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EDITORIAL

Good Theories Are Always Practical.

The bewildered organs of militarism that cannot account for the success of Wilson's pacifist policy with Germany will find the explanation in this fact: correct theories must produce correct results when practically applied. If they will bear that truth in mind, it will save them from many errors in the future.

S. D.

Wilson Scores Again.

In declaring for woman suffrage President Wilson has added to his record as a democrat. Moreover, he has performed a service which must have far-reaching results. Though he has but one vote, and that vote concerns officially but the State of New Jersey, his declaration will have its effect on other votes, other States and even other nations. When complete suffrage has been granted throughout the nation, Woodrow Wilson should be remembered as one who made good use of an opportunity to hasten the final victory.

S. D.

Keep Your Eye on the Tariff.

There are many indications that preparations are being made for a supreme effort to perpetuate the protective tariff. Insufficient revenue on account of war disturbances is urged as a reason for advancing rates. The necessity for a big army and navy is another reason. Still another is the pretended fear of an inundation of cheap goods when peace returns to Europe. But the most subtle and insidious of all the reasons is the proposal to create a tariff commission that shall put our import duties on a scientific basis. The Tariff Commission League of Chicago is sending out appeals, elaborately set forth in two colors of ink, for the purpose of rallying the gullible to the support of the iniquitous institution.

Whatever is done to increase the efficiency of the protective tariff will multiply the evils that flow from it. A tariff duty is a tax upon con-

sumption. By increasing the price it lessens the amount of goods consumed, which in turn reduces production, and so curtails the demand for labor. To say that the American producer will need additional protection at the close of the war is the sheerest economic madness. It might be supposed that an American was equal to a foreigner upon equal terms; but to say when that foreigner is saddled with such a monstrous debt as this war will leave that he will be a match for an American is nothing less than an insult.

The Tariff Commission League shows how the tariff can be taken out of politics by setting up a permanent non-partisan tariff commission, a sane tariff policy, and a scientific adjustment. This is the very way to keep the tariff in politics. So long as the rates are made by the good old log-rolling method the people will be so alive to its iniquities that they will be the more disposed to turn to legitimate sources of revenue. But if it be possible to establish an efficient commission, capable of doing all that the Tariff Commission League seeks to do, it will tend to put the people to sleep. It will adjust the burden upon their backs so carefully that they will become unconscious of its weight.

The non-partisan tariff commission, with its scientific adjustment, might have had its prototype seventy years ago in a non-partisan slave commission. Such a body, it is conceivable, might have regulated scientifically the conditions and the treatment of the slaves. And just to the degree that this commission was successful in ameliorating the condition of the slave, would it have riveted their shackles the tighter. There is only one way of taking the tariff out of politics, and that is the way slavery was taken out of politics, by abolishing it. A good tariff, or a scientific tariff, is a misnomer, just as good slavery would be. There can be but one view for forward-looking statesmen, and that is the complete abolition of the tariff as rapidly as possible. This country does not want a scientific tariff, nor even British free trade; we want American free trade, trade with all the world on the same footing as the trade between the several States of the Union. And when we have succeeded in getting the taxes off of exchange, we will continue our efforts till the taxes are removed from production. For the question of taxation, like the question of the tariff, will not cease to be a political question until each producer is secure in the right to the full product of his toil; and the government depends for support upon its own peculiar fund, land values. s. c.

War Leads to Bondage.

The placing of a half billion dollar loan in this country by the Anglo-French entente is a misfortune to the people of Great Britain and France. It means that they and their children's children are henceforth bound to pay an annual tribute of \$25,000,000 to a group of American financiers, their heirs and assigns. The money is to be used destructively. In a few weeks or months there will be nothing tangible to show for it, while the payment of tribute must continue indefinitely.

The loan is not needed to carry on the war. There is wealth enough in Great Britain and France which could be taken for the purpose. There is no reason why governments which unhesitatingly take men should hesitate to take wealth. But in this war, as in nearly all wars, the common people must pay as well as fight, while the privileged classes escape bearing their proper share of the burden. During the progress of the war heavier taxes have been levied on industry, while there has been no increase in taxation of land values. The situation is aggravated by the return to protective duties provided for in the British budget, while no explanation has yet been made of the discharge of men engaged in land valuation. Why should the wealth producers of Great Britain and France submit to such betrayal of their interests? Why should they not notify the American financiers that they must look for payment of principal and interest to the individuals who contracted the debt, and had no moral right to pledge the labor of the people?

As a matter of fact the same should be said regarding war loans that have been placed at home. The only difference between this latest Anglo-French debt and those contracted by Germany is that one binds the people into servitude to foreign bondholders, while the other makes them tributary to domestic ones. Economically there is no difference. The war will leave the German and Austrian wealth producers bound by their rulers to pay tribute indefinitely to a select few of their countrymen. To these of their countrymen they will pay such tribute as a foreign conqueror might have exacted. In return for this tribute they will get no more than a foreign conqueror would have given. The fact that alleged representatives of the people in Parliament authorized the loan does not improve matters. These representatives, at the very most, were authorized to pledge only the people that chose them. They had no right

to pledge those denied a voice in their selection or generations yet unborn. In the case of every war debt those not consulted in contracting it should refuse to pay.

S. D.



The Immigrant's Burden.

Pease and Ellman's Real Estate Indicator, one of the leading real estate organs of New York City, presents the startling fact in its September issue that at least one-third of the expenditures of the very poorest class is for rent. Says the Indicator:

One of those who will suffer most, from a lack of immigration, unless it is compensated for from other sources is the real estate owner. The value of the immigrants in increasing the population of New York City is, of course, well known to all people. He does not pay a high rent, but if the sociological figures are any good at all, out of a total expenditure of \$600,000,000, he must pay nearly \$200,000,000 a year in rent. Some investigators would even set it higher, and say that he paid in rent nearer one-half of his income, especially as there are often several members of a family which work and pay their proportionate amount towards the space required.

The Indicator's figures seem incredibly extreme. Were it a radical publication there would be some cause to suspect that excessive zeal had led it to exaggerate. But it is certainly not a radical publication, and whatever zeal it has is likely to be expended in opposing progressive measures. That it is class conscious may be inferred from the following statement in its issue of October, 1913:

We are very friendly disposed toward the successful man, and the rich man, and we are in no wise worried about the opinions of the lower classes about what we publish, as we do not care for their support.



So it may be stated, on the authority of an organ of the rich and successful, that no enmity toward them is implied in calling attention to economic evils which bear heavily upon the poor. The million or more immigrants annually landing in New York City are paying to private landlords an amount approximately equal, at the lowest estimate, to what the city collects in taxes from all classes, and since most immigrants live in the very poorest of quarters, by far the greater part of the rent they pay must be ground rent. Of their other expenses a large part consists of additions to price necessitated by taxation of labor products. And the heaviest tax of all which they pay consists of wages and potential earnings, which they do not get, on account of withholding from use of opportunities because of heavy taxation of industry and light taxation of land values.

The immigrant's burden is but the smaller part of the total borne by all workers, including those already settled in New York City. It is not necessary, after all, to consult radical literature for reasons why taxes on industry should be abolished and all taxes placed on land values. Pease and Ellman's Real Estate Indicator has presented a sufficiently sound argument.

S. D.



Relieving Real Estate.

Mayor Mitchel of New York has stated in regard to local taxation that there is "absolute necessity for relief to real estate." "Real estate" means land and improvements, and as far as improvements are concerned, Mayor Mitchel is right. These should be exempt from taxation. To tax improvements is to discourage industry and enterprise. In regard to land values he is wrong. The lighter the burden on these, the greater the inducement to holding of land for speculation instead of use. Such a policy is inexcusable everywhere, but particularly so in New York City, where all the land is held at values which show great productive possibilities. To relieve land values of taxation is to increase the burden on labor and capital

S. D.



Real and Counterfeit Home Rule.

In their address to the people of New York State the delegates to the recent Constitutional Convention say, among other things, that the revised Constitution contains:

The grant to cities of as large a control of their own municipal government and affairs as is consistent with State sovereignty.

Which shows how little the delegates know about home rule, or what has been done elsewhere in conferring it upon cities. The State of Colorado has found it quite consistent with state sovereignty to empower cities to frame their own charters, adopt their own methods of local taxation, do as they see fit regarding public utilities, use the Initiative and Referendum in local matters and in every other way to manage local business in a way that suits themselves. With the exception of the matter of taxation, Ohio, California and perhaps some other States have done the same. Not even in imperial Germany is home rule in all such matters found inconsistent with the sovereignty of a centralized authority. Yet these delegates innocently proclaim that the sham home rule they have grudgingly allowed the cities is "as large a control of their municipal government and affairs as is consistent with State sovereignty." Is it any wonder that delegates knowing no better than that

should have failed utterly in drafting an up-to-date Constitution?
S. D.



Lest We Forget.

The successful politician does his main political work before the regular campaign begins; and those who would enter the lists against him will do well to take a leaf from his book. While it will be a long time before the voters of Illinois have an opportunity to pass upon the proposed amendment to the Constitution, they should nevertheless be kept in mind of the fact that an amendment is pending, and that its success or defeat will depend upon the quiet work that is done between now and the day of the election. In 1912 there was submitted on the Public Policy Ballot in Illinois this question:

Shall the next General Assembly (in order that the people may be relieved of a system of taxation which places a comparatively heavier burden upon the poor man than upon his wealthier neighbor, which is unjust to all who fall under the full force of its operation, and which places a premium upon dishonesty) submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election, an amendment to the State Constitution providing for the classification of property for purposes of taxation, with taxes uniform as to each class within the jurisdiction levying the same?

The people approved of this proposition by the overwhelming vote of 541,189 to 187,467. The Legislature in 1914 did submit for the approval of the voters an amendment to the Constitution, apparently in conformity to this command of the people. But that conformity is apparent only, for the reason that in the amendment the word "personal" has been inserted before the word "property." This converts it into something entirely different from what the voters passed upon. This contemptible trick is not an act punishable by law; but all those men in and out of the Legislature who had anything to do with it should be made to feel the full force of an aroused public opinion.



The original proposition, as voted upon by the people, was put forth with a view to bringing the archaic taxing system of Illinois into conformity with some of the known principles of taxation. The amendment submitted by the Legislature is the work of the Chicago Real Estate Board, together with such other boards and persons as it was able to interest. The motive of the Board, considered in its most charitable aspect, was to classify tangible and intangible personal property, with a view to placing such a low tax upon intangible property that it will be listed for taxa-

tion. But the utmost benefit that might be derived from the classification of personal property is trivial, as compared with what would be gained from the classification of all property. Hence the Real Estate Board has, for its own reasons, seen fit to trifle with the will of the people of the State, and by a political trick present for their approval the shell, while retaining the kernel. It is the duty, therefore, of every self-respecting citizen to rebuke such political trickery by voting down the amendment. Let the friends of clean politics and honest taxation pass on the warning until every voter in the State understands the situation. Every trade unionist, every friend of good government, who saw the previous Legislature flout the people—who had voted overwhelmingly for the Initiative and Referendum—and at the behest of this same Real Estate Board refuse to submit that amendment, should understand who is responsible for the betrayal of their interests. They will lose nothing by voting down the amendment, but will gain much by rebuking a body of men who persist in defying public opinion.
S. C.



Incapable of Self-Government.

The last Illinois legislature, after refusing to allow the people to vote on the Initiative and Referendum, and flouting the citizens by changing the Constitutional amendment to read "classification of personal property," instead of "classification of property"—as voted by the people—did not leave the State without any attention. It took from the cities the right to manage their own affairs, and lodged the power in a State commission; so that the citizens of Kankakee, East St. Louis, and Cairo, and all the farmers between, can determine the price of gas in Chicago. And the worst feature about the whole situation lies in the fact that some of the acts of the State commission are good. If the Commission's recent ruling regarding street car service stands the test of the courts, and is actually put in operation, Chicago straphangers will receive needed relief. But popular government will at the same time be discredited.

The far too common tendency to put local affairs into the hands of State officials, because certain localities have managed them badly, is one of the worst of American tendencies. It denies the fundamental principle of popular government, and reverts to a policy whose only logical conclusion is the setting up of the irresponsible autocrat. To say that a municipality is not capable of managing its own street car service, or controlling its gas supply, is to question its right to exist as a

political unit. And every time relief is had by appealing from local to general government control the popular mind is prepared for still further encroachment. If the principle of popular government be sound, there is no reason why Chicago or New York, or any other city, should not regulate its local affairs. This is not only their right, but their duty. Why should the people of a city bother the people of the interior of the State with their municipal affairs, and cumbersome election campaigns with petty interests, to the confusion of State issues? If the city is pursuing a wrong course, it should be made to suffer for it, until it is ready to follow the right course. Neither an individual nor a municipality can be relieved of responsibility without moral deterioration. s. c.



Commissioner Weinstock's Position.

Harris Weinstock of the Commission on Industrial Relations joins with the four progressive Commissioners, Walsh, O'Connell, Lennon and Garretson, in the following statement, appearing on page 254 of the Commission's final report:

The sources from which industrial unrest springs are, when stated in full detail, almost numberless. But upon careful analysis of their real character, they will be found to group themselves almost without exception under four main sources which include all of the others. These four are:

1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
2. Unemployment and denial of an opportunity to earn a living.
3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication, and in the administration of law.
4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations.

We recommend that private ownership of public utilities be abolished and that the states and municipalities take over the same under just terms and conditions, so that they may be operated by the states or municipalities.



Somehow or other the Associated Press has failed to report this significant position taken by Commissioner Weinstock. In siding with his four colleagues he made that statement not only a majority report, but one in endorsement of which there were joined representatives of employees, employers and of the general public. The indictment of existing conditions in which Mr. Weinstock joins, is one that makes him liable to the same denunciation and abuse, on the part of plunderbund papers, as have been visited upon Frank P. Walsh. His concurrence in the recommendation of State and municipal ownership of public utilities must also be distasteful in those quarters.



Mr. Weinstock's position on the causes of in-

dustrial unrest concedes the premises on which are based the arguments that lead to the remedies suggested by Frank P. Walsh and the labor representatives. This applies especially to the remedies for unemployment and for the denial of justice. Mr. Weinstock should appreciate the force of the recommendations concerning land monopoly, in the Walsh report, since he disagreed with the recommendation in the Commons report on restriction of immigration. In dissenting from this he says:

In normal times this country comfortably employs all the desirable and fit occidental immigrants that knock at our door, thereby adding greatly to the wealth and strength of the nation.

This is true, but, unless Mr. Weinstock will add thereto the remedy for unemployment recommended in the Walsh report, it must fall short of the whole truth. If natural resources were not monopolized and withheld from use, there would be opportunities here for a greater population than that of the world. Mr. Weinstock will find it difficult to successfully defend his opposition to restriction of immigration if he persists in refusal to join in the demand that natural resources be opened. s. d.



When Legree Becomes a St. Clair.

Regardless of the merits of Rockefeller's proposition to his Colorado miners, the latter will find it prudent to accept. Rockefeller has the upper hand and the employe who incurs his displeasure cannot be as secure as one who pleases his master. If the miners were free men, or if there were any hope of successful revolt, the proposition could be safely weighed before being acted upon. But since they are not free and a revolt has just been crushed, they are not to be blamed should they accept anything, good or bad, which their conqueror may offer. It is a wise slave who encourages his master to act the part of St. Clair instead of Legree. But while Rockefeller's miners are trying to make the best of their slavery let freer workers outside redouble efforts to abolish conditions which enable men like Rockefeller to exercise a slave master's power. s. d.



Blue-Coated Mobs.

Darkest America seems to be in the City Hall of Paterson, New Jersey, where benighted officials hold sway, who assume to pass upon what subjects may or may not be discussed in the city, and who may discuss them. The latest of a long list of lawless acts committed by these officials occurred on September 30, when a disorderly mob,

composed of policemen, broke up a peaceful public meeting. That is not the way the Associated Press reported the happening, but that is what actually occurred. New Jersey courts should now be given an opportunity to state how they stand on mob law.

S. D.



Mayor Thompson and the Law.

Mayor Thompson of Chicago has suddenly developed great respect for the law, but he strictly limits its application to Sunday saloons. He has apparently as much contempt as ever for the constitutional rights of citizens. He has gone on his tour to California without ordering the police to stop making illegal arrests, to stop their illegal interference with public meetings, to stop making illegal as well as brutal assaults on inoffensive citizens, and to refrain from other violations of law, habitually committed on all days of the week. The Mayor strains at a gnat and swallows a camel.

S. D.



Queer Co-operators.

The Menace, anti-Catholic organ, and The New World, official organ of the Chicago Arch-Diocese, uphold the reactionary policy of the Chicago Board of Education. Both unfairly criticize the Teachers' Federation and indulge in bitter personal abuse of Margaret Haley. Privileged Business, like politics, makes strange bed-fellows.

S. D.



One Trustee Confesses.

At last a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. J. William White, explains the action of the Board in the Nearing case. The explanation is buried in a 10,000 word article, but it explains. Nearing was dismissed because he taught the truth. Dr. White himself declares that he agrees with the Professor's views, but objects to their expression. The truths which Nearing taught aroused bitter prejudice in persons whose good will and respect for the University seemed important. These persons either misunderstood, or pretended to misunderstand, his views in a way that prejudiced reactionaries always misinterpret the slightest hint regarding an effective remedy for social injustice. The trustees lacked either the courage or will to tell these prejudiced ones that the University was not instituted to cater to plutocratic bigotry, but to teach truth. Nearing further offended by telling the shocking truth about one of Philadelphia's gang-controlled courts, and about control of universities by donors

of money. Dr. White shows that nothing disagreeable to plutocracy must be taught at Pennsylvania.

S. D.



SIDE LIGHTS ON UNEARNED WEALTH.

Classified statistics regarding private incomes in the United States are singularly lacking, and such as there are have not been as painstakingly compiled or analyzed as in Europe. A widespread indifference as to sources of income so long as one has income is a typically American attitude bred of the laissez-faire doctrine.

With the steady increase of poverty in a land of abundant natural resources, the more thoughtful members of the community, in their search for reasons, gladly welcome light upon course of income. We should be particularly grateful for such intelligent and thorough analysis as that by Professor Scott Nearing in his book on Income.

Recently it has been pointed out that one-thirteenth of the assessed values of real estate in Philadelphia, or \$60,000,000, belongs to Mrs. Penfield, daughter of the late William Weightman; to John Wanamaker and to Peter A. B. Widener. Simultaneously the news comes from New York that thirteen families own one-fifteenth of the land values of that city, or \$200,000,000, while two charitable corporations in the same city own an additional one-sixteenth.

This information bears out the contention that large American fortunes are based chiefly upon land values.

Yet there is a prevalent idea that these fortunes are not due to speculation in land. These figures, supported by a few other facts, should explode such misapprehension.

So far as the three Philadelphians named above are concerned it is not comprehensively accurate to refer to William Weightman as "the quinine king," to John Wanamaker as a "merchant prince," or to Peter A. B. Widener as the "traction king." True enough, all three made large sums annually, the first as a manufacturing chemist, the second in the world's first great department store, the third (after giving up his market stall as butcher to become city treasurer) in "high finance," with franchises of public utilities, especially the street railways of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

But where did they invest these profits? In land—unimproved central properties and large tracts of vacant land on the outskirts of the built-up sections of the city of Philadelphia, soon to

be called for by builders. As a result their rises in land values have made their former business profits seem insignificant.

As an example, take the Wanamaker store, a recently built 12-story granite structure covering a three-acre lot and fronting on four streets in the heart of the city. Prior to the erection of this new building, belonging to John Wanamaker and occupied by a corporation styled "John Wanamaker, Philadelphia," twenty odd old buildings, most of them formerly dwellings, housed his big business. They had no market value aside from the ground and were secured by a dozen separate conveyances for \$1,220,711, between 1875 and 1884. This ground value has increased to \$12,000,000, and it supports the largest and finest building in the city, worth \$6,000,000. On the property is a mortgage for \$10,000,000, borrowed practically all on the increase of the land value. With \$6,000,000, the new store was built. The other \$4,000,000 probably went into other land for further speculation.

Just west of this big store across Juniper street is a new office building just being finished, 16 stories high, on a lot with three fronts, containing three-quarters of an acre. For the ground P. A. B. Widener, who put up the building, paid \$3,000,000 in 1913. This land sold in 1901 by the United States for \$2,000,000, was bought for a mint site in 1829 for \$31,666. Further west, adjoining the Widener Building, are two skyscrapers built 25 years ago on lots aggregating 20,000 square feet of the most valuable land in Philadelphia. They front 200 feet on Broad street and were bought in 1913 and 1914 by John Wanamaker for \$4,500,000. Thirty years previous this ground sold for \$637,000, with old buildings of no market value. To the south across Chestnut street, running along the west side of Juniper, 235 feet to Sansom, with 125 feet on both that and Chestnut street, is a Weightman estate holding valued at \$3,000,000, and bought by him in four purchases (one in 1884 and three in 1897) for \$1,148,000. Here is \$2,000,000 increase. Yet 85 years ago this property brought \$22,000.

These four holdings of the three owners alone referred to are assessed for taxation this year at \$26,100,000. Doesn't this indicate that these shrewd investors know where profits are *surest* and *largest* and *quickest*? Right in the business center of the city; that's the spot!

Few people realize that twenty rich individuals by anticipating necessary rises in land values have scooped into their pockets \$200,000,000 out of Philadelphia, while the population has doubled itself. Hundreds of thousands have been born

and reared in this city, have toiled, lived meagerly and died penniless, practically, each adding his little mite to these swollen fortunes, *the very existence of which is proof of the poverty private ownership of land has caused, is causing and will cause needlessly until the single tax on land values is imposed.*

Three hundred and fifty thousand buildings are standing in this city erected by the toil of thousands who got out of their work only their daily bread. Even the contracting builders have failed on their operations. It is common report that sooner or later builders fail. None was ever a millionaire.

For all this industry what is there to show—a handful of fabulously rich—their gains planted for the only surely profitable crops ever gathered—land values. And supporting them—a million rack-rented, propertyless mortals whose daily grinds are anything but happy.

Who would not be a singletaxer to help restore justice and abolish poverty?

HENRY J. GIBBONS.



PENS AND SWORDS.

The marked success of President Wilson in his dealings with Germany brings out so strikingly the fundamental principle underlying all human relations that it should not be allowed to pass without being brought to the attention of the apostles of preparedness.

Our country should be armed, say the militarists, not that we should ever go to war, but that our rights may be respected without going to war. Words are idle, they contend, unless backed by physical power. Civilities, they aver, may do for small and weak countries, but if we would be respected by the strong, we must be able to brandish a mailed fist.

This philosophy has been taught so long and so persistently that many persons, otherwise of good sense, have come to believe it. It is therefore most fortunate that at the very moment when the militarists have succeeded in forcing their question into national politics they should be confronted with such a signal success in pacifism.

That our success in dealing with Germany is not due to our ability to enforce our words with men and guns is evident from the repeated declarations of the militarists that we are wholly and completely unprepared for military action. We have, they solemnly assure us, practically no army, and only an insignificant navy; and such as we have is in the lowest stage of efficiency. Yet, notwithstanding our physical impotency, Germany,

who for a year has held an armed world at bay, yielded to our demands. Why? What is there that can overcome such a stupendous physical force? What, indeed, but a moral force?

The brute yields only to physical force; but man, when in his right mind, abides by moral force. When man is sufficiently angry he ceases to be a reasoning being, and descends to the level of the brute. So long as he remains in this state of mind, physical force is the only power that he comprehends. But, given time to recover his reason, he will again acknowledge the sway of moral force.



This country has had numerous opportunities to resort to physical force during the present war; and had there been in the White House a man like Mr. Roosevelt, such action might have been taken. An angry and quick-tempered America would have answered with a blow an angry and quick-tempered Germany. And the two countries would have expended vast treasure, and many human lives, not in behalf of a righteous cause, but merely to satisfy a momentary fit of anger. We should have had another reversion to brute passion.

Germany was angry and ready to strike; but President Wilson was patient. Without in any way waiving our rights, or compromising our principles, he appealed to Germany's better self. Had the appeal been a demand, accompanied by an ultimatum, Germany's anger would have been intensified; and she would have defied us, regardless of consequences.

Our words, however, were words of reason. They were repeated again and again, kindly and gently, but persistently, until a time came when it were worse for Germany to hold out than to yield. She has yielded, not through fear of our arms now, or of any physical injury we might work upon her in the future, but to the insisting and ever growing pleadings of her own conscience.

It is a great thing for international righteousness that our country should have attained its ends by peaceful means. It will be a still greater triumph if in addition to obtaining justice from Germany we also retain her friendship.



Is there no lesson to be drawn from this in considering the question of preparedness? This country is able if it sees fit to support a military establishment greater than that of any nation in Europe. But is it necessary? Is it worth while? Since we have no ambition for foreign conquests, and are so isolated as to situation, does not our condition call for action in harmony with our own

ideals, rather than with the practice of the old world countries?

The triumph of President Wilson in his contention with Germany shows beyond all doubt that our foreign relations should be conducted with the open hand, and not with the mailed fist. No civilized nation will deny us justice, if a sufficient time be allowed for its better nature to assert itself. What is needed, therefore, in the way of military preparation are defensive arms. Mines and submarines, supplemented by aeroplanes, can hold at bay all the ships that may be sent across the ocean. If any nation denies us justice we can wait. Its own conscience and the opinion of mankind, will sooner or later compel it to yield. Should sudden anger prompt it to strike, our defense will protect us until its reason returns.

Though we call ourselves a peaceful nation we are no different in this respect from others. There is indeed no people in the world quicker to anger, more jealous of its honor, or swifter to resent an insult. We have not always had men of wisdom in the Presidency. It is not unlikely that we shall again have jingoes in that high office. Equip the country with a great military establishment, and a navy to sweep the seas—and there is little doubt that sooner or later it will be so equipped.

Our enemies, owing to our position, must approach us from across broad oceans. Hence, a navy that can protect our coasts, yet is incapable of subjugating foreign countries, will save us from immediate harm, while the righteousness of our cause is appealing to that better second thought of our enemy. A defensive navy, then, and a volunteer land force should be the agents that are to save us on the one hand from militarism, and on the other from possible danger of the sudden fury of some benighted foreign government.

The old injunction, When angry, count a hundred before speaking, is based upon sound philosophy; and it is as useful to nations as to individuals. The statesman with a dreadnaught army and navy, like the man who carries a pistol, does not stop to count.

S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

TAX REFORM IN WISCONSIN.

Superior, Wis., Oct. 1, 1915.

As in most other States, the laws of Wisconsin require that all property shall be assessed at its full valuation. Everyone knows that the law is a farce, but it stands nevertheless. The larger part of the Northern part of the State consists of cutover timber lands. These lands are fertile, well adapted to farming and close to markets, but it requires a great ex-

penditure of labor on the part of the settler to clear away the stumps and second growth timber and make them available for agricultural use. In spite of the labor and hardships connected with this work, many fine little farms are springing up among the stumps. The larger portion of the territory, however, is still in the hands of the railroads, lumber barons, and land speculators, and every year the labor of the settlers is adding millions to the wealth of the big land owners in increased values added to the lands which, in the first place, cost them only a fraction of the value of the timber that was cut from them. For a number of years, the settlers, seeing the injustice of the situation, yet not seeing the true remedy, have approached the remedy by taking matters into their own hands and disregarding the law, by assessing the improvements made by the settlers at a nominal valuation, while assessing the lands held by the speculators at their full value. During the last session of the Legislature, a bill, known as the Nordman bill, was introduced by Ed. Nordman, representative from Langlade County, and an ardent Singletaxer, to make it possible for the settlers to carry out this plan as fully as possible without violating the law. The bill provided for Home Rule in Taxation for all towns, cities or villages. It was well supported by the representatives from the Northern part of the State and made a good showing, but was defeated by the tory element in the Southern counties. During the debates over the bill in the Legislature the attention of the "opposing interests" was called to the way in which the Northern towns have been making their assessments and the Tax Commission has started in to compel the farmers to assess their improvements at their full value. The town in question has been selected as an example and the Tax Commission has appointed two men from outside the town to make a re-assessment "according to law." Of course, they will have to comply with the law and assess all property at its full and fair valuation, and I feel sure that if, while this assessment is being made, we take advantage of the opportunity to spread the gospel of just taxation in that town by the distribution of some "to the point" literature on the subject, the "seed" will fall on ground that is in excellent condition for the growth of the Singletax. A knowledge of the Singletax, more than anything else, will impress upon the people of Wisconsin how vitally the question of Home Rule in Taxation affects their best interests and the growth of agriculture and all other industries in their State.

GEORGE F. KELLY.

PROGRESS IN ARGENTINE.

Buenos Aires, Aug. 21, 1915.

The following is a translation of a decree just published by the Government of the Province of Córdoba, (Argentina), dealing with taxation reforms:

Message, and proposal for the reforming of the present law of taxation of town property, presented by the Executive to the Hon. Legislators of the Province.

Córdoba, July the 26th, 1915.

The Hon. Legislators of the Province of Córdoba (Argentina).

It is with great satisfaction that I enclose for your consideration, the project of a law for the valuation of

town property, free of any improvements in the entire territory of the Province.

The partial reform of the laws of taxation which this Government has passed, with a view to establishing equality and justice as a basis to all valuation, should be completed with the reform that I propose, and which is already in force as a part of the system of valuation by zone, adopted for rural property.

It is not possible to perpetuate in these times, when all individual enterprises should be encouraged, and when all actions which tend to the general benefit should be protected, a system which economically considered, takes work, and burdens all beneficial initiative.

Where a monumental building is erected, the immediate consequence of which is to raise the values of all surrounding property, whether vacant or containing old buildings, and beautifying the city, the Government, by the law now in force, must keep strict watch so as to obtain in the shape of taxation, an unjust compensation with which it taxes the work and capital invested, which, on the other, has already paid sufficient taxes in various forms, on the actual materials employed.

This is the way to keep capital from being invested in any enterprise of progress, and it is also the most efficient way of detaining the erection of new buildings in our cities.

Whoever builds, if he does not raise the rents, will with difficulty obtain a reasonable and sufficient return to support the taxes that for this only reason are imposed on him. The natural consequence of this is the delaying of all urban improvement.

Beside the modern building so taxed, the old, tumble-down and unclean houses are to be found, and, because they are such, the taxes they pay, are insignificant, therefore giving their owners a much greater return for the capital invested, in comparison to a good and modern construction.

The vacant lot, or the poor and unsightly building, is in this way protected, and speculation at the cost of all advancement, insures an investment of positive results, by waiting for the sacrifice of others, to profit by the free rise of value, which a modern building will give to the surrounding land.

The taxation of land, without considering its improvements, and only taking into account its real value, and what it is liable to produce, establishing as a basis of equality for the taxation, the different section of locality in which it is situated, tends to the disappearance of the inconvenience noted, facilitates the collection of revenues, assures the equality of taxation, and strongly encourages, as in other countries, the progress and beautifying of our cities.

With this law, the tax reform would be complete, and based on scientific and practical principles, which are in accordance with the general interests of the Province.

PROJECT OF LAW.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies of the Province of Córdoba, etc., sanction with force of
LAW

Article the 1st. The valuation of urban and suburban property of the Province, affected by the land tax, shall be made without taking into account the buildings and improvements thereon.

Article the 2nd. The valuation for properties situated in the same blocks shall be equal, with the exception only of the corner lots.

Article the 3rd. The Land Tax shall be collected in accordance with the tax laws already in force, which will be substituted in each city or town, as the new system of taxation, as authorized by the present law, is enforced.

Article the 4th. The new valuation shall be effected, once the properties have been measured by the officers in charge on each district, the Executive being authorized to name the extra staff, the remuneration of which

shall be charged to "Expenses for Collection of Revenues."

This Government, about a year ago, had a valuation made of all the rural land in the Province and concentrated taxation, in the rural area, on that value. Now they have decided to have a valuation made of the lands in all the municipalities, townships and villages and on some being completed the taxes will evidently come off improvements and be increased on land values. Already this Government has freed personal property—and it looks as if we are going to see Cordoba Province an Argentina Alberta.

The taxation of land values here has taken root. Leagues—or "Centers"—are springing up all over the country, and if the writer is not much mistaken public opinion will soon take such a form as to sweep away at least sixty per cent of indirect taxation now crushing the people.

No one can conceive the position of affairs here. Our grain, cattle, hides and wool bringing phenomenal prices—and yet thousands of men are eking out an existence by overhauling the rubbish boxes put out of doors each morning for removal to the rubbish destructor. This condition cannot go on. We see men paying \$60,000 (sixty thousand dollars Argentina—say \$24,000 American gold) for a bull, while men are literally starving in our streets. We see thousands of acres uncultivated because it is mortgaged to some foreign concern that has "foreclosed under mortgage"—while the country waits for instructions from war devastated Europe (France, Belgium and Holland are principally interested in those countries) the working people starve.

C. N. MACKINTOSH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

WHEN THOU DOEST ALMS.

Cleveland, O., Sept. 24.

My attention was attracted to a framed picture and some printed matter, on display in a shop window. The picture showed young women disporting themselves in the waters of Lake Erie, at a resort, maintained by charity, to provide working girls of Cleveland with a little recreation in summer. The printed matter bore the illuminating title, "Water Babies." It is fair to assume that the originator of this piece of publicity meant the title to apply to the aforesaid young women, recipients of charity.

I examined the display with some interest, and discovered that it was "Bulletin No. 42," issued by the "Social News Bureau" of the "Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy."

It seemed to me to be in shockingly bad taste; but, after all, if the young women don't want to be advertised as charity objects, they need not accept, whereas it is different with children. A recent "Bulletin" by the "Social News Bureau" depicts children of the slums playing with dolls.

I had become used to the old forms of charity advertising by means of newspaper articles and annual reports of charity organizations. If a woman give a dress, or a pair of shoes, or some money, to a less fortunate sister, there is no noise made about

it; but let something of the same kind be done on a large scale by a number of women and they at once send for a newspaper reporter and have their pictures ready.

Or, if a body of men band themselves together to give alms in any form, it is considered proper to let the world know of it, not only by means of newspapers, but by annual reports, in which their pictures, their names and the amounts of their contributions are printed.

But highly organized charity has adopted new publicity methods, and must have a trained advertising expert to tell of Charity's good deeds. The good old charity rule laid down in the Sermon on the Mount, if my memory is not at fault, would make people shy in such matters, as, indeed, they mostly are in private benefactions. According to Jesus Christ, alms are to be given in secret, and when it is a question of that kind one hand is not to know what the other hand is doing. So clear and sensible is this rule that if a person were to tell of his little benevolences and Samaritan acts, he would be ridiculed.

Organized charity, however, thinks it proper to beat the tom-tom and to call attention loudly to its work.

Perhaps it's all right. I may be too critical. But it does seem to me that they might leave the children out of the pictures; for they are too young to understand what it means to be thus displayed to the world.

HOWARD M. HOLMES.

PROGRESSIVES, ATTENTION!

Butler, Pa., Sept. 29.

Concerning the economic regressive movement now going on in Great Britain enough has been said to make further comment a work of supererogation. But those who have their ear to the ground can hear a rumble in our own country that should be heeded.

Be on the lookout for the false logic of the "foreheads of brass and the hearts of steel." Causality is a strong weapon. It is now being used to force an upward revision of the tariff, to stifle the voice of democracy, to spend billions for "defense." As a matter of fact there is no real cause for this crackle movement; but there is an occasion, and the occasion is used to foster irascibility, temper, ill blood and even hate.

Congress will be in session presently. Let us keep a sharp eye on our representatives that the actions of reactionaries across the ocean are not repeated in our own country. There the income tax was raised and the exemption limit reduced; the poor were hit hard by additional duties on sugar, tea and tobacco; industry was loaded with a super-tax, but not a penny levied on land that has not been valued for taxation since 1692; not a penny on vacant land that pays no taxes at all, not a penny on the thousands of acres of suburban land, worth millions, that pay no taxes or have been assessed as hunting preserves, which amounts almost to an exemption. Francis W. Hirst, editor of the London Economist, when he heard the reading of the third war budget, said: "The facts stood out like black, frowning rocks across the stream of our national life, a painful bar and menace to our future progress."

Let us during the coming session of Congress sit by and watch, lest the elements of our traditions be "quietly" changed; remembering, that "although inanity in individuals is something rare—in groups, parties, nations, and epochs it is the rule."

THOS. J. FLAHERTY.

PREPAREDNESS.

New York, October 1, 1915.

SHALL WE PREPARE FOR WAR OR PEACE? is the question before the country. If Congress, within a couple of months, decides that we shall, what is the most enduring kind of preparation? To my mind it is the doing of justice and the conserving of the freedom of the people, which the constitution of every State promises, but which the statutes and courts of all the States nullify or disregard.

The disgraceful necessity of conscription on the part of the British Government, after only one year of war, ought to be a lesson to the Governments of the various States of our Union. Notwithstanding the mighty tribute that Englishmen are taking from Asia, Africa and America, an amount of wealth which Lloyd George tells us is sufficient to maintain the war for five years, the great masses of the people in the British Islands are very poor. Some few have lived upon the crumbs that fell from the tables of the rich, but a great many have been pushed to the walls of the cities by their dispossession from the lands, some of which are now used as playgrounds for plutocrats.

England has not established justice for her plain people, and has forgot to conserve their freedom, and for this neglect and omission she is paying a fearful price.

Recently a Government agitator, in an effort to rouse the patriotism of a great meeting of men and persuade some to enlist, exhibited a collection of cottages, and asked, "are these houses worth fighting for?"

A voice from the crowd shouted, "AYE! Let the man that owns them fight for them!" The owner might have been an English Astor.

It is not unreasonable to ask men to fight for their homes; to strike for their altars and their fires, for the green graves of their sires. But what manner of man will fight for a lodging house, the ministrations of the Salvation Army, or the privilege of decent burial in the potters' Field.

To force men to go off to the trenches to defend a government that has not defended them, though instituted for that very purpose, a Government that has been perverted and made the most potent instrument of their exploitation and oppression, is tyranny indeed. English promises of Home Rule to Ireland, and fairer distribution of wealth throughout the empire are not now amply believed to make the oppressed flock to her standards. So English Opulence trembles in its palaces. Oppression shudders to think the oppressed now have their turn. Greedy lords and landlords turn pale at the peril in which their monstrous avarice has placed them. Fat, lazy and impotent to defend their property, acquired by hook or crook, they vainly implore their victims,

whose fundamental rights they have stolen, to rush to their rescue and sacrifice in their behalf what little they have left them

The lawyers who are governing Britain have not been good enough to restore to its citizens their ancient right of access to the soil which made them the freest people in all Europe. They have not compelled restitution of the commons stolen from them while they were fighting Napoleon; a perfidy that caused Byron to ask Wellington the question, "Who, my lord, but you and yours, have gained by Waterloo?" England's government has nurtured a blighting parasitism that has injured the saving patriotism of her inhabitants, and now leaves her nearly naked to her enemies.

Let Americans be warned by the pitiable predicament of Great Britain and wipe from their own Constitution and statutes the great number of parasitic eggs that have been stealthily planted in them by the cuckoos of absorbing privilege.

Already the soil of the United States is in the legal possession of too few to give employment to myriads of persons who were born in the country. The democratic spirit of the Fathers, the tyrant tamers of 1776, declared that all men had an inalienable right to life, liberty and happiness; but the growing legalities in the legislatures, courts and administrations has obtained the usurpation of fundamental rights.

If the Congress at its coming session can be persuaded to be Constitutional to the extent or extreme of establishing justice, it will return to the straight and narrow paths found by the men of '76, revoke the tribute taking titles to the earth, and take for the support of the Government, the annual values of the opportunities of the country collected by the States.

The time has arrived when the habitual privileges of property must make great concessions to the inalienable rights of men. The conservatives who control the Congress and the State Legislatures must be roused to an appreciation of the danger of delaying those concessions. An unprecedented hunger and thirst for injustice has come to the masses of Americans. This can only be satisfied by an equitable distribution of the vast wastes of wealth that surround and amaze them. The growing knowledge that the few have become ultra rich and the many condemned to poverty, by the perverted powers of their own Government, is filling the people with anger and anarchy. No strength of Government, no preparedness that can be imagined, can save these traitors and the beneficiaries of the treason from the wrath of an outraged public when at last aroused.

In the language of the martyred Lincoln: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue till all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

CORNELIUS DONOVAN,

President Tenants' Union of New York.

BEWARE OF THE WEAK.

Hampton, Conn., Sept. 21, 1915.

I heard a lecture many years ago by Annie Besant, the truth of which has not been forgotten. She said, referring to the injustice of the rich in their treatment of the poor: "Many years ago, thousands of years ago, a young King came to an ancient teacher for some axioms to guide him in governing his kingdom. One of the axioms, 'Beware of the weak. The cries of the weak undermine the throne of Kings.' He told him he might have enemies, his enemies he could fight. He might have opponents, and his opponents he might overcome—but the weak—the sobbing, starving child, the heart-broken woman, the strong man, desperate from misery and starvation—those are the things that undermine the prosperity of a nation. It is the weak, injured by the strong, who dig the graves of a people." Is it not well for our Republic to remember that no nation is great while there exist the miserable and poor in its great cities.

J. S. MENKEN.



ENCOURAGING DESERTION.

Oak Park, Ill., Oct. 1.

Organized charity has found a way to cripple the Mothers' Pension System.

In New York, Minnesota, Illinois and nearly all other Mothers' Pensions States, it has induced the legislatures to prevent deserted mothers getting pensions on the plea that pensions to such mothers would increase desertion.

Suppose this plea were true. Does Society want to compel a mother to breed feeble-minded children by a bad husband in order to prevent desertion?

We all know that only bad fathers desert. Does Society want bad fathers to stay and produce more children to fill our feeble-minded institutions which are already full, and have a long waiting list?

Every taxpayer wonders and worries over the amount of his taxes, but very few taxpayers ever investigate what is done with their tax money. If they did, they would want more desertions and less feeble-minded children.

The legislature of every State is importuned to appropriate millions of dollars to build and maintain institutions for feeble-minded children, born because Society compels mothers to live with bad husbands, and because Organized Charity wants to prevent desertions.

Would it not be wiser for Society to encourage bad fathers to desert?

As the pensions are now administered by the Juvenile Courts for the benefit of mothers of dependent children (not including deserted mothers), there is practically no extra expense of administration because the pensions have reduced juvenile crime to such an extent that these courts have little else to do but administer the pensions which abolish juvenile crime and child-poverty, whereas under the old system the courts spent all their energy punishing crime and poverty.

The twenty-six States that have adopted the Mothers' Pension System will distribute ten million dollars during this year, and every dollar goes to the mothers for the benefit of their children.

It is a well demonstrated fact that "Charity" gets

most of its funds by appeals based on the destitution and suffering of innocent children, so if all poor children were taken care of by the Mothers' Pension System, publicly administered, there would be little suffering left on which "Charity" could collect funds.

Now when a mother and her children are deserted, Organized Charity sends out begging letters telling of their great distress and asking rich people to send money to help relieve the distress, deploring the fact that this mother cannot get a pension, when "Charity" itself went to the legislature and prevented her getting a pension.

When Organized Charity is asked the question, "Do you provide for the deserted mother, whom you prevent getting a pension, better or worse, more or less, to just the same amount as the pension?" they decline to answer because no matter how they answer, they are convicted of penalizing the deserted mother and her children in order that they may collect money.

Surely Charity does not claim that they provide less for the destitute deserted mother and her children than the pension that they prevent her getting, as that would be punishing the innocent for the sins of the father. Surely, Organized Charity would not adopt such a cruel method.

Surely Charity does not claim that it provides more for the destitute deserted mother and her children than the pension.

Surely Charity does not claim that it provides the same amount as the pensions, for then there would be no reason for preventing the destitute deserted mother and her children getting the pension.

Now, I ask, "Why pauperize the deserted mother? Will some expert please answer, Why?"

HENRY NEIL.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, October 5, 1915.

The President and Cabinet for Woman Suffrage.

That President Wilson will vote for the suffrage amendment to the New Jersey Constitution on October 19 was announced on October 3. Secretary of War Garrison, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and Private Secretary Tumulty, all residents of New Jersey, have declared their intention to support the amendment also. Secretary of Labor Wilson will vote for a similar amendment in Pennsylvania at the November election and Secretary of Commerce Redfield will support the New York amendment. [See current volume, pages 572, 902, 914, 958.]



The Labor War.

It is announced in press dispatches that representatives of John D. Rockefeller's mine employees

on October 2 at Pueblo unanimously endorsed the plan submitted to them by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for future settlement of labor difficulties. The action must still be ratified by direct vote of the miners. The plan, said to have been drawn up by W. L. Mackenzie King, allows the employees to form an organization which must not contain any members not employed at the mines and must not be affiliated with the United Mine Workers. At each camp miners are to elect a delegate for every 150 men employed. The company's camps are to be divided into five districts. The delegates from each district are to select committees of six members each on industrial co-operation and conciliation, on safety and accidents, on sanitation, health and housing, and on recreation and education. The company retains the right to hire and discharge, but agrees to post a list of offenses for which dismissal may be made without notice. For other offenses it agrees to give notice that a repetition will cause dismissal. Permission to hold meetings, to buy supplies anywhere and to employ check weighmen, is conceded. The company agrees that rent for dwellings without bath shall not exceed \$2 per room per month. The present charge of 40 cents per electric light per month with free light on porches will not be increased. The company will furnish supplies at cost. Eight hours will be a day's work underground and nine hours above ground. Wages will be paid by check semi-monthly. Thirty days' notice will be given of any change with respect to wages or hours. The Company agrees to abide hereafter by the mining and labor laws of Colorado. [See current volume, pages 643, 811, 828.]

On Oct. 4 the directors of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. accepted the plan. The miners are expected to do the same.

The United Mine Workers in session at Denver on October 2 passed resolutions commenting on Rockefeller's offer, in part as follows.

Exposed in their nakedness by the disclosures of a federal investigation, discredited in the eyes of every fair-minded man and woman, stained by the awful crime of Ludlow, it finally dawned upon the coal operators that an effort must be made to redeem themselves in the public mind.

The document arbitrarily fixes living and working conditions until January, 1918, with a proviso that for any increase in wages granted in competitive districts a proportional increase shall be made; no doubt with the end in view of safeguarding the competitive advantage the company now has over the Wyoming, Montana, and other adjacent union fields where the union scale is much higher than in Colorado.

The evils that are fundamental will be eradicated only when the men are represented by a labor organization powerful enough to compel recognition of the industrial, political, and civic rights of its members, and capable of writing these principles into

the joint agreement along with the rights claimed by the employer.

Complaints of brutality on the part of the police in dealing with clothing strikers have been made by officials of the Federation of Labor. An investigation was made on October 1 by Mary McDermott, representing the public welfare department. She reported a number of cases of unprovoked insults and indignities offered to young girl and women strikers by policemen, as well as some uncalled for assaults on men. A delegation from the Federation of Labor called on Mayor Thompson to protest but were told that he was "too busy."

The Nearing Case.

A defense of the action of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania in refusing to reappoint Professor Scott Nearing has been issued by Dr. J. William White, a member of the Board. Dr. White was not present at the meeting at which Professor Nearing was dropped but endorses the action. In his statement, published in the University weekly and largely reproduced in the Philadelphia North American, Dr. White says he found that Nearing had addressed audiences outside of the University expressing "views for the full understanding of which a careful, logical foundation must be laid and which isolated from their interdependence upon correlated facts and theories, would necessarily seem extravagant and—to some untrained minds—anarchistic." He says that he found persons who had understood Nearing as advocating "ruthless redistribution of property," as believing "in the personal iniquity of those who lived on incomes derived even from their own savings," and as holding that "the alternative of work or starvation should be presented even to the old, the feeble and the diseased." Dr. White admits that these conceptions were absurd, but concluded that they were nevertheless harmful to the University since "persons whose good will and respect for the University seemed to me important were so affected as to lead them to say sometimes angrily, sometimes sorrowfully, that they could not let their boys be exposed to such influences." Dr. White finds additional fault with Nearing on account of a letter written by him to the Philadelphia Bulletin of January 1, 1911, in which these words appear:

For three weeks I have been serving on a jury. I entered the panel with a measure of faith in courts and the law. I left the panel with my faith entirely destroyed.

Dr. White next complains of embarrassment caused to those seeking to obtain donations to the University by such statements as the following by Nearing:

"Private wealth has been able to control political parties and the church; let it not control the schools. The schools must not take a dollar from any private

donor. There must be no educational donations save the tax which all the people pay. They have put the college professors on the pension list—they have got the old fellow—but the young professors are not so interested in pensions. But so long as you have your college presidents and you, college professors on the payroll of corporation foundations you will have the policies of your higher institutions of learning dictated by those corporation interests.

Dr. White says he is "in sympathy with the school of economists to which Professor Nearing belongs," but also states that he has not reached what seems to him "firm ground as to the time or method of their application." [See current volume, page 954.]



A petition signed by 1,500 students of the University of Pennsylvania was presented to Provost Smith and the Board of Trustees on October 1, asking for reinstatement of Professor Nearing.



Ownership of New York City.

The New York Lower Rents Society issued a second report on September 28 on results of its investigation of land ownership in New York. The Society recently published official figures showing that thirteen families own one-fifteenth of Manhattan Island. It now finds that one-seventh of Manhattan is owned by 99 families, which also own one-tenth of the land values of the entire city. The total number of families in the city is 1,100,000. The report further states:

The assessed value of the land holdings of these ninety-nine families, in Manhattan alone, is \$444,659,212—about one-seventh of the value of the borough. In addition, these families own much valuable and large acreage tracts in several other boroughs. The value of their land holdings in the Bronx is \$10,997,250; in Brooklyn, \$8,678,400. In addition, they own practically all of the stock of several real estate corporations, making the total of their land holdings about \$475,000,000. The total assessed land value of the city is \$4,643,000,000.

The families with the most valuable holdings are the Astors, Goeleys, Vanderbilts, Rhinelanders, Baudouines, Gerrys, Ehrets, Wendels, Hoffmans, Sterns, McAlpins, Morgans and Beards.

The assessed value of the buildings of these ninety-nine families (exclusive of their holdings in real estate corporations) is \$157,695,551—about one-third as much as land holdings.

This year, these families pay only \$11,646,895.67 taxes on the properties held in their own names—though the city government spends about \$20,000,000 for their financial benefit, over one-tenth of the city budget.

Were taxes now levied on buildings here transferred to land values, these ninety-nine families would pay \$14,224,240.56; that is, \$2,577,344.89, or 22 per cent, a fifth more than they pay under the present system of taxation.

Their ground rent, calculated at only 6 per cent on the assessed value this year, is \$27,860,091.90.

With a super tax of only five mills—which the So-

ciety recommends to meet the increase in local expenditures and the city's share of the direct State tax—these wealthy families would be compelled to return to the city treasury \$2,231,679.32 more of the ground rent, which all the people of the city make, but which the few now keep.

The assessed value of the real estate (exclusive of real estate of corporations and special franchises) in the skyscraper district, south of Chambers street in Manhattan, is \$545,752,800. The buildings are assessed for only \$165,816,450, the land more than twice as much—\$379,936,300. Were buildings untaxed the land in this district (most of which is owned by a few people) would pay \$1,564,453 more than land and buildings pay now, even though a few of the buildings are worth much more than their sites.

Owners of "skyscrapers" are opposed to transferring taxes from buildings to land values—more office buildings would be constructed and the competition for tenants would reduce rents.

Fifth avenue, from 50th street to 91st street, and three streets just east of Fifth avenue, comprise the finest residential district in New York City. The assessed value of the sites of these mansions on Fifth avenue and these streets is \$77,331,000. The assessed value of the improvements on mansions occupied by New York's wealthiest families is only \$21,996,600, total \$99,727,000. The present tax levy on these properties is \$1,864,874.90. With buildings untaxed they would pay \$2,370,837.20, an increase of \$505,962.30.

A super tax of five mills on the sites of these mansions would yield \$388,655.

Our study indicates that less than two thousand families and a few corporations controlled by a very few people own the major part of the land value of the city, and a very large proportion of the acreage tracts. Their land is worth several times as much as their buildings, even in the built up part of Manhattan.

The administration is now seeking some plan to tax products of labor which, if adopted, will increase the profits of land speculators.

Whether New York City shall continue to be run for the benefit of a few land speculators will be the issue of the next municipal campaign.

[See current volume, page 884.]



Chicago School Board and School Lands.

By a vote of 11 to 8 the Chicago Board of Education, on September 29, amended its rule against teachers' organizations so as to reserve the power to discriminate between organizations coming within the original prohibition. This was done to evade the injunction of Judge O'Connor, but the Board's attorney, Angus Roy Shannon, informed it that it cannot enforce the rule, even as amended, until the matter is finally settled in its favor. A special committee on school lands recommended, on September 30, that the Board hereafter retain all such lands for the use of the public and to that end should refrain from further sales but lease the land instead under long term leases. [See current volume, page 934.]

A Judge Considers Economic Causes of Vice.

Judge Joseph Z. Uhlir of the Morals Court of Chicago has taken a radical position on matters relating to vice, as indicated by his course in a case of two girls brought before him on October 2, as told in the Chicago Herald:

"You girls have been in here several times before, haven't you?" asked Judge Uhlir. "What is the matter? Why don't you get work and quit this kind of business?"

"I am working and Irene has been trying to get work," said the Miller girl. "I work in a drug store, but it is hard to make a living."

"How much do you get a week?" asked the judge. "Five dollars."

"What? Five dollars!" exclaimed Judge Uhlir. "And you are expected to live on that? It can't be done."

"The trouble with our wealthy society folk and employing classes is that they give a little to charity and are praised for it, but they don't make it possible for you to live from day to day. A lot of our society women talk about helping you and organize for that purpose, but all they do is talk, talk."

"They talk about commissions, too, but as I read in an editorial the other day, all commissions are good for is to meet and adopt resolutions."

"Society is pandering when it forces you to live this way. It is nothing but white slavery. Here you are, brought in here from time to time, fined and sent away again to such work and wages that you are forced to sin again in order to keep alive."

"If the newspapers would just stand back of us and give us some publicity we could accomplish something. They are quick enough to say a lot when our rich people give a few hundred dollars to charity, but when we try to do something for the same girls those rich people employ the papers to keep quiet."

"Are we helping things any by sending such girls to the bridewell? No. We can't do anything."

"If everybody agrees, I'm going to give you girls another chance. I want you to keep in touch with us. If you find you can't get along on what you can make honestly let us know and we will see if some way can be found to help you."

**Paterson Under Police Rule.**

The police of Paterson, New Jersey, on September 30, invaded Socialist headquarters where a meeting was taking place and arrested Leonard Abbott, Carlo Tresca and Thomas Wright. The Free Speech League, of which Leonard Abbott is president, had planned an open air meeting earlier in the evening, but had been denied permission. Accordingly the meeting was held in the hall. When Chief of Police Bimson heard of this he ordered the meeting broken up and the hall closed. [See current volume, page 906.]

**Mexico.**

Negotiations, inquiries, and conferences continue at Washington between the Administration and the agents of the several Mexican factions. The successes of General Carranza, and waning military

fortunes of General Villa and General Zapata give color to the reports from Washington that General Carranza will be recognized by the American Government. [See current volume, page 956.]



Reports from border towns indicate that the American military authorities are restoring order, and are driving out the outlaws who have taken refuge in the neutral zone.

**China.**

Dr. W. E. Macklin of the Nanking University Hospital, writes:

China is going to repair her great flooding and famine causing river (the Hwai) and charge the cost up to the increased value of the land improved. The landlord converts a bad season into a famine by sucking the life blood of the tenant. He takes from three-tenths to six-tenths of the crop in rent. It is known now that famine fever—the pestilence—is caused by a louse. One parasite causes the famine, and the other the pestilence. [See current volume, pp. 375, 956.]

**European War.**

Interest last week shifted from the eastern to the western front; this week it shifts to the Balkans, where the shot of an obscure and forgotten student started the war fourteen months ago. The German drive to the eastward seems to have spent its force. The Russians still hold Dvinsk, and the Teutons have been unable to throw their forces across the Dvina River to complete their advance on Riga, which it was their ambition to take before the beginning of winter. To the southward the Russians have assumed the offensive along the whole line. Lack of munitions is given as the reason for the Russian slowness in beginning the recovery of their lines. But supplies are accumulating while the re-organization of their offensive is taking place. [See current volume, page 957.]



The first assault on the western front ended with substantial gains for the Allies, but the German front remains unbroken. Counter attacks by the Germans recovered parts of their lost line, but the net results are favorable to their opponents. Berlin announces the losses of the Allies as 130,000 for the French, and 60,000 for the British, and gives their own loss as a fifth of that of the Allies. The Allies place the German loss at 120,000. It is announced from both French and British sources that the offensive will be continued to a conclusion. Artillery firing is continuous, and infantry engagements are so frequent that the action is of the nature of a battle of mammoth proportions.



The crisis in the Balkans has at last come to a head. Bulgaria's mobilization and concentration of troops led to an ultimatum from Russia on the 3d, giving Bulgaria twenty-four hours in which

to dismiss the German officers who are directing her affairs, and resume a friendly attitude toward her former patron. Bulgaria has shown no disposition to yield. Greece appears to have decided definitely to enter the war on the side of the Allies from the landing of French troops at Saloniki to assist in defending Greece and Serbia. Teutonic forces reported at from 250,000 to 400,000 have been assembled north of the Danube for a drive through Serbia to Bulgaria, and the relief of Turkey. Roumania still professes to be neutral. Bulgaria is reported to have 350,000 men in the field. Greece is ready to furnish as many or more, and the Allies have an unknown number of men ready to aid the latter country. The Greek Parliament has ratified the mobilization move, and has voted the Government \$30,000,000.



No new developments of moment are reported from Italy, or from the Dardanelles, but from Mesopotamia comes official reports of the British success over the Turks. The Turkish forces were routed in a decisive battle at Kut-El-Amara, on the Tigris River, 150 miles below Bagdad, toward which city the Turks are retreating. The British loss is given as 500, and the Turkish loss much greater. This is the region into which the Germans had been planning to build railroads for purposes of colonization and commercial development.



The half billion dollar loan negotiated in the United States by representatives of France and England has been over subscribed and the books have been closed. This money is to remain in the United States to be drawn against in payment of supplies other than ammunition. The terms are five-year 5 percent bonds payable jointly by the two governments. The public subscription price is placed at 98, which means almost $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the investor. The borrowers will receive 96 per cent of the face value of the bonds, the difference of 2 per cent will go to the syndicate underwriting the loan.



In a letter to Secretary of State Lansing, on October 5, Count von Bernstorff announced that the German government disavows the act of Commander Schneider of the submarine which sank the Arabic. Strict orders have been issued to prevent repetition of such acts, and an indemnity will be paid for lives lost.



So many German clergymen have gone to the front that there is a great and ever increasing scarcity at home. The government and a number of denominations are said to be perplexed regarding methods for meeting the situation. One plan proposed is to detail army officers who have been

wounded and rendered unfit for military service. But objection is offered by some church members that these officers are lacking in proper piety for such religious work.

NEWS NOTES

—At organization of the City Club at Racine, Wisconsin, on October 5, the principal address was given by Louis Wallis of Chicago.

—Mayor Thompson of Chicago notified the City Council on October 4 that he had ordered all saloons in the city to be closed on Sunday hereafter.

—Hennepin County, Minnesota, containing the city of Minneapolis, went wet on October 4 by about 9,000 majority. Charges of fraud have been made by the drys.

—Suit against the Rock Island railroad directors to recover \$7,500,000 was begun on September 29 by Receiver Dickinson at Chicago. [See current volume, page 839.]

—The City Council of Terre Haute, Indiana, sustained impeachment charges against Mayor James M. Gossom on October 4, by a vote of 6 to 3 and declared the office vacant.

—Two Chicago German papers, the Illinois Staats Zeitung and the Abendpost, have been barred from the Canadian mails. The Gaelic American of New York City has also been barred. These papers are all pro-German.

—Assessments of personal property in New York City for this year show an increase of \$3,347,948,245 over last year, when they amounted to \$340,295,560. More than 500 persons are assessed for more than \$1,000,000 in personal property.

—Federal Judge Clarke of Cleveland admitted to naturalization on September 30 an alien who refused on religious grounds to promise to fight in case of war. The judge held that citizenship should not be withheld as a penalty for refusal to violate religious scruples.

—Reverend Charles E. Snyder of Pittsburgh will address the Chicago Single Tax Club at Schiller Hall, 64 W. Randolph street, on October 8 at 8 p. m. Dr. Snyder's criticism of Billy Sunday recently cost him several chautauqua engagements. [See current volume, page 807.]

—An agreement between Haitian rebel officers and the officers of the American expeditionary force has been entered into for the delivery of all rebel arms. The surrender took place at Quartier Morin, six miles from the city of Cape Haitien. [See current volume, page 958.]

—Three officials of the Riggs National Bank of Washington, which recently brought injunction proceedings against the Treasury Department, were indicted for perjury on October 1. The specific charge relates to a denial in the plea for injunction that the bank ever engaged in stock market transactions. [See current volume, page 498.]

—Joseph Hillstrom, I. W. W. leader and a radical poet, sentenced to be shot at Salt Lake City on Sept. 30, was reprieved by Governor Spry of Utah until

October 16, on request of President Wilson. The President's request was due to representations by the Swedish Minister who wishes to investigate; Hillstrom being a Swedish subject.

—Wireless telephonic communication took place on the 29th between Arlington and Mare Island, California, a distance of 2,500 miles. On the 30th it was announced by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company that wireless telephone communication between Arlington and Hawaii, a distance of 4,600 miles had taken place.

—The Ohio Supreme Court on October 1 held that Secretary of State Hildebrants must mail to all voters arguments filed with him for and against the proposal of the Constitutional Stability League limiting the use of the Initiative. This overrules a contrary opinion of Attorney-General Turner. The decision was given on action brought by Mayor Newton D. Baker of Cleveland. [See current volume, page 885.]

—Springfield, Illinois, singletaxers gave a banquet on October 4 to Mrs. Fels. Mrs. Harriet Reid was chairman and Frank H. Bode of Jacksonville, toastmaster. The speakers besides Mrs. Fels were Louis Wallis of Chicago, Willis J. Spaulding of Springfield, Rabbi Sidney Tedesche of Springfield, Reverend Frank Allen of Springfield, Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati, Dr. J. W. Slaughter of London and Governor Edward F. Dunne.

—Chicago street railways were ordered on September 30, by the State Public Utilities Commission to provide seats for all passengers during all but the rush hours. During the rush hours there must be at least 17 seats for every 20 persons during the height of the rush, and for 18 out of 20 during the remainder. The company must work out a plan to put the order in operation within 60 days. The decision is the result of action taken by the Cook County Real Estate Board.

—Compulsory education is being enforced in Belgium by German officials. Shortly before the war began the Belgian Parliament enacted a compulsory education law, but exempted from its provisions all children living at a greater distance than four kilometers from a school in which the religion or politics of the father would be taught. The German governor-general has ordered this exemption to be ignored and ordered all children of school age to be sent to whatever school may be in the district in which they reside.

PRESS OPINIONS

Plutocracy's Game.

The Star (San Francisco), Sept. 4.—“Democracy had progressed to such an extent in Europe that it was necessary for the monarchical parties to have a war, or change their methods of government.” So says Dr. John W. Slaughter, of the University of London, who is a native of Alabama and now lives in England. . . . Of course, the privileged classes—including the great land owners who perform no services, yet have vast incomes from ground rents—have, as Dr. Slaughter points out, watched the growth of the democratic idea in Great Britain

with alarm, just as the privileged classes in America have watched with much alarm the growth of the democratic idea in this country. . . . “When the opportunity was presented of engaging in wars without, or of facing difficulties within,” as Dr. Slaughter puts it, Germany declared war, Austria declared war, Russia declared war and Great Britain declared war—for the common people to fight and pay for. That easily and naturally and correctly accounts for the efforts of men of special privileges in this country to create a military spirit here. The political and economic problems at home are easily forgotten when a nation is at war, or is busy getting ready to fight a real or an imaginary foe. . . . Hence the demand for “preparedness.” Further, as Dr. Slaughter points out, the British Tories would like to see enforced military service “as a basis for the future, for imposing militarism as an adjunct of the ruling classes.” So American Tories—holders of special privileges, owners of millions they have not earned—want enforced military service in this country. . . . The privileged classes of Europe do not expect to pay for this war. They expect to saddle the whole debt upon the plain people. So it is with the privileged classes of America, who are willing to saddle upon working people the huge cost of battleships and great armies. They would have the common people fight all the battles and pay all the cost of preparedness and all the cost of the result of preparedness—war.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE DOOMED MEN'S MESSAGE

Mary Carolyn Davies in *The Survey*.

Three doomed men in the death house write
 A word like a torch from their night to my night.
 Three doomed men in Sing Sing wait
 Through the fading black of the night, a fate
 That I made for them, I—
 I said, “You must die.”
 They will die at dawn. But before they go
 They write me a word, that I too may know.
 They sit and write, the three doomed men,
 (They three never will write again—)
 Three doomed men in Sing Sing write
 A word like a torch from their night to my night.

And this is the word: “Are you justified?
 We would give our lives for the men who died—
 Who died—by our hand. But it would not aid.
 And out of two wrongs can a right be made?”
 It is thus they plead, the three doomed men—
 They three never will plead again.
 They must die at dawn. As a brave man faces
 The death he fears, they will take their places.
 They will smile perhaps, they will maybe jest.
 They will be dust then. Perhaps that's best;
 But even so, what god am I
 To say to three other men, “You must die”?

Three doomed men in the death house pray
 Forgiveness. And I, do I ever pray?

Three doomed men confess their sin
 And die as they watch a day begin.
 Jealousy—anger through drink—and they
 Go to their death at the break of day!
 Jealousy, anger through drink—and I
 A free man, walk down the street. Why, why?

Did I scorn them? Well, we are brothers now,
 I and the three, or will be soon.
 When day blots out this fading moon,
 I shall have killed, no matter how.
 Then, murderers all, take heed of me!
 They killed but one.
 When my deed is done,
 My hands will be stained with the blood of three!

They sit and write, the three doomed men,
 They three never will write again—
 But I still shall hear, with fear and dread,
 What the three doomed men in Sing Sing said.



REMARKS BY OLD TOM HARDER.

For The Public.

“You see, I’m purty busy tryin’ to help things grow on the farm, an’ this time o’ year depend on Jones, who comes over from the depot every week or so to tell me the news. He leans most of the time over towards the Rockefeller idea, so I’m likely to be biased.

“Last time he was over he told me that Rockefeller was a-fightin’ desperately for the right of the laborin’ men to work when, where an’ for whom they please. The rights o’ labor was in his care an’ was a sacred trust an’ the Rockefellers was goin’ to die right in their tracks if necessary to carry out that trust. An’ that’s how the trouble in Colorado happened.

“I said to myself ‘that’s noble.’ An’ then a mean thought come to me. I thought that if the rights o’ laborin’ men was in their care an’ they held onto the rights as tight as they hold onto coal an’ the oil an’ the iron an’ the railroads an’ portable property of all kinds, them laborin’ men would never get a cent o’ dividend on their rights. Then I cancelled the thought an’ Jones remarked that in the fight for liberty to the workers the Rockefellers bought all the best coal mines in Colorado. Then they sent over to Europe for some free laborers to mine coal for ‘em an’ show the enslaved miners o’ this country how to be free.

“I couldn’t help sayin’ ‘how commendable.’

“Yes! Them laborers was as free as air. There wasn’t a labor tag on one of ‘em. They was free to work for Rockefeller in the mines for what Rockefeller was willin’ to pay ‘em. They was free to live in Rockefeller houses on Rockefeller land an’ free to quit work whenever they got sick or tired, an’ if they did quit they was free to move off the Rockefeller land, an’ if they couldn’t find anybody else to hire ‘em they was free to starve to death. But they was surely free from the goll darned unions an’ nobody should dictate to ‘em

as to wages. No abominable union should stir up trouble with the noble-minded men who was givin’ these free laborers a chance to be as free as a canary bird in a cage. ‘Freedom’s statue in New York harbor should weep for joy,’ says Jones. ‘But them darned unions seduced the free laborers into fightin’ for more wages and correct weight on the coal they dug an’ for other things that free labor can’t possibly have consistently with reasonable dividends an’ other proper perquisites.’

“Then I says to Jones, ‘Them coal mines belong to Rockefeller an’ the tittle’s clear an’ not incumbered. So if the miners don’t want to work for Rockefeller on his terms, he has a right to turn ‘em loose an’ hire some other free men to work. If he can’t find any o’ that kind he has a right to close the mines an’ keep ‘em closed till workers will acknowledge they’re free an’ want to come back to work. Is that good logic?’

“Jones thought it couldn’t be beat.

“Then if he wants to buy all the rest of the coal an’ the oil an’ the iron an’ the balance o’ the good things on earth, nobody has any right to kick? ‘Not a bit,’ declared Jones. Then I says, ‘Sinclair an’ the other Independent Wreckers o’ the World have no right to put on mournin’ an’ march up an’ down in front o’ 26 Broadway. They have no right to hold meetin’s an’ denounce the Rockefellers for doin’ just what the law gives them the right to do? Them wreckers have the right to work wherever they can find anybody to hire ‘em an’ for what pay they can persuade anybody to pay ‘em. They’re free to work or to starve. The Rockefellers own most of the opportunities for jobs in this country an’ the rest of the earth also. Nobody ever heard ‘em say that the earth ought not to be sold. So what’s the use of ‘em tryin’ to scare the Rockefellers to death?’

“‘No use at all,’ says Jones.

“An’ I says. ‘Let’s have a little sympathy for ‘em. They don’t sleep very well o’ nights an’ they have to hire policemen to watch ‘em all the time. They have to spend a whole lot o’ money to keep the beggars from bankruptin’ ‘em. They can’t eat all they can pay for any time. They can’t wear all the clothes they can buy an’ they can’t live in all the houses they own. It’s one darn thing after another all the time. An’ they haven’t a friend on the earth that they can rely on. Every one that pretends to be friendly has designs on their personal or real property an’ they have to spend more time consultin’ with lawyers than they do prayin’!

“‘They’re like the rich young man that Christ told to give all his property to the poor. The property owns ‘em an’ they can’t get themselves free.’

“‘Well,’ says Jones, ‘I’d like to swap jobs with ‘em.’

"'Sure thing,' says I. 'There's so many like you that you hold up the institutions that make the Rockefellers an' also the tramps. S'pose we go back an' ask ourselves who it is that has the right to sell to the Rockefellers or any other sufferin' millionaire the absolute right to the oil lands or the coal mines or any other part o' the earth. S'pose we ask ourselves, have not all the people on the earth an equal right to the use of the earth an' its bounties?'"

"'No, sir,' says Jones. 'That wouldn't do at all.' 'Why not?' says I.

"'Because everybody would be so darned independent we couldn't get anybody to work for us. Everybody would have to work an' the fun would all be gone from the earth.'

"'Who's havin' the fun now?' says I. 'The millionaires don't have any. They're worryin' all the time because somebody's richer than they are. The poor don't have much because they have such a hard time o' makin' a livin'. The comfortable classes are worryin' all the time for fear they'll get poor and fret because they want to be rich. The tramps are about as happy as anybody.'

"'S'pose we set the lawmakers to work removin' all the special privileges an' establishin' equal opportunities for everybody?'"

"'Not a bit of it,' says Jones. 'It couldn't be done an' it wouldn't work if it was done.'

"'But Jones wants to be a little Rockefeller.'"
 GEORGE V. WELLS.



CHANT FOR DEFENCE.

For The Public.

O Motherland, dear as that golden one
 Who gave me life, whose wasted chrysalis
 Of beauty is close coffered in thy breast,
 With love I sing thee in these parlous hours
 When bannered Chaos clamors at thy gates
 And Babel, from within, leagued with him strives
 To thrust thee down into the murrey seas
 Where the infatuate hordes of Europe writhe
 In demon agonies of glut and lust
 Of Midas and Baal's spawn of idiot kings.

A chant for thy defence! O for the power
 To wake thy sluggard sons; to fill the air
 With clarion thunders and the brazen shout
 Of clangorous bells! "Rouse, sleepers, rouse!
 Our mother is in peril; up, prepare
 Against the sudden slaughter of her soul!"

Not the vain tools of murder, cannoned ramps,
 Navies imperial, or the locust hordes
 Of bullnecked bravoos, shall thy altars keep:
 These are thy spirit's foes, and those who plead,
 In greed or blindness for the power of arms,
 Are no less traitorous to thy destiny
 Than to his Lord was he who gained the dole
 Of thirty silver pieces: thy defence
 Shall be against defence, thy preparation
 Against the false preparedness and fools' might

Of purblind totem worshipers and knaves,
 Who make a fetish bunting high excuse
 To deluge earth with blood, and fling the gage
 Of crimsoned cowardice in God's white face.

Thy house is vermined with a bastard breed—
 No sons of thine—rich traffickers in arms,
 Corrupt intelligencers, little hearts,
 Who love the fanfare and the tinsel pomp;
 With venal charlatans who trust to climb
 To power by magic of hypnotic drums,
 Or, in war's cloudy anarchy, to seize
 The last poor share that Toil still calls her own.
 These are thy foes, and when they seek to win
 Thine ear with sophic cosenage, let Truth
 Arm thee with spirit weapons and write large
 Upon thy shield "Honor is born of Peace,
 Dishonor hath no symbol like a sword."

The hour pleads, eternal ages judge:
 Then keep thy tempted soul secure and white,
 That it may stand triumphant and unshamed
 Before Time's great tribunal; thrust aside
 Hate's scarlet importunities: thy strife
 Shall gain thee fairer fruits than laud and spoil.
 Thou shalt be champion of the weak, to win
 Man's right to pleasure in the bounteous earth
 By the fee simple of unshackled toil;
 To make as one the helot and the king;
 To break the yoke and cut the bonds of want,
 Till thy loved land and all the world become
 A glory of free spirits, and men's souls,
 Enfranchised, clamber from the slime of things
 Jubilant to the dawn-bright mountain tops.

GEORGE M. P. BAIRD.

BOOKS

PEACE THROUGH MORE GOVERNMENT.

Nation of Nations. By Alfred Owen Crozier. Published by Stewart and Kidd Company, Cincinnati, O. Price, 50 cents net.

A plan to prevent war is presented which was first submitted by the author to President Wilson in a letter written August 10, 1914. In all probability it was but one of many suggestions which, since the beginning of the war, the President has been asked to consider.

The plan is to form a new government, a nation of nations. Existing nations are to enter into a union on a plan similar to that of the United States. There is to be a constitution defining the powers of the government. There is to be a Supreme President, a Supreme Council, Supreme Senate and a Supreme Court, Nations entering into the union must turn over to its government enough of their naval and military establishments to create a greater force than of any nation or any two or three nations.

The author regards as a step toward his sug-

gestion the League to Enforce Peace recently formed with ex-President Taft at its head.

One chapter devoted to removal of the causes of war is rather superficial. The author sees that certain spots on the earth are bones of contention between various nations. He would put these places directly under the control of his Nation of Nations. But he does not say whether he would remove tariff walls from them or leave them open to the trade of the world. In fact he mentions the tariff nowhere. Furthermore he apparently does not realize that peace can be better assured by maintenance of just economic conditions than by armies and navies. These errors of omission seem to impair the practical value of the plan to such an extent as to destroy whatever attractions it might otherwise have to the more fundamental friends of peace.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Means and Methods of Agricultural Education. By Albert H. Leake. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The Greed of Man. By E. Herbert Shaw. For sale by Free Trade and Land Value League, A. G. Hule, Secretary, 118 King St., Sydney, N. S. W., Australia. 1915. Price, paper, 1 shilling and 3 pence, postpaid.

—Economic Aspects of the War: Neutral Rights, Belligerent Claims and American Commerce in the Years 1914-1915. By Edwin J. Clapp. Published by the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net, postpaid.

PERIODICALS

Surveying the Constitutional Convention's Work.

In the Survey of September 25, Samuel McCune Lindsay advocates adoption of the proposed New York Constitution. He makes clear the good points of the document, laying special emphasis on the departments created of which the Governor will have control. He seems to have overlooked that the important matter of control of public service corporations is excluded from these. To the reactionary taxation amendment he gives unqualified approval and predicts that the Constitution "will receive the approval of forward-looking people." Perhaps so, but some forward-looking people look further than others, and Professor Lindsay might exclude the more far-sighted ones from his prediction.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Land Reform Year Book.

The June quarterly number of the Jahrbuch der Bodenreform (published by A. Damaschke, Berlin, price 2 marks) is largely devoted to discussion of

the proposition to insure homesteads to German soldiers at the close of the war. Considerable space is given to discussion of the land question in Russia and England, as well as in Germany.

The soldiers' homestead movement is shown to be the result of experience after the Franco-Prussian war. The conditions that met the victorious German soldiers on their return are thus described.

From 1871 to 73 there was a colossal increase in rents, prices of building sites and prices of improved lots. Statistics show an increase from year to year of 10, 15 and 20 per cent and even more. To what were these increases due? To any services performed by the owners? What had they done? They had become considerably richer through the historical accomplishment of the German army on French territory. But when the returning soldiers wanted to rent dwellings they were compelled to pay an increase of 20 to 30 per cent, and when they had families they were told: "You must not have too much of a family. We don't want tenants with five or six children." When new children were born they were told: "We did not figure on that. The size of the family must be restricted, or we can not tolerate you."

Examples are given of how these conditions caused widespread distress, and further resulted in an enormous increase in the Socialist vote. One Berlin district that had given 82 votes to the Socialist candidate on March 3, 1871, gave him 2,523 votes less than three years later, and for the first time necessitated a second election in a Berlin district with a Socialist as one of the candidates.

That similar occurrences are due after the present war, unless averted through legislation, there are many indications.

Thus examples are given of families of soldiers in the field unable to rent a dwelling on account of the landlord's objection to children. One incident reported in the *Aschaffener Zeitung* of April 29 is that of the wife of a soldier at the front giving birth to a child, and receiving prompt notice to vacate her apartments since the lease contained a statement that the parties had no children.

Advertisements are quoted which show a general expectation of a boom in land values to follow a treaty of peace. One enthusiastic patriot predicts that a victorious ending of the war will cause a flow of population to Berlin and that there will be a rise in rents. Such a prospect must reconcile patriots not interested in land speculation to a different outcome of the war than victory.

The remedy proposed is not one that would or should be entirely satisfactory to Singletaxers. The government is to provide every returning soldier with a site for a home and make it easy for him when necessary to borrow money needed for building. The title to the land is to be reserved by the government, the occupant holding under a ground lease only. So far that is good. But the flaw is in a provision which fixes the rent at a certain amount for the lifetime of the occupant. Only at his death or when he sells his homestead is the rent to be raised to its full value. The veterans of the war will thus be made a privileged class.

Still one may hope that this defect will be remedied when the time comes for actual legislation.

S. D.



The hearts of the people are the only legitimate foundations of empire.—Chinese proverb.

Pamphlets Received.

Universal Land Ownership, by Ernest A. Conrad, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Wis.

Fairhope on Mobile Bay. Published by the Fairhope Courier, Fairhope, Ala., 1915.

English Esperanto Dictionary, compiled by Herbert Harris. Published by the American Esperantist Co., West Newton, Mass., 1915.

The Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation. Leonard P. Ayres, director Activities and Publications, published by the Foundation, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, 1915.

Fairhope, "Single-tax Tax Colony" sustained by the Supreme Court of Alabama. Full text of decision in case of Alex J. Melville vs. Fairhope Single Tax Corporation. Fairhope, Ala., 1915.

Official documents concerning Neutral and Belligerent Rights, issued since August 4, 1914: Neutrality Proclaimed and Explained, Appendix; Declaration of London, published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, 1915.

City Book of Houston containing Annual Message of Ben Campbell, mayor, with Reports of All Departments of the City and an Analysis of the City by the Chamber of Commerce. 1915. Kindness of J. J. Pastoriza, Tax and Land Commissioner, Houston, Tex.



A man is never too old to learn, nor to forget what he has learned.—The Mediator.

One hot July afternoon Rastus Johnson and his family of nine started away from home all togged out in their best, each carrying a supply of eatables. One of their benefactors happened to meet them on the road.

"Well, Uncle Rastus, where are you going with all your family so dressed up?" he asked.

"Well, boss," said Sam, "doan' you know the circus am come to town?"

"Yes, but you can't afford to take all your family to the circus."

"Well, I'll tell yer, boss, it's jes' dis away with us. We done sol' de heatin' stove 'cause de winter am fur off—but de circus am here!"—National Monthly.



Teacher—Now, if I paid one man \$2 a day for seven hours' work, another \$3.50 for nine, and another \$4.75 for eight—

Reddy Backrow (whose father belongs to the union)—You'd have the durndest strike on your hands you ever saw, teacher.—Railroad Telegrapher.



An archaeologist says he has discovered preserved vegetables in the ruins of an extinct tribe of Indians. If he will dig a little deeper he may find companions to some of the "fresh eggs" now on the market.—San Francisco Star.

Finding a Following

Every worth-while publication must find its following—the people it will entertain, influence, inspire, broaden.

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A third method is to grow from the inside out—through the help of those who feel a sort of high compulsion to put their friends in touch with any helpful influence. Obviously this is the circulation-building program upon which The Public has, in the main, to rely. And wonders can be accomplished by it if employed—not by a few—but by all who really have the impulse to work and give the impulse rein until it becomes a habit.

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STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.

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