

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

First Innings for the Peoria Conference.

Chief among the most useful influences in Illinois politics at the present time—and, by reflection, upon other States as well—is that which the Peoria Conference (p. 902) and its Committee of Seven have exercised. Meeting at Peoria as late as the recent summer to take steps for putting an end to such corruption and legislative misrepresentation as had been exposed in connection with Lorimer's election to the Senate, this Conference ignored the futile policy of mere criminal punishment, and advised a far-reaching policy of prevention. It proposed for this purpose three measures: two of which it is within the power of the legislature to enact, and a third which it is within its power to submit to the people for Constitutional adoption. A State-wide civil service law to prevent spoilsmanship, and a corrupt practices law to prevent politico-business corruption, are the Conference's two statutory proposals, and the Initiative and Referendum to prevent legislative misrepresentation is its proposal for a Constitutional amendment.

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Under the efficient management of the Committee of Seven which the Peoria Conference established—composed of men like Walter S. Rogers, its chairman, and Frank Bode of Springfield and George E. Cole of Chicago—petitions signed by more than 130,000 voters—about 12 per cent where 10 was requisite—were promptly filed for

a "public policy" or popular advisory vote on those Peoria Conference proposals; and meanwhile the State was canvassed in public speeches, as it will be until election day, by such men as Fletcher Dobyns and Raymond Robins.

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The first result of this splendid civic work is the adoption, by both the Democratic and the Republican parties, of all the Peoria proposals. By platform pledges each party commits itself to the immediate enactment of a State-wide civil service law and a corrupt practices law, and the immediate submission to the people of Illinois of a Constitutional amendment establishing the Initiative and Referendum. It is true that platform pledges are not always kept. But the Republican party has had a pretty severe nation-wide lesson on that score within the memory even of Presidents still living, and the Democratic party has been an interested observer. As promises for political parties "to get in on," platform pledges have lost caste; but they have correspondingly gained as pledges for them "to stand on," whether out or in. If the "public policy" vote for the Peoria proposals is heavy, those proposals are almost certain to be transmuted into law. Even if they were not supported by the "public policy" vote—which is inconceivable—we should like to know how advocates of "representative government" through "responsible political parties" could evade responsibility for their platform pledges in support of those proposals.

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Direct Legislation in Colorado.

The State of Guggenheim gives fair promise of resuming its place permanently in the galaxy of States, under the original name of Colorado and by the direct authority of her people. For in Colorado, as in Illinois, both the Democratic and the Republican parties have given their platform pledge in support of the Initiative and Referendum.

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With the Initiative and Referendum in full and satisfactory use in Oregon, and the State policies of South Dakota (the pioneer), Maine, Arkansas and other States, not to mention the incoming State of Arizona; with both the great parties behind it with their responsible pledges in Illinois and Colorado, and its probable approval in the one and adoption in the other in a few days by popular vote,—with these indications of a persistent and popular demand, it is not likely that the

anticipated "packing" of the Supreme Court against it by President Taft (p. 869) will be of any avail. Neither will the dodging of ex-President Roosevelt, nor the opposition of Woodrow Wilson and Gov. Harmon, nor all the influences of the Interests whose plundering schemes it is designed to baffle,—and in actual use is baffling, to the manifest consternation of the Interests and the people's increasing satisfaction.

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Judge Lindsey and the "Beast."

Denver is a city of contrasts, and none is more pronounced than that between Judge Lindsey, whom no one knows but to respect, and a publication called "Clay's Review," which is one of the typographical yowls of the "Beast" (p. 505) that Judge Lindsey is walloping. Recently, large quantities of "Clay's Review," as vocal with "Beast"-ly yowls as types could make it, were sent over the country with the manifest purpose of minimizing the beneficent influence of Judge Lindsey's work. To refute, over and over and again and again, the slanders the Interests pour out through their "tainted news" mains against this Denver judge whom they can neither bribe nor scare, gets to be wearisome. There are innocent persons, however, who want to know if Judge Lindsey "really is a good man," whenever the "Beast" looks at him and licks its chops—as if he wouldn't be in high favor with the "Beast" if he really were a bad man; so we suggest that any such persons compare the copy of "Clay's Review" the Interests have sent them with the September issue of the Denver "Civic Review," which they can get for themselves by sending to The Denver Christian Citizenship Union, at 430 17th St., Denver, Colorado.

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The Price of Playgrounds.

Bolton Hall, quoting a news note from La Follette's to the effect that "East Orange spent last year 35 cents per capita on playgrounds," and "if other places had done as well the sum would have amounted to \$20,000,000," adds the following information: "The census enumerators report that East Orange has increased its population over 50%—one-half in the last ten years. The rents and selling prices of land have much more than doubled."

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The Chicago Tribune's "Guessing Tournament."

As full of novelties as a department store, is the Chicago Tribune these days. Its latest is an editorial promise to eschew politics for 30 days in

its editorial columns except for "a very little 'sniping' now and then." And this promise it has kept since the 21st, filling its editorial page with good readable "stuff" having no disturbing politics in it. But why such a promise for thirty days? Has it anything to do with the present complexities and perplexities in politics, making it less risky to sit on the fence and think than to monkey with the teeter-board? Or is this waiting policy necessitated by journalistic readjustments indicated by the Tribune's purchase of the Evening Post in order to compete with Lawson's News, and the open secret of Lawson's retort with a new morning paper to be launched as a competitor in the Tribune's field?

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Secretary Ballinger's Resignation.

Is it his own merits that prevent the request for Secretary Ballinger's resignation, or Guggenheim's merits?

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Captious Critics.

The Irish members of Parliament now in this country—Redmond, Devlin and O'Connor—were confronted upon their arrival at New York with this publication in the newspapers, credited to the executive committee of the "Sinn Fein League of America."

The present English government came into power by reason of the support given it by Mr. Redmond's party, and could not hold office without the aid of that party. For the first time in many years the Irish party held the "balance of power" and could make or unmake an English government at will. The party could have forced the present government to pass a home rule bill if it were really in earnest.

Inasmuch as the passage of a home rule bill in the Commons would be waste paper until the veto is taken from the House of Lords, the Sinn Fein criticism is a pretty sickly performance. But every sensible movement has its Sinn Feiners.

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Two California Congressional Contests.

Walter Macarthur's candidacy for Congress from the San Francisco district, against Congressman Julius Kahn (Standpat), Mr. Macarthur having been nominated as a Democrat at the primaries, should culminate in his triumphant election. He should get the vote of every progressive Republican no less than of democratic Democrats. Every word we wrote of Mr. Macarthur in his primary (p. 650) campaign, we repeat with full emphasis and a broader appeal, now that he is squarely before the people of all parties in his district. His real opposition is the Southern Pacific Railway and the other plutocratic interests,

with all their big and little coadjutors and dependents. We then described Mr. Macarthur as a democratic Democrat whose fidelity to organized labor, which he carries to the point of candor in criticizing as well as vigor in fighting for workingmen, has won him their confidence and the respect of all other fair-minded men; and as one to whom those who have heard him give high commendation as a forceful speaker, while those who have read his writings or come in contact with organized workingmen who draw inspiration from them, must recognize his power and acknowledge his lofty purpose. In the same terms we now commend this man to the progressive Republican voters of his district. It is one of the Congressional districts of the United States in which the opportunity to progressive Republicans coincides with their civic duty at this juncture of electing a Democratic candidate who represents them, instead of a Republican candidate who has misrepresented them heretofore and would continue to do so if re-elected. Congressman Kahn (Standpat Republican) represents the plutocratic interests; Walter Macarthur (democratic Democrat) represents the public interests. We urge the election of Mr. Macarthur, not because he is the candidate of the Democratic party. That is nothing in itself. We urge it because he is to the Democratic party what the progressives are to the Republican party. Were he a progressive Republican opposed by a party Democrat we should urge his election just the same.

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Another Congressional district of California in which the civic duty of democratic Democrats and progressive Republicans "to get together" at the election coincides at this juncture with the opportunity, is the Sacramento district, where William Kent is the Republican candidate. In his primary campaign we urged our progressive Republican friends to support him (p. 434); and we have reason to believe that, although it could not have turned the scale, since Mr. Kent's majority was more than 4,000, yet that our support was not without favorable effect. We now urge our democratic friends among the Democrats of Mr. Kent's district to support him with their influence in the campaign and their votes at the election. The genuine democrats of the Democratic party want better representatives in the next Congress than mere party Democrats who will take their democracy from the party caucus. Other things being the same, progressive Republicans would represent them better in the next Congress than caucus-bound Democrats, though the latter were

democratic in their personal views. And if the progressive Republican be a man of genuine democratic purposes (such as Lincoln was), of experience in political and legislative affairs, and independent, honest, courageous, tenacious and resourceful—as everyone who knows William Kent or his record well, knows him to be—there can be no choice in his district at this crisis by democratic Democrats and progressive Republicans alike, except in his favor. Just as we would urge progressive Republicans to vote for Mr. Kent if he were a democratic Democrat, so we urge democratic Democrats to vote for him as a progressive Republican.

* * *

A LANDMARK IN THE HENRY GEORGE MOVEMENT.

Twenty-one years ago last June the first international conference of land reformers with a marked tendency to recognize the leadership of Henry George, was held in Paris. It was mentioned by Joseph Fels in a speech at a recent international single tax or land-values tax meeting at Antwerp. He characterized it as the first, and the Antwerp meeting as the second, "international conference on land value taxation in history."

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The circumstances of that historic Paris conference are recalled by a complaint to the effect that Mr. Fels was mistaken in referring to a *first* international "single tax conference" at Paris, and that in assuming the so-called *second* at Antwerp to be a "representative international single tax conference" he was unfair and "autocratic." The same complaint denounced The Public and Byron W. Holt as parties to Mr. Fels's offense, and Arthur W. Hoopes by implication, its allusion being to a recent editorial letter in The Public (p. 870) over the signatures of Mr. Hoopes and Mr. Holt, which embraced a brief report of Mr. Fels's obnoxious speech and which we had editorially entitled "Second International Single Tax Conference."

Such culpability as there may be in this matter attaches neither to Mr. Hoopes nor to Mr. Holt. They are not responsible for the title we gave their interesting and solicited letter, and as to the letter itself it is in harmony throughout with the opening paragraph, that those—

delegates to the Antwerp International Free Trade Congress who favor the taxation of land values, held a meeting at the Grand Hotel, Antwerp, on Thursday afternoon, August 11th, for the purpose of consider-

ing the attitude of land-value taxationists to the general purpose of the Congress, and the steps that might be properly taken to impress upon the Congress the vital importance of land-value taxation to the life of the free trade movement.

Mr. Holt and Mr. Hoopes did not say, nor did they "assume," that the Antwerp meeting was a *representative* conference. Neither did Mr. Fels in his speech. The title we shaped for the Hoopes-Holt letter was indeed suggested to us by that part of Mr. Fels's speech in which he said that the Antwerp meeting "was the second international conference on land value taxation in history, the first having been held in Paris in 1889." We used the term "single tax" instead of his term because it is more familiar in the United States and indicates the same kind of thing. But we see nothing in that title, nor in the Hoopes-Holt letter, nor in Mr. Fels's speech, nor in all together, to account for complaints (from any other persons than extremely captious fault finders) that The Public, or Mr. Fels, or Mr. Hoopes, or Mr. Holt, assumed or in any way stated or implied that either the Antwerp conference or the Paris conference was representative.

And except for the assertion that we did "assume" one or the other or both of those conferences to be *representative*, the complaint in question is too frivolous for further notice—as a complaint. To take it for granted that persons whom such a complaint may possibly reach, would think it "autocratic" or misleading or unfair on the part of anybody to refer in any American paper of the present time to the meeting of land reformers at Antwerp in 1910, or the one at Paris in 1889, as an "international single tax conference," would imply a greater doubt of their common sense than The Public is willing to entertain without proof.

But while the complaint here referred to is unworthy of further notice as such, it suggests the probable desirability of telling the story of the Paris meeting to which Mr. Fels alluded in his speech at Antwerp.

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The conference of land reformers at Paris in 1889 was not a "single tax" gathering in the narrow sense of "single taxers limited," as Thomas G. Shearman used to call those of his own type, but rather of "single taxers unlimited," as he distinguished those of Henry George's type. Probably the latter term, too, would have been too narrow; for the conference included not only single taxers, but land nationalizers, and land reformers of still other varieties. Yet Henry George,

who was honorary president, called it a "conference," and regarded it as an international gathering distinctly tending toward what has since come to be much better known than it was then, as "the single tax."

For it must be remembered that Henry George's message has borne many names since he delivered it in 1879—among them being "land nationalization," "land townshipization" (a term George used himself), "free soil," "anti-poverty," "land and labor," "Georgism," "the single tax," and "land values taxation." The term "single tax" came into general use through the organizing work conducted by William T. Croasdale, which began in 1888.

Not long before the Paris meeting, Henry George wrote of it in his letter of May 18, 1889, from Birmingham, England, to the *Standard* (June 1), of which he was then proprietor and editor. His son, Henry George, Jr., was in charge as managing editor during his father's absence. It was in mentioning Michael Flürscheim, its organizer, that Mr. George thus alluded in that letter to the Paris conference: "I suppose our friends who are coming to Europe this year are already informed that the conference is to be held in Paris on the 11th of June. I hope to meet some of them there."

In the following issue of the *Standard* (June 8, 1889), there was a lengthy prospectus of the proposed Paris meeting, written by Mr. Flürscheim, who sketched the different schools of land reform to be represented, including "the single tax army" headed by Henry George, "the great banner bearer" and leader of the land reform movement. The other schools he named and described were the Quesneyites of France ("pretty near" to the single tax, as he wrote), the German land reformers, and the Colinsian land nationalizers of Belgium.

In this issue of the *Standard* there was also an editorial notice that there would be a meeting on arrangements at the Continental Hotel, Paris, in the evening of June 10, and that "the conference" would "commence on the 11th." Announcing Mr. George's intended departure from London for Paris, the *London Star* of June 6 said that his object was "to attend a conference of land nationalizers;" and in the *Standard* of June 29, which reproduced this quotation from the *Star*, the editorial headlines of a Paris report of the meeting, by W. E. Hicks, called it a "world's conference of free soilers."

Those editorial headlines in full were as follows:

The Paris Conference; Report of the World's Conference of Free Soilers; Names of Delegates; Resume of the Speeches; Reports from Different Nations; The Peasant Proprietary Humbug; Resolutions Adopted; The Banquet.

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The body of Mr. Hicks's report described the evening meeting of June 10, 1889, at which Henry George was selected for honorary president, and Charles Longuet (a City Councillor of Paris) as permanent president.

The vice presidents were Messrs. Saunders of England, Flürscheim of Germany, Stoffel of Holland, Clarke of Scotland, De Potter of Belgium, Cyprani of Italy, Wallace of Ireland, Lindenberg of Denmark, and Simon of China.

The general secretary was Albert Toubeau of Paris, and the national secretaries were Verinder of England, Hicks of America, Carvalho of Portugal, Brouez of Belgium, and Delaporte of France.

Responding to the tribute of the permanent president in introducing him, Mr. George predicted an exceptionally great effect of this "congress on the land question"—greater, that is, than the effect of any of the other Paris congresses of that year in their respective fields.

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When the congress opened formally the next day, reports were made from different countries.

By Mr. Stoffel, land monopolists were reported to be the curse of Holland. William Saunders reported to the same effect for England, denouncing landlordism as "a breach of trust." From Belgium, Agathon de Potter, of the Colinsian cult, reported increasing "enslavement of laborers" under the Belgian peasant proprietary system. Michael Flürscheim reported for Germany, laying stress upon the question of interest. Bruce Wallace and Shaw Maxwell made impromptu reports for Ireland and Scotland respectively. Henry George's report for the United States traced land monopoly here from the settlers' days, and explained its influence in causing poverty.

The notion that "there are millions and millions of small peasant proprietors in France" was "utterly demolished" by Mr. Toubeau in a paper full of statistics endorsed by the finance minister. He showed that "nearly 75 per cent of the land proprietors possess only 10 per cent of the surface, while 12 per cent of the proprietors possess 77 per cent of the land," and "more generally 87 per cent of the proprietors possess only

23 per cent of the soil." Mr. Hicks quotes him literally as saying that "there is more land now in the hands of big proprietors than before the Revolution, and very few Frenchmen know this."

At the close of the session "the vice presidents and secretaries were constituted a permanent committee on time and place, and Henry George was chosen president."

Before adjourning, the conference adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, land is not the product of labor but is the raw material or source from which all that is necessary for existence is drawn.

Whereas, labor is the only rational basis of property.

Whereas, the private ownership of land results in the enslavement or exploitation of labor.

Whereas, finally, this social condition begets dangers which, if neglected, will end in making all order impossible.

Therefore, this assembly declares that all private ownership of land should cease and give place to collective ownership for the common weal.

At the banquet, the following toasts were responded to: "Our Foreign Guests," by Charles Longuet, president of the conference, and a member of the Paris City Council. "The London City Council," by Mr. Furth. "Henry George," by Mr. Millerand, member of the Chamber of Deputies for the Seine—"a fine specimen of French eloquence, clear, musical and passionate," writes Mr. Hicks; followed by a response in which "Mr. George was equally warm, and his compliments to the French for their assistance to America in the past were eminently agreeable to the French representatives."

Continuing his Standard report of the banquet, Mr. Hicks wrote that—

M. Daumas, municipal Councillor, toasted Mr. Flürscheim, who, in his response, called on William Saunders of London. Mr. Torr of the London City Council, at the request of Mr. George, gave a brief review of the tax revision now going on in London. The final toasts were by M. Desmoulins on the "Knights of Labor" and M. Delaporte on the "Social Revolution."

The four column report by Mr. Hicks, in Henry George's "Standard"—much appreciated and doubtless well remembered by the American single taxers of that day,—from which our extracts and quotations are made, also mentions among the Americans at the conference, besides himself, John J. Hopper, representative of the Harlem (N. Y.) single tax club, and among those

at the banquet Mary P. Cranford. He closed his report with this paragraph:

After the banquet the delegates were introduced to the members of the Paris City Council present, and about midnight the last single tax man had passed out into the Rue de Rivoli to find his lodgings, near or far, and dream about the first International Congress of the Single Taxites.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OREGON TAX AMENDMENTS.

Portland, Ore., Sept. 22.

History has no record of any horse-using people that "distributed" a 200-pound burden on a horse by putting 20 pounds on the horse's back, attaching 40 pounds to each leg, and hanging 20 pounds to the nose. How much wiser we are in the matter of taxation, for that's the way we "distribute and equalize" our tax burden. We put a few pounds on the horse's back, not as a burden, but to help the nose and legs carry their troubles; and in cases of emergency, we hang upon the nose an extra burden as a license to breathe, and tie an "occupation" burden to each leg. The Mad Hatter in "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" could think of nothing more absurd than that, so he said nothing about taxation; civilized man had beat him to the North Pole of absurdity.

Oregon voters have three tax amendments to the Constitution to vote on this year. At the request of the legislative committee of the State Grange, the legislature of 1909 submitted these two amendments:

No tax or duty shall be imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives in the Legislative Assembly. Taxes shall be levied and collected for public purposes only, and the power of taxation shall never be surrendered, suspended, or contracted away.

The Legislative Assembly shall, and the people through the Initiative may, provide by law a uniform rule of taxation, except on property specifically taxed. Taxes shall be levied on such property as shall be prescribed by law. The Legislature, or the people through the Initiative, may provide for the levy and collection of taxes for State purposes, and for county, and for other municipal purposes, upon different classes of property, and may provide for ascertainment, determination, and application of an average rate of levy and taxation upon property taxed for State purposes.

As is evident, those amendments do not go to the heart of the tax question, and therefore the following amendment was proposed through Initiative petition by the State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

No poll or head tax shall be levied or collected in Oregon; no bill regulating taxation or exemption throughout the State shall become a law until approved by the people of the State at a regular general election; none of the restrictions of the Constitution shall apply to measures approved by the people declaring what shall be subject to taxation or exemption and how it shall be taxed or exempted whether proposed by the Legislative Assembly or by Initiative petition; but the people of the several counties are hereby empowered and authorized to regulate taxation and exemptions within their several counties,

subject to any general law which may be hereafter enacted.

The first two amendments give the people no specific power to take the burdens from the horse's nose and legs and put them where they will be carried with least exertion and least interference with freedom of movement; but the third amendment gives that specific power to the voters of each county, without automatically making a change in the existing tax laws.

No change is made except by the action of the voters of a county, and county voters are not restricted to any particular change or plan of taxation, but are free to make experiments; and having adopted one plan, they will be free to abandon that plan and try another at the next general election. In other words, the adoption of these amendments will enlarge the "People's Power" by giving them Constitutional authority to change the laws regulating taxation and exemptions.

At present they have no such direct power except by initiating an amendment to the Constitution; and while enlarging the People's Power in that respect, they restrict the power of the Legislature to make changes in the tax and exemption laws.

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The "People's Power and Public Taxation" pamphlet of Oregon* advocates precisely that increase of People's Power by advocating the adoption of these amendments.

This is worth mentioning, because some of the friends of the land value tax system have thus far failed to see the connection between People's Power and a just system of taxation, and the relation between direct legislation and the adoption of the land value system of taxation.

This is doubtless due to the fact that they have had no experience with legislatures and legislative committees.

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Embezzlement of a red hot stove is an easy job compared with persuading a legislature to submit a tax amendment that the corporations don't want submitted. And where a State constitution lays down hard and fast regulations in regard to taxation and exemptions, the voters are powerless unless the legislature consents to submit the proposition to be voted upon. If a legislature adjourns without submitting an amendment demanded by the voters, all they can do is to wait two years and make the demand upon the next legislature.

Even in Oregon, where the people have the Initiative and Referendum, the best Direct Primary law and the power of Recall, the legislature has not yet learned to trust the people; and instead of submitting needed Constitutional amendments, it busies itself in large part with unimportant matters so as to arrive at the end of the session without offending the corporations. The Oregon legislature did submit the two tax amendments offered by the State Grange, but those amendments do not give the people power to regulate taxation and exemptions; those amendments, without the one initiated by the State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Council of Port-

land and Vicinity, merely place restrictions upon the legislature. They give no positive power to the people.

It is the third amendment that threatens Special Privilege, and that is the one to which the corporation lawyers and agents of Oregon are opposed. It gives the people power to change their system of taxation without asking the consent of the legislature. That power means People's Power to untax industry, to put upon Privilege the burden it should bear.

What, then, is land value taxation except a phase of People's Power? What is the mass of taxation upon industry except a monument to the taxing power of Special Privilege? And why seek to make a distinction between People's Power and just taxation when the former really includes the latter?

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Benevolent despotism, in the shape of an individual or a mob, might graciously confer land value taxation upon us; but what would the gift be worth when the benevolent despot might withdraw the grant or appoint a successor who would take it away through the medium of a packed court?

In short, the People's Power movement—of which the Initiative and Referendum is an expression and the chief instrument—is the march of Man to democracy and away from delegated government. Men who obstruct the movement to People's Power obstruct the road to democracy; and what is land value taxation but democracy's method or tool for raising revenue and at the same time opening opportunity?

It is merely a democratic tool. If it be the end of human endeavor, the Ultima Thule of democracy, then Henry George did a great deal of unnecessary dreaming.

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After opportunity is opened, we shall need People's Power to keep it open; we shall need that power to enable us and our children's children to continue, unhindered, their upward march toward the full development; we shall need it to "burbank" the selfishness out of our acts, for it is by People's Power for the common good that we shall finally grow away from delegated power for private gain.

Ten thousand atoms of conflicting self-interests will fuse into the common good where the people have legislative power, while with the people ruled by delegated power ten atoms of self-interest will be welded for private profit.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE CANADIAN RUSH.

Winnipeg, Sept. 20.

A pertinent commentary on the much vaunted rush of capital into Western Canada, which is to give an impetus to the "development of the country," is furnished by the conjunction of three news items in the Manitoba Free Press of the 17th inst. Here are extracts from them:

(1) During the past four days, five pieces of central (Winnipeg) property were sold for amounts aggregating half a million dollars, and it is known that several deals of equal importance are pending which will make a total well up to the million mark.

*See current volume of The Public, pages 746, 761, 843.

(2) Sir Henry Lennard of Kent, England, who has been in Winnipeg for a few days, recently purchased a block of down-town business property for investment. He is accompanied by C. A. M. Cator. They made other land investments farther west, and Sir Henry stated that he had been driven to place his money in western Canada by the policy of Lloyd George. Sir Henry is the owner of 4,500 acres in Kent.

(3) Lord Clinton arrived in the city yesterday. Rated as amongst the wealthiest of the English nobility, Lord Clinton is a heavy investor in many parts of the world. He admitted that he had already made extensive investments at several points in Western Canada. "In my belief what Canada needs is men more than money," said his Lordship. "Frankly I think you are inclined to over-estimate the value to your country of the investments of men like myself, most of whom buy only to hold what they buy for speculative increase. Of course, I suppose it means so much more capital in the country which immediately goes into active channels, but I think there is much to be said on both sides of the question, and I am not at all sure as yet that you really benefit as much as you think."

This latter is a fairly frank admission for a British landowner, and is at any rate better than the whine of Sir Henry Lennard. Lord Clinton goes on to tell the interviewer that he is interested in colonization schemes now being planned in England, and says that "naturally, the class of men that you will get through these schemes will be high. They will be placed on the land by men who are looking for returns from their investments and who will see to it that only men from whom returns are reasonably assured are sent out."

Naturally, Lord Clinton, naturally.

However, Western Canada may not remain so tranquilly acquiescent under these wonderful "developments," as some of the promoters seem to bank on. For one thing, there is an "insurgent" movement against the high tariff; and the advantage of land value taxation as a substitute is getting a remarkable amount of attention from the farmers and others who are agitating for lower duties. It is of interest to note, too, that the recent Trades and Labor Congress at Fort William, Ont., passed a resolution endorsing the Single Tax.

SEYMOUR J. FARMER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE FINANCIAL DANGER POINT.*

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 26.

Fortunate would it be for the other banks of the country if they were to open their eyes to the unwisdom of sending money to the New York banks to be used in the promotion of bond and stock schemes and for financial gambling on Wall street. It is true that there is a difficulty in their getting away from the control of the national banks of that city. This grows largely out of the fact that so many of the "country banks," as the outside banks are called, are under the management of men who know very little about the particular effect of some provisions of the national bank law, about the financial conditions of the country, or about the essential

principles of financial economics. Such men are blindly allowing the banks under their control to be made victims of conditions that have resulted from provisions contained in the original bank law, because they are able by so doing to secure a small interest rate on what would not otherwise be an interest-bearing resource and ought not to be expected to be.

But as long as the banks outside of New York continue, under any pretext of law or business, to send so large a part of their resources of available cash to that city, any effort on the part of the West to acquire "financial freedom" must fail. The banks of Chicago could if they would start a movement for financial freedom from the control of Wall street; but instead of having done so, the thirteen central reserve banks of Chicago on June 30th last presented in the aggregate a worse condition than the thirty-nine banks in New York. The New York banks had in the aggregate a small cash surplus—less than \$275,000—but the Chicago banks had overloaned or sent their money to New York until they were short in the aggregate of their cash reserves over \$4,000,000.

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The control of the New York banks over the affairs of the country has in large degree been secured through the vicious provisions of the national bank law which permits the "country" banks to deposit three-fifths of their so-called "legal reserves" with banks of the "reserve cities," and the "reserve city" banks to deposit one-half of their "legal reserves" with banks of the "central reserve cities." The New York banks encourage such deposits by the payment of interest on them, and then laugh at the depositors for their foolishness.

No man engaged in the business of banking ought to be ignorant of the fact that in no true banking sense is it possible, by law or in any other way, for a deposit in one bank to be any part of a reserve in another bank. Though the law does permit such deposits, and does call them part of the "legal reserves," they are of no more avail to the creditor bank than any other demand obligation from the "reserve banks."

Such provisions of the national bank law were secured by the New York Association of Banks in the original enactment of the law creating national banks. The purpose was to keep the "country banks" from loaning 9 per cent, and the reserve banks from loaning 12½ per cent, of their deposits to their home customers, but at the same time permitting them to loan it, by deposit, to the New York banks. The New York banks rely upon the cupidity of outside bankers for the success of this selfish and dangerous scheme.

It results in permitting the "country banks" to reduce their reserves to 6 per cent, and the "reserve city" banks to reduce theirs to 12½ per cent, of actual cash. The real and available reserve is called a "cash reserve," and the fictitious reserve is called a "legal reserve."

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Banking experience has taught the world that a

*See a related article by the same writer in The Public of August 26, 1910, at page 798.

reserve so low is dangerous, not only to the banks but to the business public. It is nonsense to suppose that a deposit in any New York bank can be any part of a deposit in any bank outside of New York.

The adding of such deposits to the cash on hand in a bank and calling the sum "legal reserve," is the method by which the public has been constantly misled as to the condition of the national banks. If when you pick up one of the statements issued by a bank to its customers you find as one item in its resources "cash and with banks," you may be sure that such bank prefers that its depositors shall not know how little actual cash it has on hand. No banker who sends to New York any part of his reserves or other resources, except such deposits as may be necessary for exchange, has any right to complain about the control of Wall street.

The fact is sometimes mentioned that in 1907 the western banks took refuge in clearing-house checks, but the reason for it is seldom given. They were forced to do so because the New York banks held at the same time about \$200,000,000 of the so-called reserves of other banks, which they could not return when it was needed at home.

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Let there be no misunderstanding about the matter. The provisions of the bank law, together with the cupidity of a large number—fortunately not all—of the bankers outside of New York, has kept a current of money flowing there. This money, as soon as received, has been loaned until the aggregate cash surplus is almost nothing; a state of things that makes the banks of New York city the weakest and most exposed part of our national bank system. It is the point of greatest financial danger, and outside bankers will be wise if they avoid it.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

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THE SINGLE TAX WITHOUT WAITING.

Toronto, Ont.

A novel suggestion comes from New Liskeard as to how the present foolish system of penalizing improvements by taxing them may be avoided. The Ontario Assessment Act makes it compulsory to assess land and improvements. Though this is not only unjust, but very bad policy for any municipality wanting new buildings, new industries or improvements to old ones, no law-abiding community has found means of escape up to the present time.

The proposal is "to bonus" the owners of improvements to the extent of the tax upon them, and raise the money by increasing the rate.

This would have the same effect as taxing land values only. For example, in a municipality having an assessment on land of \$100,000 and on improvements of \$200,000, and with a rate of, say 10 mills on the dollar, it would be necessary to raise the rate to 30 mills. This would provide an income of \$30,000; but the tax on improvements, \$60,000, would come out of the revenue, leaving the \$30,000 derived from the land as the net income of the municipality. This would be the same as a tax of 10 mills on the whole \$300,000.

Or, the principle may be adopted in a modified form. If it is deemed wise, for instance, to exempt improvements only one-half of their value, then a bonus of one-half the tax is all that would be required.

Many other conditions may be attached to the bonus in order to make it the more easy to adopt. Thus, the bonus may be limited to the improvements made after the passing of the by-law; or may be made to apply only to buildings used as dwellings, if there is a feeling that rents are so high that special encouragement for the building of dwellings is necessary.

Of course any modification as above suggested will weaken the effectiveness of the plan, but it is often advisable to accept a partial measure when it can be got at once, rather than wait indefinitely for the whole. The acceptance of a partial measure need not silence the advocates of perfection, and its success will enable them to procure its extension.

This proposal would have enabled the city of Toronto to have given every houseowner in Toronto a bonus equal to the taxes on \$700, when the \$700 exemption was voted on by the people,* and the same results would have followed as though it was an actual exemption.

In Provinces and States where such a bonus is legal, we have here a most effective way of introducing the single tax without any change in Provincial or State laws, and we commend it to single taxers generally.

ALAN C. THOMPSON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before, continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, September 27, 1910.

The Political "Line-up" in Illinois.

At the Illinois (p. 897) convention of the Democratic party at East St. Louis on the 23rd, Congressman Henry T. Rainey, a progressive Democrat, was chairman; and although the convention is reported to have been dominated by Roger Sullivan, it adopted a platform declaring for "the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people;" demanding prosecution of and further legislation against unlawful trusts; deploring the election of Senator Lorimer; favoring a merit system of civil service; opposing "the cumulative system of voting for members of the legislature," because "plumping makes for evil rather than good, for the crooks know their own and they hang together;" favoring "the abolition of the use of money in campaigns except

*See The Public, vol. x, page 80; vol. xii, page 470.

for the legitimate purposes of the same," and to this end the passage of a corrupt practices act; referring to the liquor question in a clause favoring "the largest measure of personal liberty to the individual which does not infringe upon the personal rights and liberties of others and which is not inconsistent with good government and good order," and "that freedom of individual action which is not license," and "that liberty of action which is tempered by law;" favoring transportation rates based upon the actual value of the property of carriers; favoring "a strong employers' liability act and an amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act excluding labor unions from its operation;" favoring a tariff for revenue only; opposing convict labor in competition with free labor; and declaring for taxation upon the principle of "the ability of the individual to pay." Regarding peace and war the platform declares that "this nation cannot be made truly great and influential by means of a great standing army and a big navy;" that "for a big nation to play the bully with a weak nation is not greatness" and that "this nation can be made truly great only by being just and considerate to its national neighbors throughout the world." On the question of conservation the platform reads:

We are in favor of the conservation of the nation's natural resources. We are opposed to the gobbling up of the mines, the forests, the oil fields, and the water power sites of the country by the greedy representatives of Big Business. The bounties of the earth belong to the people thereof.

The platform declaration on the Initiative and Referendum is as follows:

As the first step toward the restoration of representative government in Illinois, we favor the submission and addition of an Amendment to our State Constitution providing for direct legislation by means of the Initiative and Referendum.

John J. McGlynn, A. L. White and George S. Page were nominated for trustees of the State university. Among the defeated candidates were Anna E. Nicholes, who got 325 votes, and Fannie B. Thacker, whose vote was 191. The number necessary to nominate being 571.

The Republican convention for Illinois, held at Springfield on the 23rd, is reported to have been dominated by Gov. Deneen, who was its chairman. In its platform, the convention endorses President Taft's and Gov. Deneen's administrations; approves President Taft's steps to advance the cause of "conservation of national resources;" declares for revision of the tariff schedule by schedule, and the establishment of a permanent tariff commission; congratulates the present Congress on its "unparalleled accomplishments;" favors an anti-pass law; favors revision of the revenue laws "so

that the burdens of taxation may be more equitably distributed;" favors fair laws governing the relations of employers and employes; urges a constitutional amendment abolishing minority representation; asks further power for regulation of public service rates; calls for early legislation to transfer water power sites to the State; and advocates amendment of the commission form of municipal government law so as to reduce the number of signatures necessary for a Recall petition to the number required in other States; advocates a Statewide civil service law, an effective corrupt practices act, and the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. The Initiative and Referendum clause reported by the committee on resolutions, was opposed on the floor of the convention on the ground that only one Constitutional amendment at a time can be constitutionally submitted to popular vote, and that this would interfere with the amendment for abolishing minority representation. It was defended by Harold Ickes, one of the originators of and most active spirits at the Peoria Conference (pp. 802, 902) and in popularizing its proposals, and was adopted without alteration. It is as follows:

We favor an amendment to the Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum.

Following are the Republican nominees for trustees of the State university: Mary E. Busey, for re-election; W. H. Abbott, for re-election; and Otis W. Hoit.

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Roosevelt's Return to Politics.

The long looked for Republican convention of New York (p. 896) met at Saratoga on the 27th. Its crucial event in anticipation was the contest for temporary chairman between Vice President Sherman, the regular nominee of the State committee (a nomination that is seldom contested on the floor of an American political convention), and ex-President Roosevelt, who was defeated for the nomination in the State committee (p. 852) by a vote of 20 to 15. In carrying the question to the convention, Mr. Roosevelt and his supporters assert that the contest was not personal but was made for the advantage of tactical position in the struggle between the "old guard," or "regulars," or "standpatters" of the Republican party, and the "progressives." Nationally it was generally regarded as a contest between ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft.

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The tactical advantage of the temporary chairmanship is due to the fact that the speech of the temporary chairman, who is usually appointed in advance by a committee holding over from the previous convention, instead of the speech of the permanent chairman, who is theoretically elected from the body of the convention over which he

then presides, has by custom come to be regarded as the "keynote" speech of the party for the forthcoming campaign. So it is to gain the advantage of telling the party what it stands for in this campaign, that the Standpat Republicans have fought for Mr. Sherman as temporary chairman, and the Insurgents for Mr. Roosevelt.

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Mr. Roosevelt was in the convention as a delegate, the first time he has been a delegate since 1900, when he was nominated for Vice President. Of the 1,015 delegates news dispatches credited Roosevelt in advance with 500—8 less than the necessary majority. The convention was called to order by Timothy Woodruff, chairman of the State committee, who stated that the committee had named Vice-President Sherman for temporary chairman, and that at Mr. Sherman's request it had passed judgment on charges that in selecting him it had been influenced by deceit regarding President Taft's desires in the matter, its judgment being (by a vote of 22 to 15) that there was no deceit. Mr. Woodruff thereupon nominated Vice-President Sherman for temporary chairman of the convention. In his speech he supported Mr. Sherman as the representative of the administration. Mr. Roosevelt was nominated in opposition, by Joseph Hicks, of his own county. In the debate that followed, Abraham Gruber, of New York city, made a bitter speech against Roosevelt. One of his thrusts was the exclamation that "the lungs of the nation are not its brains." He was unable to proceed at one time for the hissing and hooting, but Mr. Roosevelt interfered with the request that Mr. Gruber be heard. Upon roll call Roosevelt was elected by 567 to 445.

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Mr. Roosevelt's address as temporary chairman was not extraordinary as a keynote address. In his general statements, the most significant of a progressive tendency were these:

I believe in the party to which we belong because I believe in the principles for which the Republican party stood in the days of Abraham Lincoln, and furthermore, and especially, because I believe in treating these principles not as dead but as living. . . . We can deserve the confidence of the people by proving in deed as well as in word that we face the problem of dealing with political and business corruption and of working for social and economic justice and for the betterment of the conditions of life and the uplifting of our people with the same fervor and sincerity that Lincoln and his followers brought to the great tasks allotted to them in their day.

Mr. Roosevelt's more specific declarations were these:

We must strive to do away with the social and economic injustices that have come from failing to meet by proper legislation the changed conditions

brought about by the gigantic growth of our gigantic industrialism.

It is absolutely essential that the people should exercise self-control and self-mastery, and he is a foe to popular government who in any way causes them to lose such self-control and self-mastery, whether from without or within. But it must be literally self-control and not control by outsiders. We should introduce at once in this State the system of direct nominations in the primaries, so that the people shall be able themselves to decide who the candidates shall be instead of being limited merely to choosing between candidates with whose nomination they have had nothing to do.

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The Initiative and Referendum in Colorado.

Both the Republican and the Democratic parties in Colorado (p. 898) are now committed to the Initiative and Referendum. The Democratic party has submitted to the people a constitutional amendment for that reform. It was adopted at a special session of the Colorado legislature called partly for that purpose by Gov. Shafroth (p. 853), and Gov. Shafroth has been renominated by the Democratic convention (p. 898), which endorses the proposed amendment. At the Republican convention on the 21st, the Standpat delegates tried to pass a resolution condemning the Initiative and Referendum, but the Progressives not only defeated them but carried a platform plank approving it. Isaac N. Stephens was nominated as Republican candidate for Governor over Merle Vincent, by 931 to 36.

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The Oregon Primaries.

At the Oregon primaries on the 24th, the Republicans were divided over the question of tolerating an "assembly" ticket. The "assembly" device, lucidly described in these columns a few weeks ago (p. 750) by C. E. S. Wood of Portland, is designed as a "bosses" substitute under the direct primary law for the party conventions which that law abolished. The Republican "assembly's" "recommendee" for governor was Jay Bowerman. Against him were three other Republican candidates—Albert Abraham, distinguished as the "Roosevelt-Hughes" candidate, and Grant B. Dimick and B. Hofer.

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Early dispatches reported Bowerman as having probably defeated Abraham for the Republican gubernatorial nomination; and Congressman Ellis ("Assembly recommendee") of the second district as having probably been defeated by A. W. Lafferty ("Anti-Assembly"). Incomplete returns reported since tend to confirm the early dispatches.

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The Single Tax Movement in Missouri.

The Missouri Federation of Labor at Jefferson City was addressed on the 19th by Gov. Hadley,

Attorney General Majors and Dr. Wm. P. Hill. Dr. Hill—for whose address Gov. Hadley and Mr. Majors remained, after speaking themselves, and who had in his audience, in addition to those and other State officials including four judges of the Supreme Court, as well as the Federation delegates—spoke upon property rights, explaining and advocating the earning principle of ownership.* At the conclusion of his address, the Federation passed a resolution adopting the straight out single tax for their legislative program.

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The right of Initiative, incorporated into the Missouri Constitution in 1908 (vol. xi, p. 829), enables advocates of the single tax in Missouri to submit its adoption to popular vote upon an 8 per cent petition of the voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts of the State.

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Politics in Other States.

Interest in the Minnesota (p. 898) primaries of the 20th centered upon the candidacy of Congressman James A. Tawney, of the First district, whose re-election President Taft bespoke a year ago (vol. xii, pp. 919, 938), this being the President's first step the public recognized as indicating his alliance with the Standpatters. Mr. Tawney was defeated by Sidney Anderson, a young lawyer of 30, a progressive Republican, by a majority reported as ranging from 2,500 to 3,000. The Democratic nominee is H. L. Buck (p. 290), a progressive Democrat. In the 8th district, the Republican nominee is Congressman C. B. Miller (Standpat), the Democratic nominee being Alfred Jaques, progressive Democrat.

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The New Jersey Republicans, on the 20th, nominated Vivian M. Lewis for Governor, to contest the election with Woodrow Wilson (p. 898), Mr. Lewis receiving 700 votes to 300 for all others. George L. Record, leader of the progressives, made a fight in the committee, and afterward before the convention, for the insertion of planks specifically declaring for the extension of direct primaries, advocating the Massachusetts form of ballot, the free distribution of ballots and the appointment of election officers by the courts, but he was defeated. The platform indorses the administration of President Taft, declares the last Congress passed more beneficent laws than any other Congress and indorses the administration of Governor Fort. It declares for a more effective employers' liability law and for such change in the election and primary laws as will make the voters' choice "easy of expression and sure of execution."

*An article of Dr. Hill's on the same subject appears in our department of Related Things at page 930.

The British Battle for the Land.

Cable dispatches inspired evidently by the great clouds of complaints from land monopolists and favored dependents of their system that have been appearing in the form of "letters to the editor," in some of the Tory papers of Great Britain (p. 900), have furnished editorial material for American newspapers, a fair example being this extract from an editorial in the Daily Picayune of New Orleans, the issue of September 16; and based, as we have since learned, upon an editorial in the New York Tribune of the 12th:

It will be remembered that one of the most strenuously contested features of the Lloyd-George Budget was the land tax. The Conservatives opposed it because it added greatly to the burdens of the land holding classes and introduced a revolutionary idea into British systems of taxation, while the Liberals, and particularly the radicals, favored it because it held out the prospect of making the rich bear a greater share of the burdens of government. It was also argued that if the tax on land induced the great land owners to sell their property the number of small land owners and peasant proprietors would greatly increase. The opposition to the land tax was the feature of the Budget the most violently assailed, and it was more largely responsible for the contest against the House of Lords than any other part of the Lloyd-George programme. There now seems to be good reason to believe that the land tax has largely failed of its purpose. Instead of the large estates breaking up they are constantly growing larger, as the smaller land owners, finding the tax burdensome, are selling out to the larger ones, who are better able to pay the government's demands. While the large land owners ostensibly pay the tax, it is actually being paid by the tenants, as rents have been raised in proportion to the increased taxation.

One fact, however, is worth all the complaints that all the landed interests of Great Britain can make to Tory papers in "letters to the editor," and cable dispatches of the 24th seem to furnish that fact. We quote a London dispatch from the Chicago Daily News of the 24th:

On the eve of his departure for Canada, Walter Hume Long, M. P., has written a letter to the tenants of his Wiltshire estates which marks the dawn of a new era in Great Britain. Mr. Long, who owns more than 15,000 acres, has given instructions that the greater part of this ancestral property be sold at auction next May. In explanation of his action he says that a change is coming in Great Britain and that the large land owners who are without other sources of income "must carefully consider their position." He is convinced that where large land owners depend upon their land exclusively for their income new conditions now at hand will force them to sell out to small holders.

This is precisely what the Liberal reformers long have striven to accomplish. They hold that feudalism has prevailed much too long in this crowded country and that the old semipaternal squire, however mild and generous a despot, is still a despot.

and has become an intolerable anachronism. "Convert the pleasure grounds of the few into the treasure grounds of the many," urged the late Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. This policy has been consistently and vigorously pursued by the veteran Scotsman's successors in the Liberal government.

Mr. Long is only one among a number of big land owners who are selling out as far as possible to their own tenants and not to outside purchasers. The change is attended with many affecting "human-interest" incidents. The landlords, many of them kind-hearted and honorable men, sever their connections with their old tenants with grief, while the tenants themselves, long used to the paternal interest and assistance of the overlord, face the outlook anxiously and disconsolately.

All the younger spirits of the country realize, however, that feudalism must go, and hope that incalculable good will spring from the peopling and working of the large and idle estates.

Not only does this news dispatch refute such statements as those we quote from the New Orleans Picayune, as taken from the New York Tribune, but it has also peculiar interest in connection with a prophecy made by Gilbert K. Chesterton in a poem written last December, and republished in *The Public* of January 14, from the London Nation. We reprint this poem in our Related Things department this week.

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German Socialist Politics.

Press dispatches of the 22nd from Berlin reported a rupture at the Socialist party national convention at Magdeburg. As explained by these dispatches a resolution was adopted condemning the Socialist members of the Baden legislature for voting for the State budget and denouncing this form of cooperation with existing governmental institutions as a breach of party discipline. The resolutions are reported to have closed with a declaration that a repetition of the offense would be punished with expulsion from the party. Thereupon, according to the dispatches, delegates representing the opportunist or "revisionist" wing of the party, left the convention hall. "Revisionists" are Bernstein sympathizers (p. 139). Both Conservative and Liberal leaders were reported as "jubilant," and later news dispatches have described political interest in Germany as concentrated upon this event. "The situation," according to a Chicago Tribune dispatch of the 24th from Berlin, "resembles the rift in the Republican party of the United States, the American regulars being represented by the uncompromising radicals of Prussia, and the insurgents by revisionists of Baden, Bavaria and Wurtemberg. From this dispatch it appears that the storm raged over the question of expulsion, and that—

Bebel, the septuagenarian leader of the party, did his best to avert a breach. Others, however, seized the helm when he was temporarily absent from the

amphitheater Wednesday night [the 21st], and within an hour they had undone the work of conciliation which Bebel had begun the day before. The veteran autocrat in a three-hour speech had condemned in the sharpest terms the action of the Baden wing of the party in supporting the government budget at the last session. Their State legislature, after the national convention of 1909, had declared such tactics a violation of the party platform. Herr Bebel, however, cautiously avoided suggestions of punishing the insurgents. He declared he was absolutely opposed to a resolution for their formal expulsion from the organization. The Baden delegates were satisfied with Bebel's speech, and their commander in chief, Dr. Frank, made an equally adroit reply. The expulsion resolution then was withdrawn, but late Wednesday night the fat was suddenly and dramatically thrown into the fire again. The stalwarts, in the absence of Bebel, intimated that the insurgents as the price of non-expulsion should give a pledge of future good behavior. This demand was indignantly rejected by Dr. Frank, who declared the South Germans would continue to be guided by their own independent judgment. This defiant pronouncement plunged the other side into a rage. They demanded a recess of an hour in order to evolve a form of chastisement commensurate with this crowning act of rebellion. It took the shape of a resolution providing for automatic expulsion from the Socialist party in the event the South Germans ever again voted for government measures. The conciliatory presiding officer, realizing the atmosphere was dangerously charged, tried in vain to postpone a vote on the expulsion resolution until the next day, but the radicals would brook no delay. They demanded a roll call. Realizing they were about to be overwhelmed, the South German delegates angrily left the convention and the resolution was adopted by a heavy vote to the accompaniment of frenzied radical cheers of triumph. It remains to be seen whether the stalwarts or insurgents will yet find a way of burying the hatchet. The Socialists' generally expected victory in the 1911 reichstag elections has become a matter of the gravest doubts.

NEWS NOTES

—The National Irrigation Congress opened at Pueblo, Colo., on the 26th.

—The Hamilton Club formally accepted the resignation of Senator Lorimer (p. 866) on the 20th.

—The Grand Army of the Republic (vol. xli, p. 804) held its 44th annual encampment last week at Atlantic City.

—On account of a sudden washout of track a Rock Island passenger train was wrecked near Clayton, Kan., on the 23rd, with a loss of 16 lives.

—The only prominent advance of cholera (p. 901) in any of the European countries during the week just closed seems to have been at Naples, Italy.

—A labor movement to defeat Governor Harmon of Ohio for reelection was started at Columbus on the 21st by representatives of 50 labor organizations. The leaders charge that Governor Harmon refused

to promote efforts for arbitration of the Columbus street car strike (pp. 782, 842).

—The 43d mysterious bomb in the gamblers' war at Chicago (p. 902) was thrown on the 20th, blowing out the front of a store, but injuring no one.

—General Charles Ray Brayton, the blind leader of the Rhode Island Republicans, and the Rhode Island member of the national Republican committee, died at Providence on the 23d, at the age of 70.

—As a result of a head-on collision between two electric cars near Kingsland, Ind., on the 21st, 41 persons were killed and 7 injured; and through a similar collision near Tipton, Ind., on the 24th, 6 persons were killed and 20 injured.

—Orders requiring instant dismissal from the police force of any officer who arbitrarily interferes with street speaking in Toledo, are reported to have been issued by Mayor Whitlock on the 22d, and an official apology was made to William Patterson, a Socialist speaker, who had been arbitrarily arrested.

—At Adelaide, South Australia, the Single Tax League held a meeting on the 29th of August at Cooperative Hall in commemoration of the 71st birthday of Henry George, the address being by W. A. Wickham, with T. J. Wainwright, president of the League, presiding. Among the features of the program was the Australian "Fels Fund" report.

—A young Peruvian aviator, George Chavez, flew over the Alps from Brieg, in Switzerland, to Domodossola, in Italy, in a monoplane on the 23rd. As the machine came to earth it turned over, and Mr. Chavez fell thirty feet with the wreckage on top of him. Both of his legs were broken and one thigh fractured, and he has since died (p. 855).

—Oliver Otis, of Rockland, Maine, editor of the Rockland Opinion, one of the long-time and steady advocates of the single tax idea among the general newspapers of the United States, was elected to the lower house of the Maine legislature at the recent election (p. 898), along with Albert W. Plummer, of Lisbon Falls, another active single tax advocate.

—There can no longer be a doubt, although election returns are still incomplete, that the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Arkansas constitution (p. 897) has been adopted. In thanking William J. Bryan for his service, Governor Donaghy says that his tour through the State carried the amendment, and that every county in which he spoke went for it.

—President Taft, in a speech before the Ohio Valley Improvement Association at the Ohio Valley Exposition at Cincinnati on the 21st, denounced the "pork barrel" system of apportioning money for internal improvements, and as a remedy urged a system whereby the undertakings most important to the nation should be taken up to the exclusion of the less important ones.

—The British coroner's jury in the Crippen case (p. 805) gave in a verdict on the 26th to the effect that the human remains found in the Crippen home in London were those of Dr. Crippen's wife, that her death had been caused by poisoning, and that he had committed the crime. No verdict as to Miss Leneve was given, the coroner having advised the

jury that questions of an accessory after the fact were not within their province.

—Organized opposition to proposed increases in railway freight rates was begun on the 22d at Topeka, Kansas, at a conference of more than one hundred and fifty representatives of commercial and public organizations of middle western States. The fight is to be carried on principally before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Illinois were represented at the conference.

—T. P. O'Connor, Joseph Devlin and John E. Redmond arrived in the United States on the 25th, representing the Irish party. New York dispatches report Mr. Redmond as saying that "the burning question in Great Britain today is whether the House of Lords shall be permitted to reject and obstruct legislation approved by the House of Commons," and that "the Irish members are in favor of abolishing the power of the Lords to do this, and as soon as this power is destroyed the last obstacle to home rule would vanish."

—The first anniversary of the execution of Ferrer, the Spanish educator (vol. xii, p. 1095), is to be recognized with memorial meetings at New York, Boston, Chicago and other American cities on the 13th of October. The Boston meeting, at Faneuil Hall, will be addressed by Edwin D. Mead, Charles Zueblin, Franklin H. Wentworth and E. H. Clement. For these memorial meetings a brochure is being especially prepared by Leonard D. Abbott, of Current Literature, with an account of Ferrer, his life, his work, and his trial. These meetings are held to afford opportunity for expression of sympathy with Ferrer and his work.

—The Senate committee for the investigation of the Lorimer case (p. 614), organized at Chicago on the 22d with Senator Burrows as chairman. Senator Lorimer's counsel, ex-Judge Hanecy, asked a postponement on the ground that necessary witnesses for his defense are under indictment awaiting trial on questions of fact at issue in this investigation, and that it would be unfair to them to examine them in advance upon the subject-matter of their indictment before a Congressional committee. Clifford W. Barnes, of the Legislative Voters' League, opposed the adjournment, and it was denied, whereupon a recess was taken until the 26th, when the investigation was begun.

PRESS OPINIONS

Mr. Taft's "Pie Counter."

La Follette's (Progressive Rep.), Sept. 24.—To the progressive Republicans is due the fact that the country is not now even more under the control of special interests than it actually is. They have stood against the most powerful weapon usurpation can wield. And now that they have won their fight for principle, the President offers them the patronage they rejected as the price of votes. The Progressives have not fought for patronage. They have fought for principle. They have fought against the

legislation that the President and his advisers have sought to force upon them. We are not inclined to express in full our opinion of the shamelessness of the President's overtures to the Progressives.

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A Lesson in Conservation.

Chicago Examiner (Hearst), Sept. 22.—A shining example of the wisdom of State conservation of resources is now being shown by Minnesota, which has to her credit more than \$20,000,000 as a school fund, with other millions for other purposes. These vast sums were obtained by the wisdom of the State's officials, who foresaw fifty years ago the need of husbanding her resources. When the other States were selling off the lands received from the Federal government for \$1.25 an acre, Minnesota refused to sell hers for less than four times that sum. As a result, there was no immediate call for them. The timber, moreover, was to be sold separately, whereas under the Wisconsin idea both timber and minerals went with the land. At that time, back in 1861, there was no hint of the iron ore under the Minnesota lands. After the timber had been sold to the State's advantage, the ore was discovered and there was a rush to buy, but here again a State official saved the State millions by refusing to sell the ore, and as a result the State obtained a royalty on every ton mined. It is now estimated that Minnesota will receive \$200,000,000 from this source alone. Already from 120 acres of swamp land she has received more money than Wisconsin and Michigan obtained from the sale of their whole public domain.

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A True Test for Democracy.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 9.—If the Republican voters of the Ninth Congressional district wish to test the political sincerity of their outgoing Congressman they will do well to consider his remarks on the Referendum. . . . "It was by assembly and petition that the founders of the government purposed that the people should influence the government and legislation, not by a referendum expressed by a secret ballot. . . ." This is probably the most egregious example on record of the hypocritical twaddle so often emitted by machine politicians and champions of "big business" and special privilege. There are nowhere in the country such lip-loyal worshippers of the "founders of the government" as men of the Boutell-Tawney-Dalzell type. "Responsible representative government" is a favorite phrase of Boutell. He is against the referendum as an invasion of "responsible representative government." He is against the direct primary as "an assault upon representative government." They all have the same cant, the Cannons, the Boutells, the Lorimers, and what it means in cold fact is this: "We are against any effective device which will make representative government responsible."

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Tick-er-tick tick-tick, tick-er-tick tick-tick,
Goes the wee little nickel clock,
But it never gains a moment on
The big one's slow Tick-tock.

—Puck.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE REVOLUTIONIST: OR, LINES TO A STATESMAN.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Nation of December 18, 1909.*

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"I was never standing by while a Revolution was going on."—Speech by the Right Hon. Walter Long.

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When death was on thy drums, Democracy,
And with one rush of slaves the world was free,
In that high dawn that Kings shall not forget,
A void there was, and Walter was not yet.
Through sacked Versailles, at Valmy in the fray,
They did without him in some kind of way;
Red Christendom all Walterless they cross,
And in their fury hardly feel their loss . . .
Fades the Republic; faint as Roland's horn,
Her trumpets taunt us with a sacred scorn . . .
Then silence fell: and Mr. Long was born.

From his first hours in his expensive cot,
He never saw the tinkest viscount shot;
In deference to his wealthy parents' whim,
The mildest massacres were kept from him;
The wars that dyed Pall Mall and Brompton red,
Passed harmless o'er that one unconscious head;
For all that little Long could understand,
The rich might still be rulers of the land;
Vain are the pious arts of parenthood,
Foiled revolution bubbled in his blood:
Until one day (the babe unborn shall rue it)
The Constitution bored him; and he slew it.

If I were wise and good and rich and strong—
Fond, impious thought, if I were Walter Long—
If I could water sell like molten gold,
And make grown people do as they are told,
If over private fields and wastes, as wide
As a Greek city for which heroes died,
I owned the houses and the men inside—
If all this hung on one thin thread of habit,
I would not revolutionize a rabbit.

I would sit tight, with all my gifts and glories,
And even preach to unconverted Tories
That the fixed system that our land inherits,
Viewed from a certain standpoint, has its merits,
I'd guard the laws like any Radical,
And keep each precedent, however small,
However subtle, musty, dusty, dreamy,
Lest men by chance should look at me and see me.
Lest men should ask what madman made me lord
Of English ploughshares and the English sword;
Lest men should mark how sleepy is the nod
That drills the dreadful images of God.

Walter, be wise; avoid the wild and new,
The Constitution is the game for you:

*As reprinted in The Public of January 14, 1910. See page 925 of this Public.

Walter, beware; scorn not the gathering throng,
It suffers, yet it may not suffer wrong;
It suffers; but it cannot suffer Long.
And if you goad it these grey rules to break,
For a few pence; see that you do not wake
Death and the splendor of the scarlet cap,
Boston and Valmy, Yorktown and Jemmappes,
Freedom in arms, the riding and the routing,
The thunder of the captains and the shouting;
All that lost riot that you did not share—
And when that riot comes . . . you will be
there.

* * *

THE HUNTER OF EUBOEÆ.

Translated for the First Time in English by Prof. Samuel
Ross Winans, Ph.D., of Princeton University, from
the Greek of Dio Chrysostom. Reprinted from
"The Classics—Greek and Latin," with the
Permission of the Publishers, Vin-
cent Parke and Company,
New York.*

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Sketch of the Author.

Dio, called Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth, from his beautiful style, was born in Prusa in Bithynia about 50 A. D. He was a man of noble character, a stoic in philosophy and a democrat in political belief. Being in Egypt at the time Vespasian, who had just been proclaimed emperor by his soldiers, was there, he was consulted by the general as to the proper course of action in the matter. Dio boldly advised Vespasian to restore the Roman Republic. While the ambitious Roman did not follow this advice, he was not offended at its candor, and invited Dio to come to Rome. This Dio did. He gathered a circle of friends about him of democratic tendency; one of these conspired against the emperor Domitian, the second son of Vespasian, who had succeeded to the throne after the death of Titus, the elder son, and Dio, to escape being charged with complicity in the matter, fled to distant Moldavia, a rude country, where he supported himself by manual labor. When Domitian was assassinated, the soldiers of the region were on the point of revolt; this Dio prevented by an eloquent appeal to their patriotism. Accordingly he was held in high esteem by Nerva and Trajan, the latter bringing him to Rome in triumph in the imperial car after the conquest of the Dacians. But Dio had acquired a distaste for public life, and retired to his home in Bithynia, where he spent the remainder of a long life.

Eighty of Dio's so-called orations remain. They are rather essays, polished in expression but lacking in lasting interest. His most interesting work is the *Hunter of Euboea*, a pastoral tale, charming in style and elevating in moral sentiment, the purpose being to illustrate by stories of characters in humble position the happiness which results from a virtuous life, however lowly this may be. This is given in the following pages in a translation made for the present work by Prof. Samuel Ross Winans of Princeton University.

*See review in last week's Public, page 907.

Introductory Note.

One of the essays of Dio (the seventh) is upon the evils of congested city life. The discussion is introduced by a sketch depicting the simple wholesome life of the country. Although for his argumentative purpose Dio has idealized the intelligence and the simplicity of the hero as well as the essential happiness of his lot, nevertheless the picture in most of its features of surroundings and manners is doubtless highly realistic. The grass-grown streets of a decadent city, the demagogue, and the wrangling impulsive popular assembly; and the rock-bound shore and its tragedies, the wooded dell in the hills rich in all Nature's beauties—these carry conviction; they are real.

And Dio adds a romantic touch so naturally that we overlook the art, this grace of the master passion imparting an interest universal and ever fresh.

This prose idyll has been much admired by classical scholars, but is little known generally, as there has been no modern or accessible translation in English. The whole of the story is here given.

S. R. W.

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The incident here related is an actual experience of my own, and thus given at first hand. An old man, we know, is apt to be garrulous and not easily turned aside from telling his tales. The traveler is somewhat like him; for both have had adventures many, which it delights them to rehearse. I shall describe a bit of rural life, men and manners, which I chanced upon in the very heart of Greece.

Summer was well over, when I took passage on a small fishing vessel, crossing over the sea from Chios. A storm came up, and it was only with great difficulty that we managed to make the land at the Hollows of Euboea. We escaped with our lives; but the boat striking upon the rocky shore under the cliffs at once broke up. The crew went off to some purple-shell fishers whose boats lay behind a neighboring point, intending to join fortunes with them and remain there. Thus left alone, and not knowing where to find a settlement for refuge, I wandered along the shore in the bare chance that I might find some vessel at anchor or sailing near, which would take me on board.

I had gone a considerable distance without seeing a soul, when I came upon the body of a deer which had recently fallen over the cliff and was lying on the pebbles just within lap of the waves, and still gasping. Soon after I thought I heard the baying of hounds somewhere above, though indistinctly on account of the roar of the surf. I went on until I found a place where with some difficulty I climbed up the rocks to a high spot, whence I could see the hounds running at fault hither and thither, missing the quarry. So I concluded that the deer, pressed hard by the dogs, had leaped over the cliff. Presently a man appeared,—a hunter one at once surmised from his

looks and his gear. This man wore his beard nature's way; while the hair on the back of the head only was allowed to grow long, and this hung down his neck. Nor did it look so queer and outlandish. For this is the cut Homer describes of the ancient Eubœans as they came to Troy, with a touch of humor, I fancy, and ridiculing them, that, while all the other Achæans wore the hair in proper fashion, the Eubœans shaved half of the head.

The man hailed me: "Stranger, have you seen hereabout a deer I am chasing?" "Yes," I replied, "he is lying in the surf." Then I led the way and showed him the deer. The hunter drew the body back from the water, and with his hunting knife quickly stripped off the hide, I giving such assistance as I could. Next he cut off the haunches and brought them away with the hide.

He invited me to follow with him and partake of the venison, adding that he lived not far away. "Then tomorrow," said he, "having had a night's sleep with us, you can come back to the shore; for at present sailing is quite impossible. Have no anxiety on that point; for I should be satisfied to see this wind go down after five full days. This is not likely to happen as long as you see the tops of the Eubœan mountains capped with clouds, as they now are." And then he asked me whence I came, and how I got ashore, and if our boat had been lost. "It was a very small vessel," I replied, "belonging to some fishermen, who were crossing over; and I was the solitary passenger being driven by urgent business to take passage with them. The vessel did go to pieces, after it was run on shore." "That is almost sure to happen," he replied; "for you see how rough and rock-bound is all the seaward side of the island. This is the place they call the 'Hollows of Eubœa.' A vessel driven in here is as good as gone; and rarely are any lives saved, unless, as in your case, they chance to be sailing very light. However, come along; don't hesitate. To-day you shall rest and recover from the shock of your mishap, and to-morrow we will devise plans to bring you to a place of safety; for I regard you already as my friend. I think you must be a city-dweller, not a sailor, nor yet one who works with his hands; indeed, you seem to have some ailment of the body, as you look so thin and slight."

I followed him very gladly, with no fear of treachery, seeing I had nothing but one cheap cloak on my back. Here I realized, as often before under similar circumstances in a life of constant roaming, that poverty invests a man with real sanctity of person and renders him inviolate. Men would sooner attack a herald bearing his sacred staff. So now I went along, as I have said, with perfect confidence to his place, which proved to be some forty furlongs distant.

As we tramped along, the hunter told me of his circumstances, how he lived, and of his wife and

children. "There are two of us," said he, "dwelling in the same place; each married the sister of the other, and both of us have children, boys and girls. We live mainly by hunting, though we also till a small bit of ground. The land is not ours; we neither inherited it nor bought it. Our parents were freemen, but like ourselves poor. They were herders, hiring themselves to keep the cattle of a very wealthy man in this part of the island. He owned many horses, and droves of cattle, many flocks of sheep, many acres of good soil, besides much other wealth. His lands included all these hills. When he died, all his property escheated to the state; (and 'tis said he was done to death at the King's instigation for the sake of his property). Thereupon all the herds were driven off to slaughter, and with them a few poor cattle of our own; and no one has ever paid us a penny of compensation.

"So we were forced to remain where we then chanced to be keeping the cattle, and where we had built some huts and a yard, fenced with stakes not very high nor stout, but sufficient for the calves—intended, I fancy, just for the summer. For in the winter we kept the cattle on the plain, finding ample pasture there, and having also abundance of hay stacked up. In summer we always drove them to the hills; and we usually made the camp in this spot. For it is a place well situated; the land slopes down on either side, forming a deep, shady valley; and through the middle flows a brook, not rough and rocky, but easy for the cattle and the calves to wade in, always running full and clear, as it is fed by a spring not far away. A gentle summer breeze draws through the valley all the time. In the surrounding coppices the ground is soft and moist, and they are quite free from the tormenting ox-fly or any other bane of the cattle. There are stretches of beautiful meadowland, with here and there tall, slender trees, and everywhere plenty of lush grass throughout the entire summer; so that there is no need for cattle to wander far. For these reasons they commonly established the herd in this place.

"So when the cattle were gone, our fathers staid on in the huts, waiting until they should be hired or find employment, supporting themselves meanwhile from a small bit of land near the ranch, which they had already cultivated. This was quite enough for their needs, there being plenty of manure at hand to enrich it.

"Being now relieved from care of the cattle, they turned to hunting, at first tracking the game themselves, and later using dogs. For a couple of the cattle dogs when a long way off, missing their masters, abandoned the herd and returned to the old spot. These dogs at first had simply the instinct to follow with their masters. When they saw a wolf, they would give chase for a distance; but of wild swine or deer they took no notice.

While at home, if they saw a strange man at dusk or early morning, they would start up, and bark, and show fight, as if they took man for their proper enemy. But coming to taste the blood of swine and deer, and often eating the flesh, at length they learned to like flesh better than barley cakes; and, as they got their fill when any game was taken, and otherwise went hungry, the dogs soon became eager to hunt. They would chase any game they could see, and likewise could after a fashion follow the scent of a trail. Thus from shepherd dogs they developed to be hunters of a sort, though broken late to this work and always a little slow.

"When winter came on, as nothing presented itself for the two men to do, either by going to the city or to some village, they occupied themselves in enclosing the huts a little more carefully; they also built the yard fence stronger, and cleared for tillage the whole tract occupied. Hunting, too, was easier in winter than in summer. Tracks are plainer in the soft, wet ground; while snow makes them perfectly clear, furnishing a path right up to the game, so that the hunter has no trouble in tracking it. The game, too, is then more slow to stir, and lets the hunter approach. It is possible at times to take hares still on their forms; and deer similarly.

"In this manner our parents came to remain there, and they did not require any other means of support. In time they married us, their sons, each to the other's daughter. Both fathers died about a year ago. They delighted to tell the many years they had lived; yet in body they were strong and hale and hearty to the last. Of the mothers mine is still living.

"One of us has never in his life gone up to the city, although now fifty years old. I myself have been there twice only, the first time as a lad with my father, when we kept the herd. Once later a man came here demanding tax money—as though we had money—and he ordered me to go along with him to the city. We had no silver; and so I took my oath, protesting that I would have given it, if I had it. We gave the man the best entertainment in our power, and presented him with two deerskins. However, I went with him to the city; for he said it was necessary for one of us to go and explain matters.

"There I saw, as on the previous occasion, no end of big houses, and a great wall around the town, with huge square structures rising out of it" (he meant the towers), "and a lot of ships lying at anchor in water still as a pond" (referring to the artificial harbour). "There is nothing like that," he interjected, "where you put in, and in consequence we have the numerous wrecks. I noticed all this," he went on, "and also a great crowd of people gathered in one place and making an awful hubbub and noise. They seemed to be engaged in a general fight.

"The man brought me before certain officials and said with a grin: 'This is the fellow you sent me for. He hasn't got anything—except his long hair, and a hut of stout logs.'"

(To be concluded next week.)

HEART OF THE CONSERVATION PROBLEM.

Principal Parts of an Article by Wm. Preston Hill
M. D., Ph. D., Originally Published in the Mirror
of St. Louis, September 15, 1910, Under
the Title of "Private Property and
Public Welfare."

From the earliest period of man's existence up on this planet up to the middle of the Nineteenth century the problem that confronted the world was one of production. Namely: to produce enough to satisfy the material wants of all its inhabitants. This problem may be regarded now as practically solved. Every country today produces, or with the knowledge and power at their command could produce, wealth sufficient to satisfy the needs of all its people. The only pressing question, therefore, that confronts the present generation is that of distribution. The issue has shifted from a material to a moral and ethical problem.

The question is: Shall the mastery we have acquired over the forces of nature and the marvelous discoveries developed by modern science conduce to the welfare and needs of all the people, or shall they be the property of a few?

All the evils that seem to accompany advancing civilization—unrequited toil, involuntary idleness, undeserved and helpless poverty, with their train of misery, vice and crime—can be traced to the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth. This problem has its roots deeply enmeshed in the laws of property which have hitherto prevailed in all civilized countries.

I am in favor of private property. I recognize that private property is unquestionably the basis of civilization. I am convinced that the desire for property is one of the elements of human nature; and that a system affording opportunity for its exercise must ever be retained in organized societies. I realize that to attack private property is to undermine civilization itself. I believe that a still greater development of civilization in the future can only come from a still fuller recognition and development of the true rights of property.

But what is the fundamental basis of this right? It rests on the fact that every man is entitled to the ownership of himself; that the powers of his mind and body are his as against all the world, and that from this ownership of himself by himself springs his right to the ownership of the ma-

terial things to which he has imparted a part of himself, to-wit: the energy of his own mind and body. This is the true basis of private property.

When I say, therefore, that I am opposed to human slavery because I am in favor of private property, I am not uttering a contradiction.

I have pointed out that private property rests on the ownership of man by himself; but slavery is the ownership of one man by another. A slave therefore could not constitute real property or wealth in their true sense.

The ownership of a slave is simply a privilege created by law, and when the law creates this privilege it is not upholding or defending the true rights of property. It is committing an assault upon them.

We find, therefore, when we analyze this problem, that the law may create and recognize certain forms of spurious property which are an assault upon the natural rights of its citizens instead of a defense of them.

Any so-called property created by law comes under this category because the law is an inanimate thing which cannot exert energy and therefore cannot create any real property or wealth. Only beings endowed with life can put forth energy in production. The only thing the law can accomplish in its relation to property is to take away the wealth from some persons who have produced it and give it to others. It can transfer the title and thus the ownership of wealth and that is all.

To make this perfectly clear, let us suppose a community of a million people living exactly as we live today in any large city of this country. Let us suppose that a census has just been taken which has shown the property at present recognized by law to be as follows:

Land values	\$300,000,000
Buildings and improvements ...	200,000,000
Personal property	300,000,000

Now let us suppose for the sake of this argument that 700,000 of those people conspire against the other 300,000 to reduce them to slavery, and that there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent it, and that they succeed in accomplishing their purpose. In addition, then, to the property above enumerated you would have another species of property, the value of a slave, averaging about \$1,000. If the census enumerator made his return after that change he would for those 300,000 slaves be compelled to add another item of \$300,000,000.

Let me now ask the question, Has the real wealth of that community been increased by that apparent increase in property? Evidently not. On the contrary, their real productive power would have been diminished rather than increased by that change, because a slave never invented or produced anything, or worked at all, except under

coercion. Even the ancient Greek poet, Homer, said, "The day that makes a man a slave takes half his worth away." Here then we have the creation of \$300,000,000 of apparent property which has diminished the real wealth of the community.

What then does the value of a slave consist of?

It consists of a special privilege created by law which permits the owner to appropriate to his own use any wealth which the slave may create in the future. In my illustration the value of that privilege was put at \$1,000. It had nothing to do with any work already done by the slave, nor with any intrinsic value in him. If related entirely to the future production of the slave.

The law, then, when it made a slave, did not create any value. It simply transferred the title to the wealth which the slave might produce in the future, from him to his master. This slave value, therefore, was in the nature of a mortgage on the future production of the slave which the slave had to make good with his labor.

Other property which owes its existence to law, and not to labor, comes under the same category.

A land title, for instance, is simply a special privilege created by law. If we analyze it we shall find that it is very similar in its nature to the ownership of a slave. The value of land, like the value of the slave, consists in the power of the owner to appropriate to himself the future production of other men who must use that land or have dealings with the people who do use it.

The value of land, therefore, like that of slaves, is entirely a future value. It is in the nature of a mortgage on the future production of the producers of wealth who must use that land directly or indirectly in the course of their daily pursuits. The law, therefore, when it grants this privilege is simply transferring the title to a part of the future production of the community, from those who produce it to the land owner.

There is no need to refute the fallacy that no one will improve land unless they own it in perpetual fee. The greatest improvements, amounting to millions of dollars, have always been made on leased land. We can accomplish the same result by recognizing only the title of occupation and use, subject always to the superior right of the community.

Now let us apply this proposition to the question of the conservation of our natural resources.

Mr. Pinchot in his Minneapolis speech said, "Conservation has captured the nation. It is a moral issue and the heart of it is this: For whose benefit shall our natural resources be conserved, for the benefit of all the people or for the benefit of a few?"

Take for illustration the Alaska coal lands. Certain big capitalists have tried to secure a title to these lands from the government for a song which would make them the absolute owners for-

ever. Why do they want this unlimited and unconditional title? Do they want it merely to work those coal veins? Certainly not! What they want is the power to keep everybody else from working those veins. They want the exclusive right and the power that goes with such a title. To-wit: the power to transfer to themselves the future production of the workers of that locality and of all the people who will have to use that coal in the future.

Such a grant, of course, would make them enormously rich at the expense of the future workers of Alaska and of the United States. But such a grant is an outrage upon the American people and an assault upon the true rights of property.

The complete effect of private property in land is not felt until *all* the natural resources have passed into private ownership. In other words, until the monopoly is complete. As long as some natural opportunities are open to the people they still have the choice of working for themselves, and this prevents them from being squeezed down to starvation wages; and it also prevents the land that has already passed into private ownership from becoming as valuable as it does after the monopoly is complete.

For this reason the great Italian economist, Dr. Achille Loria, has classed communities into free or slave communities according to whether the land has been completely monopolized or not. He has demonstrated that where all the natural opportunities have been completely monopolized, such communities take on all the aspects and ethics of a slave society. This shows us what we shall come to in this country when all our natural resources have been monopolized, which is rapidly being accomplished.

Some years ago we were startled by the news of the eruption of the volcano Mt. Pelee, in the Island of Martinique, and the destruction of St. Pierre, its principal city. This was a great calamity and a traveler visiting the island some years later expected to find a scene of desolation and waste. But to his amazement he found that the island was more prosperous than it had been for generations. Wages had greatly advanced and industry was active as never before. He inquired the reason of this strange phenomenon from some resident friends and was told the following: Nearly all the rich land owners of the island lived in St. Pierre, and most of them, including all their relatives, had been annihilated by the eruption. Furthermore, the records of land titles and of mortgages and debts had also been completely destroyed. To be sure, many of the laboring class had also been killed, but the remainder of them went out upon the land to work, free from the obligations which weighed down their predecessors.

The destructive forces of nature which had wrought such havoc and confusion in the island had also destroyed the parasites who had been

absorbing the greater part of the fruits of their labor. The volcanic forces which had exploded the mountain had also lifted the burden of special privilege from their backs and they stood forth free men once more to satisfy their wants by their own labor as nature intended.

Of course, if the same system of land tenure were retained it would in time produce the same results and create other landlords and other tenants and the same accompanying extremes of riches and poverty.

But the point that this illustration makes clear, is that the only real wealth that had been destroyed were the buildings and implements and the personal property therein contained. The destruction of land titles and landlords had not destroyed any real wealth—the land was still there and just as productive. When they were annihilated the only thing that had been destroyed was the power that some men possessed to appropriate the labor of others without returning them any equivalent and the price that that privilege could sell for in the market.

What we call a land value, therefore, does not constitute any real wealth or property. The price of land only represents the wealth the owner is able to absorb from all those who produce it, either with head or hands, by reason of his law-created privilege.

When this selling price is reduced by taxation, or wiped out by the repeal of the privilege, no real value is destroyed. The only change effected would be that the producers would retain for themselves that portion of their own production which had been previously absorbed by the land-owners. The title to their future production would be transferred back to themselves, and with it all the value represented by the selling price of land.

There is one respect in which land ownership differs from slave ownership. A slave had to be maintained whether he worked or not and therefore there was a loss when he was idle. Furthermore, he did not increase in value. But land may be held idle for speculation and increase in value so as to show a profit to its owner. This feature of land ownership is the most injurious of all because it hinders, delays and prevents production.

Now what is the remedy?

It is very simple. Abolish all those spurious forms of property created by law which are nothing more than licenses for some men to rob their fellows. Establish the principle in our constitutions that human rights and property rights shall be forever identical, inseparable and indivisible; that we will recognize no property rights except those which spring from human rights.

Let us retain, as some of our politicians are at this late day advocating, the national ownership of our natural resources—to-wit: our forests, water powers, mineral deposits, etc.—and develop them

by leases with royalty to the government. Let us adapt our taxing system so as to bring about as nearly as possible an equality of opportunity for all the people.

The great French Convention said that every disorder of society can be traced to some fundamental neglect, denial or contempt of human rights. This is true and explains the troubles in our social organism today. Under the guise of law we have been denying the true rights of property and of men. When we cease doing this, then justice and law will, for the first time, mean the same thing and we shall have ushered in the higher civilization of the future.

+ + +

Jolly American Tourists Approaching the New York Custom House.



(Portion of a cartoon by John T. McCutcheon, in the Chicago Tribune of September 23, 1910. Republished here by courteous permission of the Tribune.)

BOOKS

AN UNDEVELOPED IDEA.

An Interview. By Daniel W. Church, Chicago. The Berlin Carey Co. Price \$1.

This book opens with a simple and interesting sketch of the life and mission of Abraham Lincoln, who left us "the heritage of his idea and his

vision, and the duty of creating a government of our industrial action to correspond to them."

The "Interview" which follows the well-told story of Lincoln's immortal "idea," is somewhat obscure in its method of reasoning, and the reader feels inclined to ask a great many questions which the "Reporter" (who grinds out his interrogations like a machine) utterly fails to press. When we have been carried through the author's interpretation of some of the striking parables related in the Gospel of St. Matthew, we lay hold of the purpose of the book in demonstrating what the human race is born to attain, namely, "the idea of the Unity of the Action of the Universe." Very possibly, if Mr. Church had sent out to the reviewer his previous work, "The Enigma of Life," there would have been great light shed on the problem which he deals with in "An Interview," which appears, after all, to be unconcluded. The main satisfaction which we derive from it is that we are all destined, soon or late, to come into the conception of the power that carries on the action of the universe and to work in perfect unity with it.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Socialistic Fallacies**, by Yves Guyot. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

—**John Brown, 1800-1859: A Biography, Fifty Years After.** By Oswald Garrison Villard. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1910.

—**Great Cities in America; Their Problems and Their Government.** By Delos F. Wilcox. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**The life and Times of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla**, by Arthur Howard Noll and A. Philip McMahon, published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

PAMPHLETS

Direct Legislation.

"Direct legislation," a 20 page pamphlet published by the Direct Legislation League of the State of Washington (4144 14th Avenue N. E., Seattle), is a well conceived and well executed presentation of this subject in brief form. "Shall our Legislature control the people or shall the people control the Legislature?" is a motto of the pamphlet as it is the touchstone of any man's democracy: The principle of direct legislation is rightly declared by the pamphlet in these words: "The legislature should advise and lead, but when that body misleads, we must have the power to stop it." Better terms than "advise" or "lead," and "misleads" would be "represent" and "misrepresents." The answers to questions are excellent; for example: "Objection—The laws are too complicated for the people to under-

stand.' Answer—"Exactly, and those are the sort of laws, when related to big questions, that we should veto." Or: "Objection—"The people are too ignorant to be trusted with these powers.' Answer—"All American government depends upon the people in the last analysis, hence the importance of educating the mass.'" It is interesting to know (see page 8 of the pamphlet, where it quotes from the Twentieth Century Magazine), that the first league organized to fight Direct Legislation was in Ohio,

and that its president, Samuel H. West, is "a Big Four Railroad attorney, who when State Senator, led the fight against the measure in 1908," and since retiring from the legislature, "has become attorney for the Standard Oil Co." Truly enough that Ohio fact indicates the animus of the active opposition everywhere.

* * *

At heart he [the Negro] is a philosopher and a poet. An old Negro woman had worked for years in

A Story With a Moral

An elderly gentleman came to the office some time ago. He had helped me to get some new subscribers for The Public when I was in his town last winter.

He was a bit dubious about it at the time. Hesitated to ask his acquaintances to subscribe. You know most men are queer about that—they are perfectly willing to introduce you to their friends if you want to borrow a thousand dollars, or sell a piano or an automobile, or stocks and bonds. But to introduce you in order to get their subscription to a journal for a dollar—that seems to go against the grain.

However, with his help we got several new subscribers, and the other day he came in all smiles. Said every one of the new readers was pleased with The Public, and most of them had thanked him for getting them to subscribe.

MORAL—Two dollars pays for three subscriptions and three bouque's. Also, the sooner, the better.

EMIL SCHMIED,
Manager.

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

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Two columns to the page; length of column, 8½ inches; Width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

a Southern family, and during that time she had been uniformly patient and kind, and always cheerful. One day her mistress asked her, "Aunt Mandy, what makes you so cheerful all the time?" She threw back her head and laughed, saying, "Lawd God, chile, I jes' weahs de wurl' lak a loose gyarment."—"A Southern Woman" in The Outlook.

+ + +

Friend: "I suppose there is a great deal of money in contributing to the leading magazines?" Author:

"Yes, but there's a great deal more in contributing to the misleading ones."—Puck.

+ + +

"Will ye loan me yer bike, Jimmie?"

"I dassent loan it to ye, 'cos it ain't mine, but I guess maybe it'd be all right to rent it to ye."—Life.

+ + +

Housewife: "Suppose, when you're blasting, a big rock comes right in through our window?" Con-

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Delivered by

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.

DR. GUSTAV GOTTHEIL

REV. EDWARD McGLYNN, D. D.

JOHN SHERWIN CROSBY

Compiled by EDMUND YARDLEY

"Seldom have funeral orations been of the vital quality of those which electrified that remarkable gathering at the Grand Central Palace in New York, Sunday, Oct. 31, 1897. They came straight from the hearts of the several orators and they went straight to the hearts of that vast multitude which had come to do honor to the hero who had fallen in the midst of the battle. . . . As one reads these remarkable addresses ten years after the event one does not wonder that they were marked by demonstrations of an inspiring character. The great crowd could not restrain its feeling. Burst after burst of applause interrupted the impassioned speeches. In no other way was it possible for the followers of the dead man to express their sympathy with and approval of the sentiments that were given utterance; and when it was all over the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton said: 'At first I was shocked by the applause; but as I reflected, it seemed to me impossible that the audience should not applaud. This was not a funeral; it was a resurrection.'"—From the *Johnstown Democrat* of Sept. 9, 1907.

Since the publication of our advertisement of September 2nd, we have taken over the balance of this edition entire. When this stock is sold out the book will be out of print.

We now have 107 copies of these "Addresses" bound in blue cloth, lettered in white. Price per copy, postpaid \$0.40

We have also 21 copies bound in blue, stiff paper, lettered in black. Price per copy, postpaid . . . \$0.25

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

When housecleaning comes

along you'll find Fels-Naptha just as superior in cleaning and scrubbing as it is in washing clothes.

Wash your floors with Fels-Naptha; it whitens as well as cleans them. It will take dirt off varnished surfaces without dulling the varnish; brighten dingy paint and bring out the colors in oilcloth and linoleum. It will remove grease and stains from carpets, rugs and curtains as well as a professional cleaner can.

And in housecleaning with Fels-Naptha, hot water and hard scrubbing are not needed.

Fels-Naptha acts as a disinfectant, also. It is fatal to germs.

Full directions printed on the red and green wrapper.

tractor: "That'll be all right, lady; I'll send one of my men to fetch it out again."—Judge.

+ + +

"When Mr. Carnegie started in the steel business he resolved to reduce the appalling accidents incidental to the work. And he was very successful in executing this resolve. A part of his success was due, no doubt, to the blank slips that every foreman had to fill up when one of his men got hurt.

"A certain workman had, one day, the bad luck to suffer a slight accident. His foreman, an illiterate but honest chap, filled out promptly the slip now preserved at Skibo. The slip ran:

"Date—March 5, 1880.

"Name—James Miles.

"Nature of Accident—Toe crushed.

"How Caused—Ox-dentle blow from sledge.

"Remarks—These was awful. I will repete to clerk verbally."—New York Tribune.

The Tariff:

**What it is:
How it Works:
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**Protection:
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By Lee Francis Lybarger, of the Philadelphia Bar. Author of "Land, Labor, Wealth."

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Labor and Neighbor

By the late Ernest Crosby

Of this book of beautiful spirit, William Marion Reedy said in The St. Louis Mirror:

Those who would know the true social and economic gospel of altruism should read the late Ernest Crosby's posthumous book, "Labor and Neighbor." The argument of it is beautifully clear and simple and its demonstration for the reinstatement of the dispossessed of the earth is clinching. Mr. Crosby was a Georgian and a Tolstojan, heart and head conjoining in assent to the doctrine that the earth belongs to all men and that democracy should be nothing but the broadest love. The volume we have in mind is the late Mr. Crosby's best book. It is rounded and ripe, logical, eloquent and positively coercive of the readers' assent to the proposition that it is possible to realize the prayer: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven."

In grey, stiff paper covers, postpaid, 25 cents
The Public, Book Dept., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

Garrison, the Non-Resistant

By the late Ernest Crosby

Of this Tolstojan biography the Philadelphia Record said:

Under the title of "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," Mr. Crosby brings forward a little volume of fiery denunciations of imperialism, the capitalists, Wall street methods, the baleful effect of judicial oaths and other favorite themes. . . Mr. Crosby's radicalism is so patently sincere that his writings are certain to cause admiration for the man, if scarcely entire faith either in his creed or in his rash statements. . . The book is rich in quotable passages, and for those who can enjoy a skillful argument waged upon a strictly unconventional point of view it makes uncommonly lively reading. Since the author is always so terribly in earnest, his style is trenchant and vigorous, and "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," is an example of this strenuous peacemaker at his best.

In grey, stiff paper covers, postpaid, 25 cents

The Public, Book Dept., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago