

handicapped in that it has not gone to the root of democracy. It has not yet learned the full nature and extent of privilege. Some of its leaders have made sorry spectacles of themselves, pleading in the Senate for protection for the industries of their sections. They have yet to learn that protection in any form is privilege and that no progressive movement can develop as it ought to develop, nor accomplish much permanent good, until those identified with it are willing to give up their share of the illegitimate favors of government.

Failure of the Progressive Republicans to understand these things is responsible for the weakness of the present opposition to Mr. Taft's re-nomination. Had they not flinched on the Canadian trade agreement, their movement would be much farther advanced than it is today. Even so, they must soon choose, according to present indications, whether they will support Mr. Taft for re-election, or will follow the example of the Liberal Republicans of the early '70's, and organize a secession from the party.



The last two-and-a-half years have revealed an irrepressible conflict between two types of men, both of whom call themselves Republicans. One element believes that it is the business of government to foster monopoly at the expense of the public; the other, however ill-defined may be its ideas of what constitutes monopoly, believes that it is the duty of the government to protect the public from monopolistic depredations. That such an interneecine conflict bodes ill for the party and good for the people is plain upon the face of it.

D. K. L.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### FOR THE SINGLE TAX IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, August 1.

In Clackamas County, Oregon, the first Initiative petition under the County Home Rule Tax amendment\* adopted last fall is now being circulated for signatures, so that the voters of the county may determine at the election in 1912 whether or not they will substitute the land-value tax for the general property tax.†

\*See The Public, volume xiii, page 1233; current volume, page 679.

†The petition is set out in full in The Public for July 21, 1911, current volume, page 679, but is repeated here in full, for the convenience of the reader, as follows:

**"Warning.**

"It is a felony for anyone to sign any initiative or referendum petition with any other name than his own or to knowingly sign his name more than once for the same

It is pertinent to say a few words in regard to the preparation of that bill.

Enemies of the Initiative, led by The Oregonian, which is a bell-weather of Special Privilege, assert that Initiative measures are hastily drawn up, carelessly put together, without time for consideration or amendment. In regard to the great majority of measures hitherto placed upon the ballot by Initiative petition in Oregon, that assertion is absolutely false. If it were true, the progressive measures that have been initiated by petition and adopted by the people could be easily and successfully attacked in the courts; but the enemies of the local option, liquor law, of the direct primary law and the corrupt practices act, and other laws enacted by the people, have not been able to find a weak spot in the armor.

The first draft of the foregoing county tax measure—which is the form in which it will be used in

measure, or to sign such petition when he is not a legal voter.

**"INITIATIVE PETITION.**

"To the Honorable Ben W. Olcott, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:

"We, the undersigned, citizens and legal voters of the State of Oregon and of the County of \_\_\_\_\_, respectfully demand that the following proposed bill for a local law for the County of \_\_\_\_\_, shall be submitted to the legal voters of said County of \_\_\_\_\_ in the State of Oregon, for their approval or rejection at the regular general election to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, A. D. 1912, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the State of Oregon and of the County of \_\_\_\_\_; my residence and post-office are correctly written after my name.

**"A BILL**

"For a local law for the County of \_\_\_\_\_ to exempt from taxation all trades, labor, professions, business, occupations, personal property and improvements on, in and under land, and to require that all taxes levied and collected within said \_\_\_\_\_ County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of land and other natural resources, separate from the improvements thereon, and on and from the assessed value of public service corporation franchises and rights of way.

"Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon in \_\_\_\_\_ and of the County of \_\_\_\_\_:

"Section 1. That all business, labor, trades, occupations, professions, and the right to conduct, work at or practice the same; and all forms of personal property; and all improvements on, in and under all lands shall be and hereby are exempted from taxation for any purpose within \_\_\_\_\_ County, and no tax shall be imposed upon any trade, labor, business, person, occupation or profession under the pretext of a license or the exercise of the police power within said County; but in its application to licenses and permits this is intended only to prevent the raising of revenue from such licenses and permits, and to prevent exacting of fees therefor greater than the cost of issuing the permit or license, and is not intended to impair the police power of the County, City or State.

"Section 2. All taxes within \_\_\_\_\_ County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of all lands, water powers, deposits, natural growths and other natural resources, and on and from the assessed values of public service corporation franchises and rights of way. This act does not affect corporation license fees and inheritance taxes collected directly by the State, nor such lands as are used only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes, already exempt from taxation by law."

the other counties in Oregon—was made last December, and the final draft was not given to the printer until July 1. The bill was under careful consideration more than five months by the committee of seven men who had charge of it, four of the seven being lawyers.

Once a week the committee met to discuss it, to suggest and discuss changes, to make amendments. Being a member of that committee, and being familiar with legislative procedure, I have no hesitancy in saying that that one bill has received more consideration than the average legislature gives to a dozen bills.

Not only did the bill receive that attention from the committee, but it was discussed and carefully considered from every known angle by many men, including able lawyers, outside of the committee. Different forms were drawn and compared; words, phrases and general verbiage were carefully considered in connection with decisions of the courts. Nothing was left undone to make the bill as compact as possible and to give every word and expression the precise meaning desired.

It is true that the enemies of the measure were not called into consultation. Their advice and suggestions were not wanted. The surest way to get a "joker" into a bill is to give its enemies an opportunity to amend it. The enemies are going to vote against it any way at the ballot box.

This bill is the second step taken towards making it easier for industrious men, for all producers of wealth, to make a living in Oregon; the second step towards making it possible for every worker in Oregon to get all that he earns; the second step towards preventing speculators and others from getting something for nothing in Oregon. The first step was the County Home Rule Tax amendment adopted last fall, under which this bill is offered.

The campaign for this bill will carry the war into the "Darkest Africa" of land speculation in Oregon—and it is a pretty black Africa. Reading the real estate columns of the newspapers and the literature of booster clubs, one gets the idea that land speculation is the chief business in Oregon, and that industry exists merely to enrich the speculators.

Part of the campaign ammunition will be a copy of the whole tax roll of Clackamas County, showing the assessed value of the property of each taxpayer, separating the values as: (1) Land values, (2) improvement values, (3) personal property. The actual taxes paid under the general property tax in 1911 will be shown, and then the actual land value tax that each property owner would pay in order to raise in the county the same amount of revenue for all purposes that was raised under the general property tax. This will enable each taxpayer to see whether the land value tax will increase or decrease his taxes—and that's the pocketbook question that every man asks.

It should be explained that in Oregon there is only one tax collector in each county, and only one assessor in a county. So, when a resident of a city pays his taxes he pays for State, county, city, school and all other purposes at one time; and when we find in the county tax book that Peter Poe paid \$9.47 in taxes for 1910, we know that this was the total amount paid by him, whether he is a farmer in the

country, a merchant in a village or a lawyer in a city. Go to one office in any county in Oregon and you can get the total amount of taxes paid by any taxpayer of that county with his total assessments.



Clackamas is a fairly representative county of Oregon.

It is the next county south of Multnomah county, in which Portland is situated. One of the Willamette river counties, it is very fertile, contains a large amount of timber, and the "payroll" of its industries is the largest in proportion to population of any county in the northwest. At Oregon City are the falls of the Willamette, capable of developing about 50,000 horse power; and those falls "belong" to the Portland Railway, Light & Power Company. The industries of the county are lumber, cattle raising, large and small fruits, and paper and woolen mills. The mills are at Oregon City, and are run by electric power developed from the falls.

Taking the tax roll of Clackamas county, then, one can get a fair idea of the effect of the land-value tax on merchants, banks, mills, large and small farmers, fruit growers, small home owners, professional men, franchise corporations and land speculators. Two-thirds of the assessed country lands are in the hands of speculators.

The data shown in that tax roll will enable any taxpayer in the State to see just how the land-value tax will affect him. All he needs do is to compare his own tax rate with the city or country rate of Clackamas county.

W. G. EGGLESTON.



## SCOTTISH LANDLORDISM.

Glasgow, Scotland.

There are some 880 parishes in Scotland. In 530 of these there has been a decrease of population during the past ten years. Men and women are attracted to the cities and Colonies by the better opportunities for making a living. There is little cause for surprise in this. The treatment of the Scottish people by the authorities in Scotland is very different from their treatment by the Colonial governments.

Lord Tullibardine took a deputation of artisans from Glasgow in 1909 to some of the hardest and highest land in Perthshire to prove how impossible it was to settle any more men on the land of Scotland. The Canadian Government took a commission of Scottish agriculturists to Canada in 1908 and showed them some of the finest tracts of land in the country to prove how profitable it was for Scotsmen to settle in Canada. The Australian government invited a similar commission to visit Australia in 1910 to prove what fine openings there were for Scotsmen in Australia. The British Government has stood by while the landlords have been saying to the Scottish people: "We have no fertile land here—hardly an acre. We'll give you a holding if you like—among the rocks an cairns of the Gramplains." The Colonial governments say: "We have abundance of fertile land. We'll give you 160 acres of that land for almost nothing." Can we wonder if