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EDITORIAL

Advancing Militarism.

A press dispatch reports that the Post Office Department has barred from the mails an article by Jack London entitled, "A Good Soldier." The reports further say that the purpose of this action is "To protect the uniform and those who wear it from insult or affront." It is possible that the Department has been misrepresented by the Associated Press. If the dispatch states the truth then it is but one more illustration of the need of curbing the authority of postal bureaucrats. If Mr. London's article contained anything libelous, then the injured wearer of a uniform should have him haled into court to explain. If what he said was true, then it is to the public interest that it be known. In either case the Post Office Department is wrong, provided it actually has issued the de-barring order. If soldiers are to receive special protection from the government, then we are on the way to development of an American Zubern affair. S. D.



Experts and Responsibility.

Senator Sherman, of Illinois, says, "Let politics be for politicians, but let preparation for the defenses of war be to the soldier." That is good as far as it goes; but before the soldier can make his preparations the politicians, speaking in behalf of the people, must determine what we are to prepare for. Are we to prepare to repel an attack upon our country? Is this preparation to include the Philippines? Is it to embrace the whole Western Hemisphere? Is it to cover participation in Asiatic affairs? Is it to take in world politics? Each of these requires a different kind of armament. There is no doubt that our military men can meet any of these requirements; but they can do nothing until Congress has decided which role the country is to play. President Wilson's proposal is entirely beyond the requirements for self-defense; it falls far short of what is necessary to play at world politics. Will the preparationists

kindly get together and tell us which part we are to assume?

s. c.



Discounting the Future.

Ask the preparationist, why this sudden zeal for a great armament and compulsory military service, and he answers: Because the world has changed, new conditions confront us, and the old methods of meeting them are inadequate. But how has he arrived at this conclusion? Granted that new conditions are coming, what reason has he for supposing the results he predicts will follow? He sees half the world war-mad, and civilized nations flying at each other's throats. Treaties are ruthlessly broken, international law is disregarded, and the common humanities trampled under foot; hence, the conclusion is that we can live in this mad world only by accumulating sufficient force to overcome the other mad men. Men are calmly saying, "This country will have to fight the victor in the present war."



Where is the warrant for all these assumptions? Persons who have visited the warring countries testify that the people are sick of the war. And while they are willing to continue these heroic sacrifices in order to maintain their national independence, they long for the coming of peace. Those who have followed the discussions in labor papers and noted the opinions of labor leaders in Europe must know that even in spite of this patriotic enthusiasm that has swept so many of their men into the armies, they are daily growing more restless under present conditions; and they are continuing their support of the war only on the understanding that real democracy is to prevail at the conclusion of hostilities. Why suppose that militarism rather than pacifism will spread over the world at the conclusion of the war? Why infer that the victorious nations will wish a war with us, rather than that all will desire peace? Why suppose that the people will become enamored of war, rather than sickened by it? It is quite clear that no one among us can say for certain just what conditions will follow the war. And since even if the worst that is imagined by the preparationists should come about, the military plans proposed by the President could not be carried into effect within five years, why not wait a little longer, and see what the result will be? There are good reasons for believing that the nations will be disgusted with war. But if, at the conclusion of the war, they should be on the point of agreeing to disarmament, and should see the wealthiest nation in the world entering upon a

great military program, what will be the effect upon them? To enter this war, or to begin at this time the amassing of a great armament for a future war, is not merely a political blunder; it is a crime.

s. c.



A Test of Preparationist Patriotism.

When Congress meets preparationists can demonstrate their unselfish patriotism by helping to put through a resolution providing for investigation by an impartial committee of all expenditures made in behalf of their agitation. If they have nothing to conceal, such a resolution will be promptly passed without opposition. If they have something to conceal, it will be fought.

s. d.



Why They Fought.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of Denver, who has charge of all the Methodist missions in Mexico, and who has spent much time in that country, says:

The fundamental trouble with Mexico is the land question and taxation. Much land there is owned by non-residents who do not pay one cent of tax thereon, and this grinds the natives. Concessions are another source of evil, and except for the mahogany concession there is scarcely any royalty paid. As for our policy, the best thing we can do is to let the natives work their way through in their own way.

Behold the calamity we have brought upon the long-suffering absentee landowners and concessionaires! General Carranza promises to make all these innocents pay taxes on all their holdings—including back taxes. How much better it would have been had we spent a half billion dollars, and sacrificed fifty thousand American lives in feebly upholding the old regime. What are peons for, if not to support their own government, and pay dividends on foreign holdings in their country? And Bishop McConnell has the temerity to say, hands off!

s. c.



Neutralizing the Philippines.

Objection is made to the proposition to neutralize the Philippines, and so remove our most vulnerable point of attack, that we should still find ourselves hung upon one horn or the other of a dilemma. Either we should stultify ourselves by passively watching their absorption by another nation, or we should have to maintain an armament sufficient to guarantee the neutrality of the Islands. This criticism is based upon a false foundation. We are no more bound to maintain the integrity of the Filipinos than we are to preserve Armenia. We went into the Philippines solely for the purpose of striking at Spain. Through a

blunder we were led into overthrowing the native government. It is our duty to restore that native government as soon as possible, and then withdraw. In withdrawing we should not omit any incidental service we can render. One such service is to secure if possible an agreement of the nations that the Islands shall be neutralized. If in subsequent events it shall happen that some nation breaks its faith, we are in no way bound to go to war about it; nor are we obliged to maintain a naval establishment to wage a successful war on the other side of the Pacific. It may be necessary for our self-protection to keep other nations out of the West India Islands; it merely adds to our weakness to hold territory on the far side of the Pacific. We should get out of the Philippines, both on the score of morals and of expediency.

S. C.



Making Friends Abroad.

America, having sent 255 Red Cross nurses to care for the sick and wounded in Europe, has done more to protect this country against foreign attack than would the building of a dozen dreadnaughts. Miss Mabel T. Boardman, chairman of the national relief board of the Red Cross, reviewing the work of the society in the European war, said that it had sown seeds of friendship for the United States. "It is not the crying out of 'Peace! peace!'," she says, "that will keep peace, but the creation and maintenance of friendly relations and good will between the nations that will make war impossible." If to the Belgium relief and the Red Cross service the United States will add free trade with all the world, as it has among the States, we shall indeed soon see peace. The way to turn strangers into friends instead of enemies is to treat them like friends.

S. C.



Going Them One Better.

Secretary Daniels, of the Navy, is considering plans for the building of two 36,000-ton battleships. These are larger than any now afloat, and are 4,000 tons greater than the largest American ships authorized. If the 36,000-ton ships are built by the United States, Germany will build 38,000-ton battleships, and England will start on 40,000-ton ships; then it will be our turn again. Meanwhile, Katherine Pettit and Ethel de Long, two college women in charge of Pine Mountain Settlement School, Harlan County, Kentucky, are pleading for a few hundred dollars to enable them to extend their work among the long-neglected mountaineers. We must have those 36,000-ton battleships, and then the 46,000-ton battleships,

and so on, even though the Pine Mountain Settlement School is compelled to refuse admission to such as the young woman who, being unable to rear her five children properly because of a drunken husband, pleaded, "I want you to take me with my young uns, and raise me the same way. I need to be fetched up just the way they are." Yes, by all means, let us have the battleships. Illiterate men make good cannon food; why waste money educating their children?

S. C.



Economic Justice First.

If Americans are ready to die for the country they must first find America well worth dying for. No state which permits the slums and condones vast inequalities of fortune can hope rationally for a devoted and virile patriotism. Preparedness to meet aggression . . . does not mean more ships and more guns. It means fundamentally a domestic strength and prosperity, which are possible only when justice and enlightenment rule the relations of all citizens.

Some may sneer at this quotation as the product of a "doctrinaire" or "visionary" mind, but that does not make it less forcible or true. It presents sound reasons why there is no need to worry about armies or navies or to speculate over possibility of foreign war. It conveys the idea that until "justice and enlightenment rule the relations of all citizens," America with its slums and tolerated inequalities of fortune, cannot "hope rationally for a devoted and virile patriotism." That means—if it means anything at all—that the first duty of an American patriot is to work for economic justice. It further means that an American is no patriot who works against economic justice, or who tries to push ahead of it for consideration such ideas as big armies or navies. The quotation is from the Chicago Tribune of November 21, and in itself refutes all that that paper and others have urged in behalf of military preparedness.

S. D.



A Common Denominator.

Though it is still impossible to say with certainty which side in the great war will win, the landowners in both Germany and England are marking up rents. During the budget discussion in the British Parliament, Mr. G. N. Barnes called attention to advancing rents, and presented notices issued to 42 tenants occupying a block of houses in one of the poorest districts in Glasgow. The rents were raised from £13 16s per year to £14 19s. If the tenants were not willing to pay the advance they were notified to clear out within two days. Such of the families as have members in the trenches in Belgium or at the Dardanelles must wonder whose war this is.

S. C.

Letting Babies Die.

Considerable agitation and discussion has resulted from the refusal of a Chicago physician to perform an operation which might possibly have saved an extremely defective infant to a life of misery. The physician was sustained in his refusal by the parents. All acted on the conscientious belief that under the circumstances it was not wrong to let the baby die. All are agreed that had the parents wished the baby's life to be saved it should have been done. All are agreed that had not the child's deformities extended to its mind, it should have been saved regardless of anyone's wishes. Whether even under the circumstances the physician was justified is a matter that will be well threshed out by others. But while the question of saving this deformed child was under discussion there were thousands of babies with no serious physical or mental defects dying or in danger of dying through deliberate neglect. These babies were suffering because their parents had been denied the opportunity to provide adequately for them. Legal restrictions bar these parents from needed opportunities. A comparatively slight operation would remove these restrictions. The operation required is not surgical, but legislative. But it cannot be performed without popular sanction. The citizens who oppose this sanction resemble the physician, but lack his excuse. Whether their opposition be due to ignorance or selfishness its result is the same. It dooms to misery and degradation, when it does not doom to death, thousands of helpless infants who, but for economic injustice, would be spared to a life of usefulness and happiness. Even if it were shown that the negligent physician was wrong, none can consistently condemn him who have deliberately maintained unjust economic conditions.

S. D.



Woman Suffrage and Direct Legislation.

The majority against woman suffrage in Pennsylvania at the recent election was cast by Penrose-controlled voters of Philadelphia. In the State outside the suffrage amendment had a clear majority. Even in Philadelphia the majority of 45,000 was not so large but that it might soon be overcome. But under the process for amending the Pennsylvania Constitution it will be impossible to submit the question again for five years. This would not be the case if the State had the Initiative and Referendum. In the interest of suffrage as well as of other democratic measures the submission of a direct legislation amendment at the earliest moment should be pushed, as well

as the submission of one providing for equal suffrage.

S. D.



Lawlessness in Utah.

Governor Spry of Utah announces that he will clear the State of lawless elements. Would it not be well to begin with the Governor and legislators who have openly defied the constitutional provision requiring adoption of an enabling act for the Initiative and Referendum? Or does Governor Spry want to be understood as having only poor and unimportant law breakers in mind?

S. D.



Reducing Hours of Labor.

It is evident from the various comments made on the question of an eight hour day that even honest conclusions may differ, according to the basis from which deductions are made. When Congress, a few years ago, investigated the making of wood pulp, it was discovered that the cost in some mills was twice as great as in other mills. When, therefore, the pulp makers asked for a tariff sufficient to cover the difference in cost in this country and foreign countries, Congress had to consider which mills it would protect, the best or the worst. A similar condition may account for the conflicting opinions regarding the reduction of hours of labor. The Manufacturers' News says:

The enforcement of an eight hour day at the present time will mean the loss of American markets and foreign markets to the American manufacturer. This will mean industrial depression, which in turn spells unemployment and hard times.

On the other hand, one of the manufacturers who has granted the eight hour day says:

This will not be anywhere near the wrench that was felt when we went to nine hours in 1901 and 1902. If the manufacturers are willing to assume their share of the burden, to standardize upon the fewest possible products, and to bend every energy to improve tools and manufacturing processes, there is no good reason why unit-production costs should go up under the shorter working schedule. We are satisfied that by careful and constructive planning we can keep costs at the present level and possibly reduce them.



Here is the whole story. One man understands his business better and is more resourceful than the other. Hence, the unit-cost is less in his factory. He does not need tariff protection, nor an extra hour from labor. The poorer manager needs both. Each speaks from his point of view. What is Congress to do? Is it to ward off competition and permit the longer workday to preserve the less fit manager? Or is it to subject the poorer man-

manufacturer to the competition of the better, and let him go to the wall in case he cannot keep up? If the former course be chosen we set our industrial pace to that of the slowest; if the latter course be adopted, we set our pace to that of the fastest, and eliminate those who cannot meet it. If competition rules, the better manufacturers will gradually absorb the trade of those who fail, and the workmen will pass from the poorly organized shops to the best organized shops. If competition be suspended by law, and profits be assured to both the good and the poor managers, neither will be incited to do his best. But if the protection be removed, both will strive their utmost, and the fittest will survive. Must labor work nine and ten hours a day, and consumers pay extra for their goods, merely that unfit manufacturers may be kept in the trade?

S. O.



Assaults on Business.

A deserved rebuke to the Manufacturers' Association of San Diego, California, was administered by County Auditor H. L. Moody. The association has issued a public statement under the heading, "Why Business Runs on Flat Tire," in which is displayed a pitiful inability to distinguish between predatory privilege and useful business. The greater part of it consists of complaints about anti-trust legislation, railroad regulation, tariff reduction, seamen's law, wage demands of labor, government paternalism, "mob democracy," "the movement known as 'the moral uplift,'" and burdensome taxation. Such complaints are by no means limited to San Diego. Mr. Moody makes clear that the San Diego Association's demands mean a free hand to such railroad looters as wrecked the New Haven road, no check on rebating or discrimination in railroad charges, no effort to prevent such disasters as those of the Eastland or Titanic, toleration of child labor, and other evils of the kind. The cry against the "moral uplift," Mr. Moody shows, amounts to a charge that honesty is not the best policy in business affairs.



There was so much to say in comment on this wail of distress that Mr. Moody was necessarily compelled to omit mention of some things. The Association complains of government paternalism "whereby we are creating a race of mendicants and incompetents," yet at the same time it bewails reduction of the tariff which modified a most outrageous form of paternalism that long ago developed as pestiferous a crew of wealthy mendicants and incompetents as could well be imagined. It complains of burdensome taxation of business,

when only a year ago business organizations in California's large cities helped to defeat home rule in taxation, which would have made possible untaxing of useful business. It wonders why "the great masses of a nation which is rolling in wealth [are] not purchasing freely in our home markets," while it objects to interference with a system that leaves to 60 per cent of the people but 5 per cent of the national wealth.

S. D.



Do Ohio Reactionaries See a Light?

The defeat in Ohio by 63,961 majority, of the proposed amendment to exempt bonds from taxation leads the Ohio Journal of Commerce to say:

With a regularity that is disappointing to those who want Ohio's tax system made better, the people vote down every proposed constitutional amendment. There is just one thing to do—and that is for all of the advocates of a change in the tax system to stand solidly and everlastingly for classification. If the Ohio Constitution is amended so as to permit of classification of property for purposes of taxation the big question of "tax reform" will be solved. Everybody in Ohio who wants better tax laws should study classification and teach its advantages, and before long a big majority of the voters will agree that classification is the way out.

One great obstacle to classification in Ohio has so far been the Ohio State Board of Commerce, of which the Journal of Commerce is the official organ. That body has been eager to get just enough classification to make possible such exemption as would suit the interests of its own members, but has opposed opening of the way to further tax reform, and has bitterly fought reforms desired by other than big business interests. During the recent campaign the Journal of Commerce urged adoption of the stability amendment to cripple the Initiative and Referendum. A year ago it urged a tax amendment that would give its constituents the classification they wanted, but was alleged "to make the Singletax impossible." While the Initiative and Referendum was pending it joined in the game of creating prejudice against and misrepresenting the Singletax in order to fool the voters into rejecting direct legislation.



The defeated bond exemption amendment was, as far as it went, a proper measure. Bonds should be exempt from taxation for the same reason that all other forms of personal property should be. But there is no reason why there should be discrimination between bonds and household goods, machinery, merchandise, buildings, livestock, crops or any other labor products. Having obtained bond exemption it was reasonably certain that the Ohio State Board of Commerce would fight against

opening the way to other brands of tax reform. Possibly—though it is not safe to so conclude—the Journal of Commerce's post-election comment may be construed as a realization of the fact that it cannot get the measure of reform which it wants without the co-operation of those who wish broader and more fundamental reforms. If so, it has begun to make surprising and commendable progress.



It will be the duty of Illinois voters next year to give the same lesson to certain narrow interests as Ohio voters have this year given to the State Board of Commerce. In Illinois there is pending a tax amendment allowing just enough tax reform to please the Chicago Real Estate Board, and not enough to be of value to anyone not an owner of intangible personal property. Illinois voters had asked for submission of an amendment allowing thorough classification, but the legislature obeyed the Chicago Real Estate Board instead. The voters will have a chance to express their opinion on this next November. In the meantime the Real Estate Board would do well to study the Ohio election returns on restricted tax reform.

S. D.



Counterfeit Tax Reform in Illinois.

The Chicago Daily News has the effrontery, in its issue of November 19, to represent the pending tax amendment in Illinois as similar to the broad classification amendment adopted in Maryland this year. The similarity between the two is about the same as between a counterfeit dollar bill and a genuine one. Because Maryland voters have accepted the genuine article, the News holds up their action as an example to be followed in Illinois by acceptance of a counterfeit. The News must be aware that the measure it is recommending is but a poor counterfeit of the Maryland amendment, or of the classification measure endorsed by the people of Illinois at the polls in 1912. In representing it as the genuine article, it proves itself unworthy of confidence.

S. D.



New York Land Speculators Squirming.

The New York landed interests opposing the un-taxing of buildings should get together on their objections. Two sets of arguments are presented for consideration to Mayor Mitchel's Committee on Taxation, one from the Real Estate Board and the other from the Advisory Council of Real Estate Interests. As reported in the Evening World of November 13 the Real Estate Board complains:

If the tax on buildings were transferred to land, it would diminish land values, and to cover this and the depreciation of their buildings owners would have to add so much more to rent in order to obtain an adequate return on their capital.

On the other hand the Advisory Council argues that "High rents cause high land values and not the converse." So it appears that the transfer of taxes to buildings is objectionable to New York's real estate interests because it will reduce land values, reduced land values will cause increased rents, and, since "high rents cause high land values," must raise land values higher than before. The argument is confusing and Mayor Mitchel's committee must have trouble determining whether the real estate men object to the proposed change, because they think it would lower rents, or because they think it would raise them. But if they honestly believed it would raise rents, while they must know that it would lower taxes on houses, is it probable that they would oppose it?



That these real estate interests do not believe that the change would increase rents, is further indicated by their quotation of the passage from "Progress and Poverty" showing that appropriation of rent through taxation would make land monopoly unprofitable. Unless the presentation of this was intended to becloud the issue it can only be explained on the ground that, while the real estate men hold its conclusion objectionable, they believe its reasoning to be correct. Otherwise it can have no bearing on the question at all. And if its reasoning is correct, then all statements made by these objectors must be false, by which they aim to show that the proposed measure would have results different from what Henry George's logic demonstrated. The objectors would be entitled to more respect if they were to frankly state that they wish to conserve their private interests regardless of public welfare.

S. D.



"Streeterville" Titles.

It seems that in commenting on the case of Captain Streeter, on page 1117, an error was made in the assertion that the Captain's claim to discovery is not disputed. The following correction is offered by former Judge Edward Osgood Brown, who, needless to say, is thoroughly familiar with all the angles of the case. Judge Brown says:

You say that the "fact" that Streeter "discovered" the land and was the first to use it "is not disputed." It certainly is disputed and is not indeed alleged by him or his friends, except in the preposterous form that his boat once sank to the bottom of the lake at a point some distance from his present occupation, and he thus "discovered" the land at the bottom.

But I do not care to enter into the exceedingly questionable practices of Streeter. I desire to point out, however, that it is not Streeter's but the record title owner's claims that are "morally incontestible," if private property in land is "morally justified."

The land which Streeter has "squatted on" did not "rise in the lake adjacent to their property." It was actually made by them—filled in at great expense—and protected at an equally great expense by them by building a breakwater against the waters of the lake.

Moreover, that part of the bottom of the lake on which the land was made was granted to them directly by the State of Illinois, to which the Supreme Court of the United States said it belonged. It was thus granted in consideration of their paying not only for the breakwater and the filling, but also for the driveway and park places reserved for public use.

S. D.



Who Owns the Earth?

The people of Rhode Island and of Massachusetts, being citizens of the same country, and enjoying the same free and enlightened institutions, might be supposed to have the same rights and privileges. But they have not. In Rhode Island people may walk along the shore between private land and the sea; in Massachusetts they cannot. Why? Is it because the people of Massachusetts have agreed to forego that right? Or have the people of Rhode Island fought and bled that they might number this among their blessings? No, it is because the charter of Charles II. to Rhode Island gave the right of access to the shores, and the right of the public to walk on them; while the charter of James I. did not give that right to the people of Massachusetts. Neither of these kings ever saw New England, and both of them have been a long time dead. Yet the people of free America are still observing the rules laid down by two kings who died in England nearly three hundred years ago. Have Americans really a sense of humor?

S. O.



THOSE THAT KNOW.

Formal reports about any sort of conditions of men are likely to be poor, weak apologies for real knowledge. This is the case of so many painful and painstaking investigations, which, after being duly published, fall into "innocuous desuetude." The trouble is that such reports and publications do not, can not, bring home to us the real facts, the real conditions. Now and then some genius shoots a ray which makes real disclosures, but I am speaking of the dry, exact, or would-be exact, scientific type of reports. No valuable human realization seems to come that way.

A friend of mine, rich, benevolent, and with

abundance of leisure, wrote and published an account of an investigation which he personally made concerning the condition of the poor people in a certain city. With all the willing sympathy possible I found that after reading his report I failed to get into my system any satisfactory realization of the actual life of the people. He who saw with his own eyes must have had a fuller and deeper realization than any reader of his report could have—it is of course some gain to go and see for one's self. But I could not, after reading the account, help the suspicion whether he himself really knew and realized the lives of these subjects of his investigation.

I cannot keep from wondering whether anybody, however sympathetic, can know much about poverty or the conditions of the poor unless he has had the actual experience, and whether this is not the reason why so much modern writing about social conditions is so futile, gets us such a little way toward helping matters. Who is the modern writer whose writing has counted most in this line? Surely Henry George. And could he have written as he did, could he have written some of the chapters in *Social Problems*, in the *Condition of Labor*, and those wonderful closing pages of *Progress and Poverty*, had he not in his life been actually driven to beg in the streets? He knew what it meant to be poor and therefore he, who also had a genius for expression, could write about poverty as no other man has written. The saying is true that the destruction of the poor is their poverty. Perhaps the paradox may also be true that the salvation of the poor must come from poverty.

Who can know what it means to be without a penny except the man who has been without a penny? Add to this that the man has others who are naturally dependent upon him, whom he sees stunted and starved. Who that has not drunk the same cup could know the torture of the soul in such a man? I heard the other day a pathetic story, told by a now prosperous son, of a man who got broken down after the war in the South. The pitifully slender means of the family came from the mother's small school which she had started in the town as a makeshift. The son told me he remembered hearing his father ask one day of the mother that she give him five cents to put in his pocket, that he would not spend it, but he hated to walk down the street without a penny in his pocket. Who can know the humiliation of such experience except the man who has suffered it?

It would be well if some way could be found for getting the poor to make investigations and reports instead of committing such tasks to college specialists. No matter how learned in economics

or how intensely diligent they may be, such specialists, with all their would-be science of sociology, are not the men or women for this human task. We must get rid of much of our sociological faddery and be ready to listen to plain poor folks before we can make much headway in understanding and realizing the hard problems of poverty.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE CALIFORNIA REFERENDUM.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 17, 1915.

The Secretary of State for California has just announced to the press that every measure before the voters of this State on October 26 has been rejected at the elections on that date. Only 22% of the registered voters expressed their will. It may be interesting to know about Carl Plehn of the Department of Economics, at the University of California, a so-called tax expert, and consistent spokesman for the realty and railroad and other private interests. As a quasi-member of the State Board of Equalization he was largely responsible for the drafting of Constitutional Amendment No. 1, which passed in 1910 after three previous defeats. This bill took the taxing of corporations out of the hands of cities and counties, and worked out very disastrously to the interests of the people of California, much to Plehn's discredit. He has again met defeat at the hands of the people, of whom he has stated several times that "questions of taxation are too complicated and technical for them to understand."

Plehn and State Senator Newton Thompson (Thirty-fifth District) have been the leading spirits and authors of the taxation measure before the voters on October 26. This bill provided for cities and counties surrendering their rights of taxation to the State Legislature and a commission which could have usurped what little power still remains in the public control. The bill was defeated by a vote of 205,597 against 42,158. Plehn has also lost his job on the State Board, having been dropped from his \$3,000 a year place by his associates for strictly political reasons. However, the majority of the people of this State, who are tenants and trespassers, need not feel so sorry over his dismissal. He and Senator Thompson did not intend to await the report of the State Tax Commission, which was authorized to investigate tax conditions and file a recommendation as to future corrective legislation. But the people thought otherwise. If Singletaxers of California become more militant they may be able to influence this commission in its deliberations and recommendations, along equitable and rational lines. The tax muddle now in existence needs and merits some action along sane lines.

WALDO WERNICKE.



The man with toothache thinks everyone happy whose teeth are sound. The poverty-stricken man makes the same mistake about the rich man.—Bernard Shaw.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PREPAREDNESS AN EVIL

Sioux Falls, S. D., Nov. 15.

I protest against the Administration's plan for increasing the army and navy in order to prepare this country for war. I believe there is less danger of invasion than ever before in the history of the United States. When the present war is over, Europe will have no ships with which to invade the United States and no money to equip an expedition. It would take the victorious nation a year to get ready. Why, then, should the attention of our people be turned to the preparation for war which must result ultimately in war?

I also believe that if we prepare, Canada and the rest of North and South America must prepare for war and thus turn this Continent into an armed camp which has, for forty years, cursed Europe and her laboring population with enormous taxes and resulted in the present universal conflict.

I believe that interested parties are back of this agitation for preparation for war, men who speculate out of the necessities of governments engaged in armed conflicts and who never do any fighting or join the army themselves. No war can be a just war but a war of defense to repel invasion.

I believe that the best preparation for war will be to do economic justice by our own population—by furnishing every man a chance to earn a living, protecting him from exploitation by the cunning and the strong, and by making it sure that he has the entire product of his toil, and thus infuse our citizens with such intense patriotism and love of country that invasion would be impossible.

I am certain no European nation, or Asiatic nation, for that matter, will undertake to invade the United States. It would take a thousand ships to transport one million men to the shores of the United States from any country. These ships would cost more than two billions of dollars, to say nothing of the equipment and food and armament which they would have to bring with them. And if they should succeed in evading our submarines, and finally reach our shore and land their entire force, while they were doing so, we would throw up an embankment of earthworks around them, which the battles of Europe have demonstrated are impregnable. We would not have to attack them—only resist their attacks—and hold our entrenchments. Our submarines would cut them off from their supplies by sea, and the ultimate result would be their utter destruction by starvation, and without ever being able to leave the shore where they landed. If they landed in Mexico or Canada, the result would be the same—we would meet them on our border line.

In all the history of the world, no great army with its equipment has ever been transported across the sea and successfully invaded any country. For a thousand years England has been free from invasion because of the 20 miles of water which separate her from the continent of Europe. Spain, in the height of her power and greatness, equipped the Armada to invade England and she entered the English Channel with a vast force of more than ten ships to one of the force England could bring

against her; and yet no landing was made on the English coast, but her immense ships—twice as large as those commanded by Howard and Drake—went to the bottom, and the Armada, after sailing around England and Scotland, was wrecked in a storm on the coast of Ireland. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Tartars, under the leadership of Kubla Kahn, invaded and conquered all China. He then assembled his army for the conquest of Japan and, with 300,000 men, crossed the Chinese Sea, expecting an easy conquest of the Japanese islands. The Japanese had not been at war for centuries; nor were they prepared for war, and yet they destroyed this army of Kubla Kahn before they were ever able to land a man upon the shores of Japan, and Kubla Kahn escaped back to China, with a remnant of but 3,000 men. There is no nation on earth who would ever even undertake to cross the ocean and invade this country, and, if they should, they could accomplish nothing, but leave their bones upon our shores, a monument to their folly.

I therefore believe that there is no good motive behind the organized effort to scare the American people into spending hundreds of millions to prepare for war.

R. F. PETTIGREW.



THE GREAT TEXTUAL DELUSION.

New York City, November 17.

That the Bible has completely lost its literal authority is so patent that to prove this assertion would be superfluous. Orthodox churches reserve the right to interpret the Bible according to their present divine guidance. Liberal churches find in the Bible inspiration along moral and spiritual lines. But neither orthodox nor liberal church is guided in its conduct by the literal command or suggestion of any biblical verse. Men do not necessarily change their mode of life or their single acts of conduct just because they find a biblical passage pointing the way. The same is true of nations. The fine pacific ideals of the Bible, and especially of the Prince of Peace, are not national guides. Find a hundred Bible sentences in support of peace and the nations ignore them completely. The reason is evident. The Bible is not one book. It is a literature embodying all sorts of ideas and ideals. You can find passages in support of war as well as verses favoring peace. You can find chapters urging disarmament and you can find paragraphs bidding gird the loins and buckle on the armor. One thing, however, is certain. The highest reaches of the Bible are for peace and human brotherhood. We have been treated recently to biblical proofs for the necessity of preparedness. Ezekiel has been invoked. The verse was plucked out of its context and used as a warning for America. Two distinguished Americans have stumbled on the same verse independently of each other. But wherefore this great textual delusion? Even if Ezekiel did advise preparedness under conditions exactly similar to our own, what would that prove? Is America guided by Ezekiel? Will it establish in detail that priestly code promulgated by Ezekiel? That ancient prophet-priest was never proclaimed as the infallible authority on national policies. Why bolster up the jingo specter that cannot stand on its ghostly feet with a verse from Ezekiel? There is no doubt that

the prophet was right in his own day. And we can still learn a great deal from his sage counsel. Let us not delude ourselves and the public at large, however, that just because we found a verse in the Bible that happens to favor preparedness, therefore we who are not guided by other verses which are not in accord with our views must defer to the scriptural authority and increase our army and navy. If the Bible is a literal authority, then let us follow all of its teachings and suggestions. If it is only a guide in the sense of illuminating life's experiences for us, then let us not confuse issues and delude ourselves with textual quotations.

NATHAN KRASS (RABBI).



THE DUTY OF A WATCHMAN.

Denver, Colo., November 16.

President Wilson is most unfortunately incomplete in his Scripture quotation which has been going about in the newspapers as an argument for military "preparedness." He begins with the first verse of the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel and leaves off at the sixth.

If he would give us the real meaning of "the word of the Lord" to Ezekiel he should begin with the sixth verse instead of ending with it, and then we should have this:

6. But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

7. So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word of my mouth, and warn them from me.

8. When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

9. Nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it; if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul.

Unmistakably the part of the chapter quoted by the President was used to illustrate and make plain Ezekiel's duty as a prophet of the Lord. So if President Wilson is forming his idea of warning the people from the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel, let him read and heed this: "If thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand." If he does not know of any so conspicuously wicked as to need warning, I would respectfully refer him for information to the report of Frank Walsh of the Industrial Commission.

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.



PACIFISM VERSUS PROFITS.

New York, November 16.

The following is quoted verbatim from the Weekly Financial Review sent out by a prominent New York banking house:

... these war orders were a powerful stimulus in business revival. They first awoke the country out of its lethargy; *diverted the public mind from discontent*; excited new activities and inaugurated a new speculative furor, which, without intelligent restraint, would quickly have wrecked the forward movement. As to how long the latter will last, much depends upon events which cannot yet be determined. *If the war is much prolonged,*

European purchases of munitions and food products must be continued on a large scale; *thus affording us a good market* for munitions, food products, etc. *At this writing, there are no prospects for early peace. It is true there is a good deal of talk of that nature, but with both sides so completely possessed by a determination to fight until victory is assured, there is little prospect of an early end to hostilities.* Not until a decisive blow of great importance has been struck can we reasonably expect any serious steps towards peace. [The italics are our own.]

Therefore, cheer up, American investor in "war stocks." You need not fear for your profits because, fortunately, there seem to be no prospects of "an early end to hostilities." This is what can be read between the lines of above notice. With so much American capital depending for profitable investment on a continuation of the mad carnage in Europe, how futile seem the occasional perfunctory newspaper suggestions from Peace Societies that we should call a conference of neutral nations to put an end to the war! Also how easy it is to combine the investor's interest in his money and his patriotic fervor for his country's "honor," and induce him to work for a "preparedness" scheme that will promote munitions buying in this country and save him from loss even if, contrary to expectations, peace should come about in Europe.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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 Monday, November 22, 1915.

The Labor War.

The American Federation on November 16 passed a resolution for an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen. On November 17 resolutions passed urging citizenship for Porto Ricans, and requesting all members of the Federation to donate to the Danbury haters their entire pay for the second hour of work on January 27, and declaring against a large standing army but urging "a citizen soldiery democratically organized and controlled, so as to prevent either the small standing army or the larger supplements and its units to be used for or by any special privileged class, either at home or abroad." [See current volume, page 1122.]

Three leaders of striking miners were sentenced to six months in jail for contempt on the 16th at Phillipi, West Virginia. They are said to have ignored an injunction issued in 1914, by organizing a union among employes of the Pittsburgh and West Virginia Coal Company at Colliers, West Virginia.

The first strike to take place in the postal service

occurred at Fairmont, West Virginia, on November 17. Twenty-five clerks in the local post office walked out. They had presented complaints to the Department against the postmaster, which had been ignored. On November 19 an announcement was reported made by the Post Office Department at Washington that the strikers would be prosecuted for conspiracy.

Mayor Thompson of Chicago again declined on November 18, in reply to a delegation headed by Miss Jane Addams, to take any action to bring about arbitration of the local garment workers' strike.

Concerning Federal Revenue.

The following letter was sent to President Wilson on November 12 by the New York Society to Lower Rents, under the signatures of President Frederic C. Leubuscher and Secretary Benjamin C. Marsh:

The question of securing revenue is increasingly serious for the Federal government, the State governments and localities, due to the necessity for larger expenditures for preparedness and to the fact that many states and cities have followed a policy of deferred payments creating enormous debts. The carrying charges for these debts constitute a large proportion of the expenditures of several cities and states, uniquely of New York City, where the interest charges on our debt amount to \$55,000,000, or nearly one-third of our total current budget for local purposes.

You appreciate that most of the revenue for governmental purposes is now derived from the wage earners of the country, and from those with small incomes. A contemptible, but serious, effort is being made in this State by Republican leaders to embarrass the Federal Administration by imposing an income tax for local and state purposes, in order to prevent the Federal Government from securing a proper amount of revenue from this source.

Senator Ogden L. Mills, a Republican and Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Taxation of New York State, openly urges states and localities to adopt the income tax before the Federal Government dries up this source of revenue.

Naturally, if states and localities secure any part of their revenue by an income tax, which should be reserved for national purposes, the Federal Government must increase the already unfairly heavy burden of taxation upon the workers of the country.

We request that you urge Congress to increase the tax rate upon large incomes. In our judgment, at least two hundred or two hundred and fifty million dollars should be secured by the Federal Government from an income tax, through a very rapidly progressive rate upon incomes in excess of \$100,000. England now levies a tax of 34% upon incomes over \$500,000. The rate in this country is only 6%, and the total yield from the individual income tax last year was a little over \$41,000,000.

The proper source of revenue for cities of the country is the ground rents, created and maintained

by the people and by the public expenditures for which the people pay, but most of which now go, in every American city, into the pockets of a few land owners.

You will render an enormous service to the workers of the country by relieving them, through the method we suggest, from part of the present unjust burden of taxation, a burden which the privileged classes seek to increase.



Mexico.

The rapidly increasing stream of returning Mexican refugees indicates confidence in the new government. Railway equipment is very meager, as a result of the military operations; but what remains is now taxed to its utmost. The one train a day out of Piedras Negras is insufficient to distribute to the interior those who are returning from Texas. A large number of people also are reported on their way to Mexico City. Military operations appear to be confined to lesser battles and skirmishes between General Villa's dwindling forces in Sonora, and General Obregon's men. A battle is reported at Alamito, 23 miles north of Hermosillo, in which Villa was defeated. An effort is being made by the Carranza forces to prevent his return to Nogales. [See current volume, page 1122.]



European War.

No material changes during the past week are to be noted on either the eastern or the western front. The Russians continue to hold their line, and they report some small advances in the Riga region. Heavy artillery firing is reported on the western front, but unaccompanied by any extensive engagement of infantry. It is given out that the French and English are waiting till the Russians re-arm before attempting another advance. [See current volume, page 1121.]



Serbia continues to be the chief point of interest. The Teutonic allies are advancing slowly from the north, while the Bulgarians are pushing their way from the east. Southwest of Nish, almost on the western border of their country the main Serbian army is making a desperate effort to save itself near the historic Field of Blackbirds, where the Turks crushed the Serbs in 1389. The southern Serbian army has been pushed back by the Bulgarians almost to Monastir, the former capital of Turkish Macedonia. British troops are reported at Monastir. The Allies continue their offensive on their line from Strumnitza westerly to the Vardar Valley. It is estimated that 80,000 Serbs have been taken prisoners by the invaders. The north Serbian army is retreating into Montenegro, into which country the Austrians have made a small advance.



Much uneasiness was felt by the Allies over the attitude of Greece. It was feared she might disarm

the Serbs and French and English, should they be driven back upon her soil. Mr. Denys Cochin, a French cabinet minister, has been in Athens, where he was joined by Earl Kitchener, to come to a definite understanding with the Greek government. It is unofficially announced that King Constantine and Premier Skouloudis have given satisfactory assurances that neither the Serbs or the Allies will be disturbed should they be driven into Greek territory. A tentative blockade of Greece was announced, and it is reported that the fleet of the Allies is searching ships bearing the Greek flag. Earl Kitchener has visited the Dardanelles and Saloniki, but has made no public announcement of future policies.



Italy is making a renewed effort to take the Isonzo stronghold of Goritz. Heavy cannonading has continued for nearly two weeks, and 500,000 men are carrying on the investment. The city is reported severely damaged by shells, and several of the fortifications have been captured. It is predicted by the Italians that the place will soon fall into their hands. With Goritz in their possession the Italians can throw sufficient forces into Austria to require assistance from the Russian front or from the Balkans.



Closer co-operation and massing of strength by the Allies is sought in the meeting of the British war cabinet with the French cabinet in Paris on the 17th. It is expected that Italy and Russia will join the next meeting, which will be held in London. Great Britain, it is reported, has loaned her Allies \$2,000,000,000. China is being urged by the Allies to join them, not for the purpose of taking part in the war, but to prevent disturbances in the East, and to permit Japan to give all her attention to manufacturing munitions for Russia.

NEWS NOTES

—Governor Whitman of New York, on November 19, signed the petition to Congress for a national woman suffrage amendment.

—Joseph Hillstrom was executed at Salt Lake City on November 19, in spite of President Wilson's request for a commutation of sentence. [See current volume, page 984.]

—Portugal is confronted by another crisis in the resignation of the cabinet. Alfonso Costa, a radical who has been in previous cabinets, is expected to be the new premier.

—Missouri's State Public Utilities Commission on November 13 allowed increase of railroad passenger rates to 2½ cents a mile and an average freight rate increase of 5 per cent.

—The annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in Philadelphia on

Thursday, December 2. Headquarters are at the Hotel Adelphia, where all sessions will be held.

—The first train over the Government railroad in Alaska ran on November 9 between Seward and a point known as "Mile Twenty-Nine." The train carried mail and freight. [See current volume, pages 406, 593.]

—A jury at Riverhead, L. I., in a case before Supreme Court Justice Kelby, on November 19, awarded \$200 damages to a negro against the owner of a moving picture theater who had refused to permit him to occupy a reserved seat which he had bought.

—The Singletax Society of Delaware, in session at Wilmington, on November 19 elected W. H. Willis of Dover, president; G. Frank Stephens of Arden, J. Ernest Phillips of New Castle and Esley M. Rust of Smyrna, vice presidents, and J. F. Thomas of Wilmington, secretary and treasurer.

—The Sunday closing law of Oregon was declared unconstitutional by the District Court at Portland on November 6. The decision was on a case where a grocery keeper was prosecuted for selling on Sunday. The law forbids conducting of business on the "Lord's day." This was held by the court to be religious discrimination.

—The Shah of Persia, who with his cabinet was preparing to leave Teheran, announced after a conference with the British and Russian ministers that he would remain in the capital. The Shah declared himself a friend of Great Britain and Russia. He said great efforts had been made by the Germans to drag Persia into the war against Russia.

—In officially issuing on November 19 his call for a special session of the Illinois Legislature to meet on November 22, Governor Dunne recommended, in addition to appropriations made necessary by a recent Supreme Court decision, submission of a constitutional amendment empowering the Governor to pare down items in appropriation measures. [See current volume, page 1102.]

—At the Tennessee Democratic primaries on November 21, Senator Luke Lea was defeated for renomination in a three-cornered contest. Congressman Kenneth McKellar received a plurality of 2,700 over former Governor Malcolm R. Patterson, who ran second. Since no candidate received a clear majority McKellar and Patterson must enter a second contest at the polls on December 15.

PRESS OPINIONS

Truth Is Mighty and Will Prevail.

Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 12.—Henry George, whom the citizens of New York City once rejected as a candidate for Mayor, lives on as a factor in the history of the metropolis of the United States, for the simple reason that the problems he advised his fellow citizens about continue and become more acute. Thus, there has just been seen a special commission on taxation, named by the Mayor, sitting and taking evidence pro and con from many witnesses about the need of "untaxing improvements" in the metropolis, and the desirability of reducing the handi-cap that the progressive and public-spirited landlords

experience under a system of taxation that penalizes their acumen and enterprise. The day for scoffing at the demand which Mr. George first voiced commandingly is past. The trend is toward a system of taxation that is too just to let socially created values augment private fortunes.



Worse Than Tariff-Protection.

The Nebraska Farmer (Lincoln), November 3.—To protect American industries against the "dumping" of foreign products when peace and commerce are restored, Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce proposes to take wholly unwarranted measures, if he is correctly reported by the Washington dispatches. He will recommend to Congress, the dispatches say, the enactment of a law "making selling by foreign firms at less than the cost of production here 'unfair competition,' punishable under the anti-trust laws." This can have no other meaning than that no matter how high the cost of the production of an article in this country, and no matter how low the cost of production abroad, we would deliberately shut ourselves away from the cheaper supply. If such a law is enacted it will be equivalent to saying to foreign manufacturers: "Yes, your goods are all right, only they are too low priced. You must charge us more for them. Unless you do, we will fine you." We couldn't believe that Secretary Redfield had proposed any such ridiculous thing until we had read it in four newspapers. . . . To make it illegal to sell below the cost of production in this country is to rob ourselves of any advantages that foreign manufacturers may have in the production of any article and to shut out foreign competition as a price regulator. Furthermore, the application of the proposed plan is not to be limited, it seems, to new industries. Secretary Redfield's scheme is worse than the protective tariff duties to which he objects so strenuously.



Revenge Is Not War.

The Daily News & Leader (London), October 27.—"Press the policy of reprisals to the extreme and it becomes unworkable, because it is too awful to contemplate." This verdict of the London coroner who sat yesterday on yet another victim of the Zeppelins has already been endorsed by a number of distinguished Englishmen; and their unanimity in the matter is almost the only comforting feature in connection with these exhibitions of brute ferocity, unless Sir Percy Scott's announcement of the improvement in progress in the defense of London against them is to be so accounted. Clearly there is no stopping "war in the air" now; but unless the world is really to "reel back into barbarism" in the future, air war must take on a new form. Even the present war has shown that it is possible to use the new arm cleanly, honorably, and gallantly. But the civilization of the future can only look back with horror, whatever the issue of the present conflict may be, on the use of aircraft to massacre civilians or destroy irreplaceable art treasures. The last raid on Venice is a horrible example of vandalism of this kind. Men who do these things, in whatever cause, are the common enemies of mankind. Nothing can possibly excuse such outrages; the only

hope for the future of civilization lies not in reprisals, but in the final exorcism of the spirit which can even imagine a justification of them.



The War of Attrition.

The Nation (London), October 16.—We have no longer armies maneuvering for position, making brilliant and unexpected descents, capturing capitals of great territories, and so achieving victory. We have a gigantic siege of the Central European powers, by an Alliance of the nations and empires outside their borders, in which all scientific ingenuity has been devoted to a brutal apparatus of slaughter. Blockaded at sea, unable to break the land barrier of trenches and excavations, perpetually slaying and perpetually being slain with high explosive shells, poisonous gases, bombs, and every contrivance to kill that science can devise, the population of the Germanic powers are steadily drawn to the scenes of carnage, to replace the fallen and unnoticed dead; and as steadily are there destroyed. . . . All sieges, if sufficiently prolonged, end in the surrender of the besieged. In the examples given, it took four years for the North to beat the South by attrition, seven years for a grotesquely outnumbered Paraguay to be wiped off the face of the earth. But given these other items as satisfactory, the besiegers have but to know the rate of loss of those besieged and the amount of human material which is the total "capital" thus wasting day by day, in order to approximate, with some scientific accuracy, the time of the coming of the end. And after that end, war, shorn of all its glories, may appear as the hideous thing it is—the populations of the world, with no personal quarrel against each other, tearing each other to pieces in the mud and darkness—each individual dehumanized into a part of a gigantic military mechanism which flings him to certain death, and is well satisfied if, in dying, he destroys another of his fellow-men. And with war and all its glories thus at last "found out," there may be some hope that sanity will return again to the world.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BLIND GUIDES.

For The Public.

Call them not careless, ye who languish there
Amid the stifling vapors of the vale.
Think not they do not see your children pale
Nor hear the lamentations of despair
That fill the awful night. For though they wear
No hairy robe, nor selfish seek the Grail,
And seem unscathed, yet borne upon the gale
That sweeps the height, Life's arrows rend and tear.

And on them lies the weight of others' woe—
Your woe, not theirs, through grim necessity.
And this cruel heritage to feel and see
The sorrow of the motley throng below
Grows greater as they seek in vain—in vain!—
The path that leads to Freedom is not plain!

RICHARD WARNER BORST.

LAND VALUE INCREASE IN AMERICAN CITIES.

For The Public.

I. An Abatis of Difficulties.

The investigator of city land values is confronted, at the outset, with a number of serious difficulties which militate against accuracy and seriously jeopardize the validity of the results. The chief of these difficulties lie in (1) the meagerness of the data; (2) the variation in rules of assessment; (3) the variation in the method of assessment; and (4) the variation in the acreage assessed under use. Each of the four difficulties is a problem in itself.

The data relating to city land values are meager—so meager, that after months of inquiry, it seemed that there would not be sufficient material to warrant its incorporation into an article.

The basis of the present study was laid by a circular letter, addressed to the assessors in each of the 109 cities of the United States having a population of 50,000 or more inhabitants in 1910. Twenty-four assessors replied with the necessary information; fifty-nine made no reply at all, even after sending two follow-up letters; and in the remaining twenty-six cases, the data were so unsatisfactory as to be unusable.

The data for city land values are not only meager—they are inaccurate as well. The rules for assessment vary so widely that the results are not strictly comparable. In some cities, full value at forced sale is assessed; again, the assessment is rated in the full value at private sale; in other instances a percentage of one of these amounts is taken—60 per cent for example—and the assessment published accordingly.

The mode of assessment is even more discouraging, being, in many cases, little better than the guess of the assessor, modified to meet personal and political obligations. Thus far, assessing has been done in a hit or miss, unscientific manner. No uniformity has been maintained and the accuracy of the results is of necessity open to question.

The last point of serious difficulty lies in the variation in the amount of assessed used acreage. Even in cases where the city remains stationary in its total acreage, the uses of given acres vary.

At one time a given city has improved only 50 per cent of its acreage. The other half of the city may be occupied by truck gardens, vacant lots and city dumps. Ten years later, while there may have been no increase in the total acreage of the city, half of the amount formerly unused, may be built upon. The city land would then be improved upon 75 per cent of its acreage. This change is, in one sense, a logical part of the process of land value increase; in another sense, the extended area of improvements within the city limits has really

changed the status of a quarter of the city land. There is, of course, no way in which the proportion of land actually used for the city may be ascertained.

The information relative to city land values is so incomplete and inadequate that E. W. Doty makes the statement, in a letter dated December 23, 1912: "I do not believe that any authentic information concerning the increase in city land values exists. Until assessments are made by the same method everywhere, there will be little in the way of statistics that will exhibit the information in the way that you desire." Other experts on city land valuation write in an equally pessimistic tone concerning the possibilities of securing adequate data. If the difficulties alone are considered, the pessimism seems justified. A study of available data provokes, on the other hand, a belief that the difficulties of the situation may perhaps have been somewhat over-rated.

The material on the increase in city land values furnished by the various city assessors may be grouped in several classes. First, there are the data from five cities that have published separate land values and assessment values for approximately a quarter of a century. Second, there are the figures published by the New York City authorities for Greater New York. Third, there are the figures covering about a decade published for a miscellaneous group of cities in all parts of the country. These last figures will be separately considered, as they relate to cities in the East and the West.



II. A Quarter Century of Land Value Increases.

Five American cities report the assessments of land independent of improvements for a sufficient period to warrant consideration. These cities are Boston, Milwaukee, Washington, Kansas City, and Holyoke. The population of Boston is over half a million. Milwaukee, Washington and Kansas City have populations between 100,000 and 500,000, and the population of Holyoke falls under 100,000. Even the cities with like sized populations differ radically in the ratio of land value increase.

Table I.—Assessed Valuation in Millions of Land in Certain American Cities, Which Publish Data Covering a Quarter Century.*

Year.	Boston.	Milwaukee.	Washington.	Kansas City.	Holyoke.
1899.....	350	..	57	..	6
1890.....	366	52	77	..	6
1891.....	381	58	77	..	6
1892.....	399	65	76	30	6
1893.....	417	72	76	29	7
1894.....	422	75	113	29	7

*The population of these cities at the last three censuses was as follows:

	Boston.	Milwaukee.	Washington.	Kansas City.	Holyoke.
1890.....	448,477	204,468	230,392	132,716	35,637
1900.....	560,892	285,315	278,718	163,752	45,712
1910.....	670,585	373,857	331,069	248,381	57,730

1895.....	444	74	113	29	8
1896.....	447	74	108	29	8
1897.....	468	74	105	29	11
1898.....	483	74	103	23	13
1899.....	508	75	103	34	14
1900.....	533	76	99	36	14
1901.....	547	80	99	36	14
1902.....	573	81	99	37	14
1903.....	595	83	..	37	14
1904.....	607	84	119	37	14
1905.....	619	86	119	37	14
1906.....	635	87	137	39	15
1907.....	653	91	137	53	15
1908.....	656	91	137	53	16
1909.....	659	95	151	52	16
1910.....	672	100	152	60	17
1911.....	685	..	151	60	17
1912.....	702	..	170	67	20
1913.....	716	..	169	71	21
1914.....	723	..	169	72	23

The population in each of the five cities under discussion has increased considerably between 1890 and 1910. The increase was—for Boston, 49.5 per cent; for Milwaukee, 82.8 per cent; for Washington, 42.6 per cent; for Kansas City, 87.9 per cent, and for Holyoke, 64.8 per cent. The increases in land values have been far less regular. The land values in Boston have increased consistently since 1889. During these twenty-five years they have more than doubled in amount. The land values for Milwaukee during a slightly shorter period of time (a change in the method of assessment in 1911 renders the values since that time unusable) practically doubled. The land values in Washington have trebled during the past twenty-five years, although they decreased somewhat between 1895 and 1903. The valuation in Kansas City has increased two and a half times during twenty-three years. The figures for Holyoke show a far more rapid increase than those for any other of the cities—the total increase reported being four-fold. The figures are suggestive, though far from conclusive. They show, for five cities with a normal population growth,* value increases double and treble what they were a quarter century ago. With the exception of these five, no American cities publish data covering a sufficiently long period of time to warrant substantial conclusions. It is worth remarking, however, that during the last ten years, for which alone the figures for most cities are available, the ratio of increase in land values in the five cities already cited was smaller than in the preceding ten years. The figures covering the period since 1906 or 1907 refer to years following the rapid inflation of land values 1898 to 1907.

*The growth of the urban population of the United States during the past decades is as follows:

Census year.	Urban population.
1890.....	22,720,223
1900.....	30,797,185
1910.....	42,623,383

III. The Land Values of New York City.

The Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments of New York City have published the most complete and satisfactory record of real estate values of any that have come to hand. The figures for New York are particularly interesting because of the huge values involved and because of the care with which they have been presented.

The New York figures begin with the year 1906 (July 1), at which time there was an estimated population of 4,152,800 in all of the boroughs of the city. The ordinary land value was \$3,367,233,746, or \$811 per capita. For 1914 (Jan. 1) the population was 5,476,996 and the ordinary land value was \$4,602,852,107, or \$840 per capita.* Each year between 1906 and 1914 shows an increase in the total ordinary land values for the city.

The figures for New York City are stated separately for each of the five boroughs. The estimated population and ordinary land value in each borough on January 1, 1914, is as follows:

Table II.—Ordinary Land Value, Per Capita Land Value and Estimated Population for New York City, and for Each of the Boroughs, January 1, 1914.

Borough.	Estimated Population.	Ordinary Land Value.	Per Capita.
Manhattan	2,513,060	\$3,161,949,660	\$1,258
The Bronx.....	612,294	336,116,060	549
Brooklyn	1,880,713	793,859,159	417
Queens	373,414	280,678,120	752
Richmond	97,515	40,249,108	413
All Boroughs	5,476,996	4,602,852,107	840

The per capita value of land is almost exactly three times as great in Manhattan Borough as it is in the Borough of Richmond and of Brooklyn. The values in The Bronx and in Queens fall between these two extremes.

The figures over a series of years show an increase in total land value which varies greatly from one Borough to another.

Table III.—The Increase of Land Values in New York City, and in Each of the Boroughs, 1906 to 1914, with the Per Cent of Increase.

Borough.	Land Value, 1906.	Land Value, 1914.	Per Cent Increase.
Manhattan	\$2,600,140,211	\$3,161,949,660	21.6
The Bronx.....	208,970,612	336,116,060	60.8
Brooklyn	453,313,602	793,859,159	75.1
Queens	81,270,450	280,678,120	245.3
Richmond	20,538,871	40,249,108	95.9
All Boroughs...	3,367,233,746	4,602,852,107	36.6

The rapid gains in land value were made between 1906 and 1911. Since the latter date, the total increase for all boroughs is only \$46,926,830. For the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, Queens and Richmond there was a slight increase between 1911 and 1914. For the Borough of Brooklyn there was a slight decrease.

The tentative valuations in Greater New York for 1915 show a slight increase over the figures

*Report of the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments, City of New York, 1914, p. 20.

for 1914 in the case of every borough. The total tentative valuation for 1915 is \$4,778,836,782.

The changes in the land valuation of New York City are considerably less than one might anticipate from the frequent references that are made to them. The total land values for the city are huge. They are not, however, changing with any great rapidity. The increase amounts to more than a third in eight years, however, and is in excess of the increase for Boston (one-seventh) and for Washington (one-fifth) during the same period.



IV. Recent Land Value Increases in the East.

Among the Eastern cities, those of New Jersey furnish the most complete data. Indeed, there is no other body of data so complete for any state. The state has seven cities reporting more than 50,000 population. All of the cities are old, as American cities go, the population of none is increasing with great rapidity. The land value data for these cities dates from 1906 to 1907.

Table IV.—Assessed Valuation in Millions of Land in Cities of New Jersey, Having a Population of 50,000 or More in 1910.*

Year.	Tren- ton.	Cam- den.	Pas- saic.	Bay- onne.	Jersey City.	Eliza- beth.	New- ark.
1906.....	22	..	9	..	..	..	..
1907.....	22	..	9	12	..	..	123
1908.....	22	..	9	14	77	18	121
1909.....	22	..	10	14	75	18	126
1910.....	22	18	12	..†	75	19	129
1911.....	24	19	13	15	73	19	135
1912.....	24	19	14	16	74	19	141
1913.....	24	20	15	16	75	19	169
1914.....	24	21	15	17	76	19	169

Again the increase in valuation bears no immediate relation to population increase. The population of Passaic doubled between 1900 and 1910. For the most part, the population of these cities increased from a third to a half in ten years. The land values in Jersey City show a slight decrease in the face of an increase in population. The land values in Trenton, Camden and Elizabeth have only slightly increased. Passaic and Newark report the only considerable rise in land values. The sum total of these land value increases amounts to about one-quarter or one-fifth in a decade. The ratio is less than this in most instances.

Three other eastern cities report assessments of land valuation, covering a period of several years, and a fourth city, Providence, R. I., reports such an assessment during the past three years.

*The population of these cities at the last two censuses was as follows:

	Tren- ton.	Cam- den.	Pas- saic.	Bay- onne.	Jersey City.	Eliz- abeth.	New- ark.
1900.	73,307	75,935	27,777	32,722	206,433	52,130	246,070
1910.	96,815	94,538	54,773	55,545	267,779	73,409	347,469

†The figures for these years are not available.

Table V.—Assessed Valuation in Millions of Land in Certain Eastern Cities Having a Population of 50,000 or More in 1910.*

	Worcester.	Buffalo.	Springfield, Mass.
1900.....	40	..	..
1901.....	40	..	..
1902.....	41	..	..
1903.....	42	..	..
1904.....	43	..	29
1905.....	43	..	29
1906.....	43	..	33
1907.....	44	165	36
1908.....	45	166	37
1909.....	45	166	43
1910.....	47	169	46
1911.....	48	174	50
1912.....	49	174	70
1913.....	51	174	81
1914.....	55	178	85

In the cities of Worcester and Springfield, the ratio of increase seems to be greater than that in the New Jersey cities to which reference has already been made. For Buffalo, the ratio is slightly less. The increase in land valuation reported by Springfield, Mass., is considerably greater than the increase in Holyoke. In Springfield, the land value has almost trebled in eleven years.

The land value increases in New Jersey cities are undoubtedly affected to a certain extent by the fact that they lie in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, or New York. The slight evidence furnished by the other eastern cities for which there are records, suggests the idea that a rate of increase in land values of a quarter or a third during the past decade is not at all unlikely for eastern communities. Holyoke reported an increase of a half during the past decade; Washington of two-fifths; and Boston of a quarter.



V. Recent Land Increases in the West.

The scattering evidence regarding the increase of western city land values divides itself logically into two parts. There is, in the first place, the material regarding Milwaukee, Kansas City, St. Louis and San Francisco; in the second place, that for Seattle, Los Angeles, Houston and Dallas. During the past decade for which most of the figures of these cities are available, the increases in land values for the well-established stable western cities have been but little different than those for the East. In Milwaukee it is one-fifth; in Kansas City, the values have doubled; in St. Louis (1907-1913) the values have increased less than 10 per cent. For San Francisco, there is no material increase reported. The figures for San

*The population of these cities at the last two censuses was as follows:

	Worcester.	Buffalo.	Springfield, Mass.
1900.....	118,421	352,387	62,059
1910.....	145,986	423,715	88,926

Francisco are profoundly modified by the disaster which occurred there less than a decade ago. The newer western cities report a radically different situation. In Seattle, land values have trebled in ten years. In Los Angeles, they have increased at a like ratio; in Houston, the ratio is similar; in Dallas, the period is shorter, but the rate of increase is greater.

A glance at the population figures shows that the western cities reporting rapid land value increase report an almost equally rapid increase in population. Between 1900 and 1910, the population of Seattle and Los Angeles trebled, while that of Houston and Dallas practically doubled.

Table VI.—Assessed Valuation in Millions of Land in Certain Western Cities Having a Population of 50,000 or More in 1910.*

	Seat- tle.	Los Angeles.	Hous- ton.	St. Louis.	Dal- las.	San Fran- cisco.
1901.....	..	71	..	..	..	..
1902.....	..	86	..	..	..	..
1903.....	..	110	..	..	..	..
1904.....	..	126	35	..	..	..
1905.....	70	157	37	..	..	304
1906.....	126	203	43	..	..	237
1907.....	156	269	51	198	16	261
1908.....	178	266	52	197	21	259
1909.....	185	288	60	201	21	283
1910.....	205	390	64	206	39	288
1911.....	212	383	77	217	44	269
1912.....	213	441	96	211	45	301
1913.....	216	..	97	212	52	..
1914.....	..	481	110	..	52	305



VI.—The Increase in American City Land Values.

The total extent of the increase in American city land values may be hinted at rather than stated with any certainty. The scattering instances in which land and improvements are separately assessed led to the conclusion that in a large, well-established city, growing at approximately the same rate as the other portions of the United States, the land value is doubling in from ten to twenty-five years. In the new, rapidly growing city of the middle and far West and in some of the smaller cities of the East, the ratio of increase in land values is far greater, amounting to two-fold or even three-fold in a decade. In a few instances the rate of increase is much smaller and in one case, Jersey City, land values over a period of seven years have actually decreased. This seems to be a unique exception to the general rule. The ratio of increase varies, of course, with periods of adversity and prosperity. Nevertheless, the few available long range figures indicate a widespread and considerable increase in American city land values.

SCOTT NEARING.

*The population of these cities at the last two censuses was as follows:

	Seattle.	Los Angeles.	Hous- ton.	St. Louis.	Dallas.	San Fran- cisco.
1900.....	80,671	102,479	44,633	575,238	42,638	342,752
1910.....	237,194	319,198	78,800	687,029	92,104	416,512

ROBBING POSTERITY.

For The Public.

One night as supper was about to be served Farmer Greed said to his five small sons, as he held knife and fork over a juicy steak:

"How many of you will take ten cents apiece and go to bed without supper?"

With visions of tops, marbles, candies and other things dear to the youthful heart, they answered in chorus: "I!"

In the morning they appeared ravenously hungry. Whereupon Farmer Greed asked: "And now who will give ten cents for his breakfast?"



One morning as the country was about to be settled old Farmer Monopoly asked his fellow citizens:

"How many of you States will take two dollars an acre for your lands and send your settlers West?"

With visions of bridges, railroads and public buildings needed by the youthful commuters, they answered in chorus: "I!"

In the next century the citizens appeared ravenously land hungry. Whereupon Farmer Monopoly asked:

"And now who will give two hundred dollars an acre for this land?"

BOLTON HALL.

ARRAIGNMENT.

For The Public.

You say that thing of living death is I?
 You keep the rotting shape upon my bed
 And call it by my name. You who loved me,
 You feed it drugs to hold it from release,
 To force from putrid blood and poison flesh
 A shadow thread of life most pious.
 And these good, patient girls who tend on it
 Must place in pawn their health and even lives
 By contact with the fell, disease-racked mass,
 Inert, insensate, but to suffering,
 This awful masquerade to which I'm chained.
 I! O ignominy! whose happiness
 Alone is in the wholesome and the true.
 And we two talked so much of soul and life,
 And thought with pride we knew reality!
 Our home, dear place, is like a charnel house,
 Through me who loved it so, and that which once
 Was I is left a pest—a loathsome curse.
 That there should be no way to save me this!
 O Time be merciful! withhold no more,
 In false restraint, the sane and kindly light
 That will to man allow in justice aid
 The meanest would not dare deny a dog.

H. STEPHENSON BIXBY.



Standing navies and standing armies are inimical to the genius of democracy, and it ought to be our pride, as it is our duty, to show the world that a great republic can dispense with both.—Henry George.

BOOKS

FREEDOM OF TEACHING AT PENNSYLVANIA.

The Nearing Case. By Lightner Witmer. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price 50 cts. net.

There have always been fusses—fusses ancient and modern, and the Nearing case is no novelty, nor is it to be greatly deplored, for it is on such fusses that the Truth thrives.

A reading of Professor Witmer's examination of the case leads one to marvel, not that Nearing had his resignation accepted before it was offered, but rather that the whole matter did not reach a culmination long ago. For on the University Board of Trustees, the real hidden government of the institution, as listed in Chapter IX, one finds the names of men high in the world of finance, whose whole interest and effort is to maintain the status quo. Having this, and on the other hand a popular instructor, who writes and teaches in language quite unfogged, using simple and direct terms, inculcating truths which, when universally recognized would lead to a better way, a clash is inevitable.

But here the paradoxical element asserts itself; for while Nearing's views were not acceptable to the hidden government, they were quite in accord with the provisions of the Wharton bequest, which the author quotes in its essential part on page 107. In that deed of gift, which now amounts to \$600,000, it is specified that among the things that shall be done, the general tendency of instruction shall inculcate:

The immorality and practical inexpediency of seeking to acquire wealth by winning it from some other, rather than by earning it through some sort of service to one's fellow townsmen.

The deep comfort of and healthfulness of pecuniary independence, whether the scale of affairs be small or large.

The necessity of rigorously punishing by legal penalties and by social exclusion, those persons who commit frauds, betray trusts or steal public funds, directly or indirectly.

Professor Witmer, carefully considering this, wants to know whether the Board is prepared to lose the Wharton fund by its present action in this case. The point is well taken and cleverly worked out. Indeed, the entire examination of the case is so presented as to be as interesting as a novel, and while Professor Witmer neither shares Nearing's views on economics, nor approves of his methods in giving his views publicity, he makes a powerful plea for fairness, and a magnificent appeal to the citizens of Pennsylvania to refuse to permit this institution of learning to be crippled in academic resources in order that a small group of alumni

may censor opinions of which they disapprove. You will make no mistake if you list this book with your next purchases. It is well worth while.

CHAS. J. FINGER.



A VALUABLE REFERENCE WORK.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry. By W. J. A. Donald. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1915. Price \$2.00 net.

Now the chances are that if you saw the book on the shelf, and had no particular interest in knowing anything about the Iron and Steel Industry, you would greet it with a cold eye as being dull, stale and unprofitable. But if you took the pains to take it down and look through it, you would soon conclude that it is such a book as Thomas Henry Buckle would have revealed in, with its well arranged array of facts and figures, statistical tables, maps and charts; its admirable index and complete bibliography, and, after awhile, you would be impressed with the air of thoroughness that pervades it, for as a painstaking study of a particular industry, it may be classed with Prof. Meyer's "Government Regulation of Railway Rates" that appeared some ten years ago.

Further, when reading, you mark that the author, whilst starting out with the popularly accepted Canadian opinion that the success of the Iron and Steel Industry was in great measure due to the bounty system, presently came to the belief that the industry "would have grown up without protection," and decides (page 315) that "in special branches of the industry protection might be practically abolished," you feel fortified in your acceptance of the George point of view as to Protection and Free Trade. For Mr. Donald in nothing if not thorough, and whilst he travels slowly, he tests every inch of the way.

CHARLES J. FINGER.



A CHAPTER OF ECONOMIC HISTORY.

History of Canadian Wealth. Volume I. By Gustavus Myers. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago. Price \$1.50 net.

Some one should go to jail because of this book; either the author for falsely defaming the name of his native land, or some of those he excoriates for graft on a gigantic scale. But it is highly probable that Mr. Myers knows exactly what he is talking about and is stating facts, because if not, he is the most monumental fakir that ever put pen to paper.

The book is wrongly named—a better title would have been "The Foundations of Canadian Poverty," for it is easily seen that with such nefarious trafficking in land grants as is herein recorded, poverty must presently follow as night follows the day. The main bulk of Volume I is

taken up with the history of Railway Promoting in Canada the promotion of coal and timber lands and the distribution of railway subsidies, and if the records are true, a grosser instance of national corruption would be hard to find. The author writes in a passion of indignation that never lags nor modifies, giving chapter and verse for every accusation in footnote references in every instance.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Myers has been prevented on account of poor health from completing Volume II of his work, for without this and the lesson he derives from his examination, together with his suggestions for a better order of things, the effect of much that has been so powerfully written and carefully compiled, is lost. But for a masterly indictment of governmental mismanagement, the work so far is unique.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

PERIODICALS

Pearson's Magazine.

Evidence that unselfish patriotism is by no means the impelling motive back of the preparedness agitation is furnished by Allan L. Benson in the December number of Pearson's. His article, "Unmasking the Big Navy Promoters," presents a number of facts regarding these individuals which should make thinking persons hesitate before allowing themselves to be swept into joining in their hysterical outcries. Another article, "Public Ownership That Saves Public Money," by Carl D. Thomson, shows that the community is not always such an inefficient manager as those interested in franchise monopolies would have the public believe.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Eugenie Peace. By Robert Stein, American Genetic Association, 511 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.

Workmen's Compensation. University Extension Bulletin No. 24, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Ok. 1915.

The Cleveland Municipal Lighting Plant. By F. W. Ballard, Commissioner. Published by the City of Cleveland, O., 1915.

The Rockefeller Foundation. Annual Report, 1913-1914. Published by the Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York.

A League to Enforce Peace. By A. Lawrence Lowell. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

The Woman's City Club of Chicago. Its Book, Oct. 1, 1915. Published by the Women's City Club, 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

The Practical Aims of a Liberal Evangelicalism. Address by Henry Sloane Coffin, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1915.

Plenty of Money. By Alfred B. Westrup and Maud Denning Westrup. Second Edition, revised. 304 Security Bldg., Chicago. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

The Allies Pledged to a United States of Europe. By George H. Shibley. Published by the League for World Peace, Woodward Bldg., Washington, D. C. 1915.

Madison, "The Four Lake City": Recreational Survey. Prepared by a Special Committee of the Madison Board of Commerce, Madison, Wis. 1915. Price, 50 cents.

The Beauties of the State of Washington. By Harry F. Gles, Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Statistics and Immigration, Department of State, Olympia, Wash.

The Edwin Burgess Letters on Taxation. First Published in the "Racine Advocate," 1859-1860. Published by William S. Buffham, Racine, Wis. Price, 15 cents.

Saving Fuel in Heating a House. By L. P. Breckenridge and S. B. Flagg. Technical Paper 97, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Union Scale of Wages and Hours of Labor, May 1, 1914. Whole Number 171, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1915.

The Recent Increase in Land Values. By Scott Nearing. Reprinted from the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1915.

Five Playlets. By Hester Donaldson Jenkins. Written for the Department of Social Betterment of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

Assessment and Taxation in the District of Columbia and the Fiscal Relation to the Federal Government. By Herbert Janvrin Browne. Published by the Carnahan Press, Washington, D. C., 1915.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Hosiery and Underwear Industry, 1907 to 1914. Whole Number 177, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1915.

Governor John P. Altgeld's Pardon of the Anarchists and His Masterly Review of the Haymarket Riot. Reprinted from the Life of Albert R. Parsons. Lucy E. Parsons, Publisher, 3130 N. Troy St., Chicago.

Arbitration Engagements Now Existing in Treaties, Treaty Provisions and National Constitutions. Compiled with Notes by Denys P. Myers. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1915.

Official Documents Concerning Neutral and Belligerent Rights issued since August 4, 1914: Sinking of the "Lusitania," and Attacks Upon Other Ships. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

Neutral and Belligerent Rights; Official Documents Issued Since August 4, 1914: Cargo of the "Wilhelmina"; American Trade in Munitions of War; Sinking of the "Frye." Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

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