

we shall want fourteen feet. If later we later depth, none of the work expended on the channel will have been wasted. The advantage of constructing the waterway is the only matter in dispute. On this we have the united belief of the business men of the Mississippi Valley, that it is not only commercially advantageous but commercially indispensable. The opinion of these men on this subject must be final. The question of cost remains. The 14-Foot Waterway Board estimates that it will cost about \$159,000,000 for the 14-foot waterway from the Gulf to the end of the Chicago Drain. The State of Illinois has already authorized an expenditure of \$20,000,000. About \$90,000,000 more will be required for the river below Cairo. This covers the work of the Mississippi River Commission. It will be required to protect the banks of the 14-foot channel or not. There is more than \$50,000,000 as the total estimated cost between the cost to the United States if we build the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway and the cost if we do not build it. The 14-foot project, if completed, estimates, will cost in money that would be spent, a little more than half what the State of Illinois has devoted to deep waterways and less than half what the State of New York has voted to spend on deepening the Erie Canal. To sum up, the physical facts about the project are known. The engineers are agreed upon the estimated cost, the best methods for the work and the practicability of doing it. The business men are agreed that the deep waterway is commercially necessary. The additional estimated cost is less than one-seventh the present cost of freight by water transportation on the Mississippi. The Mississippi River Commission is ready to proceed with the work. The business men are better now than they will be if we do not build it. The money is lacking but the money.

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resolutions presented by Charles Scott as chairman of the resolutions committee and adopted at the convention, were in harmony with the views of Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Pinchot. On the question of depth they declared that—

Government should, and shall without delay, enter on a definite policy and plan for the development, beginning with the immediate improvement of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, as a part of a great water system in such a way as to make an effective navigation between the Gulf of Mexico on the south and the Great Lakes on the north. The main trunk to be developed without delay and with constant reference to the future effective development of the tributaries of the great rivers of the country and the lakes, bays, bayous and sounds of the country, and the canals and locks required in and for a complete inland navigation adapted to our growing commercial needs. . . . The following are those portions of a recent report of the National Board of Survey composed of leading engineers, which demonstrate the

complete practicability of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway, we repudiate and condemn that portion of the report declaring against the commercial expediency and necessity for the project, and reaffirm our fixed conviction that the vast and rapidly advancing commerce of our interior, already reaching an annual freight charges of 40 billion dollars, absolutely demands the opening of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea, not less than 14 feet deep and adapted to modern terminal and transfer facilities. . . . We affirm our conviction that it is the duty and is within the Constitutional powers of the Federal government, to exercise jurisdiction over terminals and over the connections with other transportation agencies required for the development and maintenance of water transportation; and we hold that the regulation of terminal and transfer facilities is not only essential to, but is an integral part of, any practical system of commercial navigation.

These declarations were full in the face of an attempt, the first yet made, to commit the Association to an endorsement of any depth of channel that the Federal Government might offer—an 8-foot channel being suggested in place of the 14-foot channel demanded.

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Meanwhile a fight over the 14-foot versus the 8-foot issue had begun to concentrate in Illinois. But that is a further story, the particulars of which and its relations to the general subject must be reserved for the next issue of The Public.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICAL SIGN BOARDS

Portland, Ore., Sept. 24.

If this generation is of the perverse and wicked kind that seeketh after a sign it needn't advertise in the "lost and found" columns, for the signs are visible to the naked eye. But sign hunters are not always wicked and perverse; you'll notice that all kinds of saints have their eyes peeled for signs.

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When a State press association is opened with a talk on Singletax by W. S. U'Ren, that's a sign, writ in large letters and posted in a conspicuous place. That's what happened Thursday, September 21, when the newspaper men of Oregon met in annual session in Portland. Some men would have made an address; U'Ren didn't. Others would have "talked editorials" to those newspaper men; U'Ren didn't. It was more like an interview, with eight or ten inquisitive newspaper men as interviewers and U'Ren as the interviewee; and that made it interesting.

Naturally, "in those circumstances," as the London Times would say, there was no continuity; but what those newspaper men wanted was information rather than continuity. They didn't want to be preached at, for they do some preaching themselves. U'Ren hadn't talked more than three minutes before

the questions began, and the questions kept coming until it was past the time to quit. As I remember, not a silly question was asked; every one was pertinent and well stated. As a rule, you know, the question framed in words is often not the question in the back of the questioner's head, but the questions asked U'Ren were exceptions to that rule.

The unsolicited invitation to U'Ren to talk to the newspaper men on the Singletax, and the business-like, matter-of-course manner in which the fire and cross-fire of questions was begun and kept up, is a sign that Oregon newspaper men are interested in the question of taxation and that they know the Singletax is now a "question before the house" in Oregon. But if U'Ren had pushed the first questioner back into his seat with the statement that he would answer questions after concluding his "formal" address, the audience would have become a disappearing quantity. Sometimes it is best not to ask a man to put his question into brine or cold storage; he feels better if he can get it out of his system before it spoils.

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Now let's go back a little to get at what some of our dictionary friends would call the "psychology" of that invitation to U'Ren to talk about Singletax to the State Press Association. Of course, "the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns," and the spirit of democracy grows with the widening of thought—and the spirit of democracy is the germination in man of the full and complete life. But that is only part of the explanation of the invitation to U'Ren. Every man desires to live a full and complete life, as he sees it; but the individual life is the resultant of the forces acting upon the individual.

One of the strongest forces acting upon the individual is the force of taxation; and the tax force often acts most strongly when its nature is not recognized. It touches and affects industrial and individual life at every point, even though the individual be without property and unaware that he is taxed. The individual may be as ignorant of the tax force acting upon him as the ocean is of the sun-and-moon force that causes its water to flow and ebb in the tides, and he has no more power to resist than have the waters. And now the thoughts of men have widened to the fact that private confiscation of ground rent is an irresistible tax force that pulls them hither and thither, making a swollen fortune here and balancing the iniquity by submerging some and casting others, like seaweed, upon the beach.

The idea is "in the air," we say; but it's in men's minds—not full-grown as yet, but growing; and no plant grows more luxuriantly in tropical jungle than does a democratic idea in the human mind. But that doesn't explain the invitation to U'Ren, for there is as much of the democratic spirit in California as in Oregon, and California newspaper men have not invited anyone to talk to them about Singletax—not yet.

The people of Oregon have, through the Initiative and Referendum, political power that acts with great force upon the minds of the people of Oregon. The force is so strong that it causes the people to do some hard and efficient thinking about "the ques-

tion before the house." It is a different kind of thinking from that used to elect men delegated to act for the people. The element of personal responsibility is dominant. The individual citizen feels that he is a part of the composite citizen, rather than a separate voter who casts a vote for a delegated law-maker and then throws all the responsibility (and irresponsibility) upon the law-maker elected. The question before the house is stated; it is put directly to the individual voter, and to each voter. If he understands the question, and is interested, his right to answer that question becomes a duty. There is no coercive force save his conscience; and here it is not true that conscience makes men cowards. It never is true unless a man has burglarized his conscience.

In a State where the people have not the Initiative and Referendum, the common idea in regard to a public question is that the legislature may do something for the people or it may do something to the people; but where the people have the power of Direct Legislation the thought is that the people are going to do something for themselves, with the legislature sitting on the bleachers. In Oregon, the legislature may or may not be interested in Singletax, may coo softly or may split the ears of groundlings, may vote or refuse to vote; but the people are going to vote regardless of the legislature. The people will vote on that particular question because 8 per cent of the voters have the power to "put the motion" on the ballot; and one of the motions next year will be land value taxation—taxation of privilege and exemption of industry from taxation.

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So, in regard to that invitation to U'Ren—haven't we traced its psychology back to its lair? Would that invitation have been given if the people of Oregon lacked the Initiative power in legislation, even if it were certain that the Governor would recommend the Singletax to the legislature, or that 45 per cent of the members of the legislature would introduce and back a Singletax bill in 1913? Certainly not. Nor would it have been given if all the Granges and Labor Unions in Oregon had already announced their intention to have a Singletax bill introduced in the legislature of 1913; nor if 35,000 voters had already signed a petition to the next legislature asking it to act favorably on the Singletax.

With direct legislation the people can settle for themselves—or "experiment with," if you please—problems that delegated legislators won't settle because Privilege doesn't want them settled. Hence the tears that skate down the hardened cheek of Privilege. Yet—since Momus must thrust his ridiculous face into serious matters—we find men who call themselves Democrats opposing the Initiative and Referendum! That fact deserves a conspicuous place in any catalogue of mysteries—a mystery being "that which is beyond human comprehension."

Political bill posters don't put academic questions on the political billboard, and the political wind gauge doesn't register the current from a hot-air furnace. But when some of the voters have the power to put a question to all the voters, on the ballot and regardless of the legislature, it's a new

new rules and a new deck—and no deal—
the bottom of the pack. That upsets all
relations of the professional political
and they kick; but they don't call them-
"democrats." Which seems to prove that
some sense of humor.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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DEFEAT OF THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

Winnipeg, Sept. 24, 1911.

on is past. The Tory party after 15
position has been returned to power.
surprise has ever been sprung upon
of Canada. Tories agreed with Lib-
Laurier administration would be sus-
when the news of disaster came it
ernation among party Liberals. Sym-
icals also experienced keen regret in
overnment defeated upon such an issue.
felt that the Liberal party was coming
historical position on behalf of freer

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of defeat may be briefly stated as

Canadian Manufacturing Association.

banks and money power.

Railway interests.

ty cry and imperialism.

paid during past 15 years to protect
the Liberal party and the consequent cessa-
y to educate the electorate to expect and
freedom.

nd the last clause it will be necessary
fly the economic history of Canada.

period 1854-66 Canada enjoyed great
trading with the United States under
reaty of that time. In 1866 this was
ne United States in retaliation upon
for her sympathy with the Confedera-
ing the Civil War.

1878 a tariff of from 10% to 17½%

Fiscal depression during this period
versal. In 1878 Sir John A. MacDon-
ory party overwhelmed the Liberal

Hon. Alexander MacKenzie on a
protection which afterward came to
ie "N. P." or National Policy. Dur-
opposition the Liberals under Laur-
hard Cartwright gave Protection un-
position. The classical speeches of
denouncing "legalized robbery" are
Freetrade Canadians.

ession of the Laurier Government

6 a preference of 25% (latterly in-
%) was put upon British goods. This

forgot its Freetrade policy and be-
the Interests. Many Liberals re-
movement came to a head in the

demand for tariff reduction and ul-

s. The early speeches of Liberal

ted against them with great effect.

reciprocity pact was the first result.

atforms we heard the same ringing

against the mighty which character-

ized Liberal utterances in opposition days. The
farmers' leaders stated clearly that they wanted
Reciprocity to demonstrate their willingness to dis-
pense with the last vestige of tariff which was os-
tensibly for their benefit. This, they asserted,
would be followed by a general campaign against
all tariffs. The farmers were also denouncing the
railway monopolies and the banks. These interests
all took alarm and made common cause in fighting
the Government. They argued that if the farmers
could force the hand of the Government in this one
thing, their organization was dangerous; hence the
government had arrayed against it all the forces
money and privilege could unite.

Money was spent like water. The "old flag" was
waved, the annexation bogey resuscitated, the ha-
tred of Yankees innate in the breast of provincials
invoked, and a special appeal to the English or
British-born voter was made. Empire, flag, king,
country and that high-sounding phrase "fiscal inde-
pendence" were emphasized by the exhorters for
special privilege. The people did not know that
Robinson Crusoe was the true type of man fiscally
independent. This was the fault of the Liberal
party. Years ago it had given up its campaign
of education on behalf of fiscal freedom, and the
campaign addressed to narrowness, provincialism,
passion and prejudice swept the Government away.
In defeat Laurier suffered merited retribution for
the fifteen years he had permitted the Interests to
urge their campaign while he made no counter cam-
paign—indeed, in many cases became their well-
intentioned but misguided tool.

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Only a few things are plain. The Tory party is
inevitably to be the hand-maiden of the Interests;
the alliance is irrevocable. It was made by the
Interests, and the party must now stand and deliver
the goods.

Governments in Canada when once seated in power
are hard to dislodge. Nothing is more tenacious
than the politician's grip of office. Fifteen or twenty
years will no doubt elapse before the Tories are
driven from power.

Many of us in the meantime look for a distinct
line of cleavage between the East and the West.
Ontario returned only 13 Liberal members out of
86 seats. The farmers say the manufacturers of
that Province regard the farmers and consumers
of the West as a special preserve where they may
fatten. This campaign of restriction dictates to the
farmer both where he shall sell and buy. If I judge
aright the temper of the people of the West, they
will not long consent to be driven into a stock-
ade and corralled for the benefit of Interests.

The hope of the West is in its increase of popu-
lation and representation in the House of Com-
mons at Ottawa. The Decennial census has just
been taken. This will give the West an increased
representation of 20 or 25 members. The American
population, too, will flock to the standard of de-
mocracy and freer trade. But at best it will be a
long, slow battle. The war between democracy
and privilege will, however, be carried on; and
though the road be long those who have the cour-
age to tread it shall reach the goal.