Chicago land.



Of course there are fortunes in Chicago lands; and each person holding land thinks to get a fortune, and so lets the land lie idle. And the jobless men blame the war, the tariff, the Democratic party, the Administration, anything and everything—except the one thing that stands between them and a job.

s. c.



### A Millionaire's Opportunity.

The New Republic takes exception to Shaw's simple formula for the guidance of millionaires in their attempts to render service to the people in a way that will not pauperize them, and suggests this task for Mr. Rockefeller:

He could, if he had the vision and the courage, make real experiment in the management of industry. He might in some large industry which he controls try out the combination of high wages, model working conditions, and consumers' and workers' representation in the management. He could create an industrial laboratory which might with skillful and honest direction be used to test out theories. The freedom to take risks and make mistakes is the real opportunity of a man like Mr. Rockefeller.

Such an experiment, if honestly conducted, would be interesting and might be productive of good. But unless the various elements that go to make up business were carefully separated, and each credited with its proper effect, the simple tabulating of results might be of little benefit. The mere raising of wages in a single occupation would

prove nothing. It has been the practice of a certain national paving company when it goes into a city to do work, to pay street labor five cents an hour more than the prevailing wage. This brings to them the best men in the employ of their rivals, and it keeps their own men keyed to a high pitch in order to retain their places. High wages with this company is a lucrative investment. Yet a part of this advantage would be lost if all the companies met the rise in wages. For then each would have some of the poor labor, and the good labor would not have the same incentive to greater effort. The particular industry that Mr. Rockefeller turned into an industrial laboratory might be enjoying some special privilege that enabled it to obtain an extra profit. Or it might have an exceptional advantage in the field of manufacture, such as that of the Ford Automobile company, which would prevent the deductions from being applicable to all industry.



There is a field, however, in which such an experiment could be made productive of vast good. Let Mr. Rockefeller continue his business as he has conducted it in the past, but let him put in a new system of bookkeeping that shall take into account all the items entering into the operation. Let him introduce into this account the item of economic rent. Let him show of his oil industry, for instance, how much of the investment represents capital, and how much land. Let him place this industry—in his accounts—on a competitive basis that will show the amount of the product that goes to labor as wages, the amount that goes to capital as interest, and the amount that goes to land as rent. That will be an experiment worth while. We shall then know beyond a shadow of a doubt what ails business, and why labor is poorly paid. We shall understand why, in spite of greater efforts in public welfare work and the increasing kindness of the human heart, the most conspicuous products of modern progress are millionaires and tramps; both of whom are unintentional, and each of whom, in character building, suffers from an undeserved handicap.

s. c.



### Good Citizenship and Economic Justice.

How good citizenship is discouraged and destroyed by existing economic conditions was made clear by Dr. Arthur T. Hadley, president of Yale, in an address to his students on February 19. Dr. Hadley is reported as follows:

The man who makes politics a profession and has a wife and children dependent upon him, is

sooner or later going to be forced into the position where, for the sake of his wife and children, he will have the choice of doing what is not quite right and staying in office, or doing that which is right and getting out of office and permitting his wife and children to starve, and a man cannot see his wife and children starve. No man under present conditions in the United States has a right to go into politics unless he is of independent means.

So, according to Dr. Hadley, politics must be left principally to beneficiaries of prevailing conditions. Others must resign their right as citizens. But does not the doctor see another alternative? Does he not see that the very conditions he describes condemn the economic system that makes them possible? Instead of keeping out of politics would it not be better for men, threatened with loss of citizenship, to use their political rights, while they may, to change the system? Dr. Hadley has been professor of political economy. It is to be taken for granted, therefore, until otherwise proven, that he has a thorough knowledge of the principles of that science. He must know then that failure to make our statute laws square with correct economic principles is the cause of conditions under which it is possible for a man turned out of office, to be forced to face the possibility of starvation. He must know that the remedy is to correct that error. Neglect of the remedy he has shown, produces conditions fatal to good citizenship. Can a good citizen do less than, than assist the forces attacking the fundamental evils underlying our unjust social conditions?

S. D.



### Dangerous Social Conditions.

The fact that a former bank president has been twice arrested in New York City for begging on the street is an extreme illustration of existing conditions under which even the wealthy are in danger of being reduced to poverty and destitution. All classes are equally interested in changing this state of affairs. It would be better that there be fewer chances to become multi-millionaires and more chances to earn a moderate living. It were better to be penniless in state of society wherein all who wish to work have opportunities open to them, than to have great wealth when its loss must mean starvation and destitution.

S. D.



### An Opportunity for Suffragists.

It may be doubted if the friendly challenge of the New Republic to the Woman's Peace Party is entirely fair. When the women declare that

"planned-for, legalized, wholesale, human slaughter is to-day the sum of all villainies," and that, "as women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war," they are not setting a limit, minimum or maximum, to what they will do if given the opportunity; but they are protesting to the world that they are, by right of being, entitled to the opportunity to do what they can. Man has not done all that he was expected to do, nor all that he promised; but nowhere has his failure been such as to warrant the conclusion that it would have been better had popular government never been born. The proposed test of woman's political efficiency submitted by the New Republic might be interesting as a matter of experiment; but the result, whether favorable or unfavorable, should have no bearing whatever upon the extension of the suffrage to women.



Says the New Republic:

Women vote in California, and California is the source of our greatest menace. If the Woman's Peace Party can solve the Japanese question in California, it will be the greatest lesson its members could offer the world. It will give them a hold on the imagination, a standing before the nations, and an authority which no amount of speech-making and pamphleteering can ever give them. The opportunity is idea: a great, rich state, a leader in political experiments; a state where women vote, where policy is under democratic control; and a problem difficult enough but not insuperable, not incapable of sensible and honorable adjustment.

The challenge is fair to the extent that some effect of woman's participation in politics is seen in the disposal of the Japanese question. It is unfair in expecting a new electorate with untried leaders, and without experience, to summarily dispose of a question that has proven itself to be too hard for the men to solve. But the Japanese question in California must be solved. It has already been bungled in a way that reflects no credit upon that state nor upon the country. California owes it to her sister states to make her peace with Japan. It is begging the question to say it is a local problem, with which the rest of the country has no concern. For should Japan see fit to resent insults by force, there would be a quick transformation of a local into a national problem. The practice of local communities to bait foreign countries, in the consciousness that the Federal Government will defend them, should cease. It is to be hoped that women's counsel in California will be upon the side of reason and justice. Woman first claimed the franchise on the ground of taxation, declaring that she should not be taxed

without representation. She now makes the claim on a ground that underlies all others, that of life itself. Her life and the lives of her children should not be taken without her consent. She is well within the bounds of reason, therefore, when she declares that war should take place only after the people, including both men and women, have voted that there shall be war. s. c.



### An Outrageous Absurdity.

Friends of equal suffrage in New Jersey discovered before final passage by the Legislature of the suffrage resolution, that a trick was about to be played that would have invalidated the measure. In one place a comma had been omitted and in another place the word "eight" appeared instead of the roman figure "VIII." Astounding as it may appear to most persons, had the resolution gone through in this shape it would have been invalidated. A constitutional amendment must pass two successive legislatures in New Jersey. The suffrage resolution passed the last Legislature with the comma in its proper place and the figure "VIII" used instead of "eight." The substitution made the resolution adopted by the present Legislature an entirely different measure and would have required its passage again by the next Legislature. Then another little change might have been "accidentally" made causing another delay, and so on indefinitely. Fortunately its friends were vigilant. But what is to be said of a system that gives such consequence to such silly trifles? What kind of a court is it that may be seriously expected to annul an act on such grounds? Less absurd situations have been made the basis of apparently impossible plots of comic operas. New Jersey women have had an experience which should teach them that one use to make of the right of suffrage is to put an end to the senseless system whereby mistakes of this kind may frustrate the popular will. s. d.



### Our Mexico Dilemma.

There are many reasons why we should not go into Mexico to straighten out their affairs. The naming of one will make mention of the others unnecessary. There is little doubt that if we cared to expend the necessary amount of life and treasure the United States forces could go into Mexico, take possession of its cities, overthrow its armies, chase its bandits into the mountains, and either exterminate or reduce them to helplessness. We could set up civil government throughout Mexico

and establish law and order, as we did in Vera Cruz. We could clean up the cities, stop brigandage and restore legitimate commerce; but we could not bring about a lasting peace. The moment our backs were turned the Mexicans would again be at each other's throats. Not that Mexicans object to peace itself, nor that they naturally care to tear each other's throats; but that the peace we should establish there would be similar to the peace established in this country. There would still be the same gulf between the House of Have and the House of Want, and the same determination on the part of those dwelling in the House of Want to break into the House of Have.



The trouble in Mexico is the same as the trouble that obtains in other countries, except that at present it is worse there than elsewhere. The mass of the people in Mexico have no stake in the country. They have, in reality, no country at all, but live there on the suffrage of the great landed proprietors, and the various corporations that have possessed themselves of the oil and mineral lands. We could not, with any degree of consistency, restore Mexican lands to the Mexican people, because we have not restored American lands to the American people. We have a more diffused system of land ownership, and to that extent conditions here are more tolerable. But the blight of land monopoly, though less intense with us, is just as real; and there will be no permanent peace in either country until that monopoly is removed. The intolerable burden that rests upon the peon's back and makes of him a chronic revolutionist, is identical with the burden that caused the outbreaks in West Virginia, Northern Michigan, and Colorado. We must first set our own house in order. s. c.



### Military Graft.

The dishonest army contracts, the fraudulent armorplate, the poor ammunition, the adulterated foods, and the shoddy clothing, are forms of graft well known to the public, and seem to be inseparable from the military establishment, even in times of war. But these are far from being the only means by which the people's money is wasted, and a poor service obtained. It has often been remarked that although we have a very small military establishment as compared with European countries, yet our bill of expense is as large or larger than theirs. People naturally ask for the reason. This comparative inefficiency is due to politics. It results from the fact that each Con-

gressman feels that he must secure the largest possible amount of Federal appropriations within his own district. This has resulted in keeping up a large number of little navy yards along the coast, each of which is maintained at the maximum expense, and all of which have a minimum of efficiency. If they were reduced to one-third the present number, the cost of operation would be reduced, and their efficiency greatly increased.



The management of the army is even worse. Instead of keeping our forces in a few units, at points where the cost is least and where the efficiency would be greatest, they are scattered in small bodies throughout the country where they were placed in the early days to keep the Indians within bounds. Owing to the fact, however, that it is next to impossible to shut off an appropriation that goes into a Congressman's district, these little army posts are kept up long after the Indians have disappeared. These small army posts, like the small navy yards, are not abolished because the Congressman thinks that it strengthens his hold upon his constituency. And his hold is strengthened by this means, because the political henchmen who profit by it directly, get out and hustle for him, while the voters who know better, and who foot the bills, remain at home and scold. When one realizes the tenacity with which the average citizen clings to this petty graft, he can appreciate in some degree the determination with which the army and navy leagues will work for a larger military establishment.

S. C.



### Food for Moloch.

The labor struggle that had been going on in rural England for some time prior to the breaking out of the war has been revived in a strange form. It may be recalled that the farmers in certain districts had locked out or discharged the farm laborers who had combined for the purpose of bettering their condition. The press and public opinion generally was on the side of the laborers. But the farmers were obdurate, and refused to yield. During the recruiting that has intervened some of this labor has joined the army, and some has drifted into the cities to take the place of factorymen who have enlisted. With the approach of spring the farmers find themselves in want of labor. One of the means of relief proposed by them is that school children of twelve years of age be placed at their disposal. This is a sinister move, with far-reaching consequences. It is a backward step

in the effort to eliminate child labor; and it will be a potent means of keeping down the miserable wage that has prevailed, in spite of the rise in prices, both of labor and goods.



As a reminder of the evils of war it may be recalled that the British government had undertaken, before the beginning of hostilities, an elaborate agrarian program for the relief of rural labor. But all that was laid aside at the call to arms. It is unfortunate that this campaign for the betterment of rural conditions should have been interrupted at all. Should the interruption involve the taking of the children from the schools, in order to carry on the work of the farm, it will be nothing short of calamitous. The real reason for the scarcity of farm labor is the low wages, and the hard conditions incident to the life. Decent terms will secure all the labor needed; and without these terms the farmer should have no help. If the product of English farms is not sufficient to support the laborer, the farmer, and the landlord, one of the three might be eliminated. It is to be hoped that the people will have made up their minds by the time the war is over which one of the three can best be spared.

S. C.



### Safety at Sea.

Less than three years ago the world was startled by an appalling disaster in the North Atlantic ocean. A great steamship crashed into an iceberg and sank with more than fifteen hundred people. But before she went down her call of distress throbbed out on the night air, and vessels hundreds of miles away hastened to her assistance. The world was so impressed with that disaster that it has not yet ceased its efforts to prevent a repetition. But, co-incident with these humanitarian endeavors have been the deliberate machinations of the militarists. And to-day the sea is sown with mines and scoured by submarines for the express purpose of duplicating the disaster of the Titanic. The success of their efforts and the applause they will receive will be measured by the number of ships and human beings that they send to the bottom of the ocean. Verily, verily, man is a strange creature. In one mood he defies the elements and goes to the ends of the earth to succor distress. He stands aside to let women and children pass to safety; and turns with a smile to meet his own destruction. In another mood he steels his heart to all compassion and scours land and sea that he may destroy his fellows, measuring

his success by the number of his victims. A very, very strange creature is man!



**War's Latest Barbarity.**

War presents arguments against itself. The most just provocation for war can not justify a belligerent in deliberately inflicting hardship and suffering on a neutral nation. To urge that hostilities can not be efficiently carried on without subjecting innocent parties to annoyance and danger, is to admit that being at war, at all, is a crime. The European war has reached a stage wherein ships and citizens of neutral nations engaged on peaceful errands on the high seas, are in as much danger as those of the belligerent nations. Protests against this have been met with the reply that the situation is unavoidable if the war is to be carried on. Such a reply is a confession of moral guilt. It means that rather than submit their quarrel to an impartial tribunal, the responsible members of the belligerent government are willing, not merely to send men of their own nation to kill their enemies and to be killed, but also to murder in cold blood unoffending men, women and children of neutral nations. How thin is the veneer of civilization, while such things are possible!

S. D.



**Preparing for Peace.**

A splendid service to the cause of Peace has been performed by the Reform Club of New York City in presenting to President Wilson a fundamental explanation of the causes of war, and of how to maintain permanent peace. In its presentation the club shows that in artificial restrictions of international trade are to be found the causes of war. To secure the removal of these the United States government must put forth its influence. There is little consistency in urging peace and restrictions on trade at one and the same time.

S. D.



**Warding Off Good Things.**

The Legislature of the State of Washington, or at least the dominant re-actionary Republican element thereof, has felt itself called upon to adopt a remonstrating memorial to Congress concerning the awful deluge of good things from foreign lands that have been "dumped into the markets of Washington" and hence, presumably, into the laps of the good people of the State.

Specifically, the memorial recites that under the present tariff line the income of desirable products for the year preceding the present tariff and the

year following the adoption of that tariff has been as follows:

	Year Prior to the Present Tariff.	Year Since Adoption of Present Tariff.
Butter, pounds .....	12,008	1,104,000
Eggs, dozen .....	4,755	289,000
Fresh beef, pounds .....	145,000	3,453,000
Pork, hogs .....	5	98,000
Salmon, cases .....	759,000	3,000,000
Lumber, feet .....	434,000	12,026,000
Shingles .....	44,276,000	235,000,000



On the face of it, the uninitiated might almost suppose that this state of things would indicate that a rich blessing had befallen the people of the commonwealth. As compared with the year preceding it, the people, presumably, have had, under the present slightly reduced tariff, an increase of over a million pounds more butter, about 280,000 dozen eggs, 3,300,000 pounds of beef, 93,000 hogs, 2,250,000 cases of canned salmon, 11,600,000 feet of lumber and nearly 200,000,000 shingles. But we must remember that it is only under a natural order of things that to receive more food and more housing material would be a blessing. The remonstrators, however, are representative of that class which does not approve of a natural order of things, and have an artificial arrangement known as a "protective tariff" which is said to be vastly superior to any natural law of free exchange laid down by a merely all-wise God.



Hence this deluge of good things must cease. If permitted to continue, common workmen, mere men who work for what they have, might have an abundance of butter and canned salmon on their tables, not to mention roast pork, and have houses of their own over their tables, besides, and become almost pert and independent. They might even become deficient in deference and satisfactory respect for those who so graciously "give them work." I concede that that is not likely to be the case while there yet remain private landlords and speculators for about ninety-five per cent of the unused land of the state, but the tendency likely to be engendered would be exceedingly reprehensible.



You see, it is work that people want, and not the products of work, according to the profound wisdom of these remonstrators hereinbefore referred to. If there should continue to be an increasing income of good things, people would soon have more good things and less work. And, on general principles, increased incomes are not de-

sirable—for some people, all sonorous abstract protests to the contrary notwithstanding. One might be pardoned, however, for some curiosity as to what the effect might be if the interests for whom these remonstrators are representatives should announce that doctrine in unequivocating candor to their employes and to those who are yielding them tribute. Suppose, for instance, that a great shingle manufacturer, or a member of the salmon canning combination, or a lumber baron should say to those who labor for them, "It is not these good things to eat and to wear and to house yourselves with that you want. It is work that you want. We are so firmly convinced of this fact that we are not only going to have Congress altogether exclude any good things from abroad but we are going to cut them off at home. You shall have all the work you want. Bless your dear hearts, you may labor till the cows come home, but there will be no good things coming to you, no wages, absolutely nothing. Do you get us?" I am disposed to think that after so specific and candid a declaration those for whom "work is being provided" would get them.



Work is a very excellent thing. Worthy and productive employment of some sort should be the privilege as it is the right of every man. This, incidentally, is a law for universal application. It is not impossible, however, that so candid a declaration on the subject of work as I have indicated, made by those interests which the remonstrators of the Legislature of the State of Washington consciously or unconsciously represent, would open the eyes of those who work and those who are now denied the opportunity to work to the fact that what is desired of them and for them is that they shall work, and work as and where and for whom their efforts will yield the largest tribute to that insidious and rapacious landlordism that crouches behind every productive activity.



If these remonstrators of the Washington Legislature had the saving grace of humor equal to that of a pilgrim forefather they would realize what a jest they are as statesmen.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.



## TAXATION AND FORESTRY.

The session on forest taxation at the Forestry Conference in Gorham, N. H., last July, was of especial interest in the field of tax reform. It took up the new laws which have followed the

changes in the constitutions of several of the New England states permitting the classification of forest lands for purposes of taxation.

These laws seek to relieve standing timber of the excessive burdens placed upon it under the General Property Tax. This tax, imposed upon the timber as soon as it begins to have a value and being levied over and over again on the standing crop, is causing many holders to cut in advance of the market and at a time when the trees should be left to make their greatest growth in quality and usefulness, because by so doing they escape these unjust burdens.

The general method of all these laws is to continue under the general property tax system, taking a tax on the land annually at the current rate and the tax on the timber when it is harvested. In all an arbitrary land value is used in calculating an equitable rate of harvest tax upon the stumpage value of the timber. This operates to make the practice of forestry profitable only on lands below a specific value fixed by the arbitrary medium land value and other empirical assumptions. With a rise in land values the area, upon which profitable forestry operations may be carried on, is restricted more and more at a time when the demand for forest products is increasing more nearly in proportion to the rise in land values. As postponing the tax on the crop leaves a too generous margin between the ground rent of the land and the tax upon it under the general property tax system, various restrictions have been placed on the privilege of classification to head off the use of classification as a means of avoiding taxes while carrying on speculative operations. The intention throughout is to stop retaxing the crop and to exclude land speculation.

It is unfortunate that the present unavoidable lack of knowledge of the requirements of timber growing make it necessary that the laws provide for the classification of land only upon the request of the owner. It would seem that this provision in connection with the complexity of the defenses against the speculator make the law discriminate automatically in favor of holders whose education and other advantages placed them in less need of relief than the less fortunate. On this account the simplification possible under land value taxation seems highly desirable.

Under the land value tax a regulated forest property with a steady annual yield would be taxed upon the income or rental value of the land and would need no special provisions beyond those for land used for other purposes. Properties with an intermittent yield, the harvests com-

ing after long periods of years, could be provided for, if necessary for the relief of the growing crop, by deferring part of the annual land tax and allowing it to accumulate with reasonable interest and be paid by the holder when the property sold or the timber was harvested. No voluntary and therefore discriminatory classification would be required. The interest charged by the state would be sufficient incentive for the consolidation and regulation of properties to secure an annual income to pay the annual tax on the rental value of the land and show a profit. The land speculator would be reduced to a minimum not only on forest land, but on all land.

However distant this goal is, the forest taxation laws explained at the Gorham Conference, seeking as they do to lessen land speculation and securing for some relief from multiple taxation of their forest crops, are a cause for rejoicing.

JOSEPH L. RICHARDS.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE COLORADO SPRINGS CAMPAIGN.

Colorado Springs, Colorado, Feb. 15, 1915.

We already have our petitions out for the necessary signatures under the initiative and referendum for the Singletax amendment to the city charter, and already have about half of the needed one thousand names. The law (see page 158, current volume), was drawn up by Hon. Robert Kerr of this city, with the advice and counsel of Messers. J. W. McCreery, of Kansas City; Barney Haughey, of Denver, and James W. Bucklin of Grand Junction. We believe that it will stand all court tests, but is short enough not to confuse the voters. There is scarcely a superfluous word in it.

It will be noticed that provision is made for the installation of an equitable system of assessments. We concluded that this was very important not only because the Pueblo Singletax law is in a precarious situation on account of guess work methods, but because the assessment system in Colorado Springs is in a like condition and a strong public sentiment already exists in this city for the installation of an assessment system having a unit basis for the valuation for taxation of property. Moreover, some such system is essential for the valuation of franchises and other rights in land under the Singletax law about to be voted on. The details of such system of assessment are not laid down in the law, but a majority of the city council and Board of County Commissioners already favor and advocate the Somers system of assessment, and there is no doubt but that they will gladly pass the necessary ordinance as the law requires them to do. The prospect of the initiation of Singletax in a law has already aroused the opposition and the campaign bids fair to be the hottest in many years, with the exception of the campaign of State-wide prohibition.

One of the members of our local club, Mr. P. W.

Bogardus, has recently unearthed a gigantic manipulation of the assessment in favor of the big downtown landlord. This revelation should have telling effect with the voters. Altogether we are very hopeful of success, and although it is impossible to positively foretell the result of the election, nevertheless, the great stimulus given to the study of Singletax will be worth thousands of dollars otherwise devoted to private propaganda. We should not fail to acknowledge the help given by the faithful throughout the United States through their contributions to the Fels Fund. Could those who grumble at the policy of this institution be here on the ground, to realize what a tremendous help this organization has become in those localities, where campaigns are in progress they would cease their complaints and go down in their pockets for double the amount of contributions they already make. We should not forget to mention also the invaluable aid given by the Kansas city Singletaxers in sending out Mr. J. W. McCreery to Colorado to help the campaign.

COLORADO SPRINGS SINGLETAX CLUB,  
By E. A. Sinton, Sec.



### SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

Denver, Colo., February 16.

I would fain join with *The Public* in its appreciation of the noble and beautiful life of Susan Look Avery. We never met face to face, but for many years she was to me an inspiration and encouragement. She was one of those whose friendship was my reward for writing stuff that was not popular enough to be paid for in cash. The first time I ever heard of her must have been nearly forty years ago. Something I had written on the money question attracted her attention and with characteristic generosity and good will she wrote to tell me how much she liked it; and so we became acquainted and wrote to each other many times.

Mr. Cooley has well said, "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."

If she had a special hobby I should say it was the money question. When she came to see how we are robbed by the Landlord she did not lose sight of the depredations of the Lendlord. Among a number of printed leaflets which she sent me was one dated April, 1903, entitled "Money Still the Vital Question," in which she has this sentence in capital letters: "Money should no more be an object of merchandise or traffic, than should human blood." She had in the previous paragraph quoted approvingly, "Money is the blood of commerce." In the last letter I ever received from her, nearly two years ago, she urged me to "write more for the *Public* on the money question" and called my attention to an article by Mr. Van Vorhis who has since brought out that wonderful book "The Money Trust Conspiracy."

Another of her leaflets treats of "The Republic as a World Power." This is its first paragraph: "In view of what we Americans are doing in the Philippines, those whom some of us call heathen would be justified in sending missionaries to us!" It closes as follows: "We have desecrated our prin-

principles in the Philippines; we have lost our moral power, and the material 'world power' which we may, or may not, gain can not be worth the cost. The eyes of the world are turned sadly, reproachfully toward us. Let us hasten to redeem ourselves while we may; not more to escape the fate of 'dead empires' than to make all possible restitution to the Filipinos."

I grieve for the loss of a friend—a dear and valued friend—but I am thankful to have known one so brave and kind, so staunch and true as Susan Look Avery. Her memory will still be to me an inspiration to speak the best I know, without regard to the consequences.

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### REMOVING THE CAUSE OF WAR.

East Orange, N. J., Feb. 17, 1915.

A New York newspaper editorially characterizes as "vague and fantastic" the item in the program of the proposed peace conference to be held at Chicago which seeks to remove the economic causes of war, and states that the abolition of tariffs and trade discriminations would be acceptable to no country except Great Britain.

This is drawing the issue pretty sharply. If it is foolish to even consider the removal of the basic cause of war, then war itself, with human suffering and destruction of life and property incalculable, is immensely practicable. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." When most of the nations persist in worshipping Mammon, have the people any right to call upon God to save them from the results of their folly?

Some will say that the people are not to blame, since it is the system of society under which we live that makes war inevitable. Why not change the system then? Is it possible to believe that an Almighty Power rules the universe and at the same time to think that He condones a social system which leads to such ghastly reversions to brute instincts as we are now witnessing in Europe?

Let us bring this tariff question into the searching light of publicity, so that we can learn just what percentage of the people profit from trade restrictions. Then let us ask these people how they can hope to face God with the knowledge that the gold they have garnered has been washed many times over in the blood and tears of their fellow creatures.

E. W. VAN VALKENBURGH.



National animosity is a peculiar thing. In the lowest grades of civilization it is always strongest and most violent. But there is a point where it vanishes, and we stand above nationality, feeling the happiness or misery of any neighboring people just as though it were our own.—Goethe.



It is a common and always dangerous mistake to do your thinking with your ears.—Youth's Companion.

## 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 23, 1915.

### Mexico.

Great confusion and doubt is caused by the conflicting reports from various parts of Mexico. The Villa forces have won another victory in the western country, between Guadalajara and Manzanillo. A success of the Villa forces is also announced near Mazatlan, on the west coast. General Carrera Torres, a Villa general, with 4,000 troops in charge of the states of Tamaulipas and San Luis Potosi, is reported to have joined the Carranza forces. From Mexico City comes the report that the Carranza authorities have imprisoned all the native Roman Catholic clergy for \$250,000 ransom. The foreign priests were exempted from the ransom, but were ordered to leave the country. Secretary Bryan has instructed Consul Canada at Vera Cruz to intervene with General Carranza in behalf of the 180 imprisoned priests. [See current volume, page 176.]



Charges made by agents of General Carranza in this country that Americans were conspiring to take possession of Lower California, have led to the indictment of Harry Chandler, son-in-law of General Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the Los Angeles Times, together with Walter Bowker, manager of a big ranch on the Mexico-California border, and five other persons. Their accusers declare that many prominent Americans have taken part in the conspiracy.



### China and Japan.

The Washington Administration has decided to make a strong protest against the demands made by Japan on China. These demands are regarded as in violation of the assurances repeatedly given by Japan that she would respect the territorial integrity of China, and the open door policy throughout that country. The granting of these demands, the Administration holds, would place the island empire in complete control of its great neighbor. It is expected that England, as the ally of Japan, will aid the United States in securing modifications in Japan's demands. [See current volume, page 177.]



### The European War.

In the East, Russia has continued her withdrawal before her assailants. The Germans claim

to have inflicted heavy losses upon the Russians in driving them out of East Prussia, which are denied by Petrograd. No action has taken place on the Warsaw front; but in the South the Russians have withdrawn from Bukowina province, in order to present a shorter front to the Austro-German forces. Fighting continues in Galicia, where the Russians are trying to force the surrender of the Austrian fortress of Przemysl, which they have besieged for five months. The net results of the week's campaign seem to favor the Germans in the East. Changes in the western line are immaterial. [See current volume, page 177.]



The chief interest in the European situation continues to lie in the naval developments, and in the diplomatic negotiations accompanying them. The German "war zone" decree went into effect on the 18th. A French and a British merchantman were torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of France within a few hours after the expiration of the time limit. Preparations have been made by the French and British navies to convoy merchantmen through the war zone. A small British vessel plying between England and Ireland was torpedoed near the Isle of Man. It is reported that a Norwegian vessel was torpedoed by mistake, but succeeded in making port. Another Norwegian vessel was sunk by a mine in the Baltic Sea. The American steamer Evelyn was sunk by a mine in German waters off Borkum Island in the North Sea on the 19th. Thirteen of her crew are missing.



The complete reply of Great Britain to the American protest of December 28 was made public on the 17th. It follows with amplifications the preliminary report received in January, disclaiming responsibility for the falling off in American foreign trade, showing that of 773 ships sailing from the United States for neutral countries of Europe only eight have been placed in prize courts, and that only forty-five have been "temporarily detained to enable particular consignments of cargo to be discharged for the purpose of prize court proceedings. "In compelling ships overhauled to go to sheltered waters when the weather was too rough to permit boarding for search in the open sea, the British note insists that it has followed the practice of American vessels during the Civil War. The subsequent interference with shipments of food to Germany is foreshadowed in the declaration that:

No country had maintained more stoutly than Great Britain in modern times the principle that a belligerent should abstain from interference with the food-stuffs intended for the civil population. The circumstances of the present struggle are causing his majesty's government some anxiety as to whether the existing rules with regard to conditional contraband,

framed as they were with the object of protecting so far as possible the supplies which were intended for the civil population, are effective for the purpose, or suitable to the conditions present. The principle which I have indicated above is one which his majesty's government have constantly had to uphold against the opposition of continental powers. In the absence of some certainty that the rule would be respected by both parties to this conflict, we feel great doubt whether it should be regarded as an established principle of international law.



The German reply to the protest of the United States against the declaration of a war zone that would endanger neutral shipping was made public on the 18th. The note expresses friendship for this country, and acknowledges the American protests against Great Britain's use of the American flag. It also calls attention to the fact that although America has protested against Britain's interference with our trade with Germany, we have not followed it up by withholding shipments of arms to the Allies. The difficulty experienced by submarines in determining neutral vessels is dwelt upon, and the danger from mines is reiterated. The note suggests as a means of guarding American shipping from submarine attacks in the war zone this precaution:

In order to prevent in the surest manner the consequences of confusion—though naturally not so far as mines are concerned—Germany recommends that the United States make their ships which are conveying peaceful cargoes through the British war zone discernible by means of convoys.



The American answer to Germany's latest declaration has not been completed, but it is reported that the Administration will insist upon the rights of neutrals. Old treaties with Prussia of 1785 and 1799, and revived in 1828, bear upon the points involved. Article XII says:

If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with any other power, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neuter with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as in full peace, the vessels of the neutral party may navigate freely to and from the ports and on the coasts of the belligerent parties, free vessels making free goods, in so much that all things shall be adjudged free which shall be on board any vessel belonging to the neutral party, although such things belong to an enemy of the other, and the same freedom shall be extended to persons who shall be on board a free vessel, although they should be enemies to the other party, unless they be soldiers in actual service of such enemy.

That the treaty, in spite of its age, is still binding is evidenced by the fact that Germany appealed to it last year as a justification for sending arms into Mexico.

### Peace Propaganda.

Active propaganda in behalf of a peace program has been instituted by the United States of Europe Association, which was formed at New York on January 7. The position of the organization is stated as follows:

Whereas, There is now raging in Europe, a war already involving five of the greater Powers, and one of Asia, threatening to extend through the whole world; and

Whereas, (1) This gigantic struggle was precipitated by Servian resistance to Austrian demands in which each was justified from its national and racial point of view. (2) Russia felt called upon to proffer support to the weaker nation of her own blood to protect the integrity of the Slavic race, and from this point of view was justified. (3) Russian support of Servia threatened the humiliation if not the existence of the Austrian Empire, weakening Germanic influence in the affairs of Europe and the world, and justified the German racial view of now or never. (4) France was in honor bound to support her Russian ally, and felt it her duty to recover the lost province of Alsace-Lorraine. (5) The desperateness of her position justified Germany from her point of view in the violation of the neutrality of Belgium; and Belgium rose in defense of its national life. (6) Great Britain was called to defend the neutrality of the smaller State, and believed German occupation of Belgium constituted a menace to England herself. (7) Japan was bound by treaty to the support of Great Britain. (8) All the nations involved are justified from their points of view, in the preservation of their honor, territorial, racial and national life; and

Whereas, (1) Racial and national frictions are created and fostered by unnatural restraints upon trade (and attempts to foist upon alien peoples governmental institutions not of their own choosing). (2) The example of the German Zollverein and the United States of America show the mutual advantage and amity that flow from State autonomy and the freedom of commerce. (3) The existence of Tariff Walls are the causes of national and racial hatreds, requiring armies to defend them, and tearing down these Walls would free the armies of destruction and death to become armies of production and life. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we the people of the great cosmopolitan City of New York, representing all the nations, races and religions of the world, and appreciating the blessings that flow from a union of States in which there is absolute self-government, between which there exists no Tariff Wall whatever (the principle that unified the German people even before the creation of the German Empire), the real cause of the amazing growth and prosperity of America as well as her guarantee of peace (and clearly understanding that if between our States these Tariff Walls were raised, jealousies, hatreds, standing armies and wars would follow); hereby urge the President of the United States and the representative branches of the Government to take steps looking to the assembling of a Congress of the Governments and People of Europe at the Hague for the purpose of ending the War, universal disarmament and the establishment of The United States of Europe.

The officers of the organization are: Charles H. Ingersoll, president; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, vice-president; John Steeneck, treasurer; Alexander Law, secretary, and an executive committee consisting of F. C. Leubuscher, Victor H. DuRussell, Harding Weston, F. E. Stammer, Henry Gonzales, William S. Bredin, John Mullen and Cornelius Donovan. The headquarters are at 1160 Broadway, New York City. Included among the honorary members are Calvin Tomkins, Sir Max Waechter, Emile Arnaud, Nicholas Murray Butler, David Starr Jordan, Charles W. Eliot, Franklin H. Giddings, John R. Commons and Reverend Charles P. Fagnani. [See vol. xvii, pp. 999, 1166; current volume, page 37.]



The trustees of the Reform Club of New York City sent on February 10 a letter to President Wilson, presenting to him a statement showing that commercial freedom is necessary to end war. The letter shows that trade restrictions keep Servia from access to the open sea, deny Austria an outlet in the East, close the use of ice free ports to Russia, make difficult to Germany the use of Antwerp and Rotterdam as ports, compel England and other European nations to be continually concerned about maintaining over-sea communications, and in similar ways affect other countries, including those of peace as well as those at war. The club thus shows the primary cause of war to be the "desire for commercial privilege and for freedom from commercial restraint." It suggests that at the close of the war the sea law be changed so as to protect peaceful commerce, that the sea be made into "a highway kept open and safe under international sanction." Panama, Suez, Gibraltar, The Dardanelles, Kiel and other straits should be kept open on equal terms to all ships. Ports like Rotterdam and Antwerp which serve a large area of interior Europe should be kept accessible to countries desiring to use them, and the same should be done with Constantinople, Chinese ports and ports elsewhere. In establishing these policies the United States should lead. In conclusion the letter states:

In recent years changes due to commercial development have been far more important than those due to dynastic or political causes. This will continue and international politics will be progressively subordinated to commercial needs—till wars shall cease. We can accelerate this progress toward peace by international guarantees of free trade at sea and free access to the sea.

The letter is signed by the trustees of the club as follows: Calvin Tomkins, president; John G. Agar, Henry DeForest Baldwin, Milo R. Maltbie, J. Hampden Dougherty, Frederick Cyrus Leubuscher, Byron W. Holt, Charles H. Ingersoll, Louis Sturcke, Howard R. Bayne, John J. Murphy, John DeWitt Warner and Alfred A. Whitman.

**Washington News.**

The ship purchase bill passed the House on February 17 by a vote of 215 to 121. In the Senate on the following day it was sent to conference. This action, it is generally conceded, kills the measure. No report is expected on it before adjournment on March 4. [See current volume, page 177.]



The congressional sub-committee investigating charges against Federal Judge Alston G. Dayton of West Virginia heard testimony on February 17 which showed the Judge to be financially interested in coal, oil and gas properties. On February 22 Judge Dayton himself took the stand and entered a complete denial of all charges. A letter from former President Roosevelt, dated May 26, 1914, was put in evidence in which Mr. Roosevelt stated that he had instituted the investigation of Judge Jackson (Dayton's predecessor, who had been forced to resign) "without solicitation from anyone." [See current volume, page 177.]



Nominations for the new Interstate Trade Commission were sent to the Senate by President Wilson on February 22. They are: Joseph E. Davies of Wisconsin, now Commissioner of Corporations; Edward W. Hurley of Illinois, now president of the Illinois Manufacturers Association; William J. Harris of Georgia, now Director of the Census; William H. Parry of Seattle, and George Rublee of Cornish, N. H. If confirmed by the Senate, Davies will be chairman of the Commission and Hurley vice-chairman. Davies, Hurley and Harris are Democrats, Parry is said to be a Republican and Rublee a Progressive, but Republican senators declare both of them to be Progressives. [See vol. xvii, p. 947.]

**Illinois Legislature Organizes.**

After a deadlock of seven weeks, the Illinois House of Representatives elected David E. Shanahan, Speaker, on February 16. He was elected by a combination of 31 wet Republicans and 49 wet Democrats. Governor Dunne sent his message to the legislature on the following day. He recommended amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution so as to allow the submission of more than one amendment at a time. He further urged restoration to Chicago of home rule in control of public utility corporations, replacement of the State Board of Equalization by a tax commission, a stringent corrupt practices act, and other reforms of a minor nature. [See vol. xvi, p. 851; current volume, pages 63, 77.]

**Progress of Woman Suffrage.**

The resolution to submit a woman suffrage constitutional amendment passed finally in the New

Jersey State Senate on February 16. It goes to a popular vote at a special election in September. Final action on a similar amendment was taken by the Massachusetts legislature on the same day. It goes to a popular vote at the regular election in November. A favorable report on a suffrage amendment was made by the House committee in charge in Delaware. After adopting a resolution to submit a suffrage amendment the North Dakota State Senate on February 22 rescinded its action and recalled the resolution from the House. The Indiana State Senate on February 20 passed a bill conferring on women limited suffrage, similar to what prevails in Illinois. It gives them the power to vote for all elective officials, the right to vote on whom is not restricted to men by the constitution. The House and the Governor must still pass on the bill. [See current volume, pages 159, 179.]

**Limiting Rent by Law in Texas.**

The bill restricting rural rent charges introduced in the Texas legislature in fulfillment of campaign promises of Governor James E. Ferguson provides that a landlord shall have no lien on the crop of a tenant if he charges more than one-third of a grain crop or one-fourth of a cotton crop. Should he collect more, the tenant may bring suit, and should he get judgment may collect twice the amount of the excess. In commenting on this measure the Dallas Dispatch shows that this bill, even if constitutional, is of no more value than the law against usury, which has proven useless to borrowers of money. The proposed rent limitation can even be more easily avoided since the landlord need but charge a straight money rental instead of a share of the crop, or he may charge a definite number of bales of cotton or bushels of grain, and thus exact as much as ever without violating the law. Moreover, tenants who would go into court and bring suit to recover excess rent would be black-listed, and this alone would prevent them from trying to and take advantage of the law. [See current volume, page 131.]

**Tax Reform News.**

In opposing the pending Singletax amendment to the city charter the Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph published an interview with Mathew Wilson, K. C., a former resident of Chatham, Ontario, who declared the Singletax in Canada to be a failure. A reply to the interview was offered the Telegraph by J. W. McCleery but refused by the editor, who stated in doing so: "The Telegraph is going to fight the movement and there will be no answering it in its own columns." Mr. McCleery's letter, together with the remark of the Telegraph editor, has been published in circular form by the Colorado Springs Singletax Club and

distributed throughout the city. [See current volume, page 158.]



The Judiciary Committee of the Rhode Island Assembly held a hearing on February 11 on the home rule in taxation bill. Arguments in favor were presented by ex-Governor Lucius C. F. Garvin, Granville S. Standish, Myrick L. Goff, David S. Fraser, H. J. Chase and others. The opposition was represented by Dr. Edward M. Harris, whose argument was, as reported by the Providence Journal, that the bill is an "idiotic scheme," that proponents should be ashamed of themselves, that the proposition is impracticable and founded on fallacy and that the whole plan is one of confiscation. [See current volume, page 181.]



In a special message to the legislature of West Virginia on February 18, Governor Hatfield urges the need of new revenue to replace the loss to the State from stoppage of liquor licenses. The Governor advocates an income tax of one-half per cent on corporations and a graduated tax on land holdings in excess of 5,000 acres, including leases and options. He further suggests, but does not advocate, a production tax on coal, oil and gas and a special tax on manufactured products.

## NEWS NOTES

—The police court of St. Louis upheld on February 20 the right of Negroes to ride in the "jitney" buses.

—Planning to get rid of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, the Republican caucus of the Colorado Legislature on February 22 decided to push a bill abolishing the Juvenile court of Denver. [See vol. xvi p. 1064, xvii pp. 508, 515, 540.]

—American marines were landed at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, from the four war vessels in the harbor. The government troops were defeated by the revolutionists at St. Marc, and American forces were landed to protect the menaced capital. [See current volume, page 111.]

—The San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition was opened on February 20. In the opening ceremonies Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, represented President Wilson. A congratulatory message was received from the Governor-General of Australia.

—A bill has passed both houses of the Australian parliament empowering the government to take possession of all meat supplies in the commonwealth, for the Imperial Government. Premier Andrew Fisher said the action was due to the increasing demand for the British army, and the purchases made in Australia by the French government.

—A comparison of the cost of street lighting through Seattle's municipal plant with that of other cities has been furnished the Seattle Chamber of Commerce by Former Mayor George F. Cotterill, in

answer to the efforts of that body to discredit municipal ownership. Mr. Cotterill's figures are as follows:

	Total cost.	Cost per mile.	Cost per sq. mile.	Nature of service.
New York.....	\$3,346,306	\$1,030	\$10,233	Contract
Philadelphia .....	2,390,069	1,350	18,527	Contract
Boston .....	768,779	1,353	16,356	Contract
Chicago .....	1,473,027	325	7,593	Municipal
SEATTLE .....	211,013	240	3,638	Municipal

—That the enfranchisement of Icelandic women has been delayed, is announced in Jus Suffragii: "The bill had passed both Houses of the Althing (Icelandic Parliament) and required only the sanction of the King of Denmark to make it effective, when a constitutional difference arose between the Althing and the Danish Cabinet. In response to increasing demands for independence, Iceland had been granted a Parliament of its own in 1874, and later, in 1903, it had acquired the right to a resident Minister appointed by the King. The Icelandic Minister was instructed by the Althing to present the bills passed by both Houses, including the Women's Suffrage Bill, to the King himself, and not in the presence of the Danish Cabinet. This body, however, maintains that according to the constitution the King can only agree to Icelandic bills if the Danish Cabinet is present at the Conference between the King and the Icelandic Ministers. Because of this refusal the Icelandic Minister has resigned, and all the Icelandic bills are hung up pending a Conference of prominent members of different political parties of the Althing which the King has summoned at Copenhagen." [See vol. xvi, p. 1018; current volume, p. 109.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 63), for the twelve months ending December, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for December, 1914, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
Merchandise ..	\$3,114,257,539	\$1,789,022,426	\$325,235,113	Exp
Gold .....	222,616,156	57,387,741	165,228,415	Exp.
Silver .....	51,603,438	25,959,187	25,644,251	Exp.
Total .....	\$2,388,477,133	\$1,872,369,354	\$516,107,779	

The exports of merchandise for December, 1914, the fifth month of the European war, were \$246,266,047, as compared with \$233,195,628 for December, 1913, and \$250,315,807 in 1912. The imports of merchandise for December, 1914, were \$114,402,970, as compared with \$184,025,571 for December, 1913, and \$154,095,444 in 1912. Of the total imports for the twelve months ending December, 1914, 61.36 per cent were free of duty; whereas, of the imports for the corresponding twelve months of 1913, 55.29 per cent were free of duty. Of the merchandise imported in December, 1914, 60.70 per cent were admitted free of duty. December, 1914, had the largest exports and the smallest imports of any month in that year.

## PRESS OPINIONS

Where We Might Well Imitate Germany.

American Socialist (Chicago), February 20.—When a subject of the Kaiser breaks a city ordi-

nance, for instance; fails to sweep the snow from his sidewalk, a policeman takes his name and address. Next morning the offender receives a notice to pay a fine which is fixed in advance for this offense, to be paid within a certain specified time, or go to protest. If a person is caught committing any petty offense, such as fighting, doing picket duty, or talking back to an officer, he will be placed nominally under arrest. The officer making the arrest will ask the name, address and occupation of the arrested person, and if living near is further bound to verify the correctness of the replies given. If correct, the offender is freed and notified the next day to appear in court. Should the officer have sufficient reasons to doubt such statement, he takes the prisoner to the nearest station. The Lieutenant then makes the necessary inquiries while the arrested person is kept temporarily confined in a spacious, well-ventilated room, where he is treated with the greatest courtesy and when his or her identity is established the prisoner is released. . . . Not so, however, in this land of the free and home of the brave. The free American citizen is at the absolute mercy of any policeman who may or may not be justified in making the arrest. When arrested, the free American citizen is brutally taken to the station, thrown in a filthy vermin-infested dungeon, and is subjected to the vilest abuse by the police in charge. The Free American citizen has money and papers taken away before being locked up, and should the search fail to show any evidence of wealth he is not permitted to telephone or send any messages to friends and must spend the day and night in a dungeon. If he is able to bribe the jailer or some other person to get word to his friends the prisoner may be released within three or four hours after being locked up like a beast or criminal. Even should the accused be guilty of some offense, still the loss of liberty and the indignities imposed prior to a trial are horribly out of proportion to the offense. How long will the free American citizens of the country tolerate such a barbaric condition which slaps all conceptions of civilization in the face and is a parody on our much-flaunted liberty?

#### Relieving Industry.

The Minneapolis Journal, February 15.—The singletax theory sets up an ideal standard of ultimate perfection, practically impossible of application to existing conditions, but sure to gain ground slowly as reform of taxation proceeds. The wave of tax betterment, that has swept over the country since Henry George's time has tended toward the ideal he conceived. From time to time, the singletax idea appears in State Legislatures. In both Minnesota and Wisconsin it is now appealed to in order to remove the check that land speculation puts upon development. The same idea enters indirectly into the drainage and road legislation of both States by assessing part of the cost of improvement upon the speculative land values that will benefit by it. It is all part of a general public determination to make the owners of large tracts of unimproved and unproductive land bear their just part of the cost of development, instead of letting it lie fallow for generations to reap the in-

crease of values which others promote by sacrifice and energy. The tendency grows to shift the burden of taxation from the industry and energy by which society thrives, to the idle ownership, which lies in wait to thrive upon that energy and industry. This shift involves lowering of the general property tax and adjustment of burdens to conditions. It involves special assessments for land development upon idle tracts that will be benefited. Here is an approximation to the singletax idea. . . . The tendency in the more progressive States is to take some of the direct burden off from enterprise and industry, and put it on speculative holdings—in short, to make the unearned increment carry a larger share of the cost of government.



#### Making Use of German Ships.

Daily News and Leader (London), January 23.—It is stated that thirty-four enemy steamers detained in British ports at the opening of the war are to be put up in the open market and chartered to the highest bidder for the East Coast coal trade. The reasons which are driving the Admiralty to this course are clear enough. Freight rates before the war ran from 2s. 9d. to 3s. a ton. Now a rate of 13s. 9d. is current, and some of the gas companies are said to have supplies only for ten days. Whether the step now to be taken will do much to reduce this famine rate remains to be seen. Obviously it will do something to meet the dearth of ships which is the controlling cause of the high rates, and incidentally it entails the definite abandonment of the view that there is anything immoral in the employment of German ships to break the shipping ring. It is an admission, that is to say, that the action of the American Government, in encouraging the purchase and use of German vessels by Americans, is in itself, and sinister intrigues apart, entirely laudable and of benefit to the whole world. For the coal market is, of course, only one of those which are suffering from the constriction in shipping. The Workers' National Committee are now calling upon the Government to "take steps to obtain control of more ships, and itself bring wheat from Argentina and Canada at the bare cost of transport"; and several municipalities—notably Norwich—under the inspiration of Mr. Fred Henderson, are memorializing the Government on the necessity of action to check the present ruinous freight charges. Unless it is taken speedily the position, especially if a spell of severe weather should now set in, will become very serious.



#### The Rank Is But the Guinea's Stamp.

Labor Leader (Manchester, England), November 12.—Under the auspices of the Workers' National Emergency Committee twelve conferences were held in different centers on Saturday to demand adequate government measures to meet the special needs of the working class which the war has occasioned. The conferences were representative of the united Trade Union and Socialist movement, and great determination was revealed. The programme of demands we outlined last week; it included measures for preventing civil distress, but most attention was

paid to the scandalous lack of provision for disabled soldiers and the dependents of soldiers killed. A minimum pension of £1 per week was in both cases demanded, with an additional 3s. 6d. per week for each dependent child under 16 years of age. At the Birmingham conference Mr. G. N. Barnes, M. P., compared the treatment of officers and privates:

The gratuity payable on disablement to officers ranged from £3,500 for a field marshal to £100 for a second lieutenant. A captain losing the use of one limb or eye might receive £250 or for two limbs or eyes £500, and he would be entitled in those respective cases to a pension of £100 or £200 a year for life. The widow of a captain killed in battle or dying on active service would get a sum of money dependent largely on the circumstances of his death, and would be entitled to a pension of £100. And on Tuesday the government which treats officers and their dependents with such comparative generosity had the audacity to offer the wives of soldiers killed whilst on service 7s. 6d. a week—the rent money only! If the widow has a child she is offered an additional 5s. per week; if she has two children, an additional 7s. 6d.; if she has three children, an additional 10s.; if she has four children, an additional 12s. 6d. We characterize this scale as a disgrace to the British nation and an insult to her soldiers. How dare we allow the wife of a man who has given his life for his country to struggle on such incomes? A woman and three children—17s. 6d.! We are glad to find the Labor Party is not satisfied. We hope it will continue its agitation, inside Parliament and outside.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### OUR FORESTS.

For The Public.

O Forest, thou art the friend of man and hast been  
For ages. When God's hand first shaped the world  
He strewed thy seeds. In time our feeble race  
Had thee for refuge, and from thy full store  
Fashioned their homes, and found in thee the beasts  
Whose skins and flesh gave warmth and nourishment.

By thy green sides they fed their flocks and tilled  
The scanty soil. Thou wast indeed their friend.  
In thy still aisles they built their shrines and worshipped  
Their God and thine.

Thou art the aged nurse  
Of mighty streams. Thy gentle hand restraineth  
The feshet, and from out thy womb the clouds  
Come forth and blow across the parched plains.  
From thy deep bosom comes the breath of healing  
And in thy still embrace the world-worn man  
Is comforted. Living, thou givest strength,  
And dead, thy mould in Nature's crucible  
Shall live again and warm the Future's hearth.

God-given to the State, our forests grow  
For all. And shall a pirate's greed destroy?  
Or rulers' tongues be dumb when streams run dry  
And naked hills appear?

Our fathers left

Them to us; We must save them for our sons;  
And whoso would destroy them shall deserve  
A just reproach and shall have a people's scorn.

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL.



## FRAGRANCE OF APPLE WOOD.

For The Public.

The old man sat by his fireplace in the mountains, watching with joy and remembrance the swift upward leap of the flames through the pitch-pine splinters to the dry apple boughs and the great apple-tree back-log from one of the pioneer Baldwins in the "old orchard," as the neighborhood called the few rows of worn-out trees by the creek planted almost a century before by the old man's father. It was a glorious back-log, more than eighteen inches through and four feet long.

He held his hands out to the warmth and watched the fire biting into the lesser apple boughs; he took the bellows and blew underneath. "Pretty soon the old tree will begin to tell me stories," he said, breathing in the outward swing of the air from the chimney. Suddenly he caught what he was waiting for—that delicious fragrance of old apple wood as it burns and gives forth its last gift to the world of living folk.

"When I rake out the coals in the morning," the old man said to himself, "this whole room will smell of apples—of May times and of Octobers."

One of the boys came in and hastily opened the outside door. "Grandsire," he remarked, "I don't suppose you can help it, but you always get this room full of ashes and smoke." The old man looked at him quizzically and tolerantly.

"Young fellow," he answered, "brace up a minute and tell me if you don't smell the apple-wood burning. Come close and sniff at it."

"Nothing whatever," said the city-bred grandson who was "home" on a visit. "Just wood smoke, and all sorts of wood are alike, on a fire." Then he went out, leaving the cheerful old man alone with his memories and smiling to himself over the joke.

"It certainly pays to arrive at eighty years," he reflected. "That boy of thirty, speaking physically, can see, hear, taste and smell better than I can. Nevertheless he has not yet attained to the full use of any of his senses. It will come in time, of course; some day he'll be able to bring back old sounds, old scenes, old deeds, the rustle of corn blades, the falling leaves, the faint impact of the snow flakes, the roses and lilies in the gardens that are no more in existence here, but which have become immortal."

He sat by his fire, thinking of the old orchard, the row of Baldwins, the two Westfield Seek-no-Farther trees, the Roxbury Russets, the Northern Spy, the Greenings and Sweetings and cider crabs which he used to prune and cultivate sixty

years before. He struck into the burning back-log with the old branding iron from a cattle ranch which he liked to use for a poker, and as some coals fell off, they revealed several large, rusty cut nails driven in a circle. He laughed softly. "Guess those are the ones I put into you, old friend Baldwin, when I was about eight years old. Father told me that it hurt the tree and might spoil an axe or saw later." He tapped the coals with gentle insistence; the apple-wood fragrance crept out.

One of the elder women of the family came in—a busy, cheerful housewife and mother. "I declare," she said, "this room seems to smell so pleasantly. What have you been doing to it, Father?"

"It's just the old Baldwin apple tree," he declared. "Sit down here on this low bench; blow the fire a little, and see what you get." She did so, and caught the apple scent from the heart of the log.

"Why," she declared, "it's really so; I've heard that some people save all the apple-tree wood for just this, but I'd thought it nonsense."

"Daughter," he told her, "there's usually something behind the old tales. It isn't merely an old man's notion. No two kinds of wood burn alike. There's days for pine, days for oak, days for alder and ash, days for cones and bark, days for the sweet-smelling oils of cedar and juniper. This is the last of the old apple-tree logs until another orchard is past its bearing seasons. Bring in the children, Margaret; let them get acquainted with the old tree, and hear its history."

They came in, girls and boys, and sat in front of the apple-wood fire, were delighted with its faint spicy breath and listened eagerly to the talk. Said the ancient of days: "Father came into these mountains over a hundred years ago. He planted apple seeds on a little bench land by the creek, and wrote to friends in New England for scions with which to graft his seedlings. There was no nursery then in all these mountains, and few orchards. We children were so proud of our trees as we grew up. Gardens were scarce, and in their season, sister carried apple blossoms to decorate the little log church, and she wore them to school. All those old buildings and our first old log-house home are gone now. Then, you must know, sister passed away—she was but eighteen years old, the best and sweetest girl in America—and the neighbors came for twenty miles to the funeral, bringing flowers from every garden. But on her breast she wore apple-blossoms that I gathered from one of the old Baldwin trees—perhaps from this very one that is on the fire now."

He came back from the land of memories and looked upon their sober faces. "Children," he told them, "that old flat needs to go in clover and be plowed under for a few years. Then you can plant another orchard there, of more modern

sorts, and when those young trees are worn out, your children will have apple wood to burn."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



## "AMERICA ON GUARD."

For The Public.

Mr. Roosevelt's article on "America on Guard" in the January Everybody's Magazine appears to some of us to show such confused thinking and twisted logic that nearly every paragraph provokes rejoinder. The article seems calculated to mislead thousands of the credulous and uninformed.

Mr. Roosevelt compares armaments to fire engines; these generally, he claims, prevent wars, as engines do fires. One would think that Europe today showed the armaments to be firewood instead of fire engines. When one sees six of the eight nations which own nine-tenths of the armaments of the world at war, Italy almost in war, and the United States the only one of the eight that is at peace, one would think that any man who was not blind would see that armaments bred the rivalry and fear which are one of the primary causes of this war. Great armaments instead of being a defense, "insurance" and "peace preservers," as foolish men have defined them, were really the great menace and provocation to war, precisely as the Czar of Russia foretold in his call for the first Hague Conference. He said they "were bringing about the very cataclysm they were designed to avert."

Mr. Roosevelt claims that Japan's superiority over China and Korea is because its people had the "fighting edge" and military preparedness. He ignores the lack of western science and good government in the latter countries, while Japan fifty years ahead in culture, educated all her people and her influential classes were abreast of modern thought. He forgets that China, who put the soldier at the bottom of the social scale, is the only nation of antiquity that has survived, while all the warring nations of the past have been bled to death and become extinct. If China has been despoiled of some territory, so have most of the nations now at war. Their armaments have not prevented it.

Mr. Roosevelt adduces military preparedness as being the cause of increasing peace in Argentina and Chile. He ignores the arbitration which led to a treaty of permanent peace between them and is celebrated by the statue of the Christ of the Andes. Their later military preparations are the result of general increase of militarism the world over, to which, in this case, Mr. Roosevelt's white squadron unhappily contributed. Our own naval increase one year was used as an argument in the French Assembly for France's further increase. In discussing South America, Mr. Roosevelt confounds international war with civil war,

which latter is the kind of war to which he refers that took place in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American States. Since the establishment of the Central Court of Justice, all interstate wars in the Central American States have ceased. Preparedness for civil war is, in the nature of the case, impossible much in advance. Rebels may get in power and secure all the advantage of increased armaments. In our own Civil war the southern arsenals would have been equally well-stocked had appropriations been doubled.

Mr. Roosevelt assumes that deBloch, the great author of the "Future of War," believed that war had now become impossible. He had no such illusion. He believed that successful war was now impossible and when war occurred between two fairly equal combatants, as in the present war, complete exhaustion and a "draw" would be the result. Mr. Roosevelt fans the flame of hysteria which our militarists have lighted as regards invasion by saying, "Of course, what has been done in Belgium would be done to us if the conditions required it." He should have added, "and if it were conceivably possible, which it is not." He wants the public to believe that if Germany desired to attack us, she could hereafter do it within the lifetime of the new armaments that he wants ordered this winter. To do so, a conceivably victorious Germany would have to ship her troops 4,000 miles away and leave a ring of 270,000,000 hostile, revengeful, defeated foes, ready to invade her land the moment her army left on its mission to destroy her best customer and the only power left on earth that was not hostile to her. If she came soon, she would probably meet an American fleet larger than hers will be when this war ends.

Are we to be stamped into increasing armaments at the very moment when every possible enemy is becoming weaker and poorer every day? If so, it will hamper us sorely as we go later to ask the Powers for general limitation of armaments. Professor Sidney Gulick of Japan, who knows the oriental problem as few do, warns us impressively that increased arming now will be construed in Japan as a menace and may snap the cords of friendship between us which every American citizen ought to desire to strengthen.

This year, is probably the most critical year in human history. We are facing either limitation of armaments and progress, or more armaments, universal conscription and presently an armed Asia, with panic, suspicion, bankruptcy, and the decay of civilization. The men who are working to have America tip the scale towards the world's further armaments know not what they do. Generations of the unborn on whom the world is placing the intolerable burden of paying the billions of borrowed capital that is carrying on this

war, cry out to us, in God's name, to spare them anything more.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.



## JONES AND SUGAR

For The Public.

"Bob," said Mrs. Jones to her husband one morning in 1913, "Bob, I see by the big head-lines in the paper that sugar is on the free list. That means that the tax is off. We should get 30 pounds of sugar for a dollar now. Here is a dollar, go to the grocery and get 15 pounds of sugar, that's 50c; two boxes of strawberries, 25c; one pint of cream, 20c; and then you will have a nickel left to get you a paper. We will have berries and cream for lunch."

Jones took the dollar and started for the store, thinking what a fine thing it was that tax was off sugar. But he found that the big head-lines in the paper were misleading, sensational gossip, to sell the paper; and were also prompted by the great fear that sugar might go on the free list and help cut the high cost of living; of which millions of people were complaining.

"No," he was told at the store, "sugar is not on the free list yet. It is going up; only 14 pounds for a dollar this morning. No strawberries and cream for you today, nor cigars, either."

So Jones began to think hard, and wonder how he would tell his wife so as to cause her as little grief as possible.

"Well," said he, "others suffered and were disappointed as well as we, if that is any satisfaction. The farmer lost the sale of two boxes of berries; the cigar makers lost the sale of a cigar; and the cigar box makers will have to wait longer for a box order."

"Yes," said Mrs. Jones, "and the dairyman lost the sale of a pint of cream. And although this one sale to us means very little, think of all our neighbors, and of all the other families in this great city, who are in the same fix as ourselves."

"And it means a whole lot to the farmer, and to the dairyman. He can't keep so many cows as he would if he could sell his cream. He won't buy as much hay and feed from the farmer, nor keep as many men and teams and wagons, and cows," said Bob, whose mind seemed to be following this line that led everywhere and affected everybody adversely.

He finally said, "No wonder, dear, that I don't have work half the time and have to take small wages, besides; when the tax on sugar makes such a raid on the farmer, dairyman, can factories, horse market, wagon business and drivers out of jobs, so they can't buy anything. No wonder we are sour and get cross sometimes. If protection for the sugar industry does so much harm, whom does it protect? And then, think of all the other articles on the tariff list, 4,500 of them; I wonder

that we get enough to keep soul and body together."

Just then a farmer came in the door. "Don't you want some fine cherries this morning? Just picked last evening. They are just right for pies or canning."

"No, I don't want to buy any cherries," said Mrs. Jones, with an almost insolent tone in her voice; "sugar is so high we can't afford them. They take lots of sugar, cherries do, and you farmers have always been Protectionists, because you raise a few sugar beets, I suppose."

"Oh, there is no money in sugar beets," said the farmer. "No money in nothing, only lots of hard work. Here I've been all morning trying to sell this little lot of cherries. Pears, too, and nobody wants anything."

"Oh, yes, they all want them bad enough," said Mrs. Jones; "but they can't buy 'em when they have to pay two prices for sugar. And I hope you'll starve hollering protection."

"Didn't protection for sugar ruin the berry business, and the fruit business in general? Haven't you farmers more berries and plums and peaches and cherries to sell than you have sugar to sell? No wonder you can't sell anything."

Then she related the story of the morning; how some other farmer lost the sale of strawberries, the dairyman, of cream and milk, and added: "That's the way it is all down the line. And that is the reason Mr. Jones is sitting around the house with nothing to do and no money to buy cherries."

L. C. LAW.



### THE DISEMPOWERED.

Hugh J. Hughes in La Follette's.

I am the shifting sand beneath the walls  
Ye build and call the State. I am the Fear  
That haunts you in your boastings and your dreams;  
Your dead youth's lost occasions! Yea, I am  
The corse beneath the fabric of your Dream!

I am the shifting sand beneath the State.  
Your laws, your customs, creeds, I undermine.  
I laugh at your conventions, meant to bind  
Your Creeds! To me they purvey only lies.  
So as ye build, I bury that ye build;  
The walls ye rear upon me do decay.

I am the dream of Evil ye have dreamed;  
The uncouth Hun, the Vandal, and the Goth;  
The savage come again to leer, and laugh  
Into forgetfulness the domes ye build.  
Your learning, culture, visions,—these shall fade,  
And I shall pour your wisdom into pools  
To sink, and fail, and so be lost to man.  
I am the youngest Anarch of the world:  
I neither love nor hate, I only leer,  
A gibbering ghost of manhood, o'er your dreams.

I am your Brother driven forth to die!  
These are your cities, empires, and demesnes,—  
And these your doles,—to toil!—and still to toil!

To render into Caesar, not the tithe,  
But all, that Caesar of his will bestow  
That in his wisdom 'recompense' is writ—  
The helot I, your brother equal born!

These are your cities; I will make them dust!  
These are your empires; they shall disappear  
These your demesnes—Forgetfulness shall be  
Of all ye said, or did, or hoped, or sung!

Ye did inherit much, and did take all;  
So I shall ravish in its bloom your hope,  
Shall make your boast of culture all a lie,  
Shall make you know the emptiness of dreams!

Hear once again the word of him ye scorn!  
I am that Ishmael ye have doomed to die;  
I am the fair Occasions ye have flung  
Aside as void of value and of life.  
I am the Fear that haunts you in your halls  
And senates, and the temples of your God.  
And as your systems crumble and decay  
Heed well that I did tell you and now tell;  
I am the shifting sand beneath the State!

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## BOOKS

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### THE PANAMA CANAL.

The Panama Canal. By Frederic J. Haskin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.35 net.

"When on February 20, 1915, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition opens its gates to the world in celebration of the completion of the Panama Canal, it expects to offer to the nations of the earth"—but this final chapter, like the rest of Mr. Haskin's book about the Canal, was written before the nations of the earth went to war. Its air of joyous American boastfulness, of happy international comradeship in a great victory over nature, seems now more like part of our innocent childhood, or of our dreams of the distant future than like any piece of reality.

Yet the Isthmian Canal is finished and both San Diego and San Francisco have opened their gates to celebrate. There is no harm in America's hailing the event, even if big sister Europe has no time or heart for our cheers. Just what we are hurrahing for, Mr. Haskin's book is to tell. The history of the Canal project, the difficulties and accomplishments of both its engineering and sanitary staff, the organizing abilities of its builders, even the politics preceding and accompanying this great work, are set forth simply and with essential truth in pleasantly readable form. The scores of pictures by the Canal Commission's photographer as well as the bird's-eye view which many readers appreciated in the Geographic Magazine, add greatly to the effectiveness of the story.

If moderation might have reduced some hundreds of superlatives to comparatives, and modesty

have been content even with positives, yet we should not favor the change, and Californians whom we have chosen to be our national cheerleaders will not think them unfit. A. L. G.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The General Education Board. 1902-1914. Published by the General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York. 1915.

—The Social Commonwealth. By Bernard A. Rosenblatt. Published by the Lincoln Publishing Corporation, New York. 1914.

—Welfare as an Economic Quantity. By G. P. Watkins. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Police Practice and Procedure. By Cornelius F. Cahalane. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—What Women Want. By Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. Published by Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Modern City and Its Problems. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—An Open Letter to the Nations With Regard to a Peace Plan. By James Howard Kehler. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York. 1915.

—Makers of America. By Emma Lillian Dana. Published by the Immigrant Publication Society, 241 Fifth Ave., New York. 1915. Price, paper, 50 cents, net.

—Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry of America. By Arthur E. Suffern. Published by Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—"The System" as Uncovered by the San Francisco Graft Prosecution. By Franklin Hitchborn. Published for the Author by the James H. Barry Co., San Francisco. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

The World Peace Foundation Work in 1914. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.

Juvenile Probation in Wisconsin. Bulletin General Series Number 506, University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

"German Efficiency" versus British Liberty. By Frederick Verinder. Published by the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376 Strand, London, W. C. Price, one penny.

Hours, Earnings, and Conditions of Labor of Women in Indiana Mercantile Establishments and Garment Factories. Whole Number 160, Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Double Edge of Labor's Sword: Discussion and Testimony on Socialism and Trade Unionism before the Commission on Industrial Relations. By Morris Hillquit, Samuel Gompers and Max J. Hayes. Published by the Socialist Party, National Office, Chicago. Price, 25 cents.

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## PERIODICALS

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### For the Minimum Wage.

The (New York) Survey of February 6 is a special Minimum Wage number edited by Florence Kelley, whose own article on the Status of Legislation in the United States and that by Louis Brandeis on the Constitution and the Minimum Wage alone make this number worth filing—this not counting John A. Hobson's and M. B. Hammond's statements of the experiences of England and Australia.

A. L. G.



### Russia's Finnish Policy.

A correspondent writes in *Jus Suffragii* of January 1 (7 Adam St., Adelphi, London), in answer to the editor's request for information about Finland, that there is practically no direct written word, but that from Finns residing in Lund, Sweden, have been gleaned the following main points which the writer believes to be perfectly true: "State of war has been proclaimed in Finland as well as in Russia, and under the protection of this 'state' the first President of the Finnish Diet, Assessor Swinhufvud, has been dismissed from his office as a judge, arrested, and deported to Tomsk in Siberia; even other citizens are unlawfully arrested and deported to Russia or Siberia; the papers are suppressed. A Russian governmental committee, as far as I know appointed before the war, has worked out a program for making of Finland what is in reality a Russian province, and through the influence of the Russian Governor in Finland and other powerful Russian circles, the Emperor has been prevailed upon to sanction the program just now when the war laws make it possible to have it done without any protest in the Press. The contents of this program are said to be: The Finnish State officials are made removable—according to Finnish law, no State official can be discharged from his office without being legally found guilty of some crime,—and are to be judged by Russian law. They are not to be permitted to belong to any political party, and Finnish administrative officials are to be trained in Russia. Russian laws upon Press, associations, and meetings are to be applied in Finland; the Finnish University and schools are to be controlled by the Russian Ministry of Education; the Finnish custom system and money system are to be abrogated, and the situation of the Greek orthodox Church in Finland is to be altered so as to be predominant even in this country. With all this the Finnish Diet is left as it was, but only as an outward form, with no real power or influence."



### Martial Law.

There is in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* for January (Bi-monthly, Northwestern University Bldg., 31 Lake St., Chicago), a very important and timely essay entitled "Unconstitutional Claims of Military Authority." The writer is Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin, Henry Winthrop Ballantine. No true anti-militarist can

afford to be ignorant of this strong and authoritative legal argument against the assumptions of martial law in America. The paper, with its careful references to all sources, its scrupulous digests of authorities, is of the sort that makes one respect the legal profession and remember—what some seem to forget nowadays—that a man may love freedom, hate tyranny and be a lawyer too. The recent cases of martial law enforcement in Colorado, West Virginia and Montana are cited by the writer as illustrations of military arrogance and civil court servility; but it is the general argument, written simply enough for anyone to read, yet without loss of legal weight, that one wishes to quote entire instead of offering a few salient statements of fact and opinion:

The power to declare martial law is expressly recognized in only four States, namely: By the constitutions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and South Carolina, and by three of these it [this power to declare martial law] is confined to the legislature. . . . By express declaration in five States—Maryland, Maine, Vermont, West Virginia and Tennessee—no civilian can be subjected to martial law or to punishment thereby. . . . The military is, in all States except New York, declared forever subordinate to the civil power. . . . The whole history of English constitutional development shows a dramatic and a successful struggle for the complete subordination of executive power to law. . . . One who supposes that the ordinary law is helpless in the face of violence, disorder, and public danger shows himself very ignorant of the authority and resources which the law affords. . . . It will be found that the government has within the constitution all the powers which are necessary to preserve its existence and that of society. . . . From a practical as well as a theoretical point of view, necessity never requires that the constitution be suspended and set aside or that the citizens be subjected to arbitrary military orders. Such claims are not only unfounded in law but also unwarranted on grounds of expediency.

A. L. G.

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A little girl traveling in a sleeping car with her parents greatly objected to being put in an upper berth. She was assured that papa, mama, and God would watch over her. She was settled in the berth at last and the passengers were quiet for the night, when a small voice piped:

"Mama!"

"Yes, dear."

"You there?"

"Yes, I'm here. Now go to sleep."

"Papa, you there?"

"Yes, I'm here. Go to sleep like a good girl."

This continued at intervals for some time until a fellow passenger lost patience and called:

"We're all here! Your father and mother and brothers and sisters and uncles and aunts and first cousins. All here. Now go to sleep!"

"There was a brief pause after this explosion. Then the tiny voice piped up again, but very softly:

"Mama!"

"Well."

"Was that God?"—Kansas City Star.



"George, where are your school-books?"

"When notices appeared that books were wanted for the wounded, I gave mine to them."—Humorist-ticke Listy (Prague).

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Meets second and fourth Thursday, 1503 Walnut Street, 8 p. m. Literature can be had from Thos. Kavanagh, S. E. cor. 10th and Walnut. W. L. Ross, Chairman, 410 Gaskill St.; H. J. Gibbons, Sec. Treas., 1832 Land Title Bldg.; H. D. Albright, Vice Ch'n, John Goldsmith, Librarian; Henry Leffmann, J. A. Robinson, L. W. Marks, Exec. Councilors.

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Mrs. Jessie L. Lane, President, Riverdale, Maryland; Miss Alice L. George, Room 132, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

## Massachusetts Single Tax League

Executive Committee meets on second Friday of each month in Room 322 Exchange Building, 16 Congress St., Boston, at 7.15 P. M. All persons interested are welcome at these meetings.

Literature and membership blanks can be obtained from Ernest E. Brazier, Secretary, 79 Milk St., Room 901, Boston.

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