

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The New Jersey Senatorship.

Governor Wilson of New Jersey (p. 49) has won a victory for popular government in his own State, the good effects of which are felt everywhere. To have defeated ex-Senator Smith for the Senatorship would have been a great victory in itself. To have secured the election of so good a Democrat as James E. Martine would in itself have been another great victory. But the best of it all is that Governor Wilson did both by insisting that the legislature confirm the verdict of the primary. In winning the Senatorial fight on that ground, he has not only prevented bad representation in the Senate from New Jersey and secured good representation, but he has also immensely strengthened the whole movement in American politics for People's Power.

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### Ex-Mayor Harrison's Conversion.

Chicagoans with memories must rub their eyes when they read Carter H. Harrison's platform (p. 106) for the Democratic nomination for Mayor. The Initiative! the Referendum! the Recall! municipal ownership! He says he is for all these. Yet in August, 1904, when he was Mayor and had the chance to promote what he now professes, he tried to turn the street car system over to the traction ring in spite of a referendum vote four months before of 120,744 to 50,893 for municipal ownership (vol. vii, p. 305); and at that time he announced that if a referendum petition of

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100,000 were not got in less than 30 days he would regard the turnover as stamped with popular approval by a "silent referendum." But now he is for the outspoken referendum and municipal ownership as boldly as if he were the "original Jacobs" as to both. It is to be considered, of course, that Mr. Harrison has gone into political partnership with the Hearst papers on some kind of Presidential deal, whereas in 1904 he was in political partnership with the Lawson papers on a Big Business traction deal. It must be considered, too, that a pledge at this time for the initiative, referendum, recall and municipal ownership for a mayoralty campaign is not so difficult a dose to Mr. Harrison as the innocent bystander might suppose. No Mayor of Chicago could be much embarrassed by a campaign pledge for the initiative, referendum and recall, since there is hardly the possibility of a situation calling upon him to redeem; and as to municipal ownership, the traction system is so completely tied up in private control that municipal ownership of that public utility can hardly again be more than an academic question in Chicago. Even if worse came to worst, Mr. Harrison's political-pledge record is such that it could not be visibly stained if after election he were to hand his pledges back to Mr. Hearst unredeemed, as he did to Governor Altgeld. With it all, however, Harrison as Hearst's protege could not hand out from the city hall more lemons nor yellower ones to the people of Chicago, than Busse as Armour's protege has handed them, or than Graham as Roger Sullivan's protege would. If Dunne were not in the race at the primaries, there would be only a Hobson's choice for democratic Democrats, and if they voted either way they would wish they had voted the other. But Dunne is in the race.

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### Representative Government.

It is interesting to note the agility with which plutocrats and their parasites try to make it appear that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall are hostile to representative government and would abolish it. Not only would this reform not abolish representative government, but it could not. You can no more abolish representatives in government than in business. A self-governing people have to have agents. The most that would be abolished by the Initiative, Referendum and Recall would be delegated government. They would not even do that; for so long as the people's delegates did what the majority of the people wanted there would be no interference through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. This reform is in aid

of representative government; it makes it representative instead of misrepresentative, by treating the delegates as representatives instead of bosses. The difference between representative government with and without the Initiative, Referendum and Recall is analogous to the difference between transactions by power of attorney and those by power of attorney irrevocable. The former belong in the category of agency, the latter in that of ownership.

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### Democracy Among Governors.

Governor Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin, a progressive Republican, responds to the same test of genuine democracy by which Wilson, the Democrat of New Jersey, Johnson, the Republican of California, West, the Democrat of Oregon, and Foss, the Democrat of Massachusetts (p. 74) have proved themselves. In his inaugural message Mr. McGovern said:

The great task of the time is how to make and keep the government really representative of the people. Powerful forces are constantly at work to pervert it. This is the initial problem which must be solved before real progress along any other line is possible. In the final analysis everything else of a political nature is either incidental or auxiliary to it. The Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall have been proposed as effective means for accomplishing this result. They have engaged the thoughtful attention of the entire country, and in the recent campaign in this State received the endorsement of all political parties. They are closely related to each other, have a common object and embody really but one idea,—that of placing the people in actual control of public affairs. The most important of these reforms is the Initiative. As its name implies, it contemplates giving to the people the power to initiate, that is, to propose bills directly and without the intervention of the legislature, and to enact them into law, if they so desire. And so also of amendments to the Constitution. . . . The Initiative is not designed to abolish representative government or even to limit its scope, but rather to perfect and improve it. . . . Unlike the Initiative, the Referendum is negative in its operation, acting only as a check or brake upon unwise or corrupt legislative action. It is, nevertheless, a most valuable and highly desirable expedient. More than any other device thus far suggested it is admirably calculated to do away with corruption in public affairs, or at least to put a powerful check upon it. Once this procedure has been authorized, few persons who seek through legislation to obtain a franchise, public contract, or any special privilege, will be willing to spend money in the purchase of votes or official influence, realizing as they will that as soon as the corrupt nature of the transaction becomes known, it may be vetoed by the people and so rendered nugatory. The Recall will be more restricted in its operation. In a certain sense it is an extension of the power of im-

peachment, with the people themselves as the tribunal. The mere fact of the existence of such a recourse in the case of recreant or dishonest public officials, and the possibility that it may be invoked at any time, cannot fail to react with tremendous force in inspiring a higher and more disinterested feeling of responsibility to the people on the part of all who occupy official station.

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### Horace Greeley's Broken Heart.

In connection with the Horace Greeley centenary a story is going the rounds to the effect that Horace Greeley died of a broken heart, from disappointment at his defeat for the Presidency. That is not the story that used to be told on Newspaper Row.

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The story that passed for true in the old days in the neighborhood of the Tribune office, was in substance this: When Greeley accepted the Presidential nomination he was advised to resign as editor of the Tribune, which he had founded and for many years had brilliantly edited, because it would be undignified for him to seem to support himself editorially for office. The understanding was that he should return to his old editorial chair if defeated. So he consented to the promotion, temporarily as he supposed, of Whitelaw Reid from managing editor to editor-in-chief and kept away from the Tribune office during the campaign. After his defeat he returned to his old quarters and wrote editorials as if nothing had happened. One of his editorials was not used. He ordered its use peremptorily. Still it was not used. He did then what any editor-in-chief would have done in similar circumstances, and was told that there were standing orders on the subject. "From whom?" he demanded. From "Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the editor-in-chief," he was told. Greeley was indignant enough at this insubordination; but indignation gave way to grief, when he learned that he was indeed no longer at the editorial helm of the Tribune, and grief was soon followed by death.

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Whether that is the true story of Greeley's death we do not know, but it is the story that passed for true among newspaper men in New York in the days when Amos Cummings was one of them, and among the others were John Swinton, Kenward Philp and George Gordon; and certain it is that Greeley had resigned as editor at the opening of his Presidential campaign, yet seemed "chipper" enough in person and editorially during the first few days that followed his defeat, when it was generally supposed that he had returned to his edi-

torial chair. But in only a few weeks, less than a month after the election of 1872, his worn out body had been laid away.

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### Periodicals and the Post Office.

The editor of the Farm Journal, a Philadelphia periodical with an enormous circulation and edited by Wilmer Atkinson, declares himself for an act of Congress that will give access to the mails to all periodicals, without discrimination, at "a fixed price, without any government nagging, spying, supervision, interference, hold-up or control, any more than when we mail our letters, circulars or merchandise." This is the only kind of law worth trying for; but most of the big magazines seem to take no more interest in the subject than their own individual interest inspires. When it is proposed to make them pay higher postage for their great bulk of high priced advertising than for their reading pages, they rise up and howl like a dog saluting the moon; but they look on with complacency at the censoring operations which the postal department carries on under the guise of determining individual postal questions that no bureau ought to be allowed to determine. A fixed price for periodicals, varying only with weight, as Mr. Atkinson proposes, is the only fair and safe adjustment of this question.

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### The Postal Censorship.

Little by little the bureaucrats of the postal system are reaching out for new worlds of thought to conquer and suppress. They began with salacious literature, they advanced to lotteries and fraud, they have experimented with anarchism and socialism. To their operations in these respects we have called attention repeatedly (vol. xii, p. 700) during all the years of The Public's life time, and sounded warnings that the end was not yet; but we have never expected so candid a statement as this which we find in the New York Tribune of January 8 last, in an extended article on postal inspectors:

Not every book is taken from the mails because it is improper, however. Often it stirs up dangerous public sentiment. An official who refused to be quoted said that "if somebody had had the forethought to expel 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' there might not have been any Civil War."

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### The Warren Case.

Lincoln's birthday this year has been set apart by Socialists for protest meetings regarding the

case of Fred D. Warren of the Appeal to Reason. Mr. Warren was convicted by a Federal court in Kansas (vol. xiii, pp. 469, 1133, 1141) of sending scurrilous matter exposed to general view through the mails. What he had done was to print on envelopes an offer of a reward for the kidnapping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, a fugitive from justice who had found an asylum in Indiana, whose Governor, a co-partisan, arbitrarily refused to extradite him for trial for murder upon the requisition of the Governor of Kentucky. Mr. Warren had no personal interest in Taylor's case. But certain socialists had been kidnapped in Colorado and taken to Idaho for trial for murder (of which they were finally acquitted), and the Supreme Court had refused to interfere in their behalf. In this affair Mr. Warren, as a socialist, did have an acute interest. Arguing that what was lawful against Colorado Socialists ought to be as lawful against a Kentucky Republican, and finding that offers of reward on exposed mail matter for the capture of fugitives from justice is common, he made an offer on exposed mail matter for the kidnapping of Taylor and taking him to Kentucky for trial—just as in the case of the Colorado Socialists. He wanted to see whether the judge-made law of Federal courts works with Republicans as with Socialists, and he has found that it does not. The Idaho kidnapers were protected against the Colorado Socialists; on the other hand, the Republican fugitive was protected against Socialist kidnapers. Not only in the lower Federal court, but also in the appellate court, Mr. Warren has been held to account criminally for trying to have done with Gov. Taylor what was done with the Colorado Socialists, not unlawfully as the Supreme Court held; and in trying it by means in common use by sheriffs, bankers, etc. Mr. Warren refuses to appeal to the President for pardon, insisting he has committed no crime; and Socialists generally are protesting against the discrimination of which his case is an example. We have heretofore commented on the case (vol. xii, p. 700) and have nothing to add. As we said then, we say now, that the sending of scurrilous matter through the mails exposed on postal cards, envelopes or the like, is and ought to be prohibited by law; but that in Warren's case there has been "a gross abuse of the machinery of government for the purpose of penalizing a political journal whose views are obnoxious to the party in power." This abuse is traceable from the office of President Roosevelt's attorney general, through the Federal court in Kansas to the appellate court at St. Paul. That it is an abuse throughout is evident from the fact

that the law in question is commonly violated by business men in precisely the way in which it was violated by Warren, if he did violate it, and they are not prosecuted, while he is. His prosecution was inspired and has been vindictive, and for political reasons.

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### Race Associations.

We are sympathetic with the feeling among self-respecting Negroes that a Young Men's Christian Association for Negroes is, as the Cleveland Gazette calls it, a "Jim Crow" Y. M. Christian A.; but the strongest position for Negroes is to ignore the insult implied by their exclusion from the white man's organization and remember that the truest self-respect avoids unwelcome association.

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This matter raises a different question from that of public utility service and public schools. It is purely a question of voluntary association. If blondes object to association with brunettes, it is their right; and on the other hand it is the privilege of the brunettes to smile and leave the others to the enjoyment of their own narrowness. Why not make Negro Y. M. C. A.'s exclusive, admitting no whites to membership and but barely tolerating them, if at all, as occasional visitors? It wouldn't be Christian, to be sure, but it might put an end to foolish race antipathies quicker than any other course.

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### Railroad Regulation.

When John Moody was before the Hadley commission (vol. xiii, p. 1163) at Chicago last week as a witness, he told that body that there is only one remedy for the traffic evils which they are trying to diagnose, and that sooner or later they must see it. He explained that he meant public ownership.

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The way in which men of "light and leading," such as those on that commission, seem to dodge the inevitable, might be comic if it were not prejudicial to the public interests they are trying to protect. But can they hope to extract from railroad capitalization the "unearned increment" which fills the place in value of dead and gone equipment? Wouldn't public purchase be easier? Yet that element becomes annually of more and more importance.

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If there were no special privileges in railroading, the capitalizing of wornout equipment would soon

bring on bankruptcy. A carpenter, for illustration, who went into debt for his tools, and instead of paying this debt out of his earnings used up his earnings in interest and dividends, and then increased his debt upon buying new tools to replace the useless old ones, would reach a point quite early in his business career at which he couldn't keep his I. O. U.'s up to par unless he owned the site of his shop and it grew in value. Railroads do own the site of their shop—the right of way, side holdings of farming and mining land, important terminals, etc.—and these do grow in value with the growth of the community. Consequently railroad capitalization of dead and gone equipment is kept up in value, not by earnings, but by financial confidence in the growing value of rights of way, etc. If that value does not grow fast enough, or are speculative (bringing in little or no present income), it may be necessary to increase rates, just as the debt-ridden carpenter might find it necessary to increase his charges, in order to keep going. That railway stock jobbers should do this is as easily accounted for as the motives of a burglar, but for courts and commissioners to solemnly compare income with dead equipment for the purpose of regulating rates, is—well, why is it?

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### Poor Rip Van Winkle.

An antique objection to land value taxation has been resurrected by the Milwaukee Sentinel. If increases in land value are taken from landowners for public revenues, why shall not decreases in land values be made up to landowners out of public revenues?

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That is the Sentinel's resurrected question. It is another illustration of the confusion into which parasitical minds are thrown when a proposal is made to abolish parasites. They think of their graft as their property. But if land values to any extent at all—not improvement values but site values,—if these were justly the private property of land owners, there would be no temptation for the Sentinel to ask its question. Prove the justice of private ownership of land values, and that is enough. But on the theory, which no one has yet rationally refuted, that the public owns land values, where is the sense in proposing to pay land gamblers for losses if you take winnings? The winnings are not to be taken because they are winnings, but because they don't belong to the winners and do belong to the public. However, the single tax, which the slumberous Sentinel thinks it

knocks out with that long abandoned device of setting off "undeserved decrement" against "unearned increment," would allow fairly for the loser in land gambling. It would so adjust taxes that only the "unearned increment" of land would be the basis of taxation—industry being wholly exempt,—and the tax would be ad valorem: the greater the "increment" the greater the tax, the greater the "decrement" the lower the tax. If any "undeserved decrement" dropped to the bottom, it wouldn't be taxed at all.

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### Tariff Boards.

If the outgoing Congress finishes the work laid out for it, the Tariff Board will be increased to five members—two of them Democrats of some brand or other, perhaps of the brand from which President Taft draws his Democratic cabinet members. Even that may be better than the present Board, which, composed altogether of Republicans, is strictly non-partisan—provided it does nothing to expose the fallacies and frauds of protection, or that may peradventure help the Democrats.

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### Two Notable Plays.

Contrasting "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" (vol. xi, p. 711) with "The Servant in the House" (vol. xi, pp. 581, 591, 678, 710), one might call the latter a poem and the former a modern comedy, with the same theme, vitalized by the same impulse, and the former more perfect in its kind and grade of art than the latter. In describing the lesson of the former, the Inter Ocean's critic, Eric Delamater, summarizes that of both: "The dramatist says frankly: 'Regeneration is not the act of emptying out individual temperament and pouring in a sort of molten spiritual sentimentality; it is the careful developing of the better traits.' Purification, not persecution. And to point this idea, he marshals this company of wrinkled souls, who might come from any section of any city."

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The principal character of the "Third Floor Back" charmingly interpreted by Forbes Robertson, is just "one of the folks" all through the play; so much so that one wonders how he makes converts from selfishness to service so easily and quickly, until in his voice one begins to detect, as each of the other characters does, an echo of that character's past which awakens the regenerative influences within himself.

That two such plays, so different in class and detail yet identical and novel in spirit, should have come to the stage at the same time and without plagiarism or confederacy is suggestive enough; that each has found an actor peculiarly adapted to the subtleties of the principal part, and has caught upon the imagination of theater goers, is highly significant of a popular tendency away from materialism but not back to paganism.

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### Jack London's Rediscovery of Malthus.

What could better preserve the balance of absurdity than the endorsement by Charles P. Taft's Cincinnati Times-Star of Jack London's endorsement of the Malthusian doctrine? It reminds one of an old caricature of the coat of arms of Kentucky, which represented two befuddled bears sustaining each other over a barrel of the "Colonel's Favorite," and under them the motto: "United We Stand (hic) Divided We Fall." Jack London's endorsement of Malthus came out in an article in the Forum, wherein he asserts that "the history of civilization is a history of wandering, sword in hand, in search of food." This argument that wars have always been for lack of food, reminds us that Xerxes didn't invade Greece to get food; that Napoleon didn't invade Russia to get food, nor Egypt because the French were hungry; that the American Revolution was not a hunger struggle; that Great Britain didn't attack the Boers to get food; that hunger didn't drive us to grab the Philippines; that scarcity of food was not what caused Russia to grab Finland; and—but why organize an expedition to pursue an absurdity? Isn't it evident that Jack London has become excited by reading the pessimistic speeches of James J. Hill, and that "Brother" Charles is aiding and abetting him in the hope of finding a substitute for "Brother" William's "God knows"? There has never been a famine or a tendency toward it that wouldn't have ceased at once if the monopolized earth all about it had been released from monopoly.

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## NECESSITY FOR THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

As we learn of the influence of Big Business in moulding the laws of our land, the necessity for the Initiative and the Referendum in support of representative government becomes more and more apparent. In shaping legislation Special Interests alone are active. While the great mass of the people are at home working for a living, the

shrewdest representatives that Trusts can employ are busy at every law making center.

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When Congress is in session, every Trust has its ablest lobbyist at Washington every minute that any legislation affecting the Interests is under consideration. But there are no mechanics, no farmers, no clerks, no miners, lobbying there for *their* interests.

A recent investigation in the legislature at Albany has brought to light the fact that one lobbyist, representing half a dozen corporations, absolutely dictated every bill of consequence that was passed. It is a notorious fact that not one bill affecting the System is passed in the Pennsylvania legislature without the approval of Boies Penrose.

The Guggenheims wield the same power in Colorado. "Jackpots," etc., control the legislature of Illinois. Similar power is at work in every other State legislature.

Lobbyists use the most plausible arguments their fertile minds can devise, to influence legislators. If they cannot convince by slick arguments, they bribe; and if they cannot influence by argument or bribe, they telegraph the corporations they represent to warn obstinate legislators that unless they "get in line" they will not be returned at the next election. After the lobbyists pull their strings, bills are almost certain to go through in the shape the Interests want them.

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Years of such one-sided pressure upon legislators give us convincing proof of the necessity for the Initiative, to compel action on stifled legislation, and the Referendum, to allow the people, as well as the Trusts, to put their "o. k." on bills.

The people are beginning to realize this, which accounts for the wonderful progress of the Initiative and Referendum in popularity. They are weapons which insure fair legislation for the many.

The people cannot afford to lobby, but they can and are determined to be represented right on questions that vitally concern them.

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE SHAKEUP IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia.

The progressive victory in New Jersey comes at a time when Pennsylvania, the State most to be affected by her neighbor's example, is on the threshold of change. With reluctance for four months have the Philadelphia editors, to whom two-thirds

of New Jersey is as "local" as the city's suburbs, been compelled to print about a yard a day of Governor Wilson's demands for popular government, and there is no doubt that these clear cut statements and speeches have greatly aided the Independents of the Keystone State.



As Pennsylvania with its tremendous industrial vote may one of these days spring a surprise, it may be well to mark the point progress has touched.

The truth is that the Independents (they call themselves the Keystone party) have as little idea of their strength as the standpaters who managed to squeeze a victory out of the polls last November. The former are doubtful as to just how far they can go, but the latter are scared; so it's a stand-off.

Insurgency is perhaps too young in Pennsylvania to be expected to take a very brave stand just yet. Still, the Independents recently indorsed Henry C. Niles, of York, for United States Senator to succeed Penrose in 1913, and Niles has declared for the Initiative and Referendum. In their State Committee meeting recently a demand was made that the Initiative and Referendum be added to the party's platform. Those who spoke against and shelved the proposition said they favored the reform but thought the time too critical to come out for Direct Legislation. The election next fall, they said, would be on purely local issues and they probably were afraid to disturb the "honest business men" who forsook the Republican ticket simply because of Governor Tener's personal reputation. Their endorsement of Niles is evidently to be taken as a provisional earnest of a stand for Direct Legislation when they are more sure of their ground.

The Independents' absolutely extemporized party, organized on a shoestring, polled 380,000 votes, within 35,000 of capturing the Governorship. The very size of their unexpected success has staggered them, and they are wondering how they can keep their heterogeneous cohorts together.



But if their opponents lack courage, the standpaters are panic-stricken.

They first showed their disillusion by shying at the election of Maurer, the lone Socialist in the Assembly, and at the total Socialist vote in the State—53,000. After the silly error of starting to contest Maurer's seat, they hastily withdrew the contest and loaded him with committee appointments, which made the Socialists laugh.

Maurer is starting well. He has a good sense of humor and is ready to work with the insurgent Republican and progressive Democratic minority in the Legislature. He will introduce a bill providing for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, patterned after the Oregon law. Better yet, the Socialists apparently are back of him in emphasizing this. This should have at least educational value and spur the Independents to hasten the polishing up of their platform.

With both the gang and the Independents bidding for the growing Socialist vote, the chances for a straight fight soon on this issue are daily growing better.

Other bills Maurer will introduce are for workingmen's compensation and the abolishment of the State Constabulary. This body of daredevil ex-Filipino fighters—Cossacks, they are called—have been recently especially offensive, storming the leather workers on strike at Bristol, dispersing peaceable crowds, and, it is even charged, entering workmen's houses. Their activity in the Philadelphia car strike cost the Republican organization a Philadelphia Congressional stronghold, Donohoe, a Democrat, going to Washington from the northeastern industrial section.

Donohoe and the eight other Democrats in Congress (sent there by Independents) from Pennsylvania, are trying to readjust the party organization which was wrecked by a framed up stalking horse State ticket in November. In the past the Democratic leaders have been able to count on about 40 per cent of the State's electorate. In November their vote fell to 13 per cent (129,000) little more than twice the Socialist vote. The Republicans got 41 per cent and the Independents 38 per cent, indicative of the "hovering" nature of conditions.



The meat of the problem is right here: When the Independents come out for Direct Legislation, will enough Socialists and Democrats come under their banner to make up for the certain loss of those "honest business men" who will sacrifice everything to make government "clean" just so it is not pure?

H. S. WEBER.



## DEMOCRACY IN THE CANADIAN NORTH.

New Liskeard, New Ontario, Canada.

Even up here in this cold and frozen Canadian backwoods the waves of democracy are felt, and the people are demanding reform of the many abuses and graft that the present Provincial government of Ontario has sanctioned.

The District of Temiskaming is one of the richest silver mining camps the world has ever seen. Lying close beside the mineral lands is a wide clay belt of rich agricultural land. The land was covered with heavy forests, for despite the long, cold winters, vegetation is very rich. Into this country in which nature has provided with a prodigal hand for the wants of man, come the land grabber and the grafter, and the usual state of affairs follows in their wake.

Discontent and an ever growing appreciation of the fact that improvements should be exempt from taxation and that vacant land should bear its full share of taxes, combined with abuses sanctioned by the present Conservative government in Ontario are waking the spirit of democracy here, and the Liberals called a convention on Dec. 8th, 1910, for nominating a candidate to contest this riding at the next Provincial election. Mr. Arthur W. Roebuck was chosen as their candidate and he will make an active campaign.

Mr. Roebuck is the present owner and editor of "The Temiskaming Herald," the only truly progressive organ in the district. Until quite recently he

was also the editor of the "Cobalt Citizen," but that paper ceased publication a few months ago. Mr. Roebuck is a young man, with all a young man's energy and enthusiasm, and is an ardent and devoted disciple of Henry George. For some years he was the editor of the "Canadian Single Taxer," now "The Square Deal," published in Toronto. His platform will contain such planks as exemption of improvements from taxation, revision of the mining laws (a tax of a dollar per year per acre being advocated, whether the land is worked or idle), direct primaries, and the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Whether Mr. Roebuck is elected or not the educative value of his campaign will be great, as he is an accomplished public speaker and in addition has a full corps of energetic and enthusiastic workers to assist him, it being hoped to stump this entire district before election time, now about 18 months distant.

M. N.

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## LAND AND TAXATION.

Hackensack, N. J.

The recent amendment of the Constitution of the State of Oregon, in such a way as to give to counties local option in taxation and tax exemption, must encourage tax reformers in many States and lead them to inquire what may be done elsewhere. Perhaps many may be interested in a proposition I am trying to popularize in New Jersey.

Woodrow Wilson, in his speech accepting the nomination for Governor, mentioned as needing reform our complicated arrangements for obtaining public revenue. He probably did not have in mind especially the matter of local or municipal revenue, but what he did say gave an opening, and I sent him a copy of a letter of mine in a local paper (Hackensack) in which it was contended that the very large amount to be raised to erect and equip a high school should be considered as an expense to be met, not by general taxation but by taxes on land values alone. (In Hackensack at present seven-elevenths of all general taxes are paid by owners of buildings and personalty, and only four-elevenths by landowners.) Dr. Wilson, in replying, encouraged me to make a brief explanation and argument, intimating that he was prepared to try to form an opinion on the subject. The brief sent is as follows:

To Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Governor-Elect, Princeton, N. J.:

The following suggestion is made for the improvement in one respect of legislation providing methods of local taxation in the State of New Jersey:

It is a well recognized principle of American jurisprudence that it is equitable to legislate for special assessment upon owners of lands benefited by such public works as drainage, sewers, street paving, and even the establishment of public parks. The usual plan is, under general or special laws, to borrow money with which to provide such public improvements, and with the aid of commissioners, assess the cost upon owners of parcels benefited. The lands considered to be affected may be either abutting, contiguous or lying within a certain distance, near-by parcels affected being assessed more than those at a greater distance.

In New Jersey the practice differs even in adjoining political divisions in the same county. In some

towns streets are macadamized with the proceeds of general taxation, the expense falling upon owners of personal property, real estate improvements and lands alike. In others, macadamizing is paid for by special assessments upon abutting lands alone.

The rule followed in the case of special assessments is to consider lands as alone benefited and subject to special assessment, apparently because of a definite recognition of the fact that public improvements of a more or less permanent character increase the values of land only, and cannot be considered as affecting by way of betterment the values of either buildings or personal property. There appears to be at present no other resource than these two plans—either to raise money for improvements by general tax, or by special assessment on certain parcels of land.

In all towns of 5,000 population or over in New Jersey, it is now the rule to require assessors to list separately the value of lands, the value of buildings, and that of personal property. This gives in such taxing districts an annual separate total of land values. It is proposed that a law shall be drafted and submitted to the Legislature, permitting any municipality or taxing district of 5,000 population or over to obtain annually by a special rate of taxation on the total land value any money needed from year to year to apply on bonds or interest on bonds issued to pay for public improvements, or any money that is to be appropriated in one sum for the purpose of making a public improvement, local in character. The details of the proposition are to be worked out. The end desired is some simple way in which the people of a taxing district can by vote decide whether or not to discontinue the practice of collecting annually from owners of personal property and real estate improvements sums of money to be spent in making public improvements.

There is great dissatisfaction in many communities with the present method of taxation, both as to amounts of tax bills and as to the effects of the present system, and it is plain some relief should be obtained by those who improve property and are industrious or thrifty enough to acquire personal property. They should not be required to pay for public improvements to any greater extent than shown by the value of the land they own, if, as plainly appears to be the case, that value is the only one to be affected by increase as a result of public improvements made.

If the people of a district decide to avail themselves of the proposed legislation, it would be a simple matter for the local authority to fix the tax rate. If, for instance, \$10,000 is to be needed for special local public improvements in one year, and the tax duplicate shows \$10,000,000 of land values, a rate of ten cents on the \$100 would bring in the required amount, and this item would appear as a separate item on all tax bills.

A sample statement of working of plan to pay principal and interest of bonds by special rate on land only is as follows:

Suppose total valuations to be—

Land .....	\$ 4,500,000
Buildings, etc. ....	6,000,000
Personalty .....	500,000
	<hr/>
	\$11,000,000

On this total a rate of \$2.00 per \$100 would produce \$20,000. If of this \$40,000 is for interest and principal of bonds, \$180,000 for current expenses would be raised on the total valuation of \$11,000,000, or \$1.6363 per \$100, by the proposed plan, and \$40,000 for interest and principal of bonds must be raised on land valuation of \$4,500,000, or .8888 per \$100.

We can thus figure—

#### PRESENT PLAN.

A sample improved property, land \$500, buildings \$3,000, personally \$200, total \$3,700, and present total tax, \$74.00.

A sample parcel of land, unimproved, land \$500, tax \$16.00.

#### PROPOSED PLAN.

The sample improved tax on \$3,700 at \$1.6363, tax...\$60.54  
Special tax on land for bonds, .8888 on \$500, tax..... 4.44

Total .....\$64.98

The sample unimproved, \$500 at \$1.6363, and \$500 again at .8888, total rate \$2.5251, and total tax...\$12.63

Thus the tax on the improved property would be reduced \$9.02, or about 12½ per cent, and the tax on the unimproved property would be increased \$2.63, a little over 25 per cent.

All students of taxation who are keeping informed as to changes being suggested or made in various parts of the world, such as Australia, Germany, Canada and England, know that good results have come from measures designed to relieve industry and the products of industry from part of the burden of taxation, making up the shrinkage by increasing the amount of taxes paid by owners of lands, according to the value of their holdings. The tendency of changes in methods of taxation is away from the plan of treating all classes of property alike, and towards giving taxing districts some option as to how moneys shall be raised. Only recently the Mayor of Boston publicly called attention to the need of a change there; and in Colorado, Oregon and Rhode Island much attention has been given to propositions for local option in taxation.

A bill was introduced in our own legislature January 18, 1909, by Assemblyman Blauvelt, allowing officials of municipalities to provide by resolution that any class of property should be wholly exempted from taxation, and this bill received the endorsements of many public spirited citizens. Such a measure, no doubt, is too radical; but the suggestion here made provides for a certain elasticity in local taxing plans, involves no serious change in taxing practice, and would simply allow the people who have resolved to take advantage of legislative permission, to be sure that the current and future cost of public improvements should be met by the owners of the one class of property the value of which is kept up or caused in large part by such improvements.

To provide for street paving by assessment on abutting owners of lands, is an automatic system, if it may be so called, in that the increased value of the landowner's property enables him to pay assessments with cheerfulness. To provide for the cost of general public improvements, impossible to assess against any district within a taxing division, by a special rate on land values only, would also be an automatic system, in that the increased value of landowners' property should lead them to submit gracefully to the necessary increase in tax bills. It also opens up the possibility of providing more improvements than are possible under the present system, since there is necessarily a greater chance for

popular approval of large expenditures in proportion as the people see that those who are in a position especially to benefit will bear the cost. It has been the experience of many districts that meritorious propositions have been time and again defeated by the votes of citizens who find taxes on their homes and personal belongings too burdensome, and who realize that the financial profits from the proposed improvements will not attach to their homes, but often go largely to the owners of tracts of hitherto undeveloped lands.

Such a partial local option as suggested, moreover, must tend to bring about a valuable popular discussion and experiment in relation to methods of obtaining local public revenue, and there can be little doubt but that, if you could find it possible to express a favorable interest, the Legislature might be expected to give careful consideration to the suggestion herein embodied.

Those who live in States where assessors separately list the values of lands and of other taxable property, may especially find use for this proposition.

Even in States where the Constitution does not seem to permit local option in general taxation, a legal way might nevertheless be found to assess land values alone for the cost of public improvements, since the principle of assessing property benefited by improvements, and that only, is well established.

It may even be possible, in cities where land values are separately listed, for the governing body, by simple resolution, without special State legislative authority, to make the annual charge for interest and maturing bonds, the proceeds of which have been or are to be used to make public improvements, a special item in tax bills, figured on the land values only, and not on or against the buildings or personal property owned by taxpayers.

The difference between old plans and this new plan may not be very important or decisive in probable results. The main thing is to propose something definite, in order to promote public discussion, and preferably something that is moderate in departure from current practice, and not too far advanced for the average man to become interested in.

GEORGE WHITE.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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.

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Week ending Tuesday, January 31, 1911.

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### Initiative and Referendum in Illinois.

"For the restoration of representative government in Illinois," the Committee of Seven of the Peoria Conference (vol. xiii, p. 1035), of which

Walter S. Rogers is chairman, submits its proposed form of Constitutional amendment for the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, as follows:

Article IV.—Legislative Department: Section 1. The legislative authority shall be vested in a General Assembly which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, both to be elected by the people; but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and to enact or reject same at the polls, independent of the General Assembly, and also reserve power, at their own option, to approve or reject any act or measure passed by the General Assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the Initiative, and not more than eight per cent of the legal voters of this State shall be required to propose any law by Initiative petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the law so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than thirty days before any regular session of the General Assembly, and he shall transmit the same to the General Assembly as soon as it convenes and organizes. Such Initiative measures shall take precedence over all other measures in the General Assembly except appropriation bills, and shall be either enacted or rejected without change or amendment by the General Assembly within forty days. If any such Initiative measure shall be enacted by the General Assembly, it shall be subject to Referendum petition, or may be referred by the General Assembly to the people for approval or rejection. If it is rejected or if no action is taken upon it by the General Assembly within said forty days, the Secretary of State shall submit it to the people for approval or rejection at the next ensuing regular general election. The General Assembly may reject any measure so proposed by Initiative petition and propose a different one on the same subject, and in any such event, both measures shall be submitted by the Secretary of State to the people for approval or rejection at the next ensuing regular election. If the conflicting measures so submitted to the people shall be approved by a majority of the votes severally cast for and against the same, the one receiving the highest number of affirmative votes shall thereby become law as to all conflicting provisions. The second power reserved by the people is the Referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety) as to any measure passed by the General Assembly, either by Initiative petition or by the General Assembly as other bills are enacted. Not more than five per cent of the legal voters of the State shall be required to sign and make a valid Referendum petition. But if it is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety that a law should become effective without delay, such necessity and the facts creating the same shall be stated in one section of the bill, and if upon aye and no vote in each House two-thirds of all the members of each House shall vote on a separate roll call in favor of the said law going into instant operation for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, such law shall become operative upon the approval of the Governor. Referendum petitions against measures passed by

the General Assembly shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the General Assembly which passed the measure on which the Referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people shall be had at the next ensuing regular general election. Any measure referred to the people shall become a law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon and not otherwise, and shall take effect from the date of the official declaration of the vote. The style of all Initiative measures shall be "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois." This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the General Assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for the State officer having the highest number of votes at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the Initiative or for the Referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such a petition shall be counted, provided that not more than fifty per cent of the signers shall reside in any one county. All signatures must be verified by the circulators. Petitions and orders for the Initiative and Referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State and he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the resolution submitting this amendment until legislation shall be specially provided therefor. This amendment shall be self-executing, but legislation may be enacted specially to facilitate its operation.

The Committee of Seven calls attention to the fact that the demand for an amendment of which this is proposed as a proper form, was made at the election last fall by a vote of 447,908 to 128,398—a majority of 319,510; and to the further facts that it had "a substantial majority in every senatorial district," that every political platform endorsed it, that a constitutional majority in the House of Representatives is pledged to its passage, that the form proposed is unanimously adopted by the Committee of Seven, and endorsed by the Referendum League of Illinois and the Direct Legislation League of Illinois and all other public bodies and associations actively concerned in securing the Initiative and Referendum in this State. The Committee of Seven has established legislative headquarters at room 308, Odd Fellows' Building, Springfield, Ill.

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#### The Chicago Mayoralty.

Ex-Mayor Harrison issued on the 28th his declaration of principles as candidate for the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Chicago (p. 26) at the primaries on the 28th of February. As summarized by the Hearst papers, whose candidate Mr. Harrison is, his declaration commits him to the following:

General good demands public ownership of public utilities at the earliest possible moment; pending municipal ownership of public service corporations,

the best possible service at the lowest rates; seventy-cent gas, in recognition of an overwhelming majority; a popular vote at April election in case ordinance for higher gas rate is attempted; do away with private ownership of public utilities and contract system of performing public work, and the larger part of prevailing graft can be eliminated; pending legislation to eliminate contract system, a bureau of construction and repair should be established; proposed system of outer docks and harbors should be constructed, maintained and controlled by the city of Chicago, or the Sanitary District, preferably the first; recreation piers, a valuable adjunct to the system of small parks and playgrounds, should be constructed; public demand for a non-partisan administration of the school system is insistent; adequate police and fire protection must be afforded, and adequate pay must be given members of these departments; organized labor must be recognized in its legitimate activities and undertakings; adequate lighting facilities throughout the entire city; pending installation of through routes; universal transfers through downtown districts should be given; new crosstown lines and improvement of existing lines necessary for upbuilding of outlying districts; transportation needs of the future demand construction of through route subways and elimination of the loop; a square deal for all business interests demands the breaking up of the coal and building material trade monopolies; the re-establishment of honesty, economy and efficiency in the conduct of the city's affairs; a clean administration, devoid of the Cummings Foundry, shale rock, Rogers Coal, Chicago Fire Appliance, and other scandals; an honest expenditure of the city's revenues from taxes and licenses will make for better living conditions and increased wage among many underpaid city employes; Chicago's citizens demand the widest measure of personal liberty compatible with the comfort of the community; the widest application of the theories of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall; aid in all things which have for their purpose the betterment of Chicago and a beautiful and attractive municipality.

The political action committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, by Charles Dold, chairman, reported recommendations on the 29th to the effect (1) that the political policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies be adhered to; (2) that ward and precinct organizations be for that purpose formed by organized labor, and (3) that a political action committee be organized. These recommendations were adopted, together with the following amendment moved by John O'Neill of the City Firemen's Association:

That it is the sense of the Chicago Federation of Labor that at the coming direct primary election on February 28, at which the voters of the political parties will for the first time in Chicago vote directly for the selection of their party candidates for Mayor, the best interests of the working people of Chicago will be served by the nomination of the candidates on both the Democratic and Republican tickets that are freest from the domination of Big Business and

political bosses, and that these candidates are Edward F. Dunne on the Democratic ticket and Charles E. Merriam on the Republican ticket, there being no contest in the Socialist party at the primary election, and that there would be no question of control by Big Business and political bosses' if there were a contest.

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#### Vote Buying.

Excitement ran high on the 25th in Vermilion County, Illinois, the home of Speaker Cannon, over the exposures of vote buying (p. 82). Politicians of note, including the Mayor of Danville, a Democrat, and Judge Kimbrough, who had started the investigation, were summoned before the grand jury. This was understood to be a "come-back" from Mr. Cannon's friends, and it was supposed that it would operate to force a cessation of exposures. The grand jury is still in session.

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#### Senatorial Elections.

The expectation that James E. Martine would be elected Senator from New Jersey (p. 81) was verified in joint session of the New Jersey legislature on the 25th. The vote was 47 for Martine (Democrat), 3 for James Smith, Jr. (Democrat), 21 for Edward C. Stokes (Republican), 5 for John W. Griggs (Republican), 1 for Mahlon Pitney (Republican), 1 for John Kean (Republican), and 1 for Franklin Fort (Republican).

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Henry A. du Pont was re-elected Senator from Delaware in joint session on the 25th; also John H. Bankhead from Alabama, and Robert M. La Follette from Wisconsin. On the same day Clarence D. Clark was elected from Wyoming and Luke Lea from Tennessee. Senator Lea, proprietor of the Nashville Tennessean, is barely within the Senatorial age and is regarded as a democratic Democrat.

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Last week closed with Senatorial deadlocks in the legislatures of Montana, Colorado, Iowa and New York. In view of the deadlock in Iowa, Representative Dabney introduced a bill on the 30th providing that the Governor shall call a special election when a majority of the members of the legislature have signed a statement that they will abide by the will of the voters expressed thereat on the United States Senatorship, in case of vacancy as at present. This is equivalent to the immediate application of the Oregon plan to the Dolliver succession.

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In the West Virginia legislature (p. 81) all the Republican members of the lower House withdrew from the joint session on the 25th. The 15 Re-

publican Senators were out of the State. The joint ballot for United States Senator therefore resulted as follows: For the long term in place of Senator Scott, William E. Chilton (Democrat), 71, Thomas E. Hodges 3, W. I. Thompson 1, and John W. Davis 2; 58 being necessary for a choice Mr. Chilton was elected. For the short term in place of Senator Elkins, Clarence Watson (Democrat) 70, W. G. Bennett 4, and John W. Davis 2; 58 being necessary for a choice, Mr. Watson was elected. Governor Glasscock (Republican) refused to issue commissions to the Senators-elect, on the ground that the Senate had been irregularly organized by 15 Democrats who, in the absence of 15 Republicans, decided a contested seat in favor of a Democrat and thereupon organized. The dispute was settled on the 28th, however, by an agreement between the two parties that the Republicans would unite with the Democrats in another election of United States Senators.

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#### The Permanent Tariff Board.

A bill for the creation of a permanent Tariff Board, in place of the present Board, of which Henry C. Emery is chairman and James B. Reynolds and Alvin H. Sanders are the other members, was reported to the lower house of Congress on the 24th by the committee on ways and means unanimously. It provides for five members to be appointed by the President, only three to be of the same political party, whose duty it shall be—  
to investigate the cost of production of all articles which by any act of Congress now in force or hereafter enacted are made the subject of tariff legislation, with special reference to the prices paid domestic and foreign labor and the prices paid for raw materials whether domestic or imported, entering into manufactured articles, producers' prices and retail prices of commodities, whether domestic or imported, the condition of domestic and foreign markets affecting the American products, including detailed information with respect thereto, together with all other facts which may be necessary or convenient in fixing import duties or in aiding the President and other officers of the government in the administration of the customs laws, and such Board shall also make investigation of any such subject whenever directed by either House of Congress.

Other duties and powers of inquiry are provided for in the bill, with a view to supplying information regarding tariffs, etc., abroad as well as at home. The bill was discussed in the House on the 30th, when an amendment offered by James of Kentucky empowered the President to appoint three members and the minority party in Congress to appoint the other two, was lost by 127 to 142. An amendment by Barnhart of Indiana allowing the President to appoint one member, the presiding officer of the Senate two and the Speaker two, was defeated by 130 to 140. The bill was passed by 186 to 93.

#### Reciprocity With Canada.

A reciprocity agreement between the United States and Canada (vol. x, p. 199) was laid before the Dominion Parliament and the American Congress on the 26th. Following are among the articles it places on the reciprocal free list:

Cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, wheat, oats, barley, buckwheat, hay, onions, potatoes, dried fruits, cheese, fresh milk, eggs, cotton seed oil, flaxseed, garden seeds, codfish, halibut and other sea fish, oysters, fish oil, salt, timber, lumber, tin plate, steel wire, barbed wire,—provided they are of domestic production.

In addition to these exemptions there is a considerable reduction—

on meats, lard, flour, meals, agricultural implements, cutlery, timepieces, automobiles and coal,—provided they are of domestic production.

The agreement has been referred, by Congress, to the finance committee in the Senate and to the ways and means committee in the House.

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#### The National Congress in India.

The twenty-fifth National Congress of India (vol. xiii, pp. 563, 907) which meets each year during Christmas week (vol. xii, p. 62), was opened December 26, at Allahabad. Eight hundred delegates and four thousand visitors were in attendance, all the provinces being well represented. For the first time for years, an Englishman, Sir William Wedderburn, presided over the Congress, this being his second presidency. In outlining the program of the future work of the Congress the president emphasized the supreme importance of a propaganda in England. He warned the Indians not to let the new spirit of independence degenerate into race prejudice and not to forget the solid advantages derived from membership of the British Empire. It was impossible at present for India to stand alone, and a long apprenticeship was necessary.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Sir Charles W. Dilke, the Liberal English statesman, died on the 26th at the age of 67.

—The insurrections in Mexico (p. 11) and Honduras (p. 86) seem to be making progress.

—By a large majority Guthrie, Okla., adopted on the 30th a commission form of government.

—The commission form of government for Joliet was defeated on the 25th by a majority of 674 (p. 85).

—An engrossed and authenticated copy of the Statehood constitution (p. 86) for New Mexico was on the 28th formally forwarded to Congress.

—Among other proposals submitted on the 20th by a delegation from the Canadian Trades Congress to the Ontario premier for adoption by the Provincial

parliament, was a resolution of the Congress urging the adoption of the single tax by abolishing taxes on improvements.

—Emma Goldman (vol. xiii, p. 1133) is announced to lecture at Hod-Carriers' Hall, Harrison and Green streets, Chicago, Feb. 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

—Theodore Roosevelt (vol. xiii, p. 1213; vol. xiv, p. 49) begins a speaking tour of a month on the 8th of March through the South to San Francisco.

—Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, famous in the early seventies as the author of "Gates Ajar," died at Newton Center, Mass., on the 28th at the age of 67.

—At the convention of mine workers (vol. xiii, p. 803) at Columbus, Ohio, on the 25th, T. L. Lewis was defeated for re-election as president by John P. White, by 72,190½ to 98,934.

—According to a Lisbon paper the new Republican government of Portugal (vol. xiii, p. 1214) has decided to pay a monthly pension of \$3,300 to its deposed King, who is now in England.

—The Philippine volcano of Taal, situated on a small island in a lake about 34 miles from Manilla, is in eruption for the first time since 1873. Villages on the shores of the lake have been damaged or destroyed by showers of mud and stones, and by a volcanic tidal wave.

—The Francisco Ferrer (vol. xiii, p. 1001) Association has established an educational center at 6 St. Marks Place, New York. Leonard D. Abbott, Bayard Boyesen and Bolton Hall are the president, secretary and treasurer respectively of the association, the object of which is to perpetuate the memory and work of Francisco Ferrer.

—The match trust, of which the corporate name is the Diamond Match Company, has surrendered its patent on "sesqui-sulphide" (p. 83), at the request of President Taft, and on the 28th the patent was officially cancelled. This enables independent match factories to abandon the use of white phosphorous without putting themselves at a commercial disadvantage.

—The case of the Bucks Stove and Range Company against Samuel Gompers and others of the American Federation of Labor for boycotting (vol. xiii, p. 707) was dismissed by the Supreme Court of the United States on the 27th, on the ground that as the immediate parties had settled, the case was now only a "moot case." The question of contempt for alleged disobedience of the injunction was argued and submitted on the 30th.

—The Women's Henry George League of New York city gives a Lincoln birthday dinner on the 11th at 6:30 at the Cafe Boulevard, Second Avenue and Tenth street, at which the price of places at table is \$1.25. The principal subject of discussion will be the Children's Court, with these speakers: Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr of Hampton's Magazine, Ernest K. Coulter, clerk of the Juvenile Court, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett of the National Suffrage League, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, Mrs. Theodore Roberts, Gilbert E. Roe, Frank Stephens, and Bolton Hall.

—A bill to incorporate the American Jewish Committee, to consist of from 13 to 21 members, was introduced in the New York Legislature on the 30th

by Senator Pollock. Its objects are to prevent the infraction of civil and religious rights of the Jews in any way, to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of the threatened or actual invasion of such rights; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunities; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews wherever they may occur. Among the incorporators named are Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall and Mayer Sulzberger.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Responsibility Goes With Power.

Emporia (Kansas) Weekly Gazette (Pro-Rep.), Jan. 19.—The points upon which the platforms of the Democrats and Republicans agree are upon the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, public utilities, the Oregon plan for electing United States Senators, labor legislation and economy of administration. These common platform promises should be redeemed, and it makes no difference whether they are redeemed by Democratic measures or Republican measures, just so the measures go the whole distance, and are not half way measures, meaning little, keeping the promise with the word and breaking it in spirit. . . . This is no time for any one to play politics. This is the time when every loyal citizen of whatever party should remember that parties are organized for the people, and that the people do not exist merely to give one party or the other an advantage at election time. . . . The five Democrats who took the organization of the Senate from the friends of the Governor and put it in the hands of the corporation lobbyists are good men—as good men as ever got into shoe leather. They were playing politics a little, and it's all right—providing they remember that in the long run Kansas demands real results and not paper promises.

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### Railroad Rates.

The (Los Angeles) Graphic (ind.), Jan. 14.—The railroads do not rob the people. Although the fourteen million dollar freight bill of Los Angeles might be cut in half or even less, the people would not get the money, nor would the shippers in their capacity as shippers. Although the Pacific Mail cuts out Los Angeles and San Diego, and the Panama railroad is actually, though not nominally, an adjunct of the transcontinental railroads, were it not so the people would not be the gainers, nor yet the shippers. The railroads share the unearned increment of the nation's land. They disburse, or hold in their stockholders' pockets, not the earnings of the poor, but a big share of the profits on land monopoly that otherwise would go into the pockets of the owners of the land. Ninety per cent of the population of the United States, counting the mortgaged homes that will not be redeemed, are landless. This 90 per cent has nothing to gain or lose by all this turmoil over cheaper rates. If shoes were carried West and oranges East for ten cents a ton, only those who are in position to reap the unearned increment on land

values would be actual gainers. . . . The earth and all its riches belong to those who own the land, and wherever there is a surplus of wealth beyond the actual needs of the producers, it belongs, and sooner or later finds its way, to the land owners. . . . It may, or may not, take many hundred years yet to expunge the institution of private property in land, but, nonetheless, it is the only thing that will avail to bring about industrial peace and plenty.

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#### Our Taxation Abuses.

The (Pittsburg) Spectator (ind.), Jan. 20.—The plan is worthy and insistent—to wipe out the agricultural and rural classification of taxation on city property. As it now stands the large residence estates of rich citizens and the open land of speculators are rated little higher than farm lands, while manufacturing sites get the other limit. If the Chamber of Commerce can get the abolishment of this abuse through the legislature, they will have the thanks of 99 per cent of the people. They will also help to restore manufacturing activity in our needful city.

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#### The Next Step in Great Britain.

(London) Land Values (l. v. taxation), January—It is not disputed that this attack on land monopoly brought the Liberal party into the affections of the people, and it will be a bad day for Liberalism if its leaders are tempted to forget that the fruits of this policy are not yet to hand. In the local rating of land values the Government have the power, all that is wanted is the will, fully to redeem the promises held out to the country by their radical land reform policy. Leaders of the Tory party in Parliament favor the local rating of land values; the Tory party in the country is honeycombed with men who are for it; and the unattached man has already indicated his allegiance to the party which, in the words of Sir Edward Grey, "first masters that question—the taxation of land values—which first makes it its own, which can show that it is really capable of dealing with it, and is really prepared to deal with it, and is not going to let itself be hampered by vested interests for exercising its intelligence upon it freely."

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#### Fundamental Democracy in Massachusetts.

The Boston Common (ind.), Jan. 14.—The movement in Massachusetts toward fundamental democracy, toward equality of privileges and opportunities before the law, has received new life and hope from the inaugural message of Governor Foss. What among average citizens had been only a sense of injustice he put into specific expression, thus creating an inevitable issue. Frankly, why should not the people of Massachusetts govern themselves? . . . Why need a self-respecting people avow incapacity by pleading the necessity of a privileged class to protect them against themselves? . . . The time has come for New England to view open-mindedly the improvement in government which has come in progressive Western States along with or resulting from Direct Nominations, the Initi-

ative, the Referendum and the Recall; and to consider how much longer a habit of mind inhospitable to new ideas can suffice to shut the same benefit out of the States of the North Atlantic seaboard. The majority for Foss was a token of protest which he seeks to guide into constructive channels. The protest exists and the force of it is growing. It will not abate because complacent provincialism does not like to take it seriously.

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#### Cure for Disemployment.

(London) Land Values (l. v. taxation), January—It is Mr. Ure's conviction, and it is ours, that while a system of insurance may be a cure for evils arising out of unemployment, the problem itself can best be dealt with by opening up the land. As Mr. Ure says, one of the main remedies for unemployment lies in opening up the land, free and unrestricted, and that the all essential preliminary to effecting free access to the land is by the taxation of land values. This will cheapen land, and bring it into the market. It will render land accessible to the people, and will do more than any other measure to give great encouragement and stimulus to the industries of the country.

+ +

#### Oregon's Best Asset.

The (Portland), Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), Jan. 11.—Along with the others, Woodrow Wilson, now appearing as one of the most brilliant statesmen of his time, has come out with an emphatic indorsement of the Oregon plan of government. It is the latest in a long line of accentuated approval. In the past ten days, from State capitals here and there throughout the country, have come plaudits for the system Oregon people have created. Everywhere, the system has been heralded as a model fit for copying. It has been the Governors of great commonwealths who have given it sanction. It has been to the assembled legislators of great States that the commendatory utterances have been made. It has been in appeals to these legislators to adopt the plan that these Governors have spoken. . . . Was ever a State so phenomenally commended and so favorably proclaimed? Was ever a State so widely heralded and so emphatically indorsed by so many men in high station? Are we not all glad that we prevented the Assembly from depriving us of our splendid system of government, a system that the past few days have shown us to be our best public asset?

+ + +

Of a truth it is fortunate that our liberties have been handed down to us by our forefathers, if for no other reason than that nothing in the world can be so battered up as an heirloom and still look respectable. Several of our liberties are to that degree worse for wear we should scarcely wish to have them about, only for the flavor of antiquity which clings to them; and they are liberties, too, of such importance that if they were banished altogether we should perhaps cease to be known as a free country, and by that leave the many foreigners who now visit our shores out of a pardonable curiosity, with little or nothing to allure them hither.—Puck.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE SCHOOL OF TEARS.

("In the gall of bitterness.")

For The Public.

"O damn the past!" he frowning said.  
 "Its flowers lie blackened by its frost;  
 Its firefy joys have flashed and sped!  
 Its rainbow hopes, in clouds, are lost!  
 The taper lit by love—how briefly bright!  
 Dear, useless dreams—dissolved in starless night!

"No strain from heav'n e'er thrilled my heart,  
 But prelude was, to wailing hell!  
 From sin, its suff'ring, none can part!  
 Sad ashes speak, the tale to tell,  
 What wealth was burned, in fatal fires of truth,  
 While folly drank and danced with foolish Youth!"

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("In His marvelous light.")

"The school of tears!" he smiling said.  
 "The lesson learned leaves nothing lost;  
 To higher, wider life I'm led;  
 What use to mourn the tearful cost!  
 The child which Sorrow bears through needless  
 pain,  
 Despite the cost, is still a priceless gain!

"Far brighter flowers shall bud and bloom;  
 Unending joys, my soul shall fill;  
 Unfading hopes gild ev'ry gloom;  
 Undying love, my heart-strings thrill!  
 Thou, Soul of Love, art teaching me—through  
 tears—  
 To help Thee swell the music of the spheres!"

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.

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#### SOCIAL CENTERS.

A Letter from Charles Frederick Adams to the Minneapolis Tribune of January 27, 1911, on School Buildings as Social Centers.

Pray permit me, as a visiting friend and sincere admirer of this splendid municipality, to congratulate it (and American cities generally, which will all be aided by the example) upon the enlightened beneficent and most encouraging resolution passed by your Board of Education to permit, invite and suggest a wider use (by the citizens) of their school property for the "holding of meetings having for their purpose the advancement of civic betterment," etc.

For whatever other good purposes this generous and patriotic invitation may be utilized by the thoughtful and public spirited Minneapolitans I sincerely hope that, in as many neighborhoods as possible, there will be maintained non-partisan

and non-sectarian citizens' "forums," meeting regularly as often as once a week and in the sittings of which the neighbors may become acquainted, may "size each other up," compare notes, consult, discuss, about public affairs; educate and develop one another; encourage and inspire the young men to enlist with enthusiasm in the holy war for the general welfare; call before them, meet face to face (and compare with one another) the rival would-be leaders and aspirants to public office, hear them, examine them, let them know what the people want! "Back to the Town-meeting!" must be our cry.

I prophesy that, if our democracy is to be real, decent and tolerable, before many years in all our cities the voters of each polling precinct will be "ex officio" (so to speak) members of just such a Citizens' Council, non-partisan and non-sectarian, and that these primary forums will gradually be co-ordinated and federated by really representative committees of various grades (district, county, State and national), the whole providing the American people with that social nervous system which it now lacks, and which will serve as the appropriate and adequate organ for the rational development of an intelligent public opinion upon questions of the public interest, as well as of its formulation and promulgation with such guarantees of authenticity as shall give it prestige, directness and the weight and influence which it would deserve.

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#### BAD TAXES MAKE BAD BUSINESS.\*

Report of the Committee on Taxation (Oliver T. Erickson, Chairman, J. S. Brase and C. W. Stimson) of the Manufacturers Association of Seattle, State of Washington.

Within the last two or three years it has been

\*This extraordinarily clear and sound statement of the relation of business to taxation, although adopted by the committee on taxation of the Manufacturers' Association of Seattle, was defeated in the Association by a narrow majority owing to the opposition of Seattle land speculators. The report was strongly commended by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of November 12, 1910 (the leading Republican paper of the State of Washington), which said on the subject editorially that "there is no reason why the legislature should not submit to the people of Washington the question of exempting manufacturing establishments from taxation. With an abundance of raw material, Washington can easily become one of the foremost manufacturing States in the Union. Within the borders of this State there is work for hundreds of thousands of thrifty toilers. But capital is needed to open up the opportunities to them. Any State policy which will make the Washington field attractive to investors will be a wise policy. It will increase the State's wealth, increase its taxable values, give employment to many men, and add greatly to the commercial, industrial and financial prestige of the commonwealth. The next legislature should submit the Constitutional amendment suggested. . . . Factories should be given a free field in this State."

the policy of the assessor's office in this county to increase the personal property assessments of manufacturing and other industrial establishments. In this work the assessor has been prompted by the requirements of our laws and an ambition to increase the revenues. While his actions in this direction may have slightly increased our tax receipts, it has driven industrial institutions from Seattle, kept new ones from coming, and set some of those now established here to thinking of moving to more favorable locations. The net result has been an injury to the city ten times as great as the increased taxes coming to the county treasury.

That these increased assessments are a menace to our factories is evident from the fact that they have been resisted to the point of litigation. Progressive and thoughtful manufacturers and business men, all over the world, realize that the personal property tax is a relic of primitive times—that in our day of great and complex industrial activity this tax is a failure as a revenue getter and destructive of industrial enterprise.

#### Failure of Personal Property Taxation.

In many progressive countries and communities it has been abolished. In some parts of the United States, where assessors and their constituents realize its evil effects, the personal property tax is nullified by nominal assessments. Wherever this tax has been reduced or abolished, the effect has been beneficial. In Baltimore the machinery used in manufacturing plants is exempt from taxation. In boasting of the city's progress, the Baltimore Sun spoke of this exemption as follows: "The exemption of manufacturing plants has been one of the greatest sources of prosperity to Baltimore, and the impetus thus given to the establishment and extension of manufacturing industries in our city has far exceeded in value the taxes which have been abated. In some lines Baltimore now ranks among the leading manufacturing centers of the country, and this is mainly the result of the growth in the last fifteen or sixteen years. Employment has been furnished to thousands of our citizens, and it would be difficult to estimate the addition either to the number of inhabitants or to the amount of taxable basis directly due to the development of our manufactures."

From literature gathered by your committee might be quoted pages of arguments and resolutions advocating the abolition of personal property taxes. The opinion of students and industrial bodies in general is briefly and forcibly summed up by the Advisory Commission on Taxation and Finance of the city of New York, which said in a report: "The personal property tax is a farce. It falls inequitably upon the comparatively few who are caught. The burden it imposes upon production is out of all proportion to the revenue it produces. Year after year State and local assessing boards have denounced it as impracticable

in its workings and unjust in its results. These recommendations have for the most part passed unheeded or have led to ineffectual attempts to bolster up the law. It is time the situation was faced squarely, and the tax in its present form abolished."

The Tax Reform Association of Philadelphia, in a memorial commending the exemption laws of Pennsylvania, went to the meat in the "pay-roll" cocoanut when it said: "Our supremacy as a manufacturing State is unquestioned, and it is generally conceded that the attainment of this supremacy has in no small degree been due to the wise policy of our tax laws. It has hitherto been the policy of the laws of Pennsylvania to exempt from taxation so much of the capital stock of manufacturing corporations as is exclusively employed in manufacturing. Manufacturing companies have thus been attracted to our State. They have brought in much movable capital and kept it employed here, increasing the incomes of our people and enhancing the value of real estate. They have come and grown and prospered here because their helpfulness to the commonwealth has been more appreciated by our laws than by the laws of other States in which they might have settled, or to which their business might be attracted. The method by which taxes are raised has more effect upon the general welfare than has the amount collected, because even a small tax upon an industry which is exposed to competition will sometimes bear so heavily upon it as to destroy it, or drive it out of the taxing district into another district which, though it may raise a larger amount of taxes, does so in a manner which does not hamper production or trade. In conclusion permit us to recommend for your consideration the 'Golden Rule of Taxation' formulated in 1871 by Enoch Ensley: 'Never Tax Anything That Would be of Value to Your State, and That Could and Would Run Away, or That Could and Would Come to You.'"

The Minneapolis Evening Journal, in commenting on the 1910 personal property tax, made the following observations: "One of the annual joke books of the Minneapolis municipal system is now complete—in manuscript. It is the report of the assessor, on personal property. The only thing that has kept it out of the hands of the train boys is that it isn't issued in fancy paper covers like the works of Joe Miller. Otherwise it has Mr. Miller lashed to the mast and screaming for assistance. No one man could have figured out such a complete series of comedy. Every owner of personal property in Minneapolis helped out on this. There is plenty of it and yet it isn't all padded with facts. There is a laugh in every line."

#### Tax Reforms In Canada.

Inasmuch as radical changes in methods of taxation have been inaugurated in Canada, we desire to call your attention to what is being done

by our neighbors and competitors across the British line.

To any one who investigates carefully and intelligently, it is evident that Canadian communities, by changing antiquated methods of taxation, are offering inducements that divert commerce from Seattle to Vancouver, and draw farmers to Alberta instead of eastern Washington.

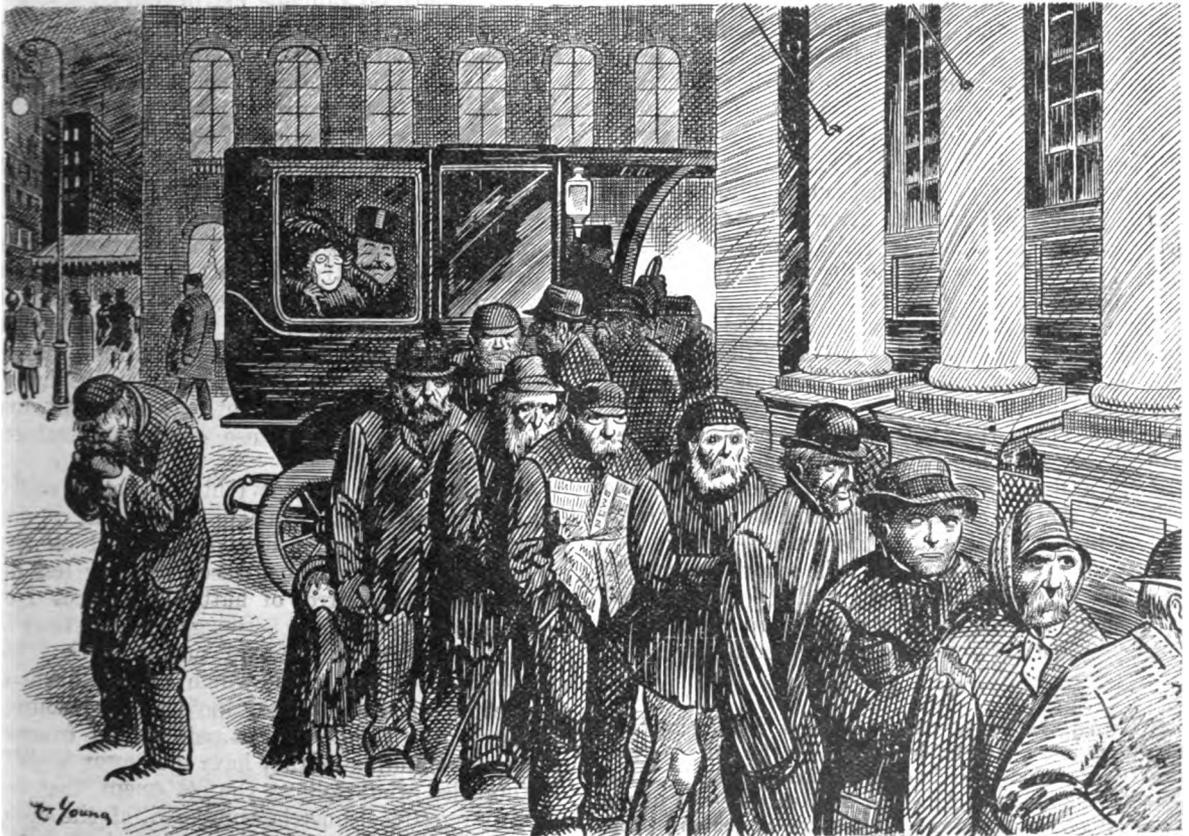
In an address delivered before the International Tax Association, the Tax Commissioner of Edmonton made the following statements: "The system of assessment in vogue in most of our towns and cities is assessment according to the actual value of the land, exclusive of the improvements thereon; and there is no assessment of personal property. As it may be of interest to some of you to know how the system works out in practice, I may say that it is found to give splendid satisfaction. This system is found to be most conducive to the prosperity of the community. In the opinion of some of the most prominent men in some of our largest cities, the system of taxation on land values without regard to improvements or personal property, is the most equitable form of assessment, and any move to make a change would meet with little, if any, support.

This conclusion is arrived at after years of experience with the raising of funds to meet the requirements of rapidly growing cities. And the expense of carrying on the affairs of such cities in a new country, such as the Province of Alberta, is, as you are no doubt aware, very high."

But we have deemed it advisable to go farther than this testimony from the Tax Commissioner of Edmonton, for the cities of Alberta are not large.

Vancouver, however, is in a class with the leading cities of Washington, and it too has abolished taxes on personal property and on all improvements on land. The total exemption in this city went into effect at the beginning of the year, and Mayor Taylor has recently written of its benefits in the most glowing terms.

To satisfy ourselves that his conclusions harmonized with the facts, we turned our attention to the building records of Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane and Vancouver. We have compared the records of the building inspector's offices of these cities for the first seven months in 1909 and 1910, and the figures are certainly startling. In Spokane there was a decrease of 16 per cent over last year; in Tacoma a decrease of 24 per cent; and in Seattle



SEEING THE BREAD LINE.  
"How Interesting!"

(From Puck, Copyright, 1911. By permission.)

a decrease of 20 per cent; while in Vancouver there was an increase of 86 per cent.

These facts and figures indicate that Tacoma and Spokane, with approximately the same population, are no longer in the race with Vancouver. That within a year it will lead Seattle in building operations, notwithstanding this city has more than double its population and has the best natural advantages of any city in the Northwest.

Here we have conditions confronting us as well as theories, and it will not do to play ostrich, stick our heads in the sand and pass resolutions that we are safe. It is time to act, or Washington will soon be playing second fiddle to British Columbia, with Vancouver the leading city of Puget Sound.

#### Recommendations.

We realize fully the necessity of advertising our wares, our city, and our State. But, unless conditions for manufacturing and commerce are as favorable here as a hundred miles away, our advertising is simply going to bring people and business to British Columbia and Alberta, and not to us.

Your committee has given much thought and careful consideration to this work. Literature bearing on the question has been secured from many parts of the United States, from Canada, England, and New Zealand. Much more testimony might be submitted, but with the matter laid before you, we feel justified in making the following recommendations:

*First*—That this Association use its influence for the adoption of a Constitutional amendment which will exempt from taxation all personal property, except franchises of public service corporations and buildings and equity in land listed as personal property.

*Second*—That this report be printed and your committee instructed to lay it before the Governor of our State, the State Tax Commissioner, and the legislature.

*Third*—That the Governor be requested to send one or more of the State Tax Commissioners to British Columbia and Alberta to investigate the effect of their exemption laws and be prepared to report to the legislature at its next session.

*Fourth*—That a copy of this report be sent to each newspaper in the State, and the editor asked to co-operate with us in our efforts to bring about better industrial conditions in Washington.



To take the taxes out of ground rent, really, is not taxing the land-holder at all; it is merely ceasing to give him the unearned increment; it takes from no one; it simply stops a private use of public property. It also stops a public use of private property. It leaves the land-holder his; it leaves you yours; it leaves me mine; and it gives to all of us ours.—A. G. Beecher.

## BOOKS

### GIFFORD PINCHOT'S CONSERVATION.

*The Fight for Conservation.* By Gifford Pinchot. New York. Doubleday, Page & Co. Price 60 cents net.

There is no voice of "howling dervish" here. It is the plain spoken utterance of a man who understands what he is writing about, who sincerely means what he says, and who seriously says what he means. Prosperity, morality, equality of opportunity—these are among the high notes he strikes.

It may indeed seem curious that so keen sighted an investigator could say, as the author does at page 66, that he believes in "dividends for the people as well as taxes," without detecting the relation between them. Of course there is no relation between social dividends and taxes of the piratical sort; but normally the ad valorem taxation of privilege values which those of us with valuable privileges pay, are the dividends of those of us who have no valuable privileges.

But Mr. Pinchot's attention is concentrated in this volume, and properly so, upon the battle for equal opportunities as expressed in the great fight for conservation of natural resources, and that is enough for one man's mind at one time.

That this involves, however, the far reaching principle which more or less unconsciously affects the author's thought, may be seen from such observations of his as these: Conservation means "fairness in the distribution of the benefits which flow from the natural resources;" it "holds that it is about as important to see that the people in general get the benefit of our natural resources as to see that there shall be natural resources left;" and "that the people have not only the right, but the duty, to control the use of the natural resources."

And how could a great truth be better stated than in these words: "There is no form of monopoly which exists or ever has existed on any large scale, which was not based more or less directly upon the control of natural resources"? or how could the remedy be better generalized than in these: "There is no form of monopoly that has ever existed or can exist, which can do harm if the people understand that the natural resources belong to the people of the nation, and exercise that understanding as they have the power to do"?

Note also what follows the statement that our natural resources must be conserved, at the opening of Chapter x: "That is good, but it settles only half the question. For whose benefit shall they be conserved—for the benefit of the many, or

for the use and profit of the few?" Nor has the author an ear only for economic adjustment. He senses all that is involved. Regarding those who "lead lives of brutalizing overwork in return for the barest living," he asks: "Is it fair that these thousands of families should have less than they need, in order that a few families should have swollen fortunes at their expense?"

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—**The Rational Life.** By Will J. Erwood. Published by Will J. Erwood Co., Baltimore, Md. 1910. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

—**Industrial Accidents and Their Compensation.** By Gilbert Lewis Campbell. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

Following are among the pamphlets we have recently received:

**How to Reduce Your Rates and Taxes.** United Committee, 20 Tothill St., London. 1d.

**Report of the Minnesota Tax Commission on the taxation of corporations.** Free. St. Paul, Minn.

**Report of the Minnesota Tax Commission on "The State as a Taxpayer."** Free. St. Paul, Minn.

**Report of the Minnesota Tax Commission, on the taxation of money and credits.** Free. St. Paul, Minn.

**Report of the Minnesota Tax Commission on the taxation of incomes and on inheritance taxes.** Free. St. Paul, Minn.

**Safety, Honour and Welfare.** A conversation with Lloyd George. By Harold Begbie. Hodder & Stoughton, London. 1d.

**Report of the Minnesota Tax Commission on the taxation of vessels, of grain, and of timber lands, logs and lumber.** Free. St. Paul, Minn.

**Elements of a Constructive Franchise Policy.** By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Franchises of New York, and author of "Municipal Franchises." Free.

**Land Reform in Theory and Practice.** By James Dundas White, LL.D., M. P., with a preface by David Lloyd George. United Committee, 20 Tothill St., London. 1d.

**Direct Legislation; or, the Initiative and Referendum.** What it is and why we need it. By Robert L. Scott. Manitoba Federation for Direct Legislation, Winnipeg. 25 cents.

**Legislation upon Industrial Education in the United States.** Bulletin No. 12 of National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. 20 W. 44th St., New York. Free.

**Report of the Employers' Liability Commission of the State of Illinois from March 24 to September 15, 1910.** Illinois Association for Labor Legislation. 29 N. Pine Ave., Chicago. Free.

**Australia To-Day (1911).** Profusely and richly illustrated. 176 pages. Special number of the Australian Traveler, Commercial Travelers' Association, 190 Flinders St., Melbourne, Australia.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Everybody's.

Read Lincoln Steffens' installment of "It" in *Everybody's* (New York) for February, and you will understand perfectly why business men of the Big Graft variety, and their lawyers and politicians, are opposed to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

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### The State and the Land.

Sir Roland K. Wilson, M. A., opposed by J. H. Levy, presents an individualistic theory of land tenure in *The Individualist* for November-December. P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, 2 and 4 Great Smith street, Westminster, London, S. W. 2d.

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### American Newspapers.

Beginning with an article on "The Power of the Press," in *Collier's* for January 21, Will Irwin purposes covering in that periodical the whole subject of American journalism under the general title of "The American Newspaper: A Study of Journalism in its Relation to the Public." That these articles will be interesting is sufficiently probable from their author's name, and the first of the series is indicative of the value of all. The promise is that mainly they are to "be a piece of reporting" on the exploration of an "uncharted country."

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### Twentieth Century

Beginning his series on "The Religion of Henry George" in the February issue of the *Twentieth Century* (Boston), Herbert S. Bigelow says: "Just as modern science has driven superstition out of plague and pestilence and flood, Henry George has driven superstition out of the domain of economics. He has shown that the moral order of the universe extends even there. He has shown that poverty is caused by the violation of social laws which are just as certain as that floods spring from denuded forests."

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### "Back to the Land."

Judging by the leading editorial of its January number, *Wilshire's Magazine* (New York) labors under the hallucination that cities are not built on land, and that going "back to the land" means going to the farm, or to the backwoods, or the mines. Its editor might improve his economic perceptions by re-reading—no, by only just reading—the second chapter of the fourth book of "Progress and Poverty," wherein it is made pretty clear that acre for acre city sites are vastly more productive under appropriate use by labor than the most fertile soil.

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### The Chicago Single Taxer.

The first number of a new "Georgean propaganda monthly for land values taxation" has been issued from the headquarters of the Chicago Single Tax

Club (508 Schiller Bldg.). Adalbert Wangemann, Secretary of the Club, is announced as editor and publisher. The little magazine consists of sixteen (unnumbered) pages, creditably printed. The purpose of the publication is to give "short clear-cut arguments, facts and general information" suitable for use in propaganda work on single tax lines—a field in which the editor has had wide and useful experience. (Subscription price, 50 cents a year; single copies, 5 cents.)

A. T. P.

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**Open Lands and Busy Hands.**

Under the heading of "Idle Lands and Idle Hands" in the Madrid Herald, Jan. 5, Mr. Antonio Albendin

attacks the "vacant lot industry" in Madrid and its suburbs, where on account of much idle land Madrid could well be called "the city of vacant lots." It has been proposed in their Senate, as a mode of correcting this evil, that all lots remaining without buildings one year after the law becomes effective should be sold at public auction. As a better plan Mr. Albendin suggests the cultivation of the vacant lots by the unemployed, and he gives a brief history of this scheme in Philadelphia, where it was applied in a small way in 1897, developing so that in 1906 it gave employment to 800 families, the value of their product being \$40,000. He states further that 130 cities and villages in France have adopted the Philadelphia idea and in 1904 6,400 lots were under cultivation. In addition the great railroad compa-

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nies allowed the unemployed to cultivate the unused land along their rights of way. By this method much could be done, he argues, to better the condition of the unemployed in Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla or wherever a market could be found for vegetables, flowers, etc.

C. L. LOGAN.

+ + +

"Some misguided men," observed the boarding house philosopher, "think they are righteous because

they don't devour widows' houses and don't make long prayers."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"Martha, dost thou love me?" inquired Seth of the Quaker maiden.

"Why, Seth, we are commanded to love one another," quoth the maiden.

"Ah, Martha, but dost thou feel what the world calls love?"

"I hardly know what to tell thee, Seth. I have

# 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.

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tried to bestow my love upon all, but I have sometimes thought that thou wast getting more than thy share."—Detroit Saturday Times.

\* \* \*

"So you are from the West!" exclaimed the Boston woman.

"Yes," replied the lady from Omaha, "I am not only from the West, but I am a native of the West."

"Dear me, are you? How interesting. I like the West very much."

"Then you have been there?"

"Yes, I spent several days in Worcester last sum-

mer and I almost went as far as Albany."—Chicago Record-Herald.

\* \* \*

"You put me in the 'deaths' column yesterday!" exclaimed an irate farmer to the editor of the Plunkville Clarion.

"Then you're not dead?" said the editor.

"Certainly not," replied the farmer, "and I demand that you correct it at once."

"But the Clarion never retracts, sir," mused the editor. "I don't see what I can do."

The farmer raved. "You must retract!" he yelled.

## "Lest We Forget"—

**W**E want to introduce THE PUBLIC to 10,000 new readers this year—1911. We can do it. We want your help.

**O**UR present clubbing plan (3 new subscriptions for \$2) has already brought us a large number of new subscriptions. One friend has lately sent us his check for \$50 and a list of 75 yearly subscribers, another has sent \$18 for 27 subscriptions, several have sent \$10 with 15, others again \$12 for 18, \$6 for 9, and so on. All of them yearly subscribers. Our chances of holding these as permanent subscribers is about 7 out of 10—which means a very substantial growth.

**W**E are ready now to amplify this plan by making the same ratio of discount on half-yearly subscriptions, in order to introduce THE PUBLIC to more people. Our experience is that in most cases anything less than six months does not "sink in."

**H**OWEVER, the most important part of this plan is this: When you send a club, you also write to each new subscriber a personal letter, telling him that you have paid for a year's subscription to THE PUBLIC to be sent to his address, and telling him WHY you want him to read it.

**T**HIS personal interest of yours, and this personal introduction, is sure to make your friend read it—he comes to THE PUBLIC predisposed in its favor and therefore reads it more carefully than he otherwise would. He is sure to become a permanent subscriber, unless—well, unless. We are bound to strike a "stand-pat" intellect once in a while.

**N**OW then, to enlarge this excellent propaganda we are ready to apply the same ratio of discount to half-year subscriptions. It makes more work for us—but we eat work down here at this shop—and the slight added expense taking care of them is more than compensated by the extra good.

**F**OR instance: Say you have 36 friends and acquaintances to whom you would like to introduce THE PUBLIC. You send us \$12. That pays for 36 half-year subscriptions. Then you also send a letter as suggested above to each one of the 36. The probability that they will renew the subscription of their own accord at the end of the six months is the greatest possible. We are sure to hold a large percentage.

**I**F you want to figure out how many half-year subscriptions you can send for \$1, multiply by three. \$2 pays for 6, \$5 pays for 15, \$10 pays for 30, etc. And it isn't necessary to do it all at once. Send a few this month, a few next, another batch when you are flush again, and so on.

**D**ON'T bust the bank trying to help in this, and be sure to keep enough to buy shoes for the children, but if you have a few dollars that are not busy, and want to boost THE PUBLIC and its kind of democracy—we're ready at this end.

EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

"It means loss of business to me to be thought dead, even for a day."

"Tell you what we'll do," said the man of strict adherence, "we'll put you in the 'Births' to-morrow."  
—The Bellman.

✦ ✦ ✦

Peggy: "Was that p'liceman ever a little baby, mother?"  
Mother: "Why, yes, dear." Peggy

(thoughtfully): "I don't believe I've ever seen a baby p'liceman!"—The Continent.

✦ ✦ ✦

"Where," asks the New York Herald, "was Gifford Pinchot when the light went out?"

He seems to have been getting another match.—Chicago Record-Herald.

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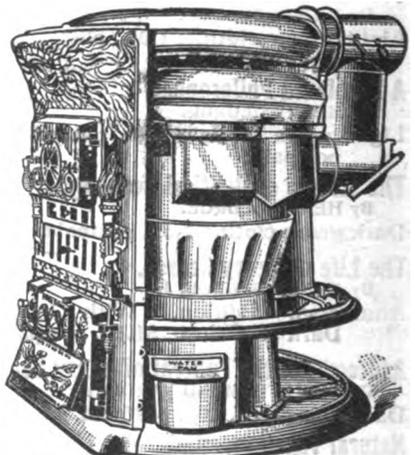
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