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## EDITORIAL

### Conscription and the Constitution.

Are the advocates of compulsory military service aware that the Constitution prohibits involuntary servitude? Or have they so poor an opinion of the Supreme Court as to take for granted that it will deliberately distort the clear and unequivocal language of the Thirteenth Amendment so as to allow such an evasion? S. D.



### Taxing the Poor.

The law placing sugar on the free list after May 1 is to be repealed. This action of the Democratic caucus was opposed by ten democratic Democrats, but the decision was against them. Many persons will ask the question, Why are the people unable to get rid of this Old Man of the Sea? Why is the largest item of tariff revenue laid upon the poor? All taxes on consumption fall heaviest upon the poor, but the sugar tax—owing to the fact that the poor use as much sugar as the rich—is the worst of all. Sugar was put on the free list by the McKinley bill, but the Wilson bill restored it. And now, after years of agitation for free sugar, and all the power of the President has been exercised to get it on the free list, the law is to be repealed before it goes into effect. It is a grave confession of weakness for the Democratic party to ignore the super tax on the incomes of the rich and turn to this tax on the poor. And still the claim is made that the poor pay no taxes. S. C.



### Scientific Help For Industrial Parasites.

President Wilson advocates a "scientific tariff board" because of "the changed economic conditions that will result from the war." There may be changed conditions, but there will be no change in economic laws. No change in economic conditions can make a tariff any less a robbery than it was before. No changed conditions can alter the fact that an industry has no right to exist which cannot live without levying tribute on other in-

dustries. The object of a tariff board is to determine to what extent, if any, an industry must be a parasite in order to live. Having determined this, it is presumably to recommend to Congress that the non-self-sustaining industry be empowered to levy enough tribute on others to enable it to make ends meet. Whenever that is done it is robbery of those forced to contribute. The President might as well urge a "scientific" burglary commission, to determine just how much booty a burglar should be allowed to take. Morally it would be no worse than a tariff board.



A child labor bill has just passed the House, in spite of the claim urged by many manufacturers that without cheap child labor they cannot continue in business. The answer to this plea has been that when an industry cannot pay its laborers enough to make them self-sustaining it is a parasite industry. These underpaid children must get part of their support out of wages paid their parents. Therefore, the cheap labor industry is dependent on other industries to support its employes. That makes it a parasite industry unfit to live. Many protectionists who oppose child labor use this argument, forgetful of its equal applicability to protected industries. No Congressman who has voted for the child labor bill can consistently vote for a tariff commission, or for any other concession to protectionist fallacies. And should President Wilson sign the child labor bill he will tacitly acknowledge that his proposed "scientific tariff board" has no justification. S. D.



### More Tariff Humor.

Protectionist funny men are irrepressible. One might think they had exhausted the wealth of humor that lies in a philosophy based on the principle of lifting one's self over the fence by pulling on one's boot straps; but either the supply is inexhaustible, or the resource of the devotees is unlimited. And not the least of their merit is the exquisite solemnity with which they crack their jokes. Whether it be a proposition to keep out foreign goods for the benefit of American labor—and then to import foreign labor to make the goods here, or to raise the tariff high enough to keep out European manufactures in order that American manufacturers can compete in South American markets, or any other demonstration that the part is greater than the whole, it is put forth with a dignified gravity never to be found on the stage.



The January Ben Franklin Monthly, an

otherwise safe and sane journal, is the latest contestant for the cap and bells. On page nine occurs this patriotic stimulant:

It is interesting to note that Champion Coated Paper Company, of Hamilton, Ohio, is working on a contract for paper for Japan and is forwarding from eight to ten carloads of roll paper every week. The contract is approximately for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of paper.

But on page sixteen the paper calls attention to the fact that the Underwood tariff permits the importation of American school books made in Japan, which country has taken the business away from Germany since the war began. German wages, the paper says, are less than American wages—though Germany also is a protected country—but the Payne-Aldrich tariff put school books on the dutiable list. These books are now on the free list, which enables Japan to make them. Continuing the paper says:

Japanese compositors earn about 15 cents a day and pressmen and binders are paid in the same proportion. This is about one-twentieth of the wages paid in the United States for similar work. Paper, too, can be made in Japan for less than one-half the American cost of production. And so it is that American school books are being produced in Japan with Oriental exactitude and exported to the United States for 7 cents apiece. The same books made in America cost 33½ cents apiece, with all the advantages of American machinery and increased per capita production by American workmen.



What sort of an Alice in Wonderland world is this where a sedate magazine solemnly tells us in the same issue that Ohio paper makers are shipping large quantities of paper to Japan, and that paper "can be made in Japan for less than one-half the American cost of production." Are we to believe the Japanese so stupid that they buy paper in America for twice the price they could in Japan, or that the American manufacturers are selling to Japan for half the cost of production? If the alleged facts as to Japanese wages cited by the Ben Franklin Monthly are of the same standard as its logic they belong in the category of such well known facts in boydom as that a snake's tail will not die till sundown, handling toads will make warts, and carrying a "lucky stone" will bring good luck. Does this printers' journal know that books that cost 33½ cents to produce in the United States cost only 7 cents in Japan, or did it draw that inference from the alleged fact that Japanese compositors and pressmen earn only fifteen cents a day?



Suppose the Japanese wages be accepted as facts, what then? There are a good many school

children that belong to parents who would appreciate the difference between seven-cent books and thirty-three and a third-cent books. It would be money in their pocket to pension the book-makers in this country, and let them do nothing but write jokes in support of the protective tariff. The present American book-makers will leave the business anyway during the next seventy-five years. If apprentices be kept out of the trade we will eventually have our books made in Japan, where so much of our tea and silk are produced. We can raise tea in this country, and silk; but we can buy them much cheaper. That is to say, by raising cotton and exchanging it for silk and tea we can get a great deal more tea and silk than we could by producing them ourselves. Economists are agreed that the natural advantages of this country surpass those of all other countries. And what American does not believe himself the equal, if not the superior, of the people of any other country? Yet must the most favored people, according to protectionist logic, be protected from the less favored. The swift must be guarded from the slow, the strong from the weak, and the clever from the stupid. Did Alice find anything so absurd in Wonderland?

S. C.



### Helping the Unemployed.

Among the things connected with our Government for which we should be thankful are two that now and again arrest the attention of the democrat. One is the fact that when the bill was drawn creating the Department of Labor it was made so broad and so indefinite that those in charge of the Department were free to shape almost any course; and the other is the fact that the men chosen to shape the course of the new Department should have been William B. Wilson and Louis F. Post. Precedents have great weight, and it is fortunate for the people that the precedents established in this Department, which so directly concerns so many of the people, should be laid down by men who understand democracy, and who know how to apply it. The Department of Labor may in after years be filled with reactionaries, with lawyers, bankers, and all sorts of men of affairs who know not the mass of the people, but the precedents now established will ever be a restraint upon efforts to turn the Department from its purpose.



In response to a recommendation in the recent report of the Secretary of Labor for the relief of the unemployed, Congressman Robert Crosser—

another man who is setting democratic precedents—has introduced a bill creating “a special administrative board of three members, to be known as the National Colonization Board, to consist of the Secretaries of the Departments of Labor, of the Interior, and of Agriculture, of which the Secretary of Labor shall be chairman”; but it is provided that “either of the said Secretaries may designate an Assistant Secretary in his department to act on the said board in his stead.” The bill, which is outlined on another page, is broadly drawn for the purpose of giving the Colonization Board ample power to do all that is necessary to carry out the idea of putting the people on the land under such conditions that the individual settler will enjoy the full product of his toil, and the public will retain its right in the common inheritance of the race.



But there is a fly in the ointment. There generally is a fly in ointment prepared for the people. Mr. Crosser's bill is essentially a labor measure. It is a bill authorizing the Secretary of Labor to co-operate with other departments of the Government in developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States by “creating new opportunities for permanent and profitable employment.” The measure deals with the two factors of production: labor and land; and it might be referred either to the Committee on Labor or to the Committee on Public Lands. The purpose of the bill, as shown by every section, is to serve labor; but the near-statesmen in the House referred it to the Committee on Public Lands. Herein lies the danger to the bill. It is through the Committee on Public Lands in the past that has come the infamous legislation that gave away the people's domain to build up the timber trust, the steel trust, the oil trust, and even now is acting as wet nurse to the water-power trust. The committee is weighted down by the tradition of spoliation and stupidity. The Committee on Labor, however, represents the new order. It has not, as yet, solidified into an agency for giving corn to the few and husks to the many. Had the members of the House understood the bill and desired its passage, they would have referred it to the committee in sympathy with its purpose. Since they did not, the inference to be drawn is that they did not understand the bill, or do not wish it to become a law. In either event it will be incumbent upon all democrats of whatever party affiliation to write their Representatives, urging them to take advantage of this opportunity of doing something for the people.

S. C.

### More Land for Speculators.

The Oregon Voter published at Portland in advocating a bill relating to homestead entries, introduced by Congressman N. J. Sinnott, says:

All the commercial bodies of the state should get behind this legislation, as its enactment will mean that millions of acres will be taken up, cultivated and passed to private ownership which otherwise would remain unclaimed for an indefinite period.

One would suppose from this that all land under private ownership in Oregon is occupied and used. But such is not the case. Much of it might as well have remained unclaimed to this day for all the good it does, except that it furnishes a chance for unearned profits to its owners. Unless the State of Oregon is ready to take measures to open up all privately owned land withheld from use there is no reason why it should be given control of land now under federal jurisdiction. The voters have rejected measures that would have brought into use privately owned land now withheld. Unless they have changed their views there is no good reason why they should complain about withholding of land by the federal government.

S. D.



### Legal and Moral Rights to Property.

In answer to the question, "Is private property in land an evil that should be shunned as sin against God?" a writer in the New Church Messenger says:

We suppose that our questioner distinguishes between private and public ownership, and holds that land should be held by the public for the benefit of all the people. We do not find either in the Scriptures or in Swedenborg any justification for the idea that private ownership of land is wrong and is a sin against God. In its last analysis God alone is the owner of all kinds of property, because He is the Creator. Man is only the steward of the Lord's property. . . . In the Jewish Church the right of possession of land was given. The land was divided among the tribes and families. One could not alienate this right of possession. It inhered in the individual family by right. "Every man dwelt under his own vine and fig tree!" . . . Is there any reason why the right of property in or legal possession of land should not come under the general right of possession of other forms of property or riches? The only reason, it seems to me, is that the land is limited. The possession of it is in the nature of a monopoly, and there is a feeling that all monopolies should be publicly owned. . . . One thing seems clear, that the law should provide that use is the essential; ownership or possession the secondary as the means for performing use.



It may be doubted if this quite meets the full intent of the query. The essence of the question of land ownership hangs upon two points: First,

have all men equal right of access to land; and, second, should those having exclusive possession pay to the excluded their share of the common value attaching to the land? According to the Mosaic account of Creation, God made land and man, nothing else. Land, in political economy, includes nature outside of man, that is, all things in a state of nature. Since men are spoken of all through the Bible as the children of God, and since they cannot live without having access to land, or nature, it may be inferred that land was made for the use of all men. It is, indeed, a great storehouse to which men may go, and by their labor take out what is necessary to satisfy their wants. No man made himself; no man made the land; but what man takes out of the land by his labor is his as against all other men. For, since no man can rightfully own him, no man can justly claim a right to what he has produced. The right to the product of one's labor is included in the right to one's body.



If, however, one man be given the exclusive possession or ownership of the land upon which others must live, he is clothed with power to exclude them except upon his terms, which means a payment by those who would labor, to the owner of the land for the privilege of laboring. This is the point involved in the question. "Is private property in land an evil that should be shunned as a sin against God?" Clearly, there is nothing anywhere in the Bible that justifies one of God's children in charging another of His children for the use of what God made for all His children. Such an act, according to the plainest logic, would be a sin and should be shunned by those who accept the Bible as of divine origin. Nor would righteousness be established by limiting the ownership or possession of land to use. It is palpably wrong for any man to hold in idleness land that is needed by another; but it is no less wrong for the owner to keep for his own use the value of his holding that has been made by his fellow men.



The Bible, the laws of nature, and man's reason all proclaim the equal right of every individual to the use of the earth. But since land is put to better use when held in private possession, equity requires that those who are granted this exclusive possession should pay to those who have been excluded their proportionate share. This obligation has never been seriously denied, but there has been doubt as to its practicability. It was here that Henry George discovered the law that adjusts men's relations to each other, and establishes the

right of all to the natural source of wealth, the land. Government is necessary to maintain order and to perform those social functions that lie beyond the power of the individual. Government must be supported by the people governed. Since, therefore, the people have a natural right in the land, Henry George proposed that those holding exclusive possession of the land should pay into the public treasury annually the value of such possession. This annual payment by the land-owners would accomplish three purposes: Permit the remission of all taxes upon labor products, prevent the holding of land for purposes of speculation, and admit all to an equal participation in the land values created by the people as a whole.



Private property in land is not an evil or sin if the owner pays into the public treasury for the common use of the people the annual value that the people have conferred upon the land. But if the owner pays into the public treasury only a part of the value conferred by the people, and so compels the taxation of labor products to support the government, such private ownership is an evil and a sin; for such action is nothing less than permitting one man to collect tribute of another for the use of what is clearly common to all.

S. C.



### Ohio's Land Tax Experiment.

A wise move was made by the Ohio Site Tax League at its convention on February 2 in urging the organized farmers, laborers and business men of the State to send delegates to meet its own representatives in conference on taxation. Should the conference be held much misunderstanding and distrust can be cleared away, and the desirability of co-operation between these different elements can be shown. The rejection at recent elections of taxation amendments was not because of satisfaction with the existing system, but because the propositions were evidently drawn to give but one element the reforms it desired regardless of the needs of the rest of the people. A measure endorsed by representatives of all elements, at such a conference as the Site Tax League proposes, must be more acceptable to the voters.



The representatives of the Site Tax League, if called upon to do so, will have no trouble to furnish information showing that the Singletax system is the one that will best serve the interests of farmers, laborers and business men. They can,

furthermore, show that the State once prospered under a tax system which embodied an approach to the Singletax method. A pamphlet published in 1913, prepared by J. W. Tannehill, statistician of the State Auditor's office, reproduces the early taxation history of the State. The first tax law of the State, adopted in 1804, provided a rather crude method of taxation. Taxes were levied on land which was divided for taxing purposes into three classes. The levy was at 70 cents a hundred acres on first-class land, and 50 cents a hundred and 26 cents a hundred on the other classes. In those days this classification was probably a reasonably accurate division of the land according to value. The effect on the State is described in Mr. Tannehill's pamphlet as follows:

It had the effect of compelling non-resident land-holders to either settle on their lands or sell them. In 1810 non-residents paid almost twice as much taxes in the State as residents, as at that time their holdings were double the number of acres owned by actual settlers. The system of taxation produced few beneficial results. It caused a rapid settlement of the State, and it soon wiped out absentee landlordism. In 1815 non-residents owned only half the taxable land, while in 1820 they held only half as much land as residents. During the same period the population of the State increased from 47,000 to 581,000.

This rapid increase of population must have caused correspondingly increase in land values, but the method of applying the tax did not allow it to be increased proportionally. There it departed vitally from the Singletax principle. The rate was increased somewhat in 1810 and again in 1820. The last increase made the levy on each class \$1.50, \$1 and 50 cents a hundred acres respectively. It still remained an arbitrary acreage tax, and land values had so unevenly increased that it was not even approximately apportioned according to value. In 1824 Hamilton county, containing Cincinnati, then the largest city of the State, paid but \$2,080 into the State Treasury, "while sparsely settled Athens with no cities paid \$2,142." The system should have been altered by abolishing the arbitrary classification and substituting a tax on land values for the acreage tax. Instead of this, however, the present iniquitous general property tax was adopted. The injustice and inexpediency of this system has been evident for years, and strict enforcement of all of its provisions is no longer attempted, for fear of resultant disaster. Even a partial enforcement has done the State great harm. The Site Tax League can show that substitution of the land value tax would not only give the State a just tax system, but would bring prosperity to all useful elements of the population.

S. D.

### New Jersey's Progressive Business Men.

The organized manufacturers of New Jersey have taken up the question of tax reform in an intelligent, progressive way. Unlike similar organizations in some other States, they take a broad view of the subject. They do not ask that reform be limited so as to restrict its benefits to their own immediate interests. They are farsighted enough to know that an injury to one in the industrial field is the concern of all. So they ask for relief of all industry from taxation. Their specific demand is for abolition of personal property taxes and gradual exemption of buildings from taxation. They have formed a Merchants' and Manufacturers' Taxation League to conduct an active campaign for the proposition. In this campaign the business men should have the co-operation of organized labor, and of the organized farmers also. The fight is for relief of all who do useful work. So all useful elements should unite in its support.

S. D.



### A Worthy Resolution.

The resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Keating of Colorado and to be introduced in the Senate by Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, for investigation of the cause of child poverty should be speedily passed and a competent committee appointed. Poverty is a subject which ought to have attention of Congress before anything else, until enough Congressmen able and willing to destroy the evil have located the cause and passed the measure needed to abolish it. Though child poverty is the only kind named in the resolution, the investigation, if ordered, should speedily disclose that child poverty is a result of parental poverty, and then it will be the committee's duty to find the cause and cure of all poverty. Congress should have been thoroughly posted on this matter long ago. But it had better be posted late than never. The Keating-Kenyon resolution should be pushed.

S. D.



### An Unconstitutional Prosecution.

The final dismissal of the case against Margaret Sanger is a confession of inexcusable error on the part of the prosecution. Her alleged offense was not that she had violated a law, but that she had published arguments in behalf of permitting something condemned by law. It is strange that any district attorney, presumed to know that this was but an exercise of a constitutionally guaranteed right, should begin a prosecution of that kind. It is strange that there should have been

so much hesitation and delay in dismissing the case. The saying that "Justice delayed is justice denied" surely applies to Margaret Sanger, who has had to bear for two years the burden of a prosecution, instigated by federal officials, which now is officially admitted to be groundless. There is, furthermore, the fact to be noted that Mrs. Sanger had friends who came to her aid with money and who gave publicity to protests against her treatment. It makes one wonder what would have happened had she been friendless and penniless.

S. D.



### Root-Rocsevelt Statesmanship.

Elihu Root's address at New York on the 15th was the usual jingo speech. It was an improvement over Roosevelt's similar outpourings, since it came from one making no claims to progressive ideas, and so had at least the merit of consistency. Having never posed as an advocate of social justice, Mr. Root can, with better grace than Roosevelt, close his eyes to legalized wrongs and outrages within the United States, and urge his countrymen to make immense sacrifices that lesser wrongs outside may be remedied. If, as is reported, the Republican National Committee intends to circulate the speech, it will only be additional evidence of the hopelessly reactionary character of that organization. If Root is to be the Republican Presidential candidate it means that the country will be offered an administration bound to do the will of the internal economic enemies of the American people, and to advance the policy of compulsory military service and war.



Remarks about the alleged great wealth of the American people occur with frequency throughout the speech. Mr. Root probably thinks that wealth to be a fact. But is it? There is great wealth in the United States. Government statistics put the amount at 187 billions. But it does not belong to the American people. Two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of it, thirty-three per cent own 35 per cent of it and sixty-five per cent own but 5 per cent of it. That means that there are two million Americans of an average financial worth of \$56,100 each, there are thirty-three million Americans of an average financial worth of \$1,865, and sixty-five millions financially worth, on the average, less than \$15. The man with but \$15 or the family with only \$15 has problems of more vital importance requiring solution than anything connected with European diplomacy, with Mexico or with military defense. Sixty-five per cent of the American people have such problems to solve

There is no evidence whatever to show that the two per cent who own 60 per cent of the national wealth, consists of individuals who perform on an average 3,740 times as much productive labor as the average individual of the 65 per cent who own but five per cent. Until the problem of just distribution of wealth has been settled the American people have more grievous wrongs at home to right than any committed in Mexico, Belgium or on the high seas. Has the Republican party no statesman capable of comprehending a fact so clear?

S. D.



### Where Root and Roosevelt Misrepresent.

Even if it were true, as is asserted by Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root and other jingoes that The Hague Conference of 1899 bound the United States to interfere with Germany's violation of Belgium, it would not follow that President Wilson was wrong in his policy of inaction. If American delegates had pledged intervention by the American people in any European entanglement, their act would have been morally void. If the United States Senate had confirmed such a treaty, the same would have been the case. The moral rights of a government stop considerably short of binding its people, without their consent, to engaging in a war. And any claim of such a right becomes exceedingly ridiculous when it is not invoked until 15 years after the pledge is alleged to have been given.



But as a matter of fact the American delegates to The Hague Conference were not so lacking in moral sense as to give such a pledge. The Philadelphia Record of February 19 reproduces the following from the autobiography of Andrew D. White, chairman of the American delegation to the conference:

**July 22, 1899—In the morning the American delegation met, and Captain Mahan threw in a bomb regarding Article 27, which requires that when any two parties to the conference are drifting into war the other parties should consider it a duty to remind them of the arbitration tribunal, etc. He thinks that this infringes the American doctrine of not entangling ourselves in the affairs of foreign states, and will prevent the ratification of the convention by the United States Senate.**

Captain Mahan's protest had results for the American delegates adopted a declaration that

**Nothing contained in any part of the convention signed here should be considered as requiring us to intrude, mingle or entangle ourselves in European politics or internal affairs.**

And then Mr. White tells that this declaration was brought before the conference and

The conference was asked whether anyone had any objection or anything to say regarding it. There was a pause of about a minute, which seemed to me about an hour. Not a word was said—in fact, there was dead silence—and so our declaration embodying a reservation in favor of the Monroe Doctrine was duly recorded and became part of the proceedings.

Thus the records show the recklessness and lack of reliability of the leading advocates of war at any cost.

S. D.



### Pacifying Mexico.

If to the ordinary diversity of human judgment there be added the pecuniary interests of concession-holders, one may realize why there should be conflicting opinions on the Mexican situation; and if there be added to this the political interests of American politicians in a Presidential year, it will be seen how impossible an agreement must be. Reports continue to come from Americans in Mexico, and from Americans who have been in Mexico, to the effect that the revolution has been a failure, that Carranza is constantly losing power, and that sooner or later the United States will have to restore order. Possibly this is true, but there is as yet no disinterested testimony upon which to base such a conclusion. All news from Mexico should be read with two distinct facts in mind: First, that either American intervention, or a restoration of the old regime, will enrich the concessionaires; and, second, that American official relations with Mexico are expressed through a Democratic Administration, and it is the unwritten law of politics that what one party does the other must condemn.



Beside the financially interested, and the politically interested critics of the Administration, there is a third class of critics, those who live near the Mexican border, and claim the right of opinion from personal knowledge. Senator Fall, of New Mexico, appears to be one of these. Another is The Spectator, of El Paso, which takes The Public to task for presuming to express an opinion upon a matter regarding which it must necessarily know so little. Possibly The Spectator is right. Its facilities for attending cock-fights and bull-fights just across the border, and its familiarity with Mexicans who have come to El Paso for the good of their own country, doubtless does give it a more intimate acquaintance with a certain class or kind of Mexicans; as The Public knows something of a similar class of human beings in Chicago. But just as The Public would strenuously object to any other nation's coming in here to stop the

murders and hold-ups, so it asks The Spectator to respect a little longer a similar feeling among Mexicans. It refuses to believe the hold-up men of Chicago, or the ruffians along the Rio Grande are typical of their respective countries.



The Spectator insists that conditions in Mexico are worse than ever before. The natives "are, perhaps, not killing one another off quite so fast as in the past, but Mexico is a closed door to the people of the United States today. How long, we wonder, do The Public and other peace papers imagine that the American people are going to stand for such a condition?" The answer to that question will depend largely upon who is elected President next November. We exercise our right to keep out Chinese and Japanese, and we are considering a bill to keep out Europeans; but as Mexico is much smaller and weaker than we are, our recognition of her sovereignty will depend upon the summer's political campaign. Should the present Administration be returned to power, Mexico will doubtless have further time in which to set her house in order. Should Mr. Root or Mr. Roosevelt, or any other statesman who lays his course by reversing that of the Administration be elected, it is not unlikely that the door will be kicked open, the old regime restored, and the claims of the concessionaires recognized. The Mexican problem is difficult at best, and when complicated by the interests of investors in that country, and politicians in this, it calls for patience and forbearance.

S. C.



### The Latest in Imperialism.

The proposition to buy the Danish West Indies has been revived. A Democratic administration should not give it a moment's consideration. The islands are not Denmark's to sell. She has a clear enough legal title, but morally it is for the people of the islands to say whether or not they wish to be annexed. If they want to be annexed, then it is their duty to first let the fact become unmistakably known and arrange with the Danish government for independence. That done, they could take up the annexation proposition with the United States. If they do not want to be annexed, then to buy them would be to buy stolen goods, as we did when we bought the Philippines. In either case the purchase proposition is wrong. It is but a part of the preparedness plans put forward by those who can not understand that honesty is the best policy with nations as it is with individuals.

S. D.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION'S LEADER.

John H. Humphreys, author of "Proportional Representation," now touring the United States, was the consulting expert, both of the British and South African governments in connection with the adoption of proportional representation for Ireland and South Africa. He is the secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of London and the leading English speaking authority on the subject.

Within the last few years this movement has made astonishing progress. Proportional Representation which yesterday was but a theory is now in practical operation throughout great areas of the civilized world, including such countries as Denmark, Belgium, Japan, Tasmania, Sweden,



Union of South Africa, Transvaal, Bulgaria, Wurtemberg and in nine cantons of Switzerland. The Irish Home Rule bill provides for it and it will shortly be in operation in the colony of New Zealand. Before the war broke out, France and Holland were practically committed to its adoption.

It is in operation in but one American city—Ashtabula, Ohio. The first election under this system was in November last, when seven councilmen were elected.

E. J. BATTEN.



The greater the American army, the greater the American navy will be, the smaller will be the American people.—Meyer London.



Navies and armies are insurance for the wealth of the leisure class of a nation invested abroad.—Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick, at Clarke University Conference.



There are thousands who live by war; it is their harvest, and the clamor which these people keep up in the newspapers and conversation passes unsuspectingly for the voice of the people, and it is not until the mischief is done that the deception is discovered.—Thomas Paine.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### UNEARNED INCREMENT IN PANAMA.

Sandy Spring, Maryland, Feb. 15.

Every person who really thinks on public questions, whose mind reaches beyond the narrow confines of his immediate surroundings and daily routine, should give earnest thought to the controversy between Gen. Goethals and the Joint Land Commission at Panama, as a very important principle is involved.

Briefly stated, Gen. Goethals believes that in making awards for land taken by the U. S. Government the price should be based on its value in 1903 before the canal construction began, while the Commission, or its sponsor, Mr. Charles Melville Brown, takes the position that the land owners should be paid the actual present market value of their property. Gen. Goethals has stated publicly that the United States is being robbed of many millions of dollars by this attitude, and let us see whether he is right or wrong.

When the die was finally cast and this nation proceeded to carry out the grandest undertaking of the kind that the world ever saw there were no half way measures. The most able engineers that could be found—Wallace, Stevens and Shonts—were employed to outline the work; a genius for organization and construction—Goethals—was then placed in charge; while the vitally essential feature of sanitation was left in the hands of a man of perhaps equal talent and ability—Gorgas. How well the task was accomplished can only be fully appreciated by one who has visited the Canal and seen with his own eyes what difficulties had to be faced, and how completely (with the single exception of the slides) these were overcome. A notoriously sickly region made safe and healthy, a nine mile gash cut through the mountains, impenetrable jungles and miasmatic marshes transformed into solid thoroughfares and arable land, a vast tract of 160 square miles turned into a permanent lake, and an enormous and complicated system of locks working with the precision of a perfectly constructed machine.

Of course this cost an immense amount of money—hundreds of millions of dollars—and every penny was paid by the American people. Even now the expenses are far more than the receipts, and there is not the slightest prospect that those who paid the bill, which means nearly every human being in the whole country, will ever get any of the money back, the cost of operation, interest charges, etc., equalling the tolls. Every patriot should be willing to lose it in such a good cause—the protection it gives to our coasts, the great and lasting assistance it affords to commerce, especially with our sister republics in South America, and the satisfaction of knowing that we have conferred a world-wide benefit. But to divert any part of our money for the sake of fattening the pockets of mere selfish landowners, to add to the heavy expense by enriching speculators who did nothing to advance the cause, to reward men whose service consisted in seeing that their title deeds were duly recorded, to pay them one cent more than their land would now

be worth if the enterprise had been abandoned—this is gross injustice, it is a tribute instead of a fair and proper remuneration, it is just what Gen. Goethals calls it: "Robbery of the people of the United States."

ALLAN FARQUHAR.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1916.

### Crosser's Bill to Relieve Unemployment.

Representative Robert B. Crosser of Ohio introduced on February 11 a bill to put in operation the recommendation of the Department of Labor in regard to creating new opportunities for the unemployed. The bill provides formation of "The National Colonization Board," to consist of the Secretaries of Labor, of the Interior and of Agriculture. The Secretary of Labor is to be chairman. Any of the Secretaries may designate an Assistant Secretary in his department to act on the Board in his stead. The Board will be required to select portions of the public domain or adjoining privately owned lands suitable for farming, grazing, lumbering or other industry for colonizing purposes. It is furthermore empowered to withdraw from entry any public lands, including those in Alaska, and including timber, coal, water power sites and other resources and reserve them for colonies. No land now withdrawn from entry may be restored without the approval of the Colonization Board. After selecting areas for colonization the Board will make a detailed plan for development, including plans for clearing of the land and construction, maintenance and operation of the roads, ditches and other works necessary to make it accessible and cultivable. The bill then states:

That the title to all lands whatsoever retained or acquired by the United States and included in farm colony reserves or in irrigation or other withdrawals, or in national parks, national forests or other reservations, the same being included in any colony project, shall remain forever in the United States Government; and the Colonization Board is hereby authorized, under such rules and regulations as it may establish and subject to the provisions of this Act, to issue to any person over twenty-one years of age who is a citizen of the United States, or who has declared his intention of becoming such, a terminable permit or lease for the use of agricultural or grazing land owned by the United States Government.

No permit or lease for the use of any parcel of land shall be issued except to the person by whom said land shall be actually used and occupied and during a period only in which said land shall be used and occupied by said person or the designated heirs or assigns thereof; and the question of fact in

any particular case of what is actual use and occupancy within the spirit and purpose of this Act shall be determined by the Colonization Board, subject to appeal to the district Federal court in the district in which such land is located, which court shall proceed in the same manner as in cases for the condemnation of land; and any permit or lease of land decided as not being used or occupied as aforesaid shall be subject to cancellation by the board.

Four per cent of the cost of all public improvements involved in the project, and of loans made to individual colonists, is to be collected from lessees each year, through a charge to be known as "improvement charge" and to be "assessed against each parcel of land." From this the Government is to be reimbursed. In addition is this provision:

A charge to be known as the "tax charge" (in addition to the improvement charge hereinbefore provided), such tax charge to be reasonable percentage of the assessed value of the land, shall be collected each year by the board from the permittee or lessee. From the tax charges so collected there shall be paid by the board equitable proportions thereof to the state, county, and other local governments rendering services within the area of the colonization project, corresponding to the local current tax rate, but not to exceed three per centum of the said assessed value; and the remainder of the said tax charge shall be paid into the "colonization fund" of the treasury of the United States, to be used as provided for in section eight.

All improvement charges and tax charges shall be paid in annual installments to such local officers and under such rules and regulations as the board may determine, and a failure to make payments for two successive years shall render the permit or lease subject to cancellation by the board with the forfeiture of all rights under this act.

Provision is made for a rotary fund of \$50,000,000 for individual loans to colonists. The fund is to be obtained through treasury certificates in denominations as low as \$20, bearing interest at 3 per cent. As fast as colonists repay their indebtedness to this fund the Board may use the money over again indefinitely for like purposes. After selecting locations for the colonies, the Board is authorized to employ laborers to do the necessary clearing and other preparatory work. Continuing the bill states:

And the board shall, through said Department of Labor and as soon as possible, bring together, colonize, and locate upon the land a body or group of persons or families as settlers, in the requisite number, who are presumably most suitable to the conditions of such project and who will be the most benefited thereby.

Upon arranging for the location of said settlers in such project the board shall arrange for developing local timber growth, coal deposits, water power, or other resources owned and reserved for the purpose by the United States, and for constructing power plants, transmission lines, telephone lines, and other works, and to maintain and operate the same for the purpose of providing to the settlers at

cost prices, and for their domestic use only, lumber, coal, power, light, telephone, and other domestic services.

The Board is to provide for co-operative purchasing of supplies and for co-operative marketing of farm products by settlers. Other provisions are:

That the National Colonization Board shall, from and after the passage of this Act, execute or cause to be executed all laws affecting any forest reserve or national forest, or any portion thereof, included within any colonization project, and all timber-sale contracts applying within such projects shall be made by the board in conformity with a plan for maintaining as far as possible a continuous and sustained annual yield and cut of timber within the area of the project, to the end that continuous and profitable employment may be provided for settlers whom the board may colonize as being suited to and desirous of work in the operation of logging, saw-milling, tree planting, or other forest industries. . . .

Eight hours shall constitute a day's work.

The minimum wage per day of eight hours' duration for any class of labor shall be not less than the average wage per day of average duration received in the locality by the respective class of labor working under conditions equivalent to those prevailing in operations conducted under this Act.

All wages shall be paid at intervals not greater than sixteen days.

No person under the age of sixteen years shall be employed for any purpose whatsoever. . . .

That the Colonization Board is hereby authorized to negotiate and co-operate with the owner or owners of any lands within or near public lands or reservations covered by a contemplated colonization project, whether such owner or owners be any individual, State, corporation, firm, or other concern, for the purpose of adapting, as far as may be practicable, the development and settlement of said lands to the colonization project involved; and the board may use the colonization fund to survey and examine such lands and formulate a plan for their development and settlement. . . .

That the Colonization Board is hereby authorized to delegate to any of its agents such of its powers and duties under this Act as it may deem necessary; and said board is further empowered, authorized, and directed to make such rules and regulations and establish such services as may be necessary and proper for carrying out the ultimate purpose of this Act, said purpose being to so utilize or cause to be utilized the resources within the United States, however owned, as to secure for actual or prospective American citizens permanent and profitable employment.



The bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, which consists of Ferris of Oklahoma, Taylor of Colorado, Raker of California, Hayden of Arizona, Stout of Montana, Church of California, Dill of Washington, Mays of Utah, Tillman of Arkansas, Gandy of South Dakota, McLeMure of Texas, McClintic of Oklahoma, Lenroot of Wisconsin, La Follette of Washington, Kent of Cali-

ifornia, Sinnott of Oregon, Smith of Idaho, Cramton of Michigan, Timberlake of Colorado, Freeman of Connecticut and Wickersham of Alaska. [See vol. xviii, pp. 1242, 1246, 1257.]



#### Other Congressional Doings.

A favorable report on the resolution to print 100,000 copies of the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations was made by the Senate committee on printing on February 14. The resolution has already passed the House. On February 17 it came up, but on objection of Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia was postponed. The Senate passed on February 15 the Newlands resolution for an inquiry to determine feasibility of government ownership and operation of railways, wire lines and other public service corporations.



The House Democratic caucus on February 17, by a vote of 84 to 20, decided in favor of the repeal of the free sugar clause of the Underwood tariff bill. As the law now stands the free sugar clause would go into effect on May 1. The following gave notice that they would not be bound by the caucus decision: Almon of Alabama, Bailey of Pennsylvania, Calloway of Texas, Hilliard and Keating of Colorado, Howard of Georgia, Johnson of Kentucky, Tavenner of Illinois, Thompson of Oklahoma and Van Dyke of Minnesota. [See current volume, page 154.]



Senator Kenyon of Iowa has announced his intention to introduce on February 24, in the Senate, a resolution identical with that of Congressman Keating of Colorado, introduced in the House on February 8, and empowering the President to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of child poverty and suggest remedies therefore. The resolutions, after referring to reports of recruiting officers that 50 per cent of applicants for enlistment are defective, and that other Federal officials report widespread child poverty, give the following additional reasons for appointment of the commission:

Child poverty, which may be defined as insufficient food and clothing and habitations detrimental to human life, is certain to produce weak, defective, and delinquent adults; and

This is the richest country in the world, blessed with abundant natural resources and a power of production unequalled in the history of the human race; and

Child poverty and the consequent increase of unfit adults in the United States are due to conditions within the scope of legislation and present a problem which should engage the attention of the Congress of the United States.



#### The Nicaragua Treaty.

The Senate, by a vote of 55 to 18, ratified on the 18th the treaty with Nicaragua, whereby the United States acquires an option on the Nicaragua

canal route, and a ninety-nine year lease of a naval base in the gulf of Fonseca for \$3,000,000. A proviso added to the ratification declares that the United States, in obtaining the naval base, does not intend to violate any existing rights in the Fonseca gulf of Costa Rica, Honduras and Salvador, which protested against the agreement. The provisions of the treaty are:

"Article I. The government of Nicaragua grants in perpetuity to the government of the United States, forever free from all taxation or other public charge, the exclusive proprietary rights necessary for the construction of an interoceanic canal by way of the San Juan river and the Great Lake of Nicaragua, or by way of any route over Nicaraguan territory, the details of the terms upon which such canal shall be constructed to be agreed to by the two governments.

"Article II. To enable the government of the United States to protect the Panama canal and the proprietary rights granted to the government of the United States by the foregoing article, the government of Nicaragua hereby leases for a term of ninety-nine years to the government of the United States the islands in the Caribbean Sea known as Great Corn Island and Little Corn Island; and the government of Nicaragua further grants to the United States for a like period the right to establish a naval base at such place on the territory of Nicaragua bordering upon the Gulf of Fonseca as the government of the United States may select.

"Article III. The government of the United States shall, upon the date of the exchange of ratification of this convention, pay for the benefit of the republic of Nicaragua the sum of \$3,000,000 United States gold coin."

[See vol. xvii, p. 807.]



#### Sanger Case Dismissed.

Federal Judge Clayton finally dismissed on February 19 the indictment against Mrs. Margaret Sanger, accused of sending improper matter through the mails. She had advocated in her paper, The Woman Rebel, repeal of the laws forbidding circulation of information regarding birth control. On this the charge was based. The case has been before the court for two years, and several times, when ready for trial, was continued on request of the prosecution. [See current volume, page 35.]



#### Tax Reform in New Jersey.

The taxation committee of the New Jersey legislature has set aside March 1 as the day for a hearing on a series of bills introduced by the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Taxation League. The bills provide for exemption from taxation of machinery, merchandise and household goods, and gradual reduction of the tax on buildings and increasing the rate on land. The Manufacturers' Association of New Jersey has endorsed the bills. The officers and directors of the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Taxation League are: President, William L. Lyall, Brighton Mills, Passaic; vice-

president, Charles H. Ingersoll, Robert H. Ingersoll & Bro., Trenton; treasurer, Charles F. Cushman, Montclair; Richard Chambers, real estate, Camden; Frederick W. Donnolly, mayor, Trenton; Sigmund Eisner, clothing manufacturer, Red Bank; Mark M. Fagan, mayor, Jersey City; Clinton E. Fisk, Jersey City; Edmund B. Osborne, the Osborne Co., Newark; Dan Fellows Platt, Englewood; Thomas L. Raymond, mayor, Newark; William Riddle, mayor, Atlantic City; Bertram H. Saunders, Hobokus Bleachery; Frazier A. Sofield, Denville; secretary, Gladwin Bouton, with headquarters in the Kinney Bldg., Newark, N. J. [See current volume, page 59.]



#### Chicago Telephone Fight.

Application for an injunction was made on February 19 by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to restrain the Mayor and Council of Chicago from allowing the sale of the local automatic telephone system to the Chicago Telephone Company. The application states that the proposed sale is a violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, and would be in fulfillment of a conspiracy to unlawfully and fraudulently deprive the city of property and rights to which it is entitled. The plea came up for a hearing before Judge Windes on February 21 and was postponed until March 6. Judge Windes refused to issue a temporary injunction, holding that the Council would not pass the ordinance while the suit was pending. The ordinance was to come before the Council on February 21, but no action was taken. [See current volume, page 132.]



#### Charity Organizations Challenged.

Judge Henry Neil of Oak Park, Illinois, the originator of Mothers' pension legislation in the United States, has issued a general challenge to representatives of organized charity to debate the following:

**Resolved, That poverty is a social disease that can never be relieved, nor cured, by begging.**

The form of the statement will be changed, should that be asked by one accepting the challenge. He says in his challenge that he expects to prove the following in debate:

**That charity does not relieve poverty to any considerable extent.**

**That poverty increases at a higher rate than contributions to charity funds.**

**That mothers and children are separated and families broken up simply because of poverty.**

**That most of the juvenile crime and delinquency and physical defects are caused by child poverty.**

**That child poverty is one of the most expensive luxuries that taxpayers have to pay for.**

**That organized charity has become the sixth largest private business in America.**

**That it has a closely knit organization, similar in purpose and operation to a political machine.**

**That so-called schools of philanthropy are teaching**

young men to conduct loan offices which charge the poor people as much as 200 per cent a year for small loans.

That organized charity has been and now is the bitter enemy of the mothers' pension law and has spent thousands of dollars in attempting to defeat legislation for the benefit of destitute mothers and children.

That the tendency of organized charity is to perpetuate charity and poverty.

That employes of charity societies are terrorized by the "higher ups" and do not dare speak their minds about the situation.

That organized charity has no constructive social plan.

That it claims and successfully maintains a monopoly of begging.



#### Mexico,

The Carranza government, according to Moises Saenz, director of education in the State of Guanajuato, is compelling large land owners throughout Mexico to pay the principle cost of educating the rural population. The land owners are required to provide the school houses and pay the teachers; the government supplies the books and other requisites. Thousands of such schools, Mr. Saenz says, have been established. Two million pesos, silver, have been spent for primary books alone. The American system is being substituted for the French, which hitherto prevailed. The new programs call for three years of English. Formerly this was devoted to French, which has now been reduced to six months in the college preparatory schools. [See current volume, page 157.]



President Wilson sent to the Senate on the 17th his report in response to Senator Fall's resolution of January 6, calling for documents on the relations between the United States and Mexico. Some documents are still withheld because of their confidential nature. Secretary Lansing reports 123 Americans killed in Mexico during the last five years. Senator Fall has a list of thirty-nine Americans killed in Mexico, not included in Mr. Lansing's list. Mr. Lansing does not think it remarkable that 76 Americans lost their lives in Mexico in the last three years, when it is remembered that during the three years previous 47 Americans lost their lives when a much smaller area was disturbed by war.



#### European War.

The German forces on the west front have continued their nibbling at the French and British lines. Southeast of Ypres and in the Champagne district they captured first line trenches, some of which were recaptured; but nothing seems to have been done to materially affect the general situation. Increasing activities are reported from the Riga-Dvinsk front, where the Russians claim small

gains from the Germans. In Galicia the Russians continue to mass troops, and increase the pressure on the Austrian lines. [See current volume, page 156.]



No developments of importance are reported from the Balkans. Roumania continues her threatening attitude toward Bulgaria and Austria, while the Turkish reverses in Armenia are weakening Bulgaria's Turkish support. Czar Ferdinand, who has been in Berlin and Vienna consulting with the military authorities, has hastened home to his capital to meet the new conditions. Austrian forces continue their slow movement through Albania. Nothing is reported of the forces threatening Saloniki.



Italy in an official statement claims that the Austrians have on the Italian front twelve army corps, or 480,000 men, entrenched and fortified. The report claims that the Austrians have lost 200,000 men, and that Italy holds 30,000 of them prisoners. While Italian gains of territory are comparatively small, the report claims that Italy has been of great service to the entente by holding on her front large bodies of men who otherwise would have gone to reinforce the other armies.



The chief interest centers on the Armenian front, where, on the 16th, the Russians, after a fire day battle, captured Erzerum, which is to Armenia what Przemysl is to Galicia. The earlier reports claimed for the victors 1,000 cannon and 100,000 men; but it is probable that these are exaggerated as to the number of men. Later reports indicate that the Turkish forces are utterly demoralized, and are fleeing helplessly before the pursuing Russians, who now control the entire Lake Van district, and are pushing on past Tiflis toward the Turkish line of communications between Constantinople and Bagdad. Another Russian force is within a few miles of Trebizond, the Turkish Black Sea port, while still another army southeast of Urimiah is headed toward Mosul. The lesser Russian forces west of Hamadan in Persia are moving in the direction of Bagdad. Both this force and that headed toward Mosul tend to relieve the pressure of the British at Kut-el-Amara. British reinforcements are now ascending the Tigris to the relief of the two beleaguered forces below Bagdad. No developments are reported of the threatened attack on Egypt.



Aerial warfare continues to claim attention. Both Zeppelins and aeroplanes are active. German hydroaeroplanes crossed the Channel and shelled towns on the Kentish coast, and attacked two oil tank steamers, but the damage was slight. Two men and a boy are reported as killed.

The British House of Commons on the 21st voted the government additional credit to the amount of \$2,100,000,000, which is expected to carry the war to the end of May. Since the beginning of the war credits to the amount of \$10,410,000,000 have been voted. Of this amount \$845,000,000 have been loaned to the Allied countries, besides the loans made by the Bank of England at the request of the government. Premier Asquith said the loans to the Allies would not exceed the \$2,115,000,000 provided for in the September budget. Credits voted the French government by the Deputies since the beginning of the war amount to \$7,704,600,000. Germany's war expenditures to the end of 1915 are reported to be \$7,500,000,000. Premier Asquith said in his address to Parliament that the utmost economy was being practiced, and that he felt confident that the daily cost of the war would not rise above \$25,000,000.



Negotiations between the United States and Germany over the submarine war are again deadlocked. The American Government refuses to accept the German concessions in the Lusitania affair unless Germany modifies her notice to treat as war vessels merchantmen carrying small guns for defense.

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## NEWS NOTES

—Emma Goldman was arrested in New York on February 18, after delivering a lecture advocating birth control.

—The Illinois Suffrage law does not permit women to vote for delegates to national conventions, according to a decision of the State Supreme Court rendered on February 16. [See vol. xviii, p. 1019.]

—The Hampden County (Mass.) Singletax League was formed at Springfield on February 15. Frank E. Smith, of Chicopee Falls, is president, John B. Knight of Chicopee Falls, treasurer, and Mrs. Florence A. Burleigh, of Springfield, secretary.

—Because the German military authorities in Belgium fined the village of Boitesford, near Brussels, \$1,250 on account of the suicide of one of its citizens by shooting, the burgomaster has posted a card reading: "If it is necessary to commit suicide, please drown or hang yourself."

—Plans are being laid for a singletax exhibit at the "Good Homes" exhibition in Springfield (Mass.) during the first week in April. The committee in charge consists of F. E. Smith and John Knight of Chicopee Falls, Frank Grant of Westfield and Mrs. Florence Burleigh of Springfield.

—The New York Republican State Convention on February 16 elected four unpledged delegates-at-large to the National convention. The result was a compromise after a fight between Governor Whitman and William Barnes. The delegates are Governor Charles S. Whitman, Senator James Wadsworth, Jr., Frederick C. Tanner and Elon B. Brown.

Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (See current volume, page 38) for the twelve months ending December, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for December, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
Merchandise.	\$3,550,915,393	\$1,778,605,855	\$1,772,309,538	Expt.
Gold .....	31,425,918	451,954,590	420,528,672	Impr.
Silver .....	53,598,884	34,483,964	19,114,920	Expt.

Total ..... \$3,635,940,195 \$2,265,044,409 \$1,370,895,786 Expt.

The exports of merchandise for December, 1915, the seventeenth month of the war, were \$359,301,274, as compared with \$245,632,558 in December, 1914, and \$233,195,628 in 1913. The imports for December, 1915, were \$171,841,665, as compared with \$114,656,545 in 1914, and \$184,025,571 in 1913. The exports for December, 1915, were the largest of any December, and the exports for 1915 were the largest of any year.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Radicalism Needed in Universities.

Harvard Crimson, February 19.—He would be very rash who would suppose that a man could attain to a professorship in a university of repute without having shown some capacity for original thought. But with the student this does not necessarily hold. There are innumerable instances to prove that a man may pass admission examinations to college without having ever experienced the sensation of having a thought of his own; he can buy the thoughts he needs at so much per hour. And there are only fewer instances to prove that he can also obtain his degree without showing an iota of originality. That is why a greater leaven of radicalism in college teaching is desirable. The question whether a certain group of ideas be inculcated or not is of slight importance compared to the need of arousing real intellectual turmoil. A great many staid, conservative students wander unsuspectingly into Economics A, and are startled to learn that protectionism is not a doctrine of certified divine origin. It worries them for a time to find that the universe of thought is not entirely plotted into straight, narrow, and exclusive paths; then they weather the crisis and return smugly to the old beliefs. But this stirring up has done some good; and more stirrings up would do more good. . . . Strong and radical opinions, startlingly expressed, usually do have the virtue of awakening thought, at least in opposition. There is no danger that the state will be overthrown by the ideas of most American collegians; but there is great danger that too many of them will become mere insensible cogs in the wheels of the established machinery.



### Crosser's Splendid Bill.

Cleveland (O.) Press, Feb. 17.—That bill of Representative Crosser's, providing for the colonizing of unemployed workers by the government on public lands—agricultural, grazing and forest—still remaining under government ownership, is mighty interesting. No doubt it would solve in a large measure the problem of unemployment, but just for the moment

our interest is in the following paragraph from our Washington correspondence on the subject:

"Title to the lands is to remain forever in the government. The land is to be theirs and their heirs so long as they use and occupy it."

. . . If Crosser's bill goes through, "the land is to be the settlers' as long as they use or occupy it." That is, Uncle Sam will assert his ownership to the extent of not letting bankers, land monopolists and sharks generally force occupants off the lots and acres where they are toiling for a living. And in order to keep the sharks away, he'll be the banker who will loan the money to the hard working tenant who needs the cash to improve the land and make a living for himself, his wife and his children. That's fine! That plan appeals to us. It will mean a real blow at the growing landlordism in this country. It will mean more crops, less unemployment, more liberty, more homes, lower cost of living—and—ah, pshaw! there isn't room to tell all the important things it will mean to the common people of America.



### Preparedness Hostile to Democracy.

Kansas City Post, Feb. 16.—It would be essentially the position of so great a champion of democracy and the humanities as Francis Neilson to oppose preparedness. The democratic member of the English parliament has a keenly appreciative idea of what "preparedness" means. He knows it to be only a euphonism for extreme militarism. Mr. Neilson, in declaring that "preparedness" foments war has in mind the substantial fact that England feared Germany's preparedness on land and Germany feared England's navy. Both were "preparerd" and each got what it prepared for. There would be no reason to prepare for war without having it. So that "preparedness" found its logical conclusion. It always will. The two nations "prepared" so thoroughly they were afraid of each other's growing preparedness. If the brilliant English thinker is thoroughly at home on any subject, it is war. He conceives a fine distinction between "preparedness" and national defense. He has, as all democrats have, a thorough hatred of the military. He knows that militarism and democracy are antithetic; that in no stage of civilization do they complement one another. Wars virtually would be impossible if the peoples of various nations knew the successive steps by which their diplomats—usually representatives of grasping economic interests—attempt "manifest destinies" in commerce under the guise of needful national expansion. Wars usually are the final expression of lustful greed.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### "PREPAREDNESS."

For The Public.

God, the Eternal Right, command us now—

Here at the parting of the ways we stand.

Custom and greed cry loud for armament,

And fear makes mock at our defenseless land.

The sons of war may one day cross our sea—  
God of the Past, dare we depend on thee?

Lo, it is midnight in a garden black,  
And One in grip of hell, stands undismayed.  
A sword, rejected, lying at his feet,  
And angel legions keen to give Him aid.  
He makes his choice in earth's supremest hour,  
And journeys forth to Calvary—and power!

Our time has come to choose—God help us now!  
"Who takes the sword shall perish by the sword."  
And every land, since history began,  
Has proved the sure fulfillment of that word.  
We arm, and peace turns back a thousand years;  
We arm, and die—the victim of our fears.

Throw down thine arms, O Nation of God's hope!  
We will not chain our land to ages dead,  
But trusting Love, dare the onslaughts of hell,  
Like Him who trod for us the wine-press red.  
And count it glory, though we shed our blood,  
So earth shall reap eternal brotherhood!  
—Mrs. M. P. Boynton.

## ECONOMIC HISTORY OF A QUARTER ACRE.

For The Public.

### I.

In my checkered career I had the pleasure of being connected for four years with the administration of that heroic Governor, John P. Altgeld, as Secretary of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois. The duty of this Bureau was to issue a biennial report on some subject connected with the interest of labor.

The first report issued by us (1894), known as the Eighth Biennial Report, was on the subject of taxation in Illinois, Chicago being the chief field of inquiry. When all the material had been gathered together and tabulated, Louis F. Post was sent for, came to Springfield and wrote the text. When completed we printed one thousand advance copies, sent them to the daily and weekly papers and the monthly and quarterly magazines for review. Each copy was accompanied by a condensed statement of what it contained.

The law relating to the printing of official reports limits the issue to thirty-five hundred copies unless otherwise ordered by the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Auditor. When this report was finished, I felt that we had performed an extraordinary task and that it would be much sought after by the progressive thinkers and radical reformers outside of Illinois.

I therefore called on the Governor and told him what we had, gave my opinion of its worth and requested that an order be issued for an extra edition. But he was in an ugly mood and declined to do so. He said he couldn't afford to spend the State's money unless he was sure it was well spent; that up to date none of the departments

had printed a report that was worth looking at; that the —— commission had printed their report some time ago; that it made him sick every time he looked at it; that they were nearly all down in the basement of the State House, where they ought to remain, as they were as vapid as last year's almanac and not worth the postage they would cost to send them out. "Schilling," he said, "get your report printed and if it is worth anything the people will find it out, but be sure to have a request for every report you send and then we will see what will happen."

While the Governor's attitude disappointed me, I felt sure the requests would come. One day, while in Chicago, I met my friend, Col. F. S. Marton, who published a monthly Populist paper with a circulation of 70,000. I told him about the report; that I had sent him a copy and asked him to review it. Instead of reviewing it, however, he simply put in an announcement calling attention to the report, stating that it could be had for the asking by either writing to the Governor or to the Bureau of Labor. Great Scott! How those Populists of the West and Middle West broke loose and sent in their requests. One morning the Governor's colored messenger came down with an armful of these requests with the remark: "We done got a heap of mail this mornin', but dere was only one postal card for the Governor. De rest am all fo' you." This woke the Governor up. The daily, weekly and monthly publications gave reviews, mostly very complimentary, while some few Republican papers made savage attacks on the Governor and the Bureau because we had printed a lecture delivered by the Governor before the University of Illinois during the graduating exercises. They charged that he was using the Bureau to circulate his speeches. For quite a while every time anyone called on the Governor they found him reading the Eighth Biennial Report.

Owing to the extra thousand advance copies sent out for review, the requests came in so fast from all quarters and from all classes of society that the first edition of thirty-five hundred copies was engaged by the time it was ready for the mail, and still the demand swelled day by day. As most of these requests came to the Governor, he finally sent for me and asked how many of the reports were left. "I have already more requests than copies," I replied. "Very well," said he, "I am sorry I didn't grant your original request for an extra edition, but you have a splendid report and I am now willing to take it up with the Board of Printing and request that they order an extra edition of any number you want." He talked about one hundred thousand copies, but I told him that the postage on so large an edition would eat up my appropriation. We finally agreed on an extra second edition of twenty thousand copies, into which much new matter was introduced, which was printed and distributed not only

throughout the United States, but throughout the English-speaking world. The Secretary of the Land Valuation Society of England—I think it was Frederick Verinder—sent a request for all I could spare. I sent him a dry goods box full. He sent in a second request for more, which was filled. Job lot requests came from Australia and New Zealand. Several requests came from Germany and other non-English speaking people. One request which pleased me exceedingly came from the University of Tokio, Japan, asking for six copies.

I have written somewhat at length of this report, because our friend Douglass of Toronto, Canada, wrote some time ago referring to the "economic history of a quarter acre" and suggested that this be re-printed in *The Public*. Mr. Chandler estimated the value of this quarter acre in 1894 at \$1,250,000 when the population of Chicago was 1,500,000. He has recently brought it down to date and estimates its present value at \$2,000,000 when our population is about 2,500,000. The original text was written by Louis F. Post. George V. Wells has rewritten this text so that the computations of Mr. Post will harmonize with the advanced value of today.\*

Do the readers of *The Public* fully realize the exploiting power of this quarter acre? \$2,000,000 at 5 per cent represents an annual income of \$100,000. The income of the average wage worker, omitting sickness and enforced idleness, is not over \$500.00. This, then, is equal to the total earnings of 200 wage workers. Land at the corner of State and Madison is worth \$30,000 per front foot, which at 5 per cent is equal to the earning power of three wage workers. I am told that the net income of the largest slave and land owners of the South was not over \$25,000 per annum. So here we have a quarter acre in the heart of a great city the power of which can extort by law an amount equal to the net income of four of the largest slave holders prior to the Civil War.

I have had a fair share of public life. I've been a member of the payroll brigade for more than twelve years; but I have no confidence in this brigade. It is indeed seldom that men elected or appointed to public office have sufficient "sand in their boots" to go up against entrenched privilege. To draw their monthly salary, to avoid reforms, to fix things up for re-election or reappointment, and, above all, not to "shy a brick" at those interests that dominate society, is the chief end they have in view. Not so with the administration of John P. Altgeld. When I called my agents together for instructions for both the Eighth and Ninth Biennial Reports—the latter dealt mostly with franchises—I said, "this administration can tell the truth no matter whom it

may hurt or offend, but stop at the truth." Appreciating as I do the far-reaching consequences for good now and then performed by public officials with insight and courage, I salute Frank P. Walsh and his associates on the Industrial Commission, to whom God gave a similar opportunity in a larger way and who utilized this opportunity to the full measure of their strength in blazing the way for the civilization that is yet to be.

Altgeld, himself, had no confidence in the office-holding class, which he plainly stated in his address before the graduating exercises at the University of Illinois:

The men of this age whom history will deign to notice are the men who have spanned our rivers, built and operated our railroads, built our cities, reared our mighty temples of learning and of industry; the men who have harnessed the lightnings and made them beasts of burden for man; the men who are covering the earth with intelligence. It will be the men who are making and molding the age. They will be the kings and princes of this century.

Being an office holder myself, I may be pardoned for saying that most of the men who are holding the offices and wielding authority will be forgotten before the grass has had time to grow over them, for they are not the great captains. They are not the leaders of our progress and our civilization. As a rule they do not gaze into the firmament or measure the stars; their vision is limited to the weather vane on public buildings. They never give the order for advance on any great question. They wait to be commanded to move and then hesitate until assured that it is the voice of the majority calling to them. They wait until the leaders of thought have captured the stronghold of a wrong and then they try to plant their flag over the ramparts that were stormed by others. As a rule they are moral cowards, following the music wagon of their time and holding the penny of immediate advantage so close to their eyes as to shut out the sunlight of eternal principle.

The conclusion I wrote for the introduction to the second edition of the Eighth Biennial Report was as follows:

"In exposing the present system of taxation, it has been the purpose of the Bureau of Labor Statistics to show how the concentration of wealth is facilitated, burdens imposed, opportunities withheld and labor impoverished through the operation of a vicious fiscal system.

"But the report goes beyond the mere fiscal and insists that every special privilege granted by law to individuals through which they are enabled to exploit their fellows is in the last analysis a tax.

"Taking this larger view, the subject becomes one of paramount importance to all those who seek a pathway leading to a more harmonious industrial life, where equity is the foundation of the economic fabric and the law of equal freedom is the law of social life.

"Equitable taxation, then, is the golden key

\*This will appear in the next issue of *The Public*, together with Mr. Chandler's figures brought to date.

which will unlock the door of natural opportunity and confer on all those who live by honest toil security, dignity and liberty."

GEO. A. SCHILLING.



### ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

For The Public.

(Wisconsin's "most distinguished citizen" has been named for honor at the Panama Exposition. It is said the personnel of the commission appointed by Governor Phillip to make the selection precluded Senator La Follette as a possible choice.)

To render service is his life's high aim:

When, in the boss-ruled years, he first assailed  
Smug vested Wrong, promise nor threat availed  
To stay his purpose, nor yet praise or blame;  
And when as Senator his well-earned fame

Made him loom nation-large, and he was hailed  
A leader staunch and true, he nowise failed;  
His high resolve no glittering hopes o'ercame.

The new Republic generates through years

Of conflict and confusion. When at last  
Democracy, reborn, shall stand forth true,  
He will take rank with its great pioneers;

And Time, whose sight is clear as it is vast,  
Will count him one of her immortal few.

Charles H. Winke.

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## BOOKS

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### THE MESSAGE OF A POET.

*Echoes from the Firing Line and Other Poems.* By Henry Slade Goff. Published by the Author, 2628 Clinton Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 1915. Price \$1.25 net.

The spirit of a brave, loyal, patriotic man speaks to us through these poems which touch on many important events in our national history that we are glad to have brought to memory. Many of them strike boldly and forcibly at evils which the thoughtless have regarded as good until the clear-eyed poet showed them in their true light. Before his majority the author enlisted and served in the Union army. Afterward he acquired an education which fitted him to become a teacher in public and high schools. He served as superintendent of graded and high schools and as instructor in the University of Minnesota and State training schools.

He is author of "Rules of Order for Every Day Use" and "Civil Government Made Plain." He is also joint author with his wife of an historical atlas, "The United States and Her Neighbors."

The poems in this volume, written on events as they were taking place, were given out with the thought of helping in the interests of Universal Brotherhood, international patriotism, and on Earth, "Peace and good will to men."

It would be a pleasure to copy some of these, as we may do at a later time, but for the present we

must content ourselves with one, entitled "Unending Conflict," which shows the motive of his work:

Not that I love the few the less,  
But the many much the more,  
And not that I wish any man distress,  
Else poor were my writing's score.

But the thoughts that have come to me in verse  
As the years in their courses ran,  
I have uttered, that tendencies toward the worse  
Might be changed for the good of man.

Not the rights of a single soul would I take,  
Be he pauper or millionaire;  
But I battle the men that would strive to make  
The unfair seem the fair.

And not in my heart is a single thought  
Of ill will toward the few;  
But I battle the wrongs that the few have brought—  
The old wrongs and the new.

To every man under dome of the sky  
I would that all blessings might fall,  
Be his rank with the lowly or with the high,  
Or under or over all.

But the men that grind sore all the masses of men  
Their own sordid gains to secure,  
These, these would I battle again and again,  
And so long as life's strength shall endure.

For earth and its fullness is gift of our God  
To His children, the weak and the strong,  
And enough is the gift for each child of the sod  
Were there never a grinding wrong.

But over and over and over again  
The roll of the centuries through,  
As the old wrong dies must the children of men  
Give battle to one that is new.

And yet, in the fullness of God's own time,  
The high and the lowly shall know  
That a wrong against man is the basest of crime  
And is certain of overthrow.

And yet, in the rounding of God's great plan,  
Each child of its Maker shall seek  
The paramount good of earth's every man,  
And the earth shall take care of the weak.

A. L. M.



### AMERICAN EDUCATION.

*The American College.* By Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College. Doubleday, Page & Company. New York. 1915. Price 60 cents net.

This is one of the "American Books" series that Doubleday, Page & Company are issuing on various phases of American life and institutions. The author begins with a very entertaining chapter on the beginnings of American colleges, their relations to each other, and to the people who founded them, together with the differences between the

American and the European schools. It may surprise readers of the younger generation to know that Yale did not assume the title of "university" until 1886; and that other seats of learning that are old as colleges are young as universities. Dr. Sharpless shows the relations of the older colleges to the various religious denominations: Harvard and Yale, Congregational; William and Mary, Episcopalian; Princeton, Presbyterian; Brown, Baptist; Columbia and Pennsylvania, non-sectarian. The remainder of the book is taken up with college administration, courses of study, student life, and the function of the college. The author makes the point that the small and medium-sized college still has its place in American life, and offers in many instances superior training for certain purposes.

S. C.



#### A Correction.

Included in the list of "departed spirits" in Mr. Finger's review, on page 161, is the name of Benjamin R. Tucker. Concerning this a valued correspondent writes:

Mr. Tucker is alive, or was two weeks ago. He is living at Nice, France.

Please make this correction in The Public lest Mr. Tucker's friends accept the statement as an announcement of his death.

S. D.



"Bobby, do you know you've deliberately broken the eighth commandment by stealing James' candy?"

"Well, I thought I might as well break the eighth commandment and have the candy as to break the tenth and only 'covet' it."—Life.

## PERIODICALS

#### Yale Review.

In the Yale Review for January there is an article on the subject of preparedness which ought to be widely read at this time. It is by Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Secretary of the University, and presents the subject in a way at once judicial and earnest. The article has also been issued in pamphlet form. In the closing sentences Mr. Stokes gives very well the ultimate argument of this whole problem, which is now stirring the minds of people more perhaps than any other question since anti-slavery days. He says:

If the United States tries to frighten Europe by her armaments her distrust of us and her misinterpreting of our motives will lead to deep suspicion and hatred—and these are the things that surely breed war. Knowing that "armed peace" has proved a sham and delusion in Europe, why should not our nation be willing to take risks for real peace in the interest of a world tired of the cruelties and horrors of war? A reputation for fair dealing will prove better and most lasting "insurance" against an unprovoked attack than any undue reliance upon monster implements of Mars, which are efficient for less than a score of years and then go to the scrap heap. Would that the word preparedness might take on a new significance—that instead of being the doctrine of the mailed fist, which has wrought such havoc to civilization, it might become the ideal of those who wish to prepare this nation through a more enlightened citizenship to keep bright the torch of 'peace, good will towards men' both at home and among the stricken peoples of Europe.

In the same number of the Review there is another article well worth reading, entitled "The War and the British Realms."

J. H. D.



A little boy only six years old was boasting that he worked in a blacksmith shop.

"What do you do there?" he was asked. "Do you shoe horses?"

"No, sir," he answered promptly, "I shoo flies."—Our Dumb Animals.

## February 29

Last year a number of readers of The Public decided that the best way for them to celebrate the Fourth of July was to send a check to cover a number of new subscriptions to The Public. A sane Fourth!

July 4th will come again, quickly, too. But before that there's another opportunity for a special effort. This month we have an extra day. Fifteen minutes of it given to subscription-getting by, say, 500 friends of The Public will mean that The Public's circulation will take a leap of not fewer than 500 new readers.

For those who have in the past been too dignified or timid to ask their friends to subscribe, February 29 is a peculiarly fitting day on which to screw up one's courage and go to it.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.

The Public affords me the very best reading I have ever had, with absolutely no exception as to book or journal of any kind.—T. H. Gilmore, Chicago.

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Mother (annoyed): I don't see, Elsie, how you can be so naughty.

Elsie: Why, mamma, it isn't a bit hard.—Boston Transcript.

## From January 1 File Your Publics

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A special binder, made to hold fifty-two issues, costs 70c post-paid.

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Small classified advertisements we will insert in The Public at the rate of 2c a word, cash with order.

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**MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB** (47 W. 42nd St., N. Y. City) will give a dinner (\$1.50) at Machinery Club, 50 Church St., New York, 6:30 p. m., February 26. Speakers: Congressman Meyer London, Hon. Frederick W. Hinrichs and James R. Brown. Congressman Warren Worth Bailey is expected.

**"WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH AMERICA—THE REMEDY,"** by Edmund Burke Osborne, member New Jersey State Board of Education. Pamphlet, 7c postpaid. Quantities, 5c. Address Edward Polak, 1806 Arthur Ave., New York City.

**SINGLE TAXERS IN THE STATE OF COLORADO** can get free literature from Ben J. Salmon, Secretary Colorado Singletax Assn., 220 National Safety Vault Bldg., Denver, Colo.

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By F. J. DIXON, Member Provincial Parliament of Manitoba.

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Feb. 25—Competitive Talks by High School Students, will be followed by an address by Francis Neilson, M. P.

March 4—Dinner to John H. Humphreys, Secretary Proportional Representation Society of London, who is returning from a tour of New Zealand and Australia. Kimball's Cafe, 60c.

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E. J. BATTEN,  
Business Secretary.

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ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

Office and headquarters of the League, 120 Boylston Street, Boston. Secretary in attendance every day from 2 till 5 o'clock; Saturday, 10 to 12. Executive Committee meets the last Friday of each month at above address at 7:30. All interested are welcomed at these meetings.

## Each For All

By Edmund Vance Cooke.

[The following copyright poem is one of several which will be reprinted from books sold in The Public's Book Department.]

I like the North. I like its stress,  
Which makes for strength and sturdiness.  
I like its seasons, marked and clear,  
Which hymn the progress of the year;  
Its child-like spring, which gently wakes,  
Its summer watched by clear-eyed lakes,  
Its autumn with its golden flood,  
Its winter's challenge to the blood.  
I like its winter-weathered oaks,  
I like its winter-weathered folks,  
To whom I send this greeting forth:  
I like you, as I like the North.

I like the East. I like the stir  
Of things which are with things which were.  
Here were our first foundations set  
And here our proudest temples yet.  
I like its old, historic sites;  
I like its ever-new delights,  
Its older custom and its air  
Of *comme il faut* and *savoir faire*.  
I like its cities, where the tide  
Of human life runs deep and wide.  
Here sits, as at a constant feast,  
The polished, poised and memoried East.

I like the South. Its pulses run  
To the warm measure of its sun.  
Yet, knowing that tomorrow comes,  
It sometimes sits and twirls its thumbs.  
Learning that life has much to give,  
It takes its ample time to live.  
I like its gentleness of tone,  
Its pride in all it calls its own.  
I like its people and their charm,  
Of easy welcome, wide and warm,  
Warm as love's kisses on the mouth,  
The South! the loyal, loving South!

I like the West. It seems to keep  
The all-out-door-ness in its sweep.  
It greets the gray of every dawn,  
Then turns and forges further on.  
Large is its thought and large its view,  
It proves the old, it tries the new.  
It thrives on wheat, or thrives on chaff,  
It takes its failure with a laugh,  
Renews its strength to try them later,  
Succeeds and turns to something greater.  
O, staunch of heart! O, broad of breast!  
I like the West, the big, brave West!

The North! the South! the West! the East!  
No one the most and none the least,  
But each with its own heart and mind,  
Each of its own distinctive kind,  
Yet each a part and one the whole,  
But all together form one soul;  
That soul Our Country at its best,  
No North, no South, no East, no West,  
No yours, no mine, but always Ours,  
Merged in one Power, our lesser powers,  
For no one's favor, great or small,  
But all for Each and each for All.

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## Two Poets of the People

EDMUND VANCE COOKE and SAM WALTER FOSS

Edmund Vance Cooke writes poems for people who don't like poetry—or think they don't! His insight is so clear and his workmanship so clever that his books astonish and delight those to whom Whitman, Browning, Burns or even Longfellow are "hard reading." To many lovers of poetry he is an idol.

His poems are published in six volumes, three of which are verses for and about children; the others are, broadly speaking, poems of democracy.

We have a suggestion for anyone who thinks he cannot afford to buy one or all of Cooke's books: Drop into your local library and read "The Uncommon Commoner," "A Man in Passing," "Prayer," and "What Sort Are You?" "A Conception of God," and of the Children's Poems, "The Little Boy That Left Us." After reading these you will afford to buy the following:

The Uncommon Commoner.....	\$1.50
Rimes to Be Read.....	1.50
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I do not admire the German method of doing things, but I admire many of the things the Germans have done. And I have written on Germany as I have, not because I want to see it done the German way, but as a demonstration that war can be made on poverty by all. We are so poisoned with the idea that God or nature made some men rich and other people poor that a demonstration that this maladjustment is not inevitable seems to me worth while. That is why I have written as I have of the paternalistic philosophy whose results I admire but whose methods are not in my line.

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