

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana | HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York | JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois |
| LINCOLN STEFFENS, Connecticut | ROBERT BAKER, New York | R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota |
| L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island | BOLTON HALL, New York | W. G. EGGLESTON, Oregon |
| HENRY F. RING, Texas | FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware | LEWIS H. BERENS, England |
| HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio | HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin | J. W. S. CALLIE, England |
| FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio | MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa | JOSEPH FELS, England |
| MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio | S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota | JOHN PAUL, Scotland |
| BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio | WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri | GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand |
| | C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon | |

Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1911.

No. 692

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1893, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

The Insurgents and Reciprocity.

That the Insurgent Republicans have lost ground politically in consequence of their attitude toward the Taft reciprocity agreement is sadly true. But it does not follow that they are therefore chargeable with disloyalty to principle. The truth of the matter is quite the other way. Should it turn out that they have in the long run lost ground, their sacrifice will have been a sacrifice to principle. It is a bad principle, to be sure—bad in civic morals and utterly unsound in economics,—but a principle nevertheless which has deceived its hundreds of thousands. It has been the Republican principle for all the life of that party since the early eighties.

La Follette and his associates cling to it, and in good faith we have no doubt. They have played false with no one. When they became Insurgents, it was not on the free trade question. It was on the question of revising the whole tariff downward, and not as freetraders, but as protectionists. When, therefore, the reciprocity treaty came, with its sacrifice of the farmer to free trade, as they (being sincere protectionists) believed, they stood out for the principle of protection with which that agreement is clearly at variance. They were true to the party creed. It is they, not President Taft and his advisers, who are loyal to principle, unless he is not a protectionist any longer but a free trader.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

The Insurgents and Reciprocity.....	625
Labor Cost of Production.....	626
A Woman in Danger.....	626
Law-Making Judges.....	626
Judicial Sacrosanctity.....	627
The Lorimer-fund Treasurership.....	627
Logic, Its Uses and Abuses.....	627
The Risks of Capital.....	628
Woman Suffrage in Washington.....	628
Business Qualifications.....	629
Collier's and Old Glory.....	629
Plugging Up Constitutions.....	629
Trusts.....	629
The Recall of Judges (W. G. Stewart).....	629
An Open Letter to Governor Wilson (George A. Briggs).....	630

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Singletax in Vancouver (L. S. Dickey).....	630
------------------------------------------------	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

Ohio Constitutional Convention.....	632
Reactionaries in Massachusetts.....	633
The Socialist Mayor of Berkeley (with portrait).....	634
Singletax Issue Raised Before New York Legislature.....	635
New York Traction Problem.....	636
The Illinois Deep Water Way.....	636
Pensions for Poor Mothers.....	637
Probation for First Offenders.....	637
The Lorimer Case.....	637
The Lords' Veto.....	637
News Notes.....	637
Press Opinions.....	638

RELATED THINGS:

The Hotel (Harriet Monroe).....	639
Woodrow Wilson (C. E. S. Wood).....	640
Wages and the Tariff (Wm. Hughes).....	641
A Look Into the Gulf (Edwin Markham).....	642

BOOKS:

Unearned Increment Taxation in Germany.....	643
Periodicals.....	644

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY

Senator Borah stated the matter with absolute fairness when he declared in a Senate speech on the 29th that—

the establishment of free trade in agricultural products is either a denial of the principles for which the Republican party has heretofore stood, or a coarse and brutal betrayal of the most loyal constituency the party organization has ever had.

The reciprocity agreement is in fact a denial of the Republican principle to which Senator Borah alluded; but it is the denial and not the principle that is sound. Farmers are betrayed by protection, not by the reciprocity agreement. The Insurgents may see this if they look economic principle square in the face. If they then adopt a policy as loyal to the true principle, by turning toward which President Taft has begun restoring himself to popular favor, as they are now loyal to the false principle, whereby they are helping him politically and to their own political undoing, they will all the more likely find themselves in the political saddle once more. It is not disloyalty to principle that is losing them ground in politics; it is loyalty to a false principle, the falseness of which the people are getting wise to.

* *

Labor Cost of Production.

We are often asked for information on the question of differences in the labor cost of production in the United States as compared with other countries. We know now of nothing better to recommend than the speech of William C. Redfield in Congress on the 12th of June. The burden of Congressman Redfield's speech is that with proper equipment and good management "a high wage rate means inevitably a low labor cost." In other words, efficient manufacturers make more in a country of high wages than they could in one of low wages.

* *

A Woman in Danger.

In the Province of Ontario there is a despairing woman in jail—Angelino Napolitano. She awaits a ceremonial hanging. For that relic of barbarism survives in Ontario, along with the other Provinces of Canada and in most of our States. Our laws cling to it with brutal tenacity, under the influence of men and women who think they thereby serve their God.

+

This woman's hanging has been postponed until some day in August. Not in mercy to her, not for humanity's sake, not for love of God or man; but that she may give birth to a child before she hangs. More humanely might any babe be buried

in its mother's grave, confined in her womb, than carry through life the sense of outraged affection it would inherit from having been born at the foot of its mother's gallows stair. With greater safety to society, too. A very angel must such a person be not to hate his kind with murderous hatred; a prodigy of mental stamina, to escape the horrors of homicidal insanity. But this is the welcome our Canadian neighbors are officially preparing for that unborn child.

+

And dreadful as it would be if the woman were bad, incredibly cruel as her execution would be if she were a criminal—this woman whose hanging is postponed so that a babe may be torn from her breast as the deadly noose settles upon her shoulders,—it becomes unspeakably wicked if the truth about her case is as it is reported. These reports are to the effect that the act for which she is to be hanged by the Province of Ontario was in the highest degree commendable. To kill in self-defense is not murder. It is no crime at all. And shall not homicide by a woman in defense of her chastity rank at least as high? Of this woman it is reported, and there has been no contradiction, that she killed her husband to prevent his forcing her into prostitution. He had already made a "white slave" bargain with that purpose in view. If this explanation of the homicide for which she is under death sentence be true, the Canadian authorities should be deluged with letters in her behalf. The womanhood of both countries, of all countries, should make her release their duty. To hang a woman is repulsive under any circumstances; to hang a woman for killing a "white slave" dealer who had already sold her and whose marital relation to her placed her in his power, would deservedly bring down universal execration upon every official responsible for it.

* *

Law-Making Judges.

Harper's Weekly digs down to the bottom of the question of recalling judges. To the insistence of a correspondent that the Recall is necessary to avoid the danger to democracy of giving irresponsible law-making power to any class, the candid Weekly replies: "Is there not some novelty in the idea that the common run of people are so much more trustworthy than the judges?" There you have undisguised the answer to the judicial recall idea. There is no other answer in substance. The common run of people must have somebody to make their laws, they being themselves unworthy as compared with—well, with judges where there are no dukes.

Judicial Sacrosanctity.

As judge-worship in the United States is borrowed from Great Britain, along with her dear love of a lord (the latter for use here only on the strict q. t.), these remarks about British judges by T. P. O'Connor in the Chicago Tribune of June 18, with Winston Churchill's excoriation of British judges for his text, is instructive:

While the Tory papers are raging and some of the more decorous Liberals are silent, and while Mr. Emmott, the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, has condemned the language of Winston, and he was the other day silenced by a combination of Mr. Emmott's ruling and the angry shouts of the Tories, there is not the smallest doubt that he has given voice to the pent-up feeling of the masses and of the whole Liberal party. This feeling has been created by the judges themselves, with that strange arrogance which so often besets and entices and finally destroys privileges, impartiality, and fair play. The first offense was committed in the election petitions. Under the old law, whenever a petition was presented against the election of a member to the House of Commons, on any ground, the petition was tried by a committee of the House of Commons. That committee was formed on party lines, and its decisions, as a rule, were influenced largely, if not entirely, by party consideration. If the majority of the committee were Liberal, then a petition against a Liberal was pretty certain to be dismissed; if it were Tory, and the petition was against a Tory, similarly the petition would probably be treated in the same manner. When the suffrage was reduced and the masses of the people were for the first time allowed to have the vote and a share in the government of their country, it was determined that all politics should become more honest than it was in the old days of class ascendancy and wholesale corruption; and as a part of this reform the trial of election petitions was removed from the partisanship of the House of Commons to the supposed impartiality of the judicial bench. It was not long before it was discovered that politics had gone from the frying pan into the fire. For the supposed impartiality of the judicial bench was discovered in many cases to be a pure figment of the imagination. In one respect the judicial bench of England stands supreme in the history of the world. It is in all pecuniary matters absolutely without stain; a suspicion even of pecuniary corruption has never been whispered; I doubt if it has ever been entertained by anybody in the country. But those who know the judges best were the first to laugh at this idyllic picture of them as men entirely liberated from the ordinary class and party prejudices of the rest of mankind. Superstitions, however, die hard, and the faith in the absolute impartiality and the Olympian detachment of the judge from ordinary human weakness persisted for many years. It was not till time after time the judges gave undeniable proof of gross partiality that people here began to revise their estimate.

This bit of British history, in absolute conformity to human nature, should attract American attention just now. It confirms the growing and very

sound American opinion that judge-worship is dangerous to popular liberties when judges make law and plutocrats make judges.

+ +

The Lorimer-fund Treasurership.

While swearing that he was not treasurer of any Hines-Lorimer corruption fund, Edward Tilden discloses bookkeeping habits that would make him ideally competent for treasurerships of that kind.

+ +

Logic, Its Uses and Abuses.

Various versions of Woodrow Wilson's expression of contempt for logic in a speech at Portland having fluttered through the newspapers of the country, we are glad to get from C. E. S. Wood in the Pacific Monthly what is doubtless the literal version. Some one in the audience had interrupted one of Governor Wilson's six Portland speeches at a point where he said he had not yet been able to see the advantage of the Recall for judges. "You are illogical!" the auditor shouted; and Governor Wilson made this instant retort: "Yes; I am. Whenever I am illogical I am pretty sure I am right, for in the complexities of human life the logical man generally is bumping against human nature." Paradoxical as it may seem, this is true. But the reason is that "the logical man" who "is generally bumping against human nature" is not logical; or, if logical, his logic proceeds from false or imperfect premises.

+

Whether Governor Wilson was indulging in one of those rhetorical figures that are categorized with long names in the old rhetoric books, we don't know. His allusion to "the complexities of human life," and the paradoxical spirit of his retort, make the retort sound like such a figure; and no one can deny that he was fully within the rights of a public speaker if he intended to startle an auditor into doing some re-thinking, by seeming to be contemptuous only of a certain type of logician. Yet Governor Wilson may be one of those schoolmasters whose thought ripples along the surface so helplessly that when their processes of logic and their observations of human nature conflict they say, "There is no logic!" somewhat (and for this we have Scripture) as when they think that God doesn't work in harness with them, they say "There is no God!" We do not at all incline to believe this of Woodrow Wilson. His thought isn't as superficial as a

literal interpretation of that Portland retort would imply; and his sense of humor is precisely of the order from which such a retort might be expected as a rhetorical device for piercing some thick intellectual hide.

+

Like double-entry bookkeeping, logic may produce false results from either of two causes. It may be used imperfectly; or, though used perfectly, it may proceed from false or imperfect premises. And inasmuch as it often is used imperfectly, or with reference to false or imperfect premises, it often does bump against human nature—that is, against common sense. But when in bookkeeping absurd profits or losses appear, we don't blame the double-entry system; we blame the bookkeeper. We ask if he may not have fallen into some such error as that of the Scottish "clerk," who astounded his employer with an improbable increase of nearly £2,000 in the profit balance, by inadvertently "adding in the Year of our Lord." If that employer had said, "Double-entry is a bad system, Sandy!" Sandy would have understood the figure of rhetoric. Why not treat Governor Wilson's remark about logic with similar consideration?

+

In seriously pointing out the importance of doing this simple justice, as well to logic as to Governor Wilson, before throwing that highly useful science into the scrap heap or the Governor over the rail, we have a dreadful feeling of solemnly trying to explain a Woodrow Wilson joke. But really and truly there is no joke about it. The disposition of "the logical man," on the one hand, to adopt absurd conclusions because he thinks them logical, and of "the scholarly man," on the other hand, to abandon logic because it gives him absurd conclusions, combine to make serious assaults upon the integrity of thought. To deery logic has become an educational fad among the tutored. They seem to be deliberately adopting what in derision their type of scholar was once wont to call "a woman's reason—because!" This swingback from the absurdities into which scholastic logicians had plunged human thinking—also, let it not be forgotten, from the hard economic truths it has now and then disclosed to the consternation of special pleaders for Privilege—is not without its value; but the reaction may go too far. Even as a Woodrow Wilson joke it might come back to pester the joker. To say of a public man that he glories in being illogical, might affect him as unpleasantly as to say of a college president that he advocates tobacco

chewing to stimulate thought, and Governor Wilson knows how unpleasant that is.

+ +

The Risks of Capital.

Once it was argued that capitalists ought to get better pay than laborers because capital incurs risks. Could that argument hold its own against the incident of a few days ago in Chicago when a laborer fell from the twentieth story of a skeleton skyscraper, and was caught by the coat by a laborer on the nineteenth story and his downward flight thus deflected sufficiently to throw him across a beam on the eighteenth? He will recover from his injuries. His rescuer returned to his work. Laborers incur very grave risks these days.

+ +

Woman Suffrage in Washington.

We of the middle West, and our brethren of the East still farther removed from the seat of information, have been regaled, to our pleasure or pain according to the point of view, with veracious news dispatches—so very newspaperly veracious!—about the awful experiences of Tacoma with woman suffrage and the wicked Recall. The whole story, circumstantially and truthfully told, may now be read in the Pacific Monthly of Portland, Oregon, under the signature of C. H. Baily. Eastern readers will be surprised, no doubt, at the title, "How Washington Women Regained the Ballot." It is not generally remembered that Washington women ever had a ballot to lose and then to regain. But they had. They got it of the Territorial legislature, and lost it by two decisions of Territorial judges appointed by President Cleveland—decisions which, according to the Pacific Monthly's story, were judicially indefensible. How well the regained suffrage works in Washington, from the viewpoint of good citizenship, is illustrated in that story by this experience of "one of the shrewdest politicians in the Pacific Northwest," who made a careful study of the recent Recall vote in Seattle and the councilmanic vote that followed:*

For nearly two hours he pored over the figures. At the end of that time he tilted back his hat, turned to a number of his friends and quietly said: "The women paid no attention whatever to the newspapers, to campaign literature, or to what our workers said to them. They went out, studied the situation for themselves, and voted as they d——d pleased. The old-line politician is as dead as a door nail. The women have revolutionized politics."

That this revolution is revolutionary in its nature and not by accident, is indicated by Judge

*See current volume of The Public, page 297.

Greene of Seattle, who as a Territorial judge stood for the old Territorial suffrage law. He "is on record," says the Pacific Monthly article, "as saying that in 1887 and 1888, when women had the right to vote in Washington, he never before or since saw the law better enforced or political conditions more healthful."

+ +

Business Qualifications.

An instructive anecdote is told of a distinguished magnate of some kind of trust or other—let us call it the "lumber trust" for the sake of particularity. The magnate had a Negro body servant who often indulged a propensity for romantic narration. On one of these occasions the magnate responded with a blunt comment. "Sam," he asked, "ain't you a good deal of a liar?" "Well, sir," said Sam, "ain't a man got to be a good deal of a liar to succeed in the lumber business?"

+ +

Collier's and Old Glory.

There is a "Society for the Protection of the American Flag," which seems a useless sort of society. Of what injury could the American flag be in danger which a society for its protection might avert? Look at the cover page of last week's Collier's and you shall see. Collier's has celebrated the Fourth of July with a cartoon associating the flag with the new art of aviation. The flag would probably be proud of this unusual association with a victory of peace, if it could speak; but its self-constituted guardian, the Society for the Protection of the American Flag, is offended at the juxtaposition. So that issue of Colliers has been suppressed in some places. It is a pity that this should have happened to the particular issue of Collier's in which Irwin tells how newspaper policies are controlled by special interests.

+ +

Plugging Up Constitutions.

The people of States about to make new Constitutions should take warning from Massachusetts. By the Constitution of that State, there can be no amendment without the consent of both houses of the legislature, twice given, and at two different sessions, and each time the lower house must express its consent by a two-thirds vote. Until all this is done the people are not allowed to vote on a proposed amendment. Of course no such baffling restrictions were ever placed in any Constitution except to preserve some power of Privilege from assault. It gives and is intended to give minority control. A fine illustration was afforded

last week, when a conservative amendment providing for People's Power came before the lower House of the Massachusetts legislature. A joint committee had favored it by 8 to 2; the House itself favored it by 125 to 75. But it is withheld from the next legislature, and consequently from popular vote, because a negative minority of 75 members out of 200 have more power than the 125 members who favored the change.

+ +

Trusts.

The efforts to regulate trusts read like children's stories of catching birds by putting salt on their tails, in the light of the report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the steel trust. The reader of this report must be dull not to catch the point that the real power of the steel trust is not in its business organization, but in its consolidation of raw material monopolies. Given the ownership of 75 per cent of the lake ores, upon which the steel industry is based, and what difference would it make in the control of that industry whether the owner were a corporation, a combination of corporations, or an individual? And as with the steel trust, which has that advantage, so with all other trusts: Either openly or secretly they control a vital source of supply. This gives them a control of the industry that no regulation can reach and which gains no commercial power by any sort of combination that a single individual owning that source would not possess. Is it not time to stop playing with the details of trust evils and go to bottom causes?

+ + +

THE RECALL OF JUDGES.

The most persuasive argument offered for excepting judges from the Recall is based upon the assumption that they are not law makers but merely appliers of the law.

This assumption is hardly in accord with the present facts; and it is difficult even to see how such an assumed condition of things could practically be brought about. In any case, however, if the question is to be frankly considered, it would seem that any substantial objection to the recall of judges must be admitted to apply also against the recall of other public officials, and against democracy generally.

Fear of impulsive and harmful action by the people is the sole basis for such objection.

That this fear should be especially appealed to in behalf of judges is illogical, and merely avoids admission of a lack of faith in democracy; for

there is no reason why confidence in the general sanity and fair-mindedness of the people, which is the essence of democracy, should fail with respect to judges.

When fairly looked at it seems that this fear of impulsive action is mainly a left-over product of oppressive and repressive government.

It ignores every-day proofs of the natural conservatism of really self-governing people. It tends to hide the real danger to democracy of giving irresponsible power to any class of men.

A "Judge Jeffreys" impressively shows that judicial office does not sanctify the incumbent, and that democracy cannot safely make judges responsible to any power other than the people. Surely a good judge has no special reason to fear the people, or to demand insurance against their possible mistakes.

* * *

W. G. STEWART.

AN OPEN LETTER TO GOVERNOR WILSON.

I want to express my appreciation of the advanced position you have taken with reference to legislation that will extend the power of the people. You seem never to have come under the influence of the fear of mob rule and ill advised decisions which animate the disciples of Hamilton.

Without considering the right of the people to rule their own affairs, it is plain that they constitute the most conservative force in the nation. From the very nature of the situation, in the aggregate they approach questions without motives of narrow personal selfishness; and when this factor is eliminated it is characteristic of human nature to act from principles of justice.

In the course of events in England, in New Zealand, in Oregon and elsewhere, when the people have a chance to express themselves authoritatively by means of the ballot, it is amazing to observe their conservatism. As a rule a measure that is not fully understood is lost, and the people seem willing to suffer the evils that they have unless it can be shown unmistakably that remedial measures will come up to the specifications of their proponents.

If this be true, then both principle and expediency call for an adjustment of our institutions that will give all power to the people. Even their mistakes will be valuable educationally, especially since such mistakes will not be motivated by personal selfishness.

I feel sure, for instance, that if the judiciary were subject to recall, no majority would ever recall a judge unless his course was plainly and unmis-

takably contrary to the spirit and genius of our people. And any judge who permitted his decisions to be biased by fear of the recall would be at least no worse than the hordes of present day judges who are influenced either by the wishes of their political creators or by those more subtle influences of habit and association which are crudely expressed by the word Caste.

The judiciary is the last refuge of privilege and aristocracy. The Recall is a sure means for eliminating them from the common life.

Of course all this is for the future, but as one of your political followers, I think I voice the sentiment of large numbers when I express the hope that your vision of democracy may have no Hamiltonian alloy, and also when I express the belief that the day has passed when a leader of the people can fail to see that what is basic in principle must be expedient.

GEORGE A. BRIGGS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SINGLETAX IN VANCOUVER.

Vancouver, B. C., June 21, 1911.

Twenty-five years ago the site of Vancouver was a dense forest, although a small village had sprung up along the banks of Burrard Inlet. It is estimated, however, that at that time the entire population in the neighborhood did not exceed a thousand persons. On a Sunday afternoon in June, 1886, this village was almost destroyed by fire, only a few houses somewhat isolated escaping. But the territory of what will be Greater Vancouver in the near future, has today a population of 140,000 to 150,000 and is growing at a rapid pace.

Vancouver has become famous for totally exempting buildings and other improvements from taxation, and from consequently levying taxes on land values alone is called a Singletax city. Since the experiment began, land values have jumped tremendously and many fortunes have been made out of speculation in building sites. Every step towards the reduction of taxation on buildings has given added impetus to the value of land. Some correspondents of The Public have consequently expressed apprehension that low rates of land value taxation and undervaluations would result disastrously to Vancouver through further speculation in land values followed by a crash; and that as the city is represented as a Singletax municipality this disaster might give a back-set to the Singletax movement unless it were generally understood that the disaster was due not to the Singletax but to not enough of the Singletax.

These fears caused the publisher of The Single Tax Review of New York to commission me to make a thorough investigation, so that the Review could place before its readers definite information to guide them in forming conclusions. I came here with many misgivings, and my first fortnight of investigation

had a tendency to intensify them; but I have visited other Pacific Coast cities since, investigating their tax systems to make a comparison with Vancouver, and with better opportunity for investigation here upon my return I have dismissed my fears. No danger would come to the Singletax movement if there should be a complete collapse in Vancouver's prosperity tomorrow.

+

Although Vancouver is absorbing a very small proportion of her increasing land values, she has made a tremendous advance in appreciating the Singletax. A comparison with Seattle will explain.

In Seattle the intersection of Madison Street with Second Avenue is the very center of the retail trade of that city, and the demand for retail business shops makes this point command the highest rents. The quarter block south of Madison Street on the west side of Second Avenue is covered with one story shacks that would discredit a country village of 300 inhabitants. The tenants pay a rental of over \$40,000 a year. On the assessment rolls these shacks are valued at \$7,360, and the land on which they are situated at \$237,820. The tax levy is 33.9 mills on the dollar, making a tax of \$8,311.60. Directly opposite on Second Avenue is a magnificent office building which tends to inspire confidence in the future of the city even to the stranger passing by. According to the assessor's books this site, although of equal area with the site of the shacks, is not as valuable by \$17,100. It is assessed at \$220,720. The improvements are assessed at \$225,540, making the aggregate value for taxation \$446,260, which augments the public revenues to the extent of \$15,128.00—almost twice as much as comes from the shack property on the opposite side of Second Avenue.

Contrast that contrast with the point where land values are most stable and highest in Vancouver. The two principal business thoroughfares in Vancouver are Granville Street extending north and south, and Hastings street extending east and west. At the intersection of these two streets land values reach their highest pitch. The block at the northwest corner belongs to the Dominion of Canada and is exempt from taxation. It is the site of the Post Office building. Diagonally across is one of the most substantial structures in the city, the Bank of Commerce building, fronting 60 feet on Hastings Street and extending back on Granville Street 120 feet. This site is valued on the assessment roll at \$157,500. The building is assessed at \$228,000.*

It occupies the first two lots next to Granville Street, and eight feet of the third lot. Two years ago the rest of the third lot and the adjoining fourth lot—the two having a frontage of 44 feet—were occupied by the Leland Hotel, a three story antiquated frame structure valued on the assessment rolls at \$4,400. The four corresponding lots on Pender Street (the

southern boundary of the square of which Hastings is the northern) at the Granville corner were then covered with one-story shacks facing on Granville Street, similar to those of Seattle. They are on the assessment rolls at a valuation of \$8,000. Three weeks ago I visited the tenants as I did those in the Seattle shacks when making inquiries there, and learned from them that the aggregate rentals they were paying amounted to more in one month than the assessed value of the buildings. But building is now in progress there. Permits have been issued from the building inspector's office for one of the finest office buildings yet erected in Vancouver: a steel-reinforced concrete fire-proof structure faced with brick and terra-cotta on Granville and Pender Streets, to cost \$400,000. The Bank of Commerce site, the most desirable in the city, pays into the city treasury \$3,150 and the building is exempt. The site of the shacks that have just been razed was assessed at \$193,750, and the owner was compelled to pay into the city treasury \$3,875.00 last year. He had to build.

●

The charter of the City of Vancouver limits the rate to be levied in any year to 13-1/3 mills on the dollar, except what is required for payment of interest on outstanding debentures, and the amount required for a sinking fund therefor, and for school purposes. Since 1906 the net rate levied has been twenty mills. Provincial legislation will be necessary before the rate can be increased very much. That could be circumvented by an issue of short term debentures, but they are difficult to dispose of and command a high rate of interest. However, there will be little opposition to legislation when the time comes for increasing the rate above what the charter now allows, so satisfactory has the experiment been thus far.

As an indication of how land values are increasing on the assessment rolls of Vancouver, the block bounded by Granville, Hastings, Seymour and Cordova, opposite the block already described, was assessed in 1909 at a valuation of \$482,050, in 1910 at \$620,550, and in 1911 at \$775,700. This is the second most valuable block in the City, and I haven't the least doubt that any lot in it would readily sell at double the assessed value notwithstanding they are encumbered with unsuitable buildings.

L. S. DICKEY.

+ + +

See stern Oppression's iron grip,
Or mad Ambition's gory hand,
Sending like bloodhounds from the slip,
Woe, want and murder o'er a land!
Ev'n in the peaceful rural vale,
Truth, weeping, tells the mournful tale,
How pampered Luxury, Flattery by her side,
The parasite empoisoning her ear,
With all the servile wretches in the rear,
Looks o'er proud Property, extended wide,
And eyes the simple rustic hind,
Whose toil upholds the glittering show,
A creature of another kind,
Some coarser substance, unrefined,
Placed for her lordly use thus far, thus vile, below.

—Robert Burns.

*The Mayor and Council of Vancouver are elected annually in January. Within a very short time after election the Council is organized, and the assessment rolls, prepared by the Assessment Commissioner and his assistants, are submitted for revision. Under the charter of Vancouver it is optional with the Council to rate or exempt improvements. It is the duty of the Assessment Commissioner, therefore, to have improvements assessed and placed on the roll submitted. Any Council has the power to change the policy of the previous Council by exempting improvements or taxing them as the case may be.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, July 4, 1911.

Ohio Constitutional Convention.

The Progressive Constitutional League of Ohio met at Toledo on the 2d. Herbert Bigelow of Cincinnati was elected secretary, and the president, Brand Whitlock (Mayor of Toledo), delivered an address in which he enumerated and explained reforms that should be recognized favorably by the Constitutional convention of Ohio, to be elected next fall, and to convene early in the year. Chief among these reforms, as he is reported in the news dispatches, are the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, and home rule for cities, including the right of municipal ownership of all public utilities, the right to levy and collect their own local taxes, and a clause by which the people retain to themselves the power of legislating directly when their representatives stop representing them and begin to represent privileged interests. Quoting the dispatches, Mayor Whitlock urges that—

the making of the new constitution is the most important task undertaken by the people of Ohio since the Civil War. They are to live for half a century under the fundamental law to be declared next year; and by it, so far as it bears on human destinies, is their future to be molded. The present Constitution was made in 1852. The mere statement, in the light of all that has happened since then, should be sufficient. For while that Constitution was suited to its day and in great measure met the conditions of its time, one has but to review in memory the stupendous changes that have occurred since then to be brought to a startling realization of the magnitude of the work that confronts the delegates of the people. The Constitution of that day was devised to meet the needs of a population largely agricultural in character, living a comparatively simple and purely individualistic life. But since then there have grown up enormous cities, and a veritable revolution, or, more accurately, an amazing evolution has occurred in industry so that a whole body of new social problems is presented for solution. And not only that, but in this amazing evolution a new power has been developed, a power that is stronger than the Constitution, and therefore stronger than the people. It is an economic power, and the problems that have been presented by and through its development are economic, or principally economic. Thus it has come to pass, that while the political government is what it was under the Constitution, that political government is now nominal only, and not real; the real, the actual government today is economic, and the powers of the nominal political government are so

confined and circumscribed by a Constitution that was made in the face of other conditions, now obsolete, that the nominal government is impotent to deal with the new conditions. The economic government is stronger than the political government; the strength of corporate wealth is greater than the strength of the people. It makes no difference by what name this economic power be called, whether it be called Privilege, or Capitalism, or Landlordism, or the Money Power, or the Corporations, or the Trusts, or the Interests, or the System, or Big Business—the mere name is nothing. Privilege, or by whatever name you choose to call this gigantic force, appreciates the importance of the new Constitution, and it has been busy for a long time, is busy now, and will be busy until the Constitutional convention adjourns, seeing to it that the Constitution is made as nearly as possible a bulwark for its special, private, selfish, anti-social interests. If it is not to win, if it is not to write the new Constitution, all those who believe in the people, those who believe in the public democracy, not only political but industrial, will have to maintain the same solidarity that it maintains. If the people do not act together this fall, then Privilege will write the new Constitution, and it will be a Constitution that will rope and throw and brand the people and deliver them over to Privilege for another half century.

[See current volume, pages 536, 537.]

+

Mayor Whitlock's mention of Privilege as having "been busy for a long time," as "busy now," and as likely to "be busy until the Constitutional convention adjourns, seeing to it that the Constitution is made as nearly as possible a bulwark for its special, private, selfish and anti-social interests," evidently alludes to campaign preparations, recently reported from Ohio, of the Ohio State Board of Commerce. This organization, with headquarters at Columbus, is under the immediate personal direction of Allen Ripley Foote (formerly of New York, later of Chicago and now of Ohio), a shrewd political and legislative manager for special privilege interests, whose career in Chicago in connection with the electric power interests was told in an editorial foot note at page 176 of *The Public* of February 24, 1911. Many supporters of Mr. Foote's organization are business men of conservative tendencies and without peculiar interests to serve by legislation, but its principal known supporter in Ohio is Samuel Scovil, the head of electric interests of Cleveland which are dependent upon monopoly legislation. This organization was reported by the *Cleveland Press* of June 28 as having opened a branch office in Cleveland for the purpose of managing the Constitutional campaign in behalf of monopoly interests. The following significant quotation from a printed address issued by Mr. Foote's organization "to all persons, partnerships and corporations doing business in Ohio," is reproduced in the *Press* report as indicative of the

underlying purposes of the movement: "*Do you want to do a profitable business in Ohio without being compelled to evade the provisions of the Constitution?*"

+

Commenting upon the movement described by it as above, the Press refers to it editorially, under the title of "Gray Wolves of Big Business Are in Full Cry in Ohio," as follows:

Big Business, the Interests or by whatever other name that class of persons in Ohio may be called, who put the rights of property above the rights of people, have been busy for some months past, and are getting busier every day trying to keep out of the new State Constitution every possible progressive idea. Among the most active organizations is the so-called Ohio State Board of Commerce, of which Allen R. Foote of Columbus is president, Samuel Scovill of the Illuminating Co. of Cleveland, one of the executive committee, and O. K. Shimansky, formerly political secretary to Gov. Herrick, publicity manager. This State Board of Commerce boasts of 2,000 members, representing 84 counties of the State. If it has any excuse for existence other than to prevent the common people of the State from getting the kind of laws they want, it has never appeared. Naturally the members of the State Board of Commerce and all others of their ilk view with great alarm the mere possibility that the new Constitution will represent in any way the progressive thought of the State and nation. They are frankly opposed to any Constitution or law or device of government which will disturb their possession of any of the privileges they have or any that they may want to acquire. Under date of June 10 over the signature of Shimansky, the State Board of Commerce has sent a letter to every newspaper editor in the state frankly stating its purpose to get, if possible, a "conservative Constitution for Ohio." Everybody knows what Big Business means by "a conservative Constitution." It means an instrument which cannot by any possibility be used to disturb public service and other corporations in their control of the government; an instrument the spirit and wording of which will encourage the raising of the question of Constitutionality every time a progressive law is passed. The following paragraph of the letter is indicative of the mental attitude of Big Business and the enemies of progress generally in Ohio toward the new Constitution: "In order to provide reliable safeguards in the new Constitution, which will place an effective limit on the power of taxation, avoid unnecessary restrictions upon business enterprise, and continue our stable and successful representative form of government, a wide educational and publicity campaign will be inaugurated." Specifically, what is meant by this is that privilege in Ohio is afraid that the new Constitution makers will incorporate in the fundamental law of the State a provision for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. That is what is meant by the delicate reference to "our stable and successful representative form of government." You see, Privilege in Ohio as elsewhere knows that so long as the people cling to their fetish of "representative government" without keeping in their own hands the power

to compel honest representation, there can be very little real progress. But the purpose of this editorial is to warn the honestly progressive people of all political parties in the State what is up, rather than to argue Constitutional provisions. The gray wolves of Big Business are in full cry, their avowed purpose being to keep Ohio for another generation as their foraging ground. They are organized under able leadership with unlimited money and a grim determination to throttle the people's will. Their first efforts will be to elect men to the Constitutional convention who will be friendly to Big Business, or at least pliable. The people of Ohio never had a more vital political duty to perform than that of defeating this dark and sinister scheme.

+ +

Reactionaries in Massachusetts.

Out of several Direct Legislative amendments of the Massachusetts Constitution proposed and pending in the legislature, a joint committee of the two Houses, for which Russell D. Crane reported to the lower house, framed and by a vote of 8 to 2 reported one which, while exceedingly conservative in form and in conditions imposed, is sound in principle and would doubtless have been sufficiently effective in operation. [See current volume, page 203, 266.]

+

Taking cognizance of the fact that amendments in Massachusetts must be adopted by two successive legislatures and then by the people, this amendment provided (1) that any proposed amendment if not adopted upon its first submission to the legislature, might within 90 days be recommended by popular petition of 75 per cent of the last previous Gubernatorial vote, not more than 20 per cent being residents of the same Congressional district, whereupon the amendment should be submitted to the next legislature as if it had been adopted by the previous one; (2) that upon any proposed amendment not adopted by the second legislature a like petition would be equivalent to such passage and cause its submission to the people; (3) that acts of the legislature (except emergency acts specifically defined in a preamble, separately voted on by a two-thirds record vote) would be subject for sixty days to a Referendum on a 5 per cent petition, not more than 20 per cent of the signers being residents of the same Congressional district; and that (4) the Initiative for statutes should be had upon a like petition as for Referendums, provided that upon such petition the legislature should act, and if it acted adversely the question should go to popular vote.

+

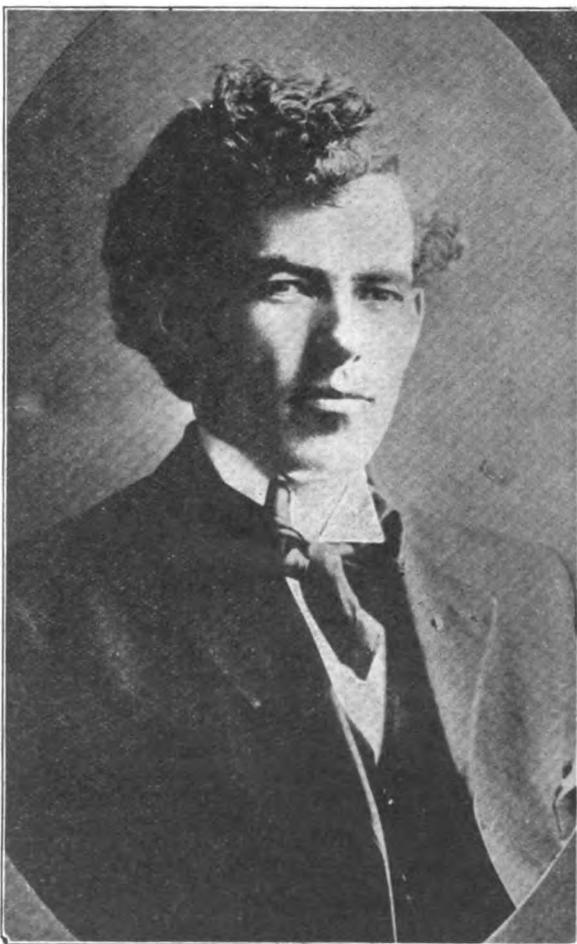
When the Crane amendment came before the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature on the 27th, the affirmative vote was 125 and the negative only 75; but as the present Constitution

requires a two-thirds vote in the lower house before an amendment can be submitted to popular vote, this amendment lacked 9 votes of the required number, and the reactionary minority prevailed.

+ +

The Socialist Mayor of Berkeley.

Berkeley, California, seat of the State University, and the first city adopting the Des Moines type of commission government to improve upon it by substituting second elections for direct primaries, has passed under the administrative control of a Socialist Mayor, J. Stitt Wilson.



Mayor Wilson is a Socialist Party socialist of international renown, who has been in active service for many years as a leader in the Socialist movement. He was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1868, and educated at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., an institution with which he retained connection as a teacher. For a time he served as a Methodist clergyman in Illinois, but resigned his pulpit to devote himself to the work of Socialist lecturing and teaching, in the course of which he has made four European trips. At

the election in California last fall he polled 50,000 votes as the Socialist candidate for Governor. His election as Mayor of Berkeley took place on the 1st of April, when he polled 2,749 votes to 2,468 for his predecessor as Mayor—B. L. Hodghead, a Democrat—the total vote being the largest ever cast in the history of the city.

+

The platform on which Mr. Wilson was elected, and to which he is committed as far as the laws of the State permit, are for direct legislation, ownership and operation of all forms of public utilities, reduction of water rates and immediate steps toward a municipal water supply system, a municipal electric lighting plant, a municipal incinerator, municipal gas and telephone service, regulation of public utilities meanwhile, trade union labor on public improvements, democratic development of the public school system, a "city beautiful" community, economy in city administration. Referring to the previous administration the platform on which Mayor Wilson was elected described it as having developed into "an obstructive and perfunctory bureaucracy attending to simple duties of municipal life, instead of being a constructive advance guard in behalf of the people, leading us on to genuine municipal achievements." It also paid tributes to the Socialists of Milwaukee and those of England and the European continent for their progress in municipal administration.

+

A large part of Mayor Wilson's platform was devoted to the subject of taxation. This part was written by Mayor Wilson himself. He knew of course that its declarations cannot be realized in Berkeley until the laws of the State of California are changed; but he incorporated it for its educational value, and he reports that it has created a great deal of interest in the community. It is as follows:

No progressive policy for the socialization of our public utilities, or the extension of any public service, is safe, or indeed possible, unless accompanied by a sound and scientific policy of municipal taxation.

It is one thing to buy and build. It is another to pay. It is one thing to issue bonds for public improvements: it is quite another, and more vitally important element of city administration to secure city revenue without piling up a heavy public debt upon the tax payers, and pouring out a perpetual tribute of interest to the money-lenders.

We are opposed to any city administration heaping upon us heavy bond issues without coming forward with a municipal budget that will take the burdens of taxation off the backs of the common people.

In our campaign we shall unceasingly place before the electors that most sure, most scientific, and most just source of city revenue, viz: the unearned increment of land values in its two forms of (1) site values, and (2) franchise values.

The city itself is the greatest creator of wealth in its own domain. There is a veritable gold mine ever-increasing under the city. The city itself creates values annually, more than ample for all improvements and expenditures in that continually unsleeping increase which the normal growth of the city adds (1) to all the land values over which it stands, and (2) to all the public franchises within its limits.

No individual creates these values by labor, foresight, capital, or skill. They are socially created by the presence and activities of the whole community. And the values which the whole community thus socially creates should naturally become the source of the city's treasure.

But our present method of real estate taxation and of dealing with franchise values is unjust and disastrous. It punishes the man who improves real estate and rewards the owner of land kept vacant. It leaves the value which the city creates to fall into private hands which never earned it, while it collects taxes out of the people's earnings and values which the city did not create.

Therefore along with our program for the municipalization of public utilities, thus saving to the city and to the citizens the enormous values of public franchises, we demand an increase in the assessment of all land values of the city, and a uniformity of assessment according to location and site value, whether improved or unimproved. We favor a decrease in the assessment of improvements.

We further propose to agitate for a charter amendment to come before the people at the next election providing for the levying of an additional tax on all unimproved land.

In New Zealand 68 cities have adopted this principle of taxation of the unearned increment of land values with unflinching success. It is this principle which is now unhorsing the landed aristocracy of Great Britain.

Taxation of the unearned increment of land values and the socialization of public utilities is the secret of a full city treasury, collected from the city's own socially created values and providing abundant revenue for every needed municipal enterprise without robbing the poor and the working classes and enriching the rich and the privileged.

[See current volume, p. 321.]

* *

Singletax Issue Raised Before New York Legislature.

Intense excitement among land monopoly interests in New York city was reported on the 18th by the extremely conservative New York Times. It is over a measure recommended by Mayor Gaynor's Commission on Congestion of Population, to the effect that by five successive annual reductions of the tax rate on improvements, taxes on improvements should be reduced to 50 per cent of those on sites, value for value. [See current volume, page 300.]

*

Two legislative bills based on that recommendation were introduced at Albany by Senator Timothy D. Sullivan. Little attention was paid to

them by the land-monopoly interests at first. But the New York Evening Post sounded an alarm. Without condemning the measures, it made an appeal for consideration of the fact that in principle they are Singletax measures, which may be a good thing or a bad thing, but that their real character as an entering wedge for the abolition of private property in land should not be overlooked. Thereupon the Allied Real Estate Interests took the matter up, under the leadership of their president, Allan Robinson. Meanwhile, however, favorable pressure had been at work and there seemed reason for the adversaries of the measure to fear favorable legislative action. In its reports on the 18th the New York Times told of a meeting on the 17th at the City Club of a dozen local organizations and fifteen New York members of the legislature, at which the consensus of opinion favored the measure as likely to encourage the construction of better tenements and the demolition of those that are unsanitary, and to reduce rents, break up land monopoly, and help the "little man to own his own home." Robert S. Binkerd, secretary of the City Club, presided at the meeting and opened the discussion by pointing out that such legislation is based upon the premise that the people have the right to create a tendency that will modify social conditions. He indorsed the bills on the ground that they will bring about the use of high price "strategic" lands for the purposes for which they are intended and the use of outlying districts for residential purposes. Raymond V. Ingersoll, chairman of a committee devoted solely to the support of recommendations by the Mayor's Commission, explained that the bills under discussion seemed to have a fair chance of passing and are therefore worth immediate encouragement. Edward T. Devine supported the bills because they are in line with the protective and conservative systems of taxation which have as their aim the modification of social conditions. Paul U. Kellogg, editor of The Survey, gave the testimony of one who had observed at close range certain readjustments that had been effected in the tax rates in Pittsburg. It was not so very long ago, he explained, that the business houses and tenements there were called improved property and heavily taxed as such, while the presence of a few shrubs and some grounds about a house won it a rural character that allowed it to escape with a much smaller rate. The owner of large tracts of land paid hardly any tax at all. All this was changed, as Mr. Kellogg put it, by recent legislation in behalf of the "small people of Pittsburg." The last speaker was John J. Flynn of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, who was the labor representative on the Mayor's Commission. He said: "The time has come when organized labor is thinking beyond the two questions of shorter hours and higher wages, and in such a movement as this you will find our hearty support."

The thing that I like about these bills is the source of the opposition to them. I have been up in Albany, and there I have found the only opponents to be the East Side landlords. It is simply a question of a life or a dollar, and when such alternatives are presented, organized labor is pretty sure to stand squarely for a life. We do stand squarely behind these measures, and the distinctive quality of our support is that we do not hesitate." Since this meeting no important developments have come to our attention.

+ +

New York Traction Problem.

The rejection on the 27th by the New York Interborough Rapid Transit Company, of the city's subway ultimatum, probably brings the traction problem of New York to a head. [See vol. xiii, p. 1154.]

+

Whoever knows the tactics of franchise monopolists with reference to tangling up grants and term-expirations so as to leave the corporations a tactical advantage at every crisis, will not be surprised to learn of the franchise confusion in New York. The Interborough Rapid Transit Company, a subway corporation, controls all the elevated lines in Manhattan, and is itself controlled by the Interborough Metropolitan Company, which also controls the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and through this all the surface lines of Manhattan and the Bronx. As these controlled and super-controlled systems vary in the duration of their franchises from a few years to perpetuity, there would seem to be possibilities of enough confusion in the interests thus far indicated to drive any community desperate. But there are still other confusions of interests to consider. The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company controls all the elevated and surface lines in Brooklyn, with their variety of privileges and term duration. And then there is the Triborough Subway—a traction plan rather than a traction system, although one section is under construction. This plan contemplates a traction union of three boroughs—Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn—by a municipally owned competitor of all the other systems. To adjust this complex situation is the head-spinning problem into which Mayor Gaynor was plunged by his election as Mayor of New York on municipalization pledges.

+

Early in June the city's "ultimatum," now rejected by the Interborough Metropolitan Company (the Manhattan-Bronx trust described above), was proposed by the transit committee of the Board of Estimate. According to this plan the subway construction contract would be awarded to the Interborough Metropolitan Company

(Manhattan-Bronx) or the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company (Brooklyn), which are competitors, or to both, at a total cost of \$267,000,000, \$141,000,000 of the amount to be borne by the city, and the work to be completed in four years, the Brooklyn company to enter Manhattan by the Broadway route, and the other routes to be so allotted as to seem to assure some degree of competition in service. If neither company accepts this proposal, the plan contemplates immediate construction of the Triborough system by the city and for contractual operation.

+

Terms of operation in case of acceptance of the proposal by either or both competitors—the Interborough and the Brooklyn—were summarized by the New York World, as follows, at the time of the proposal:

That the fare for a continuous ride over any part of the system operated by one operator, including transfers, shall be 5 cents; that all contracts for operation shall be for forty-nine years from the date of beginning operation, except that the term for the bridge loop shall be for twenty years with a twenty-year renewal; that the city retains the right to take over the lines at the end of ten years or any time thereafter on payment of the company's cost, plus 15 per cent and the reasonable value of the equipment; and the city may pay the recapture price itself or arrange for a second operator to pay it.

+

Although the Interborough Metropolitan Company (Manhattan-Bronx) is reported in New York dispatches of the 27th as rejecting the proposal, the same dispatches report that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company (Brooklyn combination) accepts. It requests, however, that certain modifications be made in the proposed operating terms. This appears to mean—disregarding the requested modification in operating terms, which may not be very important—that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company will extend the Brooklyn system through the three boroughs—Brooklyn, Bronx and Manhattan—as required by the city, and operate in competition with the Interborough company in so far as Manhattan and Bronx territory is concerned.

+ +

The Illinois Deep Water Way.

When Governor Deneen's deep water way measure came before the Illinois Senate on the 27th, it was transformed into a conservation measure embodying the deep water way idea in every essential particular, but with a greatly diminished appropriation. A referendum clause was rejected by 29 to 8. On the 28th the bill was adopted by 33 to 7. But upon coming into the House and being referred to committee, a motion on the 29th to take it out of committee was lost by 67 yeas to 46 nays

—two-thirds being necessary. A motion for a recess until October 2 was then adopted, and on the 30th this was adopted also by the Senate. [See current volume, page 612.]

+ +

Pensions for Poor Mothers.

An Illinois statute taking effect on the 1st is an amendment of the Juvenile Court law, a result of the humanitarian agitation set on foot by Judge Cleland while on the Municipal Court bench of Chicago, under which poor families need no longer be broken up by sending children to charitable institutions. Following is the new provision, without a precedent in any statute so far as we know:

If the parent or parents of such dependent or neglected child are poor and unable to properly care for said child, but are otherwise proper guardians and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to properly care for such child, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the County Board through its County Agent or otherwise to pay to such parent or parents, at such times as said order may designate, the amount so specified for the care of such dependent or neglected child until the further order of the Court.

+ +

Probation for First Offenders.

Another result of Judge Cleland's humane policies in the criminal branch of his court in Chicago is a probation law, which also went into effect on the 1st, that gives discretion to judges to save first offenders from prison by placing them on probation. Of this law, the National Probation League (443 South Dearborn street), of which Judge Cleland is president, rightly says:

On July 1st Illinois will have a probation law and if it is administered in the spirit adopted by Judge Cleland when he was judge at the Maxwell Street police court the number of men in jail is expected to grow less, fewer "Bridewell widows and orphans" will be left to subsist on the uncertain crust of organized charity, and the tax-payers will have to give up less of their money to support jails, policemen, judges and courts. The law will not enforce itself and in the hands of men hostile to the idea of kindness in dealing with delinquents it will mean no improvement. If it is administered as Judge Cleland intended when he conceived the idea and began the organization that placed the law on the statutes of Illinois, it will be a great blessing to minor offenders, to their families and to society. As the court and prison system has been working, minor offenders were given first a small dose of prison, taught prison habits, given the prison pallor and the prison reputation. Then they were turned out to make their way. Being weak brethren to start with, they find in almost every case that their way to honest living is harder than ever and they again commit crime. So certain is this process in its results that the police

always expect every major crime of theft or murder to be the work of an ex-convict. Society places its citizens in danger, makes a great expense and ruins the lives of thousands by the method. Under the new probation law adopted at the last session of the State legislature, judges may exercise mercy and save first offenders from prison. A judge may place the offender on probation and without disgracing him, without giving him the prison brand, use his power to get the weak citizen back upon the path that leads to honest work and a complete life.

The judge may place the offender on probation and hang over his head the certainty of imprisonment if he again violates the law, providing the prisoner expresses a desire to have another chance. If the judge does his work properly he will attempt to excite in the prisoner a desire for a new life and the hope for better days for himself and family. Hope thus implanted in the prisoner, he is released. If he keeps his promises and makes an effort to obey the law he finally is freed from the fear of punishment for crime. Judge Cleland is convinced that this is the only way to reduce the number of criminals. He believes that the Probation Law will bring about the reformation of first offenders who, if imprisoned, are sure to become worse instead of better. All good citizens are urged by Judge Cleland and others interested in this law to take every opportunity to aid in its proper enforcement.

+ +

The Lorimer Case.

Edward Tilden testified before the United States Senate committee on the 28th in the Lorimer case that he never knew and had never heard of any contributions to the campaign of Senator Lorimer, and that he kept no books of his private affairs, but only loose memoranda. Edward Hines testified on the 29th, denying Mr. Funk's story and saying that his Springfield telephone conversation was with Senator Lorimer, not Governor Dencen, and made no allusion to money. [See current volume, page 611.]

+ +

The Lords' Veto.

In the House of Lords of the British Parliament on the 28th, an amendment to the Lords' veto bill of the Commons was adopted by 183 to 44. It would modify that clause of the bill which forbids the Lords to alter a revenue measure. [See current volume, page 609.]

NEWS NOTES

—The sixty-second session of the American Medical Association met at Los Angeles on the 27th.

—President Taft left Washington on the 3rd to spend the remainder of the summer at Beverly, Mass.

—The European seamen's strike, reported as having collapsed soon after it began, is now reported as

spreading and strengthening. [See current volume, page 584.]

—Trenton, N. J., has adopted the commission form of government with Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and Passaic, N. J., is to vote on its adoption on the 18th.

—The Rev. Father O'Callaghan of St. Mary's Catholic church of Chicago, was appointed by President Taft on the 27th, a delegate to the International Alcoholic Congress to be held at The Hague in September.

—Eugene F. Ware of Kansas, known as a poet over the signature of "Ironquill," veteran of the Civil War, United States pension commissioner under Roosevelt, and lawyer, died suddenly in Colorado on the 1st, at the age of 70.

—The organization committee of the Hearst-Harrison Democracy of Illinois met at Chicago on the 1st. It arranged for a State meeting at Springfield on the 4th of October, and adjourned to meet at Chicago September 7. [See current volume, page 583.]

—At the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association in Chicago on the 22d, the case of Angelino Napolitano, under sentence of death in the Canadian Province of Ontario, for killing her husband when he endeavored to force her into a life of prostitution for his profit, was discussed. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Miss Julia Lathrop and Bishop Samuel Fallows advocated speedy action to save the condemned woman.

—A suit for the dissolution of the organization of magazine publishers, the Periodical Clearing House, was brought in the Federal court in New York City on the 27th ult., by the United States government under the Sherman anti-trust act. Among the magazines concerned are McClure's, the World's Work, Current Literature, the Harper periodicals, Review of Reviews, Hampton's, the American and Everybody's.

—Nine associations and a long list of individuals composing the wire trust, affiliated with the steel trust, were indicted by the Federal grand jury at New York on the 29th on the charge of violating the Sherman anti-trust law. Among those named in the nine indictments are Frank J. Gould, Herbert L. Satterlee, (a son-in-law of J. Pierpont Morgan), and William P. Palmer (president of the American Steel and Wire Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation). The substance of the charge, according to District Attorney Wise, is the existence of an agreement in restraint of trade.

—Germany and Spain have "intervened" in Morocco which France has recently been attempting to reduce to order. The German gunboat Panther has been sent to Agadir, the most southern port of Morocco, at the request of German firms in south Morocco who desire protection. France regards this German intervention as uncalled for, in view of the agreement of 1909, between France, Spain and Germany, to uphold the Algeciras pact of 1906 in regard to their mutual relations in Morocco. [See vol. ix, p. 34; vol. xii, p. 179; current volume, page 419.]

—A resolution was introduced on the 2d in the Chicago Federation of Labor by Oscar J. Nelson of the

Postoffice Employees' Union of Chicago, in opposition to the penny-postage policy of President Taft's Postmaster-general. The resolution charges that thousands of postal clerks have been required to work extra hours without extra pay; that letter carriers have been required to "double up," to the detriment of the service; that well earned salaries of the working force have been arbitrarily scaled down, and that these economies as a basis for penny postage have not been extended to the postal transportation charges of the railroads, which are exorbitant.

—A colossal statue conceived by Lorado Taft, the sculptor, as a memorial to the vanishing race of North American Indians, was unveiled at Oregon, Ill., on the 1st. The statue stands on a bluff at the highest point of the Rock River valley, 250 feet above the river. It is made of reinforced concrete, and the figure, standing upon the solid rock, is 47 feet in height. The work has taken four years. The figure was suggested to Mr. Taft by a study of the famous chief, Black Hawk, although it has not been made as a personal likeness. The blanket-girt figure is represented as looking sternly and sadly over the valley which had so long served his people as council grounds.

PRESS OPINIONS

Attorney-General Wickersham and the Recall of Judges.

Sacramento Bee (dem. Dem.), June 20.—Like many other lawyers, Wickersham is strongly against the Recall for the judiciary. But it is noticeable that many of the most bitter legal opponents of the Recall for judges have, like himself, nothing whatever to say against the vicious system by which candidates for judgeships are selected by political bosses and nominated or appointed through their influence—an evil infinitely worse than any which possibly could arise through the Recall.

* *

Republican Alliance with the Twin Iniquity.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), June 24.—It has taken a long time, but at last the truth about the alliance between the grand old party and the Mormon church is coming out. And sugar was the tie that bound.

* *

Political Status of the Sugar Trust.

The (San Francisco) Star (ind.), June 17.—The reasons given by both the President and the Attorney General as to why the sugar trust should not be investigated under a Republican House, are now admitted to have been fictitious. The real reason why the Republicans were unwilling to permit a Congressional investigation of the sugar trust now becomes debatable. Was it because the Attorney-General had been a former sugar trust attorney and was prejudiced in favor of the innocence of the men higher up? Was it because Henry P. Taft, the brother of the President, was a sugar trust attorney? Or was it because the sugar trust has always been a

friend and ally of the Republican party, and one of its star campaign contributors?

✦ ✦

"Representative" Government in Illinois.

The Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), July 1.—A bill was presented at the instance of the Chief Executive of the State. It was a bill to put into effect not only a party pledge but a Constitutional provision passed by the largest vote ever cast for a Constitutional amendment in Illinois. It involved a question debated before the people for years, of great moment, involving great interests and greater principles. A minority was opposed to this bill; a minority was opposed to any fair consideration or legislation on the question involved; a minority and the Speaker. The special session became anarchic chaos. The Speaker rode down opposition regardless of parliamentary or any other law. A body elected, sworn and paid to deliberate honestly, turned itself into a pandemonium. If this is representative government, it is high time to adopt another form.

✦ ✦

Signs of Change.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), June 24.—The younger Henry George is carrying forward the work of his illustrious father with remarkable energy and not less remarkable intelligence and skill. He is showing himself in Congress to be a man of genuine ability in debate and in the practical work devolving upon him. The gravest and most conservative of the elder statesmen are not above listening to him when he speaks. They understand that he has a message; they know that he has widely traveled and closely observed; they know that he has a constituency much larger than that in his own district—a constituency extending over the whole land and over the whole world in a sense; and they are beginning to realize dimly that something stupendous in the way of change is approaching; that the day of tariffs is about over; that even income taxes and inheritance taxes and all manner of taxes on business and industry and thrift are under deep and abiding suspicion; and that we here must soon move as Germany has begun to move, as Japan is moving and as Great Britain is likewise doing. They are ready to listen when this son of the Prophet of San Francisco delivers the message of that great Seer; and they no longer sneer and no longer turn away. They know the issue is coming and they want to know how to meet it when it comes.

✦ ✦ ✦

Living under a high death rate in tenement houses, in full view of the unoccupied prairies, with wife and children forced to work to get enough food for the family, is not life; working ten to twelve hours a day when the citizen wants to work but eight, signing ironclad contracts because he is hungry, and going without justice because justice is too dear for the poor, is not liberty; and getting a taste of concert music, and protection against accident, poverty and old age, only by the charity of the rich, is not happiness.—Henry Demarest Lloyd.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE HOTEL.

Harriet Monroe in the Atlantic Monthly.

- The long resounding marble corridors, the shining parlors with shining women in them.
- The French room, with its gilt and garlands under plump little tumbling painted Loves.
- The Turkish room, with its jumble of many carpets and its stiffly squared un-Turkish chairs.
- The English room, all heavy crimson and gold, with spreading palms lifted high in round green tubs.
- The electric lights in twos and threes and hundreds, made into festoons and spirals and arabesques, a maze and magic of bright persistent radiance.
- The people sitting in corners by twos and threes, and cooing together under the glare.
- The long rows of silent people in chairs, watching with eyes that see not while the patient hand tangles the air with music.
- The bell-boys marching in with cards, and shouting names over and over into ears that do not heed.
- The stout and gorgeous dowagers in lacy white and lilac, bedizened with many jewels, with smart little scarlet or azure hats on their gray-streaked hair.
- The business men in trim and spotless suits, who walk in and out with eager steps, or sit at the desks and tables, or watch the shining women.
- The telephone girls forever listening to far voices, with the silver band over their hair and the little black caps obliterating their ears.
- The telegraph tickers sounding their perpetual chit—chit-chit from the uttermost ends of the earth.
- The waiters, in black swallow-tails and white aprons, passing here and there with trays of bottles and glasses.
- The quiet and sumptuous bar-room, with purplish men softly drinking in little alcoves, while the barkeeper, mixing bright liquors, is rapidly plying his bottles.
- The great bedecked and gilded café, with its glitter of a thousand mirrors, with its little white tables bearing gluttonous dishes whereto bright forks, held by pampered hands, flicker daintily back and forth.
- The white-tiled, immaculate kitchen, with many little round blue fires, where white-clad cooks are making spiced and flavored dishes.
- The cool cellars filled with meats and fruits, or layered with sealed and bottled wines mellowing softly in the darkness.
- The invisible stories of furnaces and machines, burrowing deep down into the earth, where grimy workmen are heavily laboring.
- The many-windowed stories of little homes and shelters and sleeping-places, reaching up into the night like some miraculous, high-piled honeycomb of wax-white cells.
- The clothes inside of the cells—the stuffs, the silks, the laces; the elaborate delicate disguises that

wait in trunks and drawers and closets, or be drape and conceal human flesh.

The people inside of the clothes, the bodies white and young, bodies fat and bulging, bodies wrinkled and wan, all alike veiled by fine fabrics, sheltered by walls and roofs, shut in from the sun and stars.

The souls inside of the bodies—the naked souls; souls weazen and weak, or proud and brave; all imprisoned in flesh, wrapped in woven stuffs, enclosed in thick and painted masonry, shut away with many shadows from the shining truth.

God inside of the souls, God veiled and wrapped and imprisoned and shadowed in fold on fold of flesh and fabrics and mockeries; but ever alive, struggling and rising again, seeking the light, freeing the world.

✦ ✦ ✦

WOODROW WILSON.

A Glimpse of the Governor of New Jersey, as C. E. S. Wood Caught it for the Pacific Monthly (Portland, Oregon) for July, 1911.

Governor Wilson has a keen, if quiet, sense of humor and his addresses were all enlivened with it. In his talk to the Press Club he urged newspaper men to be fair, honest gentlemen in print as well as out. He said deliberate misrepresentation was most unusual, but the seizing of some chance or incidental remark for sensational purposes was quite as much of an untruth as it would be to tell only part of a man's history leaving a false and hurtful impression; or present a caricature of his nose, as a portrait. Don't show your pen picture of a man's mind from one angle; don't give one fact; try honestly to give a fair and complete report.

"Now," said he, in illustration, "I will tell you that once, in delivering an address in New York, I said—simply to relieve the tedium of the affair—that there was one thing could be said of the habit of chewing tobacco: It gave a man a chance to think between sentences. The New York Sun the next morning had in glaring headlines: 'President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton advocates Chewing Tobacco as promoting Thought.' Not a word of my address but this fool statement. It might have hurt Princeton University, because fond parents and guardians would not send their youth to an institution where the president taught the rudiments of tobacco chewing and doubtless illustrated by his own example the masticatory precepts inculcated."

Governor Wilson then went on to tell of his campaign in New Jersey; how his tactics had been simply to take the people into his confidence, tell them all he could find out, all he intended to do—and to keep his word. He said it was pathetic to read the almost adulatory letters sent him simply for being an honest man. "I love peace and harmony," said he, "and do not like to fight, but my Scotch-Irish ancestry would not let me run away from one, so when I found it was expected that I

would forget all my ante-election promises and do the bidding of the machine, I had a fight on my hands, but I won it simply by calling public opinion to my aid. I kept on telling everything I knew, not bitterly, simply as facts. It is a great mistake to say I dragooned the New Jersey legislature. When those men found that the old machine which had ruled them and given them orders was broken, they were only too glad to be honest. They emulated each other in serving the people. Why, the bill for the commission form of government for cities was none of my doing. The legislature just got enthusiastic and said, 'Here, have the commission form of government on me.'"

A Portland daily paper made its headlines on this Press Club address: "Woodrow Wilson Believes in Using Fists—Would Give His Enemy an Uppercut." So if he keeps on, Governor Wilson can make a remarkable biography of himself: "Advocates chewing tobacco as a means to thought." "Believes in the uppercut as a mode of argument."

And lastly, he urged earnestly that there must always be leadership in every community, in governments as in other things, and said that the people all over the land are eager for leaders who will give themselves to the public service for duty's sake and will seek to serve the whole people.

"There can be no higher career for any man," he continued, "than such leadership, and I hope the time is coming when our very best men will give themselves to the people as the leaders, yet the servants, of the people. When I look at that flag [pointing to the American flags with which the Armory was decorated] it seems to me to be made of alternate strips of white parchment and streams of blood, the blood shed in the cause of human liberty and the parchments on which are written the codes of human rights"

Governor Wilson facetiously said he was "swinging around the circle" for the purpose of informing himself as an executive and as a man. (He was professor of political science in Princeton and is author of a political history of the United States.)

Theories, he said, never interested him, but he was enamored of facts. Whoever could give him facts would find him deeply interested, and one fact he had found of real importance, which is that this progressive and awakening spirit was all over the country.

When directly asked about his candidacy for the Presidency, he treated this in a frank, dignified way. Indeed, Governor Wilson never sidesteps. He answered that the office was too exalted for any man to run after it and too great for any man to refuse.

In my opinion he would make a great President. Full of force and determination; knowing the theories and history of government as few men do;

in deep sympathy with the plain people, the common man, and understanding the economic falsities of present conditions, yet calm, unemotional, just; more a man of intellect than of the emotions, he could better Bryan or Roosevelt as a champion for the Right. With that constant aim at a government of the people by the people for the people, and his ceaseless humor—suggestive of Lincoln—he makes the best combination of reformer, scholar and practical politician (in its highest sense) I have seen. He is a man of perfect poise—well balanced.

* * *

WAGES AND THE TARIFF.

Portions of Speech Delivered by Hon. William Hughes of New Jersey in the Lower House of Congress. From the Congressional Record of June 19, 1911.

I want to say a few words about a subject which seems to cause great concern to our friends on the other side of the aisle, and that is the effect of this legislation upon the laboring classes of the country. I have worked myself in the factories of the country, and I have worked for very low wages, and I do not think that all of the time I was employed in factories in the city of Paterson that I averaged a dollar a day, taking into account the time that I lost. I want to tell you something else. Your campaign book in 1905 published the amount of wages paid to the silk operatives throughout this country and the number of operatives engaged in such industry, and one day, having nothing else to do, I divided one into the other, and I found that, although this industry is protected to the extent of 50 per cent or more ad valorem, the wages received by the operatives in that particular industry amounted to the munificent sum of \$335 per year. Now, think of it! I will tell you something else. The fiercest competition that the silk manufacturers in the city of Paterson ever met did not come from abroad. It came from the State of Pennsylvania, where these gentlemen come from who are inveighing against a revision of the tariff for fear of injuring the laboring man. The situation existing up there in Pennsylvania was absolutely ideal for their purposes. Why, there the big brawny men were working in the mines and the little boys were picking slate out of the coal as it shot down the chutes. Oh, I have seen them with their hands bleeding—little fellows who ought to be at home being attended to and taken care of by their mothers—I have seen them with their nails bleeding from the constant impact against the sharp corners of the slate. The men were employed and the boys were employed. There remained only to find some way of employing the infant girls. Suddenly some genius thought of the silk business—that was the thing. They came to my town and they enlisted

the services of the manufacturers and showed them what a world of cheap labor there was to be had—a part of the miner's family which was not now being used. They induced the manufacturers to go up there; they built them their factories for nothing; they gave them coal at \$1 a ton the year around; they remitted their taxes for 10 and 15 years; and they put these little girls to work. Took them out of the fields and off the hills, away from the schools, the prettiest and nicest little girls a man ever looked at. I have seen them up there, red checked, healthy, happy-eyed children, doomed for the future to pass their lives within the four brick walls of the silk mills of Pennsylvania. I saw them there working, and I saw the pay rolls. I saw girls doing work in one mill in the State of Pennsylvania for \$4 a week, and the scale in the city of Paterson then being paid was from \$15 to \$21. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. J. M. C. Smith: Do you think that removing the tariff would be a benefit or better the condition of the laboring men in this country?

Mr. Hughes: I am coming to that in a moment, because I have been under the impression always, and I am still under the impression, that the tariff has nothing to do with wages. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. J. M. C. Smith: And state, if you please, if there is any country that the sun shines on when it goes from east to west around this globe where the laboring man is so well fed, clothed, so well paid, and so happy as in the United States of America. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Hughes: The gentleman can get time to make his speech. I have heard that statement so often it makes me tired. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Mann: The truth generally hurts—

Mr. Hughes: Mr. Chairman, I am not prepared to say now there is any country where the condition of the laboring man is better than it is here, for, unfortunately, his condition is bad in a great many countries; but I will say, just as did the gentleman from Wisconsin on yesterday, that the wages and condition of workmen are fixed by a great many different contributory circumstances; and as he justly said, and as the father of Henry George said before him, the land values in this country are one of the controlling things in fixing the wages in this country. But you take the stand that you are doing something for the American laboring man when you enable his employer to plunder the people. You say to him, "I will give you part of the plunder," but he does not get it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I do not deny that the protective tariff, if carried to its logical conclusion—a combination or monopoly formed to take advantage of it—I do not deny that that will enable these gentlemen to pay high wages. But it does not compel them to

pay these wages. If the billion or nearly dollars' worth of watered stock of the Steel Trust, that it now compels us to pay dividends on, had not been issued and that money was in the treasury of that company instead of going out in dividends on that watered stock, why of course they could pay tremendously high wages. I say while it enables them to pay high wages it does not compel them to pay high wages [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Sloan: I would like to ask the gentleman if he indorses the taxation system of either Henry George, or his distinguished father?

Mr. Hughes: I do not know if the gentleman has ever read any of the articles—

Mr. Sloan: I think I have read nearly all those of the elder and have heard some of the speeches of Henry George, Jr.

Mr. Hughes: I am sure the gentleman will agree with me, I find it very difficult indeed to disagree with the elder Mr. George.

Mr. Sloan: Do you agree with him?

Mr. Hughes: To a large extent I do.

Mr. Sloan: Does the gentleman's party agree with him?

Mr. Hughes: Oh, I am not speaking for my party.

Mr. Hardy: What has that to do with this question?

Mr. Sloan: Henry George and Henry George's father are noted for distinctive ideas on taxation—

Mr. Hughes: I suppose the gentleman is referring now to the Singletax?

Mr. Sloan: Yes.

Mr. Hughes: And I want to limit my answer to that.

Mr. Sloan: More particularly that.

Mr. Hughes: And so I say I find it very hard indeed to escape the conclusion drawn by Mr. George in such of his works as I have read.

I never heard a joint discussion between a Singletaxer and a man opposed to the idea. There may be a good many arguments to be made on the other side of the proposition with which I am not familiar and which might affect my mind. But I must say that he seemed, so far as I have been able to observe, to make it very difficult indeed, for a fair-minded man, with no preconceived convictions on the subject, to disagree with him.

Mr. Martin (of Colorado): I would like to know if, in the opinion of the gentleman, any tariff legislation will appreciably benefit the condition of the wage earners in this country?

Mr. Hughes: Does the gentleman mean tariff legislation now, or as a general proposition?

Mr. Martin: As a general proposition.

Mr. Hughes: As a general proposition, no. Why should the manufacturer be expected to share with his workmen?

Mr. Martin: Will the gentleman permit a word

further just there, rather in the way of explanation?

Mr. Hughes: Yes, sir.

Mr. Martin: My view being that no tariff legislation, in view of modern industrial developments and conditions, will tend appreciably to solve the economic and industrial problems confronting the wage earners in this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In other words, I think the tariff is very largely a sham issue and a humbug, whether it is high tariff, low tariff, or no tariff, in so far as it involves the welfare of the American wage earner and the solution of the great issues that are really pressing upon the American people for solution. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Hughes: It might be possible for the American workingman to benefit from the tariff if he could effect a close and compact organization. For instance, if he could protect himself against immigration, if he had the genius to organize all the different branches of the different industries so that he himself could become a monopolist, so that he could say to the other monopolists, "When you are stealing from the people, steal enough for me and give it to me." [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.] It might be possible for him then to benefit. But as it stands now, you give a monopoly to the manufacturer. You say: "We protect you from competition," and the ten manufacturers, say, who were formerly operating independently, combine and raise the price and get the benefit, and simply refuse to carry out their compact and bargain. They go to the four ends of the earth to get cheap labor to enable them to evade the solemn obligations they entered into to pay part of their profits back in high wages to the American workmen. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

* * *

A LOOK INTO THE GULF.

I looked one night, and there Semiramis,
With all her mourning doves about her head,
Sat rocking on an ancient road of Hell,
Withered and eyeless, chanting to the moon
Snatches of song they sang to her of old
Upon the lighted roofs of Nineveh.
And then her voice rang out with rattling laugh:
"The bugles! they are crying back again—
Bugles that broke the nights of Babylon.
And then went crying on through Nineveh.
"Stand back, ye trembling messengers of ill!
Women, let go my hair: I am the Queen,
A whirlwind and a blaze of swords to quell
Insurgent cities. Let the iron tread
Of armies shake the earth. Look, lofty towers:
Assyria goes by upon the wind!"
And so she babbles by the ancient road,
While cities turned to dust upon the Earth
Rise through her whirling brain to live again—
Babbles all night, and when her voice is dead
Her weary lips beat on without a sound.

—Edwin Markham.

BOOKS

UNEARNED INCREMENT TAXATION IN GERMANY.

Zuwachssteuergesetz, vom 14 Februar, 1911. (Increment Tax Law of February 14, 1911.) Elucidated by Dr. Hans Simon.

A legal commentary, of 175 pages with index, on the national land value tax law of the German Empire, which went into effect April 1, 1911, and one of a series of commentaries on specific statutes intended for laymen as well as for the legal fraternity. It includes a history of the statute named, its inception and passage, an abstract of the 72 sections into which the law is divided, and a careful analysis of its provisions. Each section or paragraph is accompanied with elaborate explanations of its purpose, the import of its unfamiliar terms and involved phrases, and examples of the way the tax is to be applied, or not applied, under given circumstances.

As this is the first law applicable to the entire German nation which distinctly recognizes the principle of taxing unearned increments of land, it has a special interest for students of Henry George. True to its Teutonic origin it is worked out into infinite detail; and its application cautiously restricted to certain phases of the increase of land values, is rather elaborately guarded and circumscribed. But the author of this commentary recognizes the far-reaching economic bearing of the principle involved, and assigns this element in explanation of the close study, the numerous changes and the long discussions to which the bill was subjected before it became a law. The novelty of the principle and the strange and mystifying terminology induced a member of the Reichstag to suggest that a draft of the law be referred to a committee whose business it should be "to translate it from the incomprehensible into German."

Dr. Simon's introduction indicates the care with which he has treated the subject. Referring in the opening paragraph to monopoly of land, he says: "The earth is not a commodity, but a portion of mother nature. Owing to its natural attributes it has at all times and among all peoples assumed a distinctive relation. Especially is the peculiar property of the ground as a resting place for buildings of great significance, because, owing to the natural limitation of building sites on the one hand, and the ever increasing demand for buildings on the other, land owning readily takes on the characteristics of a monopoly." He refers also to the Mosaic law regarding the distinction between agricultural and urban lands, to the Greek and Roman land laws, constituting an important part of their political history, to the claims of the

Physiocrats led by Quesnay, to the Napoleonic decree of 1807 allowing cities to retain part of the increase in ground values, to Herbert Spencer as a believer in common ownership as opposed to private ownership of land, and to John Stuart Mill's "unearned increment" theory established by his investigations founded on the proposition that "no man made the land" and "it is the original inheritance of the whole species." Coming then to Henry George: "After him (Mill)," Dr. Simon says, "came Henry George, who in his principal work, 'Progress and Poverty,' proclaimed the ownership of land a monopoly and expected to find a remedy for the unsatisfactory returns to labor in the taxation of ground rent."

The subject appears to have forced itself upon the attention of the German nation after the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71. Since that time the number of German cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants has increased from 10 to 47, with a total population increased from 2 millions to 13 millions. This pressure of population gave rise to a growing demand on the part of cities and communities for a share in the increased values of their sites. A direct land value tax was, however, not permissible under the law of 1893, which definitely specified the objects of taxation and the proportionate burden of the tax levy. The communities therefore fell back upon a "transfer tax" levied upon immovable property at the time of sale or transfer. In some form this kind of tax has been adopted in more than 650 German municipalities during the past five or six years. But with the exception of the German colony of Kiautschou, China, no periodical land value tax has yet been introduced, and in Kiautschou the periodicity is only every 25 years when no transfers have been made in the meantime.

The present law is very specific as to the "unearned" increase, which alone is to be taxed. The difference between the cost and selling price decides, but this difference is reduced by adding to the original cost various items, such as commissions paid at the time of purchase (not to exceed 4%), expenditures for improvements, special assessments paid for street and other public improvements, etc. There are special provisions for woodlands, moors and meadows, military reservations and the like. The difference between cost and selling price is still further reduced by deductions from the selling price. Other regulations refer to the status of the parties—whether heirs, relatives, etc., and to conditions surrounding the transfer, all with a tendency to modify the severity of the tax. And no property is taxed under this law which has not reached a value of 20,000 marks (\$5,000) if improved, or 5,000 marks (\$1,250) if unimproved. But properties of less value may have their unearned increments taxed if the combined income of man and wife, when either sells, is greater than 2,000 marks yearly.

The tax, varying from 10% to 30% of the net increase, is determined by the proportion of increase. If the difference between the purchase and the selling price amounts to 10% of the former, the minimum tax of 10% is levied on the increase; and for every additional 20% of increase (and beyond a certain point for every 10%) an additional 1% is added to the tax, up to the maximum of 30%. The tax is levied at the time of transfer.

Exempt from the tax are certain princes, States, communities, and some colonization companies of a public character. How the tax shall be collected, the rights and duties of the parties taxed, penalties, provisions applying to communities that already have an increment tax for local use, and many other rules and regulations are so elaborated that every conceivable situation seems to be covered.

The law is retroactive to January 1, 1911, and the revenue derived from it is divided into three parts—50% for the national government, 10% for the State which collects the tax, and 40% for the community in which the land lies.

EMIL SCHMIED.

PERIODICALS

The Nautilus.

Making of its July issue a "Special Single Tax Number," The Nautilus (Holyoke, Mass.) includes in this issue a paper by Joseph Fels on "The Single Tax," one by B. S. Spaulding on Vancouver as "A City Under the Single Tax," and one by Stanley Bowmar on "Two Single Tax Exponents."

† †

Everybody's.

"The Coming Ashore of Andrew Furuseth," by John L. Mathews, gives special color to Everybody's for July; for Andrew Furuseth is known far and wide for his splendid service as the organizer of seamen, who neither stands for classes nor fears classes, but is for men. The story of his work, illuminated with one of those democratic dissenting opinions with which Justice Harlan has enriched the literature of the Supreme Court, makes wholesome reading.

† †

The Pacific Monthly.

Besides its leading article by C. H. Baily on woman suffrage in Washington, the Pacific Monthly for July helps Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi of the Free Synagogue of New York, to discuss his idea of "A Substitute for War." This substitute also is war. Not "a war of man upon man," but "a war for human security and human peace and human justice, a war against the causes of preventable poverty, preventable disease and preventable crime." In the same issue of the Pacific, its regular contributor, C. E. S. Wood, writes with characteristic candor and brilliancy of Governor Wilson's speeches in Portland,

and furnishes besides a beautiful bit of Oregon landscape in color, artistically reproduced on the cover page.

† † †

The man on the seat in the vestibule of the Heights car looked around:

"I'm a strong Sane Fourth man," he said, "and I wear the button of reform, but at the same time I can't help sympathizing with a cousin of mine who is a consular agent on one of the Ladrone islands."

"Don't have any Fourth out there, do they?" inquired the other man.

"Sure they do. That's just the trouble. I suppose Cousin Henry is a good deal to blame for it, but he started in to give 'em a noisy Fourth and he can't cut it out. Henry gets a stock of firecrackers, big and little, from Hongkong, and rockets and pin-wheels and things, and those natives have the time of their lives. Henry says they look forward to the big noise all the year. Why, they come to him every little while and say, 'Big bang plenty soon, Henly?'"

"Any of 'em ever get hurt?"

"No, they're too timid for that. Henry says that when he touches the fuse of a cannon cracker he has known some of 'em to run a mile. One brown boy ran so far it took a hunting party three days to find him. Henry would be glad to give the thing up—he nearly blew a thumb off at the last celebration, but he don't see how he can do it. He says that if

The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, July 9, 3 P. M., 331 So. LaSalle St. (Second Floor)

REPORT ON BOSTON CONVENTION

ELECTION OF TREASURER

In place of Ellen G. Starr, Resigned

EVERYBODY WELCOME

EMMA STEGHAGEN, Secretary. MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS, President.

The Great Strike of the Garment Workers of Chicago

NOW READY

The Official Report of the Strike Committee of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

Written by Mrs. Raymond Robins

Containing a Full and Detailed Account of This Significant Social Uprising.

Many Interesting Illustrations.

Report of the Public Auditing of the Strike Fund Full List of Contributors Appended.

PRICE, TEN CENTS

Headquarters Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

331 South La Salle Street, Chicago

he cuts out the fireworks the natives will come down to the consular building in a howling body and sarcastically yell, 'What mat' with 'Nited States? Gone bust?' No, there's no sane Fourth for Henry."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

✦ ✦ ✦

I once read something like the following: A Presbyterian divine who had lost his saddle strongly suspected an erring brother named Philadelphus.

"Phil," said he, "I want you to bring back that saddle you stole."

"What saddle, Doctah?"

"My saddle, which you stole last night."

"Doctah, does you believe in de doctrine of pre-desperation?"

"Certainly I do. But see here, Phil, predestina-

tion has nothing to do with your stealing my saddle."

"Suttenly it has, Doctah. Fo' dere was des so many saddles predispernated to be stole, from de very foundations of de worl', and ef yore saddle was one of dem et's de decree of God."

"Phil, don't talk such nonsense to me. You bring back that saddle."

"Well, Doctah, mind I ain't sayin' I is, but ef dere was so many saddles predispernated to be stole den dere must a been des so many gentermen predispernated to steal 'em, and ef I was one of dose niggahs, I kaint help it, kin I?"

"Phil, I won't talk this foolishness with you any longer. You were seen taking that saddle and if you don't bring it back before night I'll arrest you."

"Well, Doctah, dere suttenly must be some of

The Women's National Single Tax League

invites all women interested in the cause to become members, and thus through co-operation increase their individual efficiency as Single Tax workers. Correspondence invited. Dues one dollar yearly. Address

Mrs. Jane Marcellus, Cor. Sec'y, 23 Lincoln Place, Orange, N. J.

A TOM L. JOHNSON SOUVENIR

If you want to know more of Johnson the man; more of his work in Congress; of his part in the George Campaigns in New York; of his achievements as Mayor of Cleveland, you should have a copy of the Johnson Souvenir booklet.

It contains the speeches delivered by Rev. H. S. Bigelow, Louis F. Post and others at the Testimonial Dinner given in his honor in New York on May 30 1910.

And we've said nothing about the work of the artist-printer who made the booklet a thing to treasure! Fifty cents a copy.

FROM DANIEL KIEFER,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Works of Henry George

Progress and Poverty.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Anniversary Edition. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Our Land and Land Policy.

By HENRY GEORGE.

This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come." Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

The Land Question.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Social Problems.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 55c, postpaid.

Protection or Free Trade.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

A Perplexed Philosopher.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

The Science of Political Economy.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

The Life of Henry George.

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

Anniversary Edition. With eight illustrations. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept. Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

dem saddles predespornated to be stole, wich is predespornated to be give back, and ef yore saddle is one of dem—an' it is borne inter me mighty pow'ful dat it is, you look out 'n yore back fence 'bout sundown an' it wouldn't s'prise me ef you seen yore saddle!"—C. E. S. Wood, in Pacific Monthly.

* * *

Not so very long ago an Englishman, just across, visited Sandpoint, one of the large lumbering towns in the Northwest. Practically the entire town and country are owned by the Humbird Lumber Company. The Englishman was taken out into the

great pine forests where immense white pines tower on every side.

"To whom does this forest belong?" he asked.

"To the Humbird Lumber Company," was the answer.

He was shown through the large lumber plant and informed that it belonged to the Humbirds. The fine bank building, the great department store, rows upon rows of dwelling houses, all belonging to the same corporation.

As a crowning treat he was taken for a spin around Lake Pend d'Oreille in a swift launch. Upon

Cutting Through the Jungle

Gov. Wilson says the present "constitution of politics" is a jungle that must be cut down before the people may rule.

The Public is showing the straight road through this jungle to thousands of progressives like Wilson.

You can put more of them on our subscription list.

Cincinnati, July 1.

DANIEL KIEFER.

Our Small Books and Pamphlets.

The Crime of Poverty.

By HENRY GEORGE.
Price, postpaid, 10c.

A Great Iniquity.

By LEO TOLSTOY.
With portraits. Price, postpaid, 10c.

Gerrit Smith on Land Monopoly.

With Introduction by W. M. LLOYD GARRISON.
Cover portrait. Price, postpaid, 10c.

Moses.

By HENRY GEORGE.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

"Thy Kingdom Come."

By HENRY GEORGE.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

"Thou Shalt Not Steal."

By HENRY GEORGE.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Story of My Dictatorship.

By LEWIS H. BERENS and IGNATIUS SINGER.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Case Plainly Stated.

By H. F. RING.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Single Tax—What It Is and What It Will Accomplish.

By JUDSON GRENELL.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

A 1911 Single Tax Catechism.

By C. B. FILLEBROWN.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Open Shop and the Closed Shop.

By LOUIS F. POST.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Success in Life.

By LOUIS F. POST.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages—The Condition, the Cause, and the Cure.

By GEORGE L. RUSBY.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

How to Get Rich Without Working.

By EDWARD HOMER BAILEY.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Direct Legislation—The Initiative and the Referendum.

By JOHN Z. WHITE.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

National Decay Caused by Political Corruption; and the Remedy.

By WILLIAM PRESTON HILL.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Franklin and Freedom.

By JOSEPH FELS.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Thomas Jefferson.

By STERLING E. EDMUNDS.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Union of a Liberal Church.

By HERBERT S. BIGELOW.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Marriage as a Present Day Problem.

By ALICE THACHER POST.
Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

ADDRESS

THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT., Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

their return, while standing upon the dock, he asked:

"May I ask who owns this lake?"

"Oh, it belongs to God."

"Aw, really, is that so? Now, would you mind telling me how he managed to get it away from Mr. Humbird?"—Outing.

+ + +

Little Robert studied the first downy chicks in the spring. Presently he turned to his mother and

asked: "Mamma, are chickens' legs hind legs or front legs?"—Woman's Home Companion.

+ + +

An elderly woman at Council Grove, who displays a wonderful knowledge of what is going on in town, was asked which of the home papers she read.

"Neither one," she replied. "I just ask the milkman and the grocery boy what is goin' on and they reel it off by the yard. You see, they've got the advantage of the papers—they give you the news

In All Households

there is a deal of cleaning and scrubbing to do at the end of the week. Use Fels-Naptha. It does the cleaning easily, and makes the house cleaner and brighter.

Fels-Naptha whitens floors, brightens painted woodwork and brings out the colors in oil-cloth and linoleum. It cleans polished hardwood floors and varnished surfaces without dulling.

It cleans and polishes windows and the glass in china closets or bookcases. Makes the glass shine like sparkling crystal.

Every woman knows that a porcelain bathtub is hard to keep white and clean. Fels-Naptha and a soft cloth keep it shining and spotless with very little work. Same for tiling or mirrors.

And Fels-Naptha does all this in cold or lukewarm water. No need of fire to heat water; and you don't need a scrubbing brush. Sounds easy, doesn't it? And it is as easy as it sounds.

The Public

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

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

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

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

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Hillsworth Bldg., 531 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts and money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising Rate, 10c Per Agate Line

(14 lines to the inch)

One page, each insertion.....	\$24.00
Half page, each insertion.....	12.00
7 inches, single column, each insertion.....	9.50
Quarter page, each insertion.....	6.00
One inch, each insertion.....	1.40
5% discount for 3 months' (or longer) insertion of one advertisement, or 6 months' insertion every other week.	
2% discount for cash in 5 days from receipt of bill.	
Columns 3 inches wide, 120 lines long, two columns to the page.	

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

the same day it happens. More than that, they tell you what the papers ain't got nerve enough to print."
—Kansas City Journal.

+ + +

A Philadelphia clergyman tells this story on a brother minister, with whom he recently attended a convention in Washington:

"The conductor on a street car on which we were

riding one day," he said, "was most apparently of English birth. We had hardly seated ourselves when I was attracted by his pronunciation.

"'Haitch street,' he called, shortly after we were seated.

"'Hi,' was the next call. Then followed 'J' and 'K.' At this juncture my companion got up.

"'I'm going to get off here,' he said. 'I can't stay to near the next.'"—Philadelphia Times.

Tributes to Tom L. Johnson

In celebration of the fifty-seventh anniversary of **TOM L. JOHNSON'S** birth, which occurred July 18, 1854, The Public will issue a special number containing selections of editorial tributes on the occasion of his death, April 10, 1911.

It was originally intended to publish in this special number all these tributes in full. But that is found to be impracticable. It would require some 500 extra pages of The Public. Condensation is therefore necessary. Care will be taken, however, to edit with reference especially to avoiding unnecessary repetitions of praise and to preserve every phase of criticism.

Other features will be embodied in this special number of The Public, some of which cannot yet be announced. Among them, however, will be **TWO HALF-TONE PORTRAITS**, one taken at the summit of Mayor Johnson's powers, the other as he withdrew from office fifteen months before his death. His speech in Congress on the income tax in 1894 will also be included.

This issue of The Public will be more than doubled in the number of its pages, but will go to all subscribers in regular course without extra charge.

For additional copies, however, a charge at the rate of **TEN CENTS EACH** will be made, and advance orders with cash will be taken. As only a small extra edition will be printed in excess of orders for additional copies in advance, no assurances can be given that orders other than those received in advance will be filled.

The Public of this issue will be completed for the press July 18, but will bear date of July 21, 1911.

Address:

The Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago