

which virtually means government ownership of all natural resources, thus securing the unearned increment for the people. Against the theoretical justice of Single Tax no economist has ever been able to frame a successful argument. . . . The private ownership of such resources as form the basis of gross corporate wealth breeds political corruption and solicits foraging expeditions from the emasculated nobility of Europe. The present Conservation policy of the retention of such resources, either for governmental development or to be leased for private development under government supervision, appears to be a serious effort to sever the chain that has bound progress to poverty. . . . The unearned increment of the nation's undeveloped wealth continues to increase and the question is: Who shall reap this wealth that no man soweth, Wall street or the people?

* *

The Single Tax.

Pittsburgh (daily) Leader (ind.), Oct. 19.—As a result of City Controller Morrow's recent pronouncements with reference to revision of taxation in Pittsburgh a widespread discussion and analysis of our present system has been created. This was the Controller's fundamental idea in giving his views. As he himself states, he has not in any manner been committed to the Henry George idea of Single Tax or to any other plan of revenue production. . . . But in stating his views Controller Morrow has indicated that he finds much merit in a modified form of the Henry George tax idea. And when so great an authority in matters of this kind intimates a willingness to proceed along lines that will place the heaviest burdens of taxation on land alone, citizens everywhere must take cognizance of the benefits that such a scheme of taxation would afford. . . . As between the man who assists in the development of his city by the wise and judicious improvement of vacant land and the one who caters solely to the highest degree of personal profit, Controller Morrow prefers the former. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should advocate some new system of taxation that will encourage a greater development of property and not act as a penalty to the man who gives his city and his neighbors the benefit of his own good citizenship. Just what is best to do under the circumstances not even the Controller has decided. . . . Whether it be along the lines he has suggested in relation to the Henry George idea of Single Tax, or in some other manner that offers advantages, is a matter of no moment to Controller Morrow, or to any other citizen who is striving to put taxation on a more equitable basis in Pittsburgh. The principal consideration is that progressiveness now struggles under a handicap that ought not to exist, and that as a matter of civic pride, if nothing else, steps should be taken at once to set it free. . . . Controller Morrow is a safe and trustworthy leader, and good citizens can do no better than advise with him.

* * *

At a meeting of the Yarmouth Guardians it was stated that an inmate of the workhouse had received a land valuation form to fill up. This is but a foretaste of the time when all land-tax forms will have to be addressed to the workhouse.—London Punch.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

JULIA WARD HOWE.

For The Public.

Beyond "the Gates Ajar" her soul hath flown;
Earth's joy and pain will speed her pulse no more,
Nor will great sorrow harrow to the core
The heart that felt a brother's grief its own.
Still, other hearts will reap what hers hath sown,
And while they turn the golden harvest o'er,
Soul-eyes will search along an endless shore,
And greet her spirit in the great unknown.

When time is ripe the sun of truth will shine,
And freedom's fire will set all hearts aflame.
Crowned heads, war lords, and potentates in line,
Whose gory deeds make grim the roll of fame,
And those that claim they rule by right divine,—
Their cognomens will pale beside her name.

MARY QUINLAN LAUGHLIN.

* * *

SKILLED ARTISANS.

Bolton Hall in The Independent (New York).

"I want my coat shaped so," said I to the tailor.
"It is not according to my pattern; it will not make a good job," said the tailor.

"But I want it so."

"Then, my dear sir," said he, "you must cut it yourself or find another tailor."

So I tried to cut it myself.

"I want my life shaped so," said I to God.

"It will not be well for you," said God. "It is not according to my law."

"But I want it so," said I.

"Then, my dear son," said God, "you must shape it yourself or find another God."

So I tried to shape it myself.

* * *

STUDIES IN OREGON'S DIRECT LEGISLATION.

For The Public.

An official pamphlet of 208 pages (including an index of six pages), issued by Hon. F. W. Benson, the Secretary of State of Oregon, is the text-book from which these "studies" have been made. A copy of this pamphlet was mailed in August and September last to every elector in Oregon, giving him the exact wording of each bill or proposed amendment to the State Constitution upon which he is to vote at the election Nov. 8 next. This pamphlet also contains the arguments that have been offered for and against the proposed measures, the purpose being to give the voter all possible information on the subjects submitted to him.

Statistical.

Of the 32 proposed measures, six were referred to the people by the Legislature, 25 by initiative petitions and one by referendum petition. Twenty-one are bills and 11 are for constitutional amendments. There were 26 arguments filed which favor the propositions, and 16 which oppose them. Fifteen of the propositions have affirmative but no negative arguments filed regarding them, while four of the proposed measures have negative but no affirmative arguments accompanying them. One bill—that to prohibit fishing, except by hook and line, in the Rogue River—has three arguments, one for and two against. One bill was submitted without argument on either side. It is one for an act to pay \$1,000 annually to the Judge of the Eighth District by Baker County in addition to \$3,000 now received by him from the State. This bill was passed by the Legislature over the veto of the Governor, and goes to the people by referendum petition. One bill—to continue the Normal school at Monmouth—has in its affirmative argument a cut giving a view of the principal school buildings there.

The measures are printed in the official pamphlet in the order of their filing with the Secretary of State. The first measure—that favoring equal suffrage—was filed September 16, 1908; and the last one, asking for a three-fourths jury in civil cases, was filed July 7, 1910. Six of the measures were filed in February, 1909; one each in May and December, 1909; eleven in June, 1910, and twelve in July, 1910.

Not All Strictly Direct Legislation.

There is a clause in the Constitution of Oregon which prohibits the Legislature, but not the people through the initiative, from creating new counties. Oregon is large in area but small in population; hence with rapidly increasing numbers there is a constant need of new counties being formed. Nine of the proposed measures relate to this demand for new counties, and may therefore, together with six propositions referred by the Legislature to the people, be regarded as not peculiar to the Oregon system of direct legislation, thus leaving only seventeen measures which should properly be considered in a study of the workings of the initiative and referendum.

Educational.

For some reason, not quite clear to the reader, the Legislature of 1909 failed to appropriate the usual funds for the maintenance of the three Normal schools located at Weston, Monmouth, and Ashland. This caused an appeal through the initiative to the voters of the State. There are no arguments on file against the measures, but three quite vigorous and interesting pleas in their favor presented by the alumni of each institution. The value of the Normal School plants owned by the State and now idle from lack of appropriations

is given as \$60,000 in Ashland, \$75,000 in Monmouth, and \$100,000 in Weston.

The Ashland Alumni said in part:

For 20 years Oregon recognized the Normal School idea, and in 1909 Oregon compared favorably with other Western States, the attendance at the Normal Schools then being 775. . . . Educators agree that numerous Normal Schools located in different parts of the State furnish the best opportunity for successful training of teachers. They also agree that the highest efficiency in the Normal School is reached with an institution of from 200 to 300 attendance. . . . In such a school the facilities for training school practice are at their best.

The Weston committee said in part when speaking of its school:

Its loss is felt, as the supply of teachers is now inadequate in this part of the State. Many of its former students and other young people of Oregon have gone to Washington and Idaho normals.

The Monmouth committee said in part:

The Normal School is no longer an experiment; every State in the Union, save and except Oregon, has from one to nineteen. . . . It [the Monmouth School] has within its alumni more than 1,000 members whose work has been felt throughout the Northwest.

Equal Suffrage.

The proposed Constitutional amendment omits the word "male," and adds the words:

It is expressly provided hereby that no citizen who is a taxpayer shall be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

The committee of twelve women who favor the amendment, in their argument, say in part:

Women under present industrial conditions, forced upon them by circumstances beyond their control, are compelled to compete with men for a livelihood in rapidly increasing numbers every year. A disfranchised class, brought necessarily into ruinous competition with an enfranchised class, creates demoralization in business, and works especial hardship upon all men and women who toil for a livelihood, thus adding an ever increasing menace to the stability of the home. Women who are supported in idleness and luxury do not feel the need of the ballot, and some of them say they do not desire it. But that is no reason why they should seek to deprive other women of their right of choice.

The committee of fifteen women who oppose the amendment, in their argument, say in part:

Women and children are citizens and persons. The only effect of the foregoing proposed amendment, therefore, is to take the word "male" out of the qualifications of the voters and give the ballot to women. The last clause in the proposed amendment about tax-paying women is pure buncombe. It adds nothing and detracts nothing from the preceding provisions.

They also quote from the woman novelist, "Ouida," and from Cardinal Gibbons in opposition to woman suffrage.

Temperance.

For several years prior to the time when Oregon secured direct legislation the temperance people of that State had tried in vain to secure a liquor local option law. When, however, direct legislation prevailed the desired law was in 1904 at once passed, being one of the first measures ever enacted in the United States without the intervention of a legislature. In 1906 and 1908 bills were introduced by initiative petition to amend the local option law, but were rejected by increasing majorities at the polls.

The liquor war, however, continues unabated. Many of the temperance people desire State prohibition, while the liquor interests and others who claim to be temperance people wish no change in the law as it now stands. An amendment for State prohibition and a drastic law for its enforcement have been proposed and will be voted upon next November. To offset this the opposition have presented an amendment to the constitution to give cities and towns the exclusive power to regulate the liquor business subject to the provisions of the present local option law of the State.

The arguments which are interesting and able are presented by various bodies—the Oregon Anti-Saloon League and the Oregon Dry Campaign Committee on the one side, and Greater Oregon Home Rule Association on the other side.

Taxation.

Three tax amendments will be voted upon in November, two proposed by the State Grange in 1909, and one offered by the State Federation of Labor. Among other things the last amendment abolishes any poll or head tax, which the labor committee in their argument denounce as “the most odious and unjust of all taxes, . . . unjust because it bears so unequally on men in proportion to their ability to pay.” These tax amendments are fully discussed in *The Public* of Sept. 20 (page 918), by W. G. Eggleston, a member of the People’s Power League of Oregon.

Employers’ Liability.

A bill for the protection of laborers in hazardous employments has been offered by the Oregon State Federation of Labor for a vote in November next. In their argument for the bill it is said in part:

The only factor in the production of social wealth which is not protected in any sense whatever is labor. Babies are born without limit and must live, and there are always plenty waiting to take the dead man’s shoes. . . . Ten per cent of electrical workers are killed. It is a more hazardous employment than war. The same may be said of workers on bridges and high steel frame structures.

There is no negative argument to this bill presented, but another bill to create a board of nine commissioners “to examine the subject of employes’ indemnity” is offered without affirmative argument. In the argument against the bill signed

by the Federation of Labor it is asserted as their opinion that the bill is “a mere pretext, or blind, intended to head off the law proposed by the initiative at this election in favor of employes engaged in hazardous occupations, which is the very law the Employers’ Association [the promoters of this commission bill] defeated at the last legislature.”

Good Roads.

An amendment to the Constitution is presented permitting counties by vote of the people to incur indebtedness beyond \$5,000 to build permanent roads, and an argument for the amendment is presented showing the value of good roads to the farmer. No opposing argument appears.

Political.

A bill is offered creating a convention to revise the State Constitution. The People’s Power League (Hon. W. S. U’Ren, secretary) presents an argument against the bill on the ground that “the railroad, street railroad, telephone, express companies and other special interests behind this scheme for a Constitutional convention” hope to form a new Constitution “leaving out the initiative, referendum, and recall.”

A Constitutional amendment is proposed to provide a separate district for the election of each State Senator and each State Representative. This amendment is also opposed by the People’s Power League on the ground that it is an attempt to defeat proportional representation which Oregon adopted in 1908.

The People’s Power League introduces two bills and two proposed Constitutional amendments—one to extend direct primaries to Presidential nominations, one a plan for the election of the legislature by proportional representation and with a six year term, one to provide for the publication of an Official Gazette every two months, and one to allow three-fourths of a jury to render a verdict in civil cases. These have elaborate arguments in their favor of about twelve pages in all. All but the last of these measures have negative arguments presented, in one case the charge being made that the “measure is proposed by a group of men whose leaders are disgruntled because they were not sent as delegates to the Chicago convention in 1908. . . . They are now attempting to vent their spleen upon the taxpayers of Oregon.” In another case, opposing the Official Gazette, citizens are asked to “vote ‘no’ and keep this freak measure off the statute books of our State.”

Eastern Oregon’s Climate.

The bill for the establishment of a branch insane asylum in eastern Oregon is supported by an argument in which, after speaking of the State’s rapid growth, it is said in part:

California has asylums in six localities, Washington two and Idaho two. . . . Eastern Idaho with its greater elevation and dry and invigorating climate, together with a large preponderance of sunshine and

pure water, make the location ideal from a sanitary and healthful standpoint; in fact, our section has all the health-giving qualities that have proven such a valuable resource to Colorado.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

BOOKS

VILLARD'S LIFE OF JOHN BROWN

John Brown, 1800-1859: A Biography, Fifty Years After. By Oswald Garrison Villard, A. M., Litt. D. Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston. 1910. Price \$5 net.

The hero of Kansas and of Harper's Ferry has had many biographers, but Mr. Villard's book is likely to be for all time the authoritative work upon that most picturesque figure in American history. Details of fact as Mr. Villard has gathered and sifted them will no doubt be questioned, and his appraisal of John Brown's character, and of his conduct as a whole and in specific instances, will fail to command the assent of many readers now, and of some hereafter; but no candid man can deny the fair and painstaking spirit with which the facts have been sought and weighed, and the temperance, wisdom and charity with which the biographer has judged the character of his subject. In wealth of detail, in the careful citation of authorities, and the impartial quotation of evidence and opinion, the work far surpasses anything upon John Brown that we have seen.

Mr. Villard has no foolishly exalted notion as to the appropriate eloquence of historic style, but he recognizes the great dramatic moments in John Brown's career, and records them in a worthy fashion. Long as the book is, it could not well have been shorter; and few intelligent, truth-seeking readers will find it in any part dull.

Almost every fact and incident of John Brown's life, almost every phase of his character, and his motives upon all occasions, have been the subject of eager and acrimonious debate. Perhaps the questions most earnestly disputed are those concerned with his business career and character, the length of time during which his plan for the emancipation of the slaves by force was a main preoccupation, the midnight killings on the Pottawotomie, the mixture of motive in connection with the Harper's Ferry raid, and the plausibility of his hope that the raid would really result in a rapid freeing of the slaves in accordance with his plan. Upon all these matters Mr. Villard presents a mass of carefully weighed evidence, and we think his conclusions are in the main irresistible.

The author fails to find any convincing evidence that John Brown entertained for more than ten or twelve years a steadfast and clearly con-

ceived purpose of attempting to free the slaves by some such plan as he put into execution at Harper's Ferry. Any one who reads Sanborn's fascinating biography of John Brown must find it exceedingly difficult to discover in its pages the facts upon which the biographer bases his conclusion that Brown had entertained some such plan unswervingly for more than twenty-five years. Mr. Villard's conclusion upon this point is presented in the most convincing fashion.

Writing with the greatest desire for fairness, and with the utmost charity, Mr. Villard is forced to admit that John Brown did commit a serious breach of trust when handling a large sum of money turned over to him by others in his character as a wool factor. The transaction does not seem to have differed materially in its moral aspect from instances in which bankers and others have used speculatively or, otherwise money not their own with the full intention and expectation of making it good to the owners, though Mr. Villard does not draw any such parallel. We think, however, Mr. Villard is not sufficiently impressed with a certain largeness of vision that Brown exhibited in his business plans. In business he was not quite the mere thing that we call visionary, but rather a far-sighted man whose plans often failed through the unscrupulousness of competitors, or the unfavorable condition of the times. Some of his transactions in Ohio the biographer finds reprehensible, but almost excusable.

As to the Doyle and other murders on the Pottawotomie, Mr. Villard is extremely detailed, extremely careful as to the weighing of evidence, and definite though in the main charitable in his conclusion that "no plea can be made that will enable him to escape coming before the bar of historical judgment." Possibly Mr. Villard has not sufficiently allowed for the mental disturbance accompanying the awful period of distress, danger and struggle that led up to the murders. We are inclined to believe, in part from Mr. Villard's own evidence, that John Brown's fervor and exaltation of that time came nigh to madness. His extreme reticence afterward as to his bloodthirsty eagerness of the time, something that he had never exhibited before going to Kansas, indicates the natural revulsion of his cooler moments, and it is hard not to read in his concern to avoid unnecessary bloodshed at Harper's Ferry a symptom of remorse for the hideous night on the Pottawotomie.

The biographer finds that John Brown really hoped success for his fantastic scheme of attack at Harper's Ferry and of maintaining a ridiculous camp of freed slaves in the mountains under an equally ridiculous form of government, but that he faced with calmness and joy the probable martyrdom as the alternative of success, and as only another form of success. As to the execution of