

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Mexico and America.

It seems after all that Mr. Taft either did try to deceive the American people or was himself deceived (p. 241) when he announced that the maneuvers of the American army on the Mexican frontier were only for military practice. Admissions are now made that possible intervention was contemplated, in consequence of the growth of the Mexican revolution. What kind of intervention and why, are as mysterious still as if this government were a dynasty instead of a democracy. But confirmation of the suspicions of two weeks ago that the intervention is as likely to be against Diaz as for him (p. 242) is stronger now than then. Only one thing, however, is yet more certain than anything else, and that is that the intervention, whatever form it takes or in whosoever interest nominally, is at the behest and for the benefit of It. "Brother Charlie" knows more about it, probably, than President William.

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Tom L. Johnson's Illness.

Reports from Cleveland for the past two weeks have again drawn attention to the serious illness of Tom L. Johnson; and friendly requests for information, accompanied with affectionate expressions, pour in from all points of the compass and from distant as well as nearby places. Friends near him make no secret of the slender thread that holds him yet to physical life. They only hope. But they are not without reasons for hop-

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ing. And Mr. Johnson himself, well aware of his serious condition, is characteristically cheerful, unafraid, and vigorous in his determination to live for the sake of the work he has to do. "Wouldn't it be a joke," he said, when the sense of recovering strength came to him, "if I were to get better and run for Mayor again? I believe I'd rather like that joke myself." That he may recover is the earnest wish of a world of friends, and not for personal reasons alone.

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Whoever has observed the career of Tom L. Johnson as Mayor of Cleveland with more than superficial interest, must have seen that his plans have gone far beyond minor reforms. His 3-cent car fares, his advocacy of municipal ownership of public utilities, his efficient administration—all these have been to his larger purpose as ploughing to harvest, or as digging for foundations is to triumphs in architecture. To understand his work in Cleveland and appreciate his determination to be up and at it again, one must read with Johnson's generous and apprehending spirit that message of Henry George which set him going in his work for social regeneration as far back as the early eighties. His work is indeed unfinished, but as far as it has gone it is well done. Though he were not spared to go on with it, it would nevertheless rank—in its conception, in its progress, and in its widespread influence—with the best democratic service in this spring-time period of our changing social order. It has been done so well that the wish is universal that his determination to live, so he may help further, will stimulate the hope among his friends everywhere which inspires those of them that are near him in his illness.

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Single Tax Dangers in Vancouver.

The letter by Henry George, Jr., in our Editorial Correspondence (p. 294) calls attention to an already visible effect of the Single Tax movement in Canada (pp. 83, 187, 233), an effect which every thoughtful student of the subject has looked for and will continue to look for with confidence, unless a further progressive move is made. Unless the Canadians manage to advance their rate of land value taxation, so as to take for public use a good share of the increase in land values which the exemption of improvements and other industrial products makes, their prosperity will collapse.

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To exempt improvements in a municipality tends to encourage improvement there. This is

happening now in Vancouver, and making her prosperous. But it has the same tendency that any other cause for local improvement has—the cause more people, more capital, more enterprise, or more effective labor. It makes land values higher. To perpetuate the advantages, then, which the single tax may bring to any municipality—Vancouver, for instance—land value taxation must be repeatedly advanced, so as to leave but little of the consequent increase in land values in the hands of landed interests. Otherwise the speculation in land that land value taxation tends at first to drive away, will by prosperity be encouraged to return; and if it does return, land values will leap upward in the speculative market to the bursting point, and then will come industrial depression and municipal desolation.

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There is nothing new about the desolating effect which Congressman George predicts for Vancouver if the people of that city content themselves with the degree of land value taxation they have now, while their exemption of improvements progressively stimulates land values. His father gave warning more than thirty years ago, in "Progress and Poverty." Observing that in the better developed countries the value of the land taken as a whole is much more than sufficient to bear the entire expenses of government, the author of "Progress and Poverty" wrote:* "Hence it will not be enough merely to place all taxes upon the value of land. It will be necessary, where rent exceeds the present governmental revenues, commensurately to increase the amount demanded in taxation, and to continue this increase as society progresses and rent advances." If Vancouver fails to heed this warning, let her not account for the inevitable disaster by criticizing the single tax, of which she now boasts. Her plight will be due, not to the degree of single tax she has adopted, but to the greater degree which in folly she may neglect to adopt.

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Harrison and the Brewery Ring.

It is a significant coincidence that the brewery interests of Chicago have endorsed Mr. Harrison for Mayor at the very moment when they were secretly arranging to secure a monopoly of beer saloon licenses. Under the cry of "personal liberty," these interests urge the election of Harrison. One might suppose from their outcry that the only personal liberty for which the people of Chicago

*Progress and Poverty, book viii, ch. II.

care at all, is personal liberty to buy beer. But even that lonesome liberty is not what concerns the brewery interests, except indirectly. They do indeed want to maintain the liberty of the citizen to drink beer. But this is less for the sake of the drinker than for the sake of the breweries. Nor is it for their sake as manufacturers of a commodity. Through high license, they are reaching out to make for themselves a monopoly of saloons. The political power they would thereby acquire is startling to consider. Is it any wonder that Mr. Harrison adopts the "personal liberty" cry of the breweries as his own? Is it surprising that they have made his candidacy theirs? Not to any one who knows them and him.

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Is It to Laugh?

It is reported that ex-Mayor Harrison, Mr. Hearst's candidate for Mayor of Chicago, has brought a libel suit against the Chicago Tribune for republishing matter relative to Mr. Harrison, printed in Mr. Hearst's papers prior to the treaty between Mr. Harrison and Mr. Hearst.

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Important Revenue Reform.

Why is it important that the revenue amendment to the Constitution of Illinois take precedence of the direct legislation amendment? The Chicago organs of Big Business say it is important, and so do the Lorimer crowd. But why? There are several reasons. The first reason is that it would sidetrack the direct legislation amendment (pp. 265, 275) which the people have asked for and which Big Business grafters and crooked politicians are opposed to. The second reason is that the same interests want tax laws that would legalize their tax-dodging. What could be cozier than on one hand to stave off direct legislation, and on the other to secure taxation that would exempt themselves while adding to the tax burdens of home owners and home renters? That is what the revenue amendment now before the Illinois legislature would make it easy to do. It is a Big Business amendment, which ought never to be adopted unless its misuse is guarded against by means of the Referendum. If the Initiative and Referendum come first, it may be safe enough to adopt the revenue amendment; for then the real taxpayers of the State could protect themselves against unfair laws under that amendment. But the adoption of the revenue amendment before the Initiative and Referendum, would be almost like appointing the inside ring of the Chicago Commercial Association as a special commission with

full power over the whole subject of taxation in Illinois.

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Exemption of Homes.

Again the Polak bill for exemption of \$3,000 worth of home (vol. ix, p. 10) is before the New York legislature. Senator Griffin introduced it on the 2nd, and at latest reports it slept in the portfolio of the chairman of the Senate committee on taxation and retrenchment. This bill is the best revenue measure of which we know as now pending officially anywhere east of the Rocky Mountains, except in New Jersey. It adds to the exemption clauses of the present New York revenue law, this sensible clause: "*All dwelling houses, but the amount so exempt shall not exceed three thousand dollars, nor shall the exemption apply to the land.*" If that bill were enacted into law, it would have approximately this effect: The owners of dwellings up to \$3,000 in value for the house alone would pay no taxes; if they live in these dwellings themselves, they would be untaxed home owners; if they rent, they would be untaxed tenants, for the owners would be forced by competition to lower their rents by the amount of the tax exemption; yet, as there would be no exemption of the land, home owners would pay in building lot taxes according to the difference in rental value between their locations and worse ones, being exempt up to the difference between their locations and better ones; and tenants would pay no higher rent in consequence of this tax, if it were higher, for competition prevents owners from adding land value taxes to rent. No one who favors home building and opposes land speculation can intelligently vote against that bill. The revenue amendment in Illinois so urgently promoted by Chicago tax dodgers just now (to sidetrack direct legislation) would prevent the enactment of a law like that New York measure.

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Direct Legislation in Nebraska.

To some extent the Nebraska amendment is unsatisfactory. This is due, we understand, to Democratic members of the legislature. "But for the almost solid support of the Republicans," says the State Journal, "petitions to Initiate would be probably not less than 20 per cent, and no measure could be adopted by less than a majority of all the votes cast at the election." Now, however, that the measure is before the people, it should be adopted. Once in force, the people themselves may cure its defects by further amendment. The day of misrepresentative dictation by political and business grafters approaches the end.

The Surprising Mr. Wickersham.

President Taft's Attorney General surprised no one by coming out against Direct Legislation and the Recall, as he did a few days ago before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. From a lifetime promoter and adviser of plutocratic corporations, nothing else could have been expected. Surprise would have been due if he had come out the other way. He did give cause for surprise, however, by the silliness of his argument, for he is reputed to be a lawyer of exceptional ability. Can it be, after all, that these able corporation lawyers are only shrewd, and not even shrewd except in the now well-beaten path of scheming for the protection of corporation interests before corporation judges? It looks so sometimes, and the occasion of Attorney General Wickersham's performance before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce might be regarded as one of those times. His argument against Direct Legislation and the Recall should have excited the derision of any audience of civic intelligence.

*

Mr. Wickersham argued that advocates of Direct Legislation and the Recall do not trust the people. Think of that now! La Follette, and Bourne, and Owen, and U'Ren, and Dunne, and Bryan, and Tom L. Johnson—they don't trust the people! But Attorney General Wickersham, he trusts the people—he and his clients do. And why, pray, does Attorney General Wickersham think that the advocates of those reforms, which are driving terror to the heart of plutocratic Privilege, do not trust the people? Listen. Because, as the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 21 reported him, "their whole program is based on the assumption that the people are unfit or unable to choose honest and faithful representatives." How innocent Mr. Wickersham must be, to be sure! Or is he innocent?

*

Whether innocent or not, Mr. Wickersham would be unlikely to improve by further reflection. Neither would the audience before which he spoke. But precisely such frivolous stuff as his speech is spread broadcast in the interest of plutocratic corporations. For this reason a brief reply to Mr. Wickersham may be in order.

*

Innocently or otherwise, he misses the point. The Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall are not checks upon representatives whom the people trust. They are for representatives who betray the people in the interest of Mr. Wickersham's class

of clients down Wall-street way. There is no assumption by advocates of People's Power that the people are unfit or unable to choose honest and faithful representatives. The assumption is the common sense one that the people are not omniscient enough to know the inner qualities of any man's mind. This is the reason for the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall. They are not designed to trouble honest and able representatives with. They have never yet been used for that purpose. They are for the purpose of controlling treacherous and inefficient representatives. It is the crook and the moral weakling in legislative bodies, in executive office, and on the bench that Direct Legislation and the Recall would hurt, and only they. The reserved power of Initiative, Referendum and Recall is to the people with reference to their representatives, what the right to direct, to overrule and to discharge is to clients with reference to unfaithful or incompetent lawyers. It has taken a Wickersham to discover that the campaign for People's Power is rooted in distrust of the people, and a Taft and his "brother Charlie" to discover the Wickersham.

* *

Direct Legislation in Texas.

News dispatches to the effect that the highest court of Texas has decided against the Initiative and Referendum in municipal charters (p. 242), turn out to have been misleading. This is explained by the fact that the question was decided in two cases and by two courts of last resort—a court for civil and one for criminal appeals,—and that one of the judges of the criminal court took advantage of the opportunity to relieve his prejudices against people's power by filing an opinion chock full of "obiter dicta," as the lawyers call it, that is, of incidental remarks of no judicial value. But in both courts the decision was against the Initiative because the particular Initiative in question was not permissible by the particular terms of the particular municipal charter under which it had been used—the charter of Dallas.

* *

Haag's Folk Statues.

At the first exhibition of Swedish-American artists at the Swedish Club House in Chicago last week, Charles Haag, of Winnetka, was credited with ten pieces of sculpture, any of which would prove his industrial insight and sculptural power. His labor union group was one of them. It is better known from photograph and description than by the statue itself, which, when once seen,

haunts one with its spirit of physical strength in union—with its hint of what is, in man's conflict with physical nature, of what may be in a conflict of classes, and of what might be with universal brotherhood. The same sculptural power appears in Mr. Haag's "Immigrants," one of those wonderfully unified groupings, suggestive of individuality in solidarity, which he appears to have pioneered. In his "Haybearer" and in his peasants ploughing, the work is as vital, but individual physical strength at labor is dominant. None of these statues may appeal to the sophisticated in art, as Haag's more conventional work does; but they appeal tremendously to observers of modern industrial life.

* * *

"SLAVISH OBEDIENCE" TO CONSTITUENTS.

It is inevitable that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall should cause a division between those who really believe in government by the people and those who do not; but there is danger of an unnecessary division of the former, owing to an honest difference of view as to the powers that should be delegated to "representatives" in what is agreed upon as the only practicable method of securing such government.

Some advocates of representative government can see only that the essential function of the representative is to give effect to the wishes of his constituents; others hold that he should act as he thinks right even though it be contrary to their wishes. Here is a distinct and important difference of view; but respectful consideration of the opposing arguments is worth while before assuming that any division on the Initiative, Referendum and Recall issue is involved.

*

The argument that the people cannot and do not get what they want when their representatives are free to act effectively contrariwise, is met by the argument that without vesting such powers in their representatives the people cannot benefit by the special abilities which presumably justify their selection and without which good government cannot be attained. These arguments show that the full problem before us is how to secure government by the people without sacrificing the benefits of special ability in their representatives.

Faith in democracy cannot be reasonably based on the theory that the majority view is certainly right, for majorities frequently shift from one side to the other. It can rest only on the belief that it is right that majorities should control for

the time whether they happen to be in the right or not, and that a minority in the right must be changed to a majority before the right can prevail.

This procedure is apt to appear distressingly slow to the minority individual of strong convictions, but if he admits that there is no authority to appeal to which is less fallible than the people, or whose support is equally essential to real success, he accepts the situation and persistently appeals to the people. The only thing that can be done to help him is to provide every facility for such appeals.

Right here should be opened an honorable way of escape for public men from what has been termed "slavish obedience to the demands of their constituents" in disregard of their own convictions; a way of escape that will not involve such misuse of representative power as would be more dishonorable and repugnant than "slavish obedience."

*

The people do not want to make mere puppets of their representatives, even though they alone could control the strings. Can they not, then, safely permit any representative to support or oppose measures as he thinks right to do, in view of the conditions of his appointment, providing only that appeal to them *may* be taken before his actions become effective?

Let him take the risks of having his action condemned, even of being recalled as a *misrepresentative*, and his conduct would not only be justified in any event as honorable, but would be made effective or ineffective by the people themselves, on whom the responsibility would be properly thrown.

Moreover, if an issue be distinctly drawn and full opportunity given to convert a majority to his views, he would be likely, even if he failed to convert them, to retain their confidence as an able and conscientious representative; and he would certainly have compelled such public attention as is essential to the forming of intelligent public opinion.

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Do not the Initiative, Referendum and Recall properly provide for such appeals on all important questions?

It seems clear that they safeguard the fundamental right of the people to control, and that they also provide for making good use of honest conviction and courageous leadership in their representatives without in any way sacrificing democracy.

Conviction as to these facts would apparently

leave no ground for reasonable opposition by any who really believe in government by the people.

WALTER G. STEWART.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SINGLE TAX IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

Portland, Oregon, March 25.

"Have you been to the single tax city, Vancouver? If you have, what news do you bring?" This question I heard many times as I traveled through our northwestern States; for keen is the interest in the growth and material progress of the four western Canadian provinces, and especially of British Columbia, of which Vancouver is the metropolis.

American labor and American capital have latterly been flowing fast over the northern boundary line. As a consequence, one of the things that people through Oregon, Washington, and the other northwestern States most want to know about is "the working of the single tax", which report says is making magical opportunities and individual fortunes in Vancouver.

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I was fortunate enough to obtain an interview with Mayor L. D. Taylor soon after reaching Vancouver. Vancouver itself is a lively-looking city. It reminds one of both an English and an American city, with many fine buildings and many more in process of erection. But on the way from the Vancouver hotel (run by the Canadian Pacific Railway) to the City Hall, about a mile distant, I noticed many building lots that were vacant and many that were cumbered with wretched little hovels.

The City Hall itself is perhaps an adequate but not a large or pretentious building. What to me was the most remarkable thing about it was the wording on the outer door of the Mayor's office, to wit: "Walk In". It contrasted with the atmosphere surrounding most executive chambers, which in effect says, "Keep Out".

Mayor Taylor is a man of middle age, alert carriage and penetrating gaze. He has the directness and brevity of a railroad executive, and indeed he impressed me more as a railroad man than as a politician, or as a newspaper man, though he is the proprietor and active manager of the *World*, a very prosperous daily which is building or is about to build one of the finest newspaper establishments in all the Northwest, either north or south of the line. Moreover, it may be interesting to know that the Mayor is American born, hailing from Michigan.

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When I asked Mayor Taylor as to the truth of Vancouver's prosperity, he presented the great growth of building and other land improvements in proof of it.

But right here it is necessary to correct what may be a common misapprehension. It is true that within the past year there has been 86 per cent. increase in improvements. But this does not mean 86 per cent. of the total amount of improvements, but 86 per cent. above the improvements made during the year preceding. Yet that preceding year

showed a considerable advance over the year before; and each year for a number of years has shown large increases over the improvements made in each preceding year. Nevertheless, if these advances are not so great as some may have supposed, they are really remarkable when compared with the rate of building increase in cities elsewhere, especially in the United States.

Mayor Taylor attributed this building growth to the single tax; and he does not evade the plain words, "single tax". He flatly avows himself a Single Taxer. On that issue he was elected to the chief magistracy of the city. In a statement published not long since, he put the case in this way: "Fifteen years ago the city government concluded to encourage building by reducing the improvement tax 50 per cent. The effect was immediate. Huge buildings began to rise up where shacks had stood. In 1906, as a result of the success of the first experiment, an additional decrease of 25 per cent was made in the improvement tax. At once building operations showed another startling increase—an increase that when compared with the increases shown in the statistics of other cities was wholly out of proportion to the increase of population. At the beginning of 1910 it was decided to eliminate the building tax altogether, and, in consequence the single tax (taxation of ground values alone) was adopted in its entirety."

All that Mayor Taylor has here said is true. Building has been encouraged by exemption from taxation, and has jumped in consequence.

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But concurrently something else has jumped. The value of land has gone up enormously.

Mayor Taylor is too loyal to Vancouver's prosperity—to too anxious to see her grow in population and wealth—to admit any undue speculation in land within the city's limits. To the observant visitor, however, it is most obvious and threatening.

That there should be such speculation accords with the circumstances and common reason. The tax on land values is very low, not high enough to discourage speculation; whereas, in addition to the encouragement to such speculation arising from tax exemption of buildings, there are two other important factors of speculation. One of these is the entrance into Vancouver of the Great Northern Railroad, thus making direct connection with Seattle, Portland and the more populous portions of the north-western States. The other is railroad building and general "development" to the north of Vancouver. The land-selling or promotion companies are extensively advertising British Columbia grain, fruit and timber-lands. Such advertisements are appearing in the principal Washington and Oregon papers. So that, because it exempts buildings from all taxation, and because it has better railroad facilities, and is attracting a larger surrounding country population by elaborate "promotion" processes, Vancouver is seen to be a superior place to live and do business in. Hence, up goes the price of its land.

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Now, the tax rate on land values in Vancouver is nominally 20 mills, or 2 per cent. It in fact is much lower. For, although land is supposed to be

assessed at its market price, or 100 per cent., it is really assessed at only three-quarters of this, or 75 per cent. This makes the land tax equivalent to 15 mills, or 1½ per cent. on the true value—manifestly a trifling tax.

No wonder then that land speculation is setting in. From this small land values tax a revenue of \$2,000,000 is obtained. This amount is this year supplemented by \$5,000,000 of bonds; for, as the city's values grow, the debt limit expands and more municipal bonds may be issued. In addition, then, to expanding speculation in land, Vancouver is piling up a municipal debt.

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What is true of Vancouver is, as far as I was able to ascertain, true to more or less degree all over British Columbia. It might be said for some at least of the municipal governments, that they are restricted by Provincial laws to a maximum of 3 per cent. land values tax; yet none of them are approaching even that limit.

But Vancouver enjoys a special charter which has no such limitation. It is without let or hindrance to making the tax what it pleases. By making it so low, it unnecessarily courts land speculation with its certain penalty of enormous inflation of land prices, and then a pricking of the bubble and a dead city for a longer or a shorter period.

This is precisely what caught Portland years ago; what seized Seattle immediately after the Alaska-Yukon Exposition, and from which it is only commencing to recover; and what is about to take hold of San Francisco now that it is to have the Panama Canal Exposition.

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If a similar reaction comes soon to Vancouver, many may cite it as proof of the ineffectuality of the single tax.

It will in truth prove no such thing.

The thing it will prove will be the necessity for full application of the single tax—not only exemption of improvements, but increasing tax burdens on land values. Obviously the first step in the single tax must boom land values; this makes the second step obligatory.

The people of Vancouver and all British Columbia are realizing this, as can be seen in the spread of literature and the popularity of meetings urging the justice of taxing all land values into the public treasury. So it is probable that a heavier land tax will soon come in the progressive Canadian Provinces.

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I have found the same ideas making great headway through the States of Washington and Oregon, where fine lecture audiences have greeted me under the management of Frederick H. Monroe of the Henry George Lecture Association.

In the little lumber and cannery town of Anacortes, Wash., for instance, no public speech on the single tax had ever before been delivered; yet the truth of it when uttered appeared so obvious that an organization was at once appointed to work for its local application in this place, where D. J. Davis for a long time considered himself the only single tax man in town.

In Everett, Washington, I found that W. N. Proctor, a large lumber merchant, president of the single tax club, had been active in a movement which by exercise of the principles of the Initiative and Referendum, had turned the town from "wet" to "dry". The Mayor and councilmen who had been for a "wet" town, thereupon left the streets uncleaned, saying they lacked the revenue which had come from liquor licenses. Later they proclaimed a vocation tax. This has raised a storm that threatens the application of the Recall principle to the Mayor and all the members of the Council. It also brings into active politics proposals for increased taxation of land values as a means of raising additional revenue.

In Spokane*, the commission form of government has just put the city's affairs into the hands of five commissioners. Two of them are known to be single tax men. One of these is the Rev. W. J. Hindley, elected by the Commission to be Mayor. Up to the election campaign he preached the single tax from his pulpit. The other single tax commissioner is C. M. Fassett.

In Seattle†, Wash., Oliver T. Erickson, for years the head and front of the single tax movement in that aggressive city, has just been elected to the Council by 80 per cent. of all the votes cast—the most sweeping election ever known there. And he has with him several single tax men.

In Oregon the forces for and against the single tax are drawing themselves up for a fierce struggle. At the last election the State Constitution was amended so as to give local option in taxation‡, but at the fall election of 1912, which is the earliest moment this local option may be availed of, the great timber, mineral and other landlords will try to have this single tax permission in the Constitution stricken out. So a battle royal is on. The single tax men are under the leadership of that old, tried and shrewd campaigner, W. S. U'Ren, and are confident that they will win.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

*See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 278.

†See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 251.

‡See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 228.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LETTERS FROM CHINA—II.

Peking, January 20, 1911.

The Advance Toward Constitutionalism.

For the advance which followed the Boxer war there was of course a background of progressive ideas. The students and travelers who had lived in other nations were of course aware of the superiority of Western learning and had long been spreading new ideas; many of them had fallen martyrs to the reform ideas and many more had been punished in other ways. The Tzucheng Yuan, the National Assembly, which has just adjourned,* among other things memorialized the throne to pardon the reformers who in 1898 were ordered punished, and this on the ground that the government itself has now

*January 11. See The Public of January 20, page 61.

adopted the ideas for which these men were condemned.

But it seems to me that it was the Boxer war which suddenly shocked the whole nation, or so much of it as is intelligent enough to think at all, into the suspicion that whatever the superiority of the Chinese and their ways, safety for China lay only in learning the ways of the despised foreigners.* The Chinese-Japanese war had perhaps begun this work of persuasion by fact, and almost unanimously the nation reversed its policy and plunged into the task of recreating its industry, its government, its social customs, its whole life, according to the methods of Constitutional Monarchy. So far as I know, no nation ever before accomplished so complete a change of attitude unless it be the Japanese, whose revolution presents in some degree a parallel. And I, for one, have a profound admiration for the poise, the balance, the self-command, which in a nation worshiping the past as China has done, can deliberately acknowledge an error, a blunder, and set forth to repair it by so tremendous a movement.

There have, of course, been instances of disagreement over the rapidity with which the work should be done, in which, with the heartiest sympathy with the reformer's view, one may still feel some doubt whether the reluctant conservative, seeking to go slowly, may not have something of reason with him.

The National Assembly.

One episode of the Tzucheng Yuan will give a glimpse into possible doubt and trepidation behind the scenes, which I have often suspected in the happenings of public officers here, in these weeks of my sojourn.

The Assembly, be it remembered, is not a Parliament, nor is it elective. Most of its members, and I think all, were appointed by the government, and it was intended rather as a beginning of an aristocratic house than of an elective one, consequently it is frequently termed in English, the "Imperial Senate." Originally, the Imperial order was that the present Assembly should meet rather as an advisory body than as one having actual legislative powers; and its members were not likely therefore to be radical, or other than subservient to the constituted authorities. Previously, the Provincial Assemblies† had been established, with the idea that through them legislators might be trained for the Parliament with full powers which was directed to meet in 1915.

Now, that seems not wholly an unreasonable suggestion, for in fact the establishment of a Constitutional Government in such a nation of 400,000,000 people or more is no small task, and might well be undertaken with a vast deal of preparation. In fact, it should be mentioned, there is a Commission for the Study of Constitutional Government which is apparently making careful plans. But the Assembly, almost upon its meeting, presented a memorial urging that the period of preparation be shortened and the Parliament meet at once,‡ to which the Emperor responded by an edict providing for a meeting of the new Parliament in 1913. The

reformer element were still impatient; delegations from distant provinces came to urge immediate meeting, but the autocracy began then to be impatient, and sent them packing to their homes, with admonitions that worse might happen to them and to the public officials who should permit further pilgrimages of the same sort. And I confess I rather sympathize with autocracy once more. If I were deliberately arranging to divest myself of autocratic power and privilege, and then people tried to hurry me faster than I thought wise or prudent for the success of the movement itself, I think I, too, would get peevish.

That autocracy, even though it be considering abdication, is not yet out of business, is suggested by an order that a student who sought to start a students' strike in the government schools should be deported to the "New Dominion" and "placed under the strict control of the authorities."

One other illustration I want to give of this conflict of ideas. The reformers of China are men of analogy. They are planning to copy the government of western nations, and their minds seek in each of their institutions, especially the new ones that are being established in this transition period, for the analogue of some English or German or Japanese institution, and they instantly clothe the new with all the characteristics, the duties, the burdens, the rights, of the old, which is supposed to correspond to it. The Tzucheng Yuan is a National Assembly, therefore a National Parliament, and clothed with its rights, its duties, its powers. The Grand Council of Ministers, an ancient institution descending for hundreds of years as one of the parts of the autocratic system, is in its functions somewhat analogous to the ministry of England, and, therefore—so runs the assumption of the eager reformer—is to be judged by the same rules, has the same powers and authority, and is subject to like duties. A Ministry in England is subject to the Parliament, and resigns when the Parliament votes want of confidence in it.* The debates in the Assembly, as they are reflected in the English edition of the Peking Daily News (a Chinese paper), disclose this idea in many phases. But in one it led to an interesting dilemma. The Assembly memorialized the throne on the question of abandonment of the queue,† but was not granted what it asked in full measure. This then was the situation as it presented itself to the leaders of the Assembly: "Parliament has adopted a measure which the Ministry opposes. In accordance with the precedents of Constitutional Government, therefore, when we pass a vote of lack of confidence in them, the Ministry will resign, a new one will be formed which will adopt our view, and our measure will become law." They therefore memorialized the Emperor to remove the Council of Ministers. The latter, in accordance with Chinese usage, offered their resignations on the ground that they were unable to cope with the situation. The Emperor's answer, as reported in the Peking Daily News (English Edition) for December 19, 1910, was as follows:

The Grand Councillors, Prince Ching and others, have presented a joint memorial, requesting that they be relieved of their responsible duties as Grand Councillors

*See last week's Public, page 274.

†See The Public, volume xiii, page 112.

‡See The Public, volume xiii, pages 1022, 1073.

*See The Public, volume xiii, pages 1188, 1211, 1231.

†See The Public, this volume, pages 61, 84.

on account of their inability to cope with the present difficult situation. Upon perusing the memorial we clearly understand that these high officials have been exerting themselves in rendering services to the Government. But, having received profound grace from Us, they ought not to have made such a request. We hereby command that they be not allowed to be relieved of their duties as Grand Councillors.

We have perused the Tzucheng Yuan's memorial impeaching the Grand Councillors for being unaware of their responsibilities and consequently unable to render satisfactory services. We wish it to be understood that the supreme power of appointing, remunerating and dismissing officials is in the hands of the Government and is so stated in the Institutes of the former dynasty. Thus, it is clear that the question as to whether or not the Grand Councillors should assume responsibility and whether a responsible Cabinet should be formed is to be decided by the Government and not to be interfered with by the President of the Tzucheng Yuan and others. We hereby order that the memorial need not be considered.

The position seems unassailable. The Council of Ministers is a part of the autocracy, aids to the Emperor as an autocrat, not a responsible Ministry, which of course will come with a Constitutional Parliament. From their point of view the leaders of the Assembly found themselves in an ambiguous position, and threats of immediate adjournment were made. Curiously enough, also, some of the Provincial Assemblies sent telegraphic inquiries as to these matters, offering also to adjourn likewise, as a protest. Fortunately, this was not done, though it may be that the irregular attendance of which the papers complain was in part due to a feeling that the Assembly had no real power, for good or evil. While one can quite understand their wish, in the midst of a chaos of antiquated and inefficient institutions, to proceed with the work of supplanting them with better ones, it is probably true that an experimental and advisory Assembly may be needed before an actual Parliament can profitably be established.

It is, however, to be noted that the Peking papers intimate that the edict for the early establishment of a responsible Cabinet is believed to be due to the controversy above suggested, and that a further session of the Assembly is to be held in the spring.

Freedom of the Press.

Probably the fact is that nothing more could be expected from this Assembly than it has done—though it has, of course, met the usual fate. Some newspapers have severely criticised it from a progressive standpoint, and one published a cartoon representing the members as a set of dogs led by the collar. This latter was prohibited from publication for a short term. While with our ideas of legal freedom to say what one pleases, even if one chooses to say blackguard and foolish things, this seems harsh, it is mild enough compared with what would probably have happened ten or twenty years ago. On the other hand, a dignitary of high rank presented to the throne a memorial charging the Assembly with disrespect for old customs—a close parallel to the charge against Socrates. In this case no one but the memorialist seems to have taken his complaint very seriously. It is interesting to note, in connection with the above, that one of the papers here, the National Daily News, condemns the Free-

dom of the Press Act, passed by the Assembly, stating that it is copied verbatim from the Japanese Act; "and it is notorious," says the News, "that in Japan freedom of the Press does not exist."

In connection with this, also, is of interest the recent prosecution of certain Socialists (or Anarchists) in Japan.* Correspondence from Tokyo in a Peking paper states that the Government has found evidence which justifies relentless prosecution of those "believed to entertain dangerous views." Upon objection by an Englishman whose letter is quoted, the same correspondent states that the prisoners are not prosecuted "merely because they professed extreme socialistic views," but for "having conspired to commit a crime falling under the category of Article 73 of the Criminal Code." He does not, however, state what that Article covers. It is interesting to note the opinion of at least part of the progressive Chinese. The China Critic comments: "No wonder other nations are pointing the finger of scorn at Japanese law." And the Peking Daily News refers, quoting the last sentence from the Critic, to the trial of "a small crowd of Socialists who did nothing more than is openly done by these people in every capital in Europe without any official notice being taken of their actions."

But, on the other hand, the native papers claim that though papers in America and Europe are in such respects more free, they are in effect enslaved by subsidies of the rich. One of them charges that the London Times is subsidized by the Japanese Government—as a result of which a copy of an antiquated edition of an Encyclopaedia sold by the Times is to be seen in every station and hotel, besides many other places, along the South Manchurian Railway, and therefore it is impossible to get into the Times anything that is not strictly pro-Japanese.

W. M. E.

*See The Public, volume xiii, pages 1155, 1181, 1211; this volume, page 84.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, March 28, 1911.

Mexican Government Shaken.

President Diaz's (p. 276) cabinet resigned on the 24th in a body. The President immediately began the formation of a new cabinet, re-appointing one old member, José Yves Limantour, minister of finance (p. 276). Francisco Leon de la Barra, ambassador to the United States (p. 276), was appointed minister of foreign relations, and immediately upon notification left Washington by

rail for the City of Mexico. Manuel de Zacamaca e Inclan has been appointed to succeed Mr. de la Barra at Washington.

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The Washington representative of the revolutionary provisional government, Dr. Vazquez Gomez (p. 203), has announced in the matter of the suspension by the Mexican Federal Government of the Constitutional personal guarantees (p. 250), that—

All persons in any way connected with the promulgation or enforcement of the recent suspension of constitutional guarantees by the Mexican government will be held personally responsible as homicides by the insurgent government.

All political officers or employes, civil or military, and their inferiors who apply or execute that act in the taking of the life of any individual, native or foreigner, will be held personally responsible and will be punished as principals or accomplices in homicide; and when they shall be apprehended by the authorities or forces of the insurgents they will be consigned to judicial authority competent to judge and punish them in conformity with the laws respecting the crime of homicide.

When the revolution shall have triumphed and the constitution is again in force, the authors of this act of General Diaz will be brought to justice in conformity with these same laws. All public officers who have been concerned in the formation and approval of this suspension will be held responsible for all acts done under it.

The revolutionary junta at El Paso announces from the provisional President, Francisco I. Madero (pp. 204, 277), that—

No depreations are being committed by the insurrectos on property in Mexico owned by Americans. No food or other supplies are taken from resident Americans unless a receipt is given, and it is the intention of the provisional government to reimburse any losses sustained by Americans as soon as the anti-constitutional authorities are overthrown.

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Progressive Legislation in California.

Upon adjourning on the 27th, the California legislature had passed bills enlarging the powers of the railroad commission, authorizing physical valuation of railroads, prohibiting employment of women for more than eight hours a day; and enacting the Oregon primary law, the Australian ballot abolishing party emblems, and an anti-betting law. The following Constitutional amendments will be submitted at a special election in October: "For the Initiative and Referendum, for the Recall of elective officers, including the judiciary, and for woman suffrage."

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Direct Legislation in Nebraska.

In the Nebraska legislature on the 17th a Direct Legislation amendment (p. 39) was adopted,

after long and stubborn opposition. Two amendments, one in each House, were introduced at the opening of the session, the Senate measure by Senator Skiles and the House measure by Representative Hatfield. They were identical, and had been prepared by a committee of the Direct Legislation League in 1909. With slight amendments each bill passed in its own House. The Senate bill was then loaded in the lower House with amendments which the Senate rejected, and over these amendments a conference committee sat and reported. The Senate adopted the report of the conference committee unanimously; the lower House adopted it by 71 to 17. The opposition votes in the lower House were cast by strong advocates of Direct Legislation, who believed that if the conference committee's report were rejected, a better measure would be adopted.

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As adopted the Nebraska measure—

reserves to the people the power to Initiate laws, and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject them at the polls; also to approve or reject on Referendum at the polls any act, item, section, or part of any act passed by the legislature.

Ten per cent of the legal voters of the State, so distributed as to include five per cent of the legal voters in each of two-fifths of the counties of the State, may Initiate, the petition to contain the full text of the measure proposed. But Constitutional amendments require a petition of 15 per cent of the legal voters of the State distributed in the same manner.

The Referendum may be ordered by a petition of ten per cent of the legal voters of the State, distributed as required for Initiative petitions.

All such measures shall become the law or a part of the Constitution when approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, provided that the votes cast in favor of the Initiative measure or part of the Constitution constitute 35 per cent of the total vote cast at the election. All propositions must be submitted in a nonpartisan manner and without any indication or suggestion on the ballot that they have been approved or endorsed by any political party or organization.

Only the title of measures shall be printed on the ballots.

The amendment goes to the people of Nebraska for final adoption at the election of 1912.

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Direct Legislation in Illinois.

The issue between the direct legislation amendment ordered by popular vote (pp. 265, 275), and the revenue amendment thrust in its way by the Commercial Association and the Civic Federation of Chicago (pp. 265, 275), remains undecided. Only one amendment can be submitted to the people at the same election.

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One of the methods of sidetracking the direct

legislation amendment was proposed in the House on the 22d by Representative Judah of Chicago. It is a resolution authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission consisting of three Representatives, three Senators, and "three able and unbiased citizens" to investigate the operation of the Initiative and Referendum "in the various countries and in the States of the Union in which it is now in force, and the advisability of the enactment of the laws and the necessary Constitutional amendment to provide for such Initiative and Referendum in this State." the commission to report and recommend legislation to the forty-eighth General Assembly. This resolution was referred to the judiciary committee.

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Senator Owen of Oklahoma and ex-Mayor Dunne of Chicago, supported by Robert Eaton of the Illinois Farmers' Grange, Walter S. Rogers, Henry M. Ashton, S. S. Gregory for the City Club of Chicago, and John O'Neill for the Chicago Federation of Labor, advocated the pending amendment on the 22d, and were opposed by John C. Riehberg for the Civic Federation of Chicago. The Democratic leader in the House, Representative Alschuler, opposed Senator Owen's use of the Assembly Chamber for this purpose, because of Senator Owen's anti-Lorimer speech in the United States Senate (pp. 34, 62), and the Chamber of the Supreme Court was used. The hearing was nominally before the judiciary committee of the House, but as 37 out of the 49 committeemen refused to attend, there was no quorum.

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The Chicago Tribune, which supported the measure (vol. xiii, p. 1082), has now declared editorially against allowing it to take precedence of the pending revenue amendment. The Record-Herald has taken the same position, but it has been outspoken against the direct legislation amendment from the start. But Governor Deneen declared himself on the 24th in these terms:

I believe that the Referendum question should be settled first, however, I do not intend to take action to influence the legislature, as the question is not before me and will not be. Whatever action the legislature takes will be final and I will not have the power to approve or veto it. On the Referendum proposition whatever I say is merely an expression of personal opinion. I believe the legislature should make this the first of the Constitutional amendments to be put to a vote, because it was submitted to the voters, who replied that they desired it, and was made a pledge of both parties in their platforms.

Following are the platform pledges of the two parties (vol. xiii, pp. 921, 922), to which Governor Deneen alluded:

Republican platform, 1910.—"We favor an amendment to the Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum."

Democratic platform, 1910.—"We favor the submis-

sion and adoption of an amendment to our State Constitution providing for direct legislation by means of the Initiative and Referendum."

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The Chicago Campaign.

In the campaign for Mayor of Chicago (pp. 266, 276) the only events of the week of special importance are the formal endorsement of Mr. Harrison's candidacy by the United Societies (on the saloon question) and a large non-partisan labor meeting at the Auditorium on the 25th in support of Mr. Merriam. At this labor meeting John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, presided, and speeches were made by him and by Clarence S. Darrow, Raymond Robins and Charles E. Merriam.

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Woman Suffrage.

A different kind of referendum from the invalidating one intended (p. 245), has been attached to the woman suffrage bill (p. 275) in the Illinois Senate. It provides that each political division of the State shall have local option on woman suffrage locally. If the city of Chicago, for example, votes for it at a referendum, the women there will have a vote on city officers. If a county indorses it, all women in that county may vote for county officers. If the entire State approves it by a referendum vote, they will have the right to ballot for statutory State officers. The amended bill passed the Senate on the 23d by 31 to 10.

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Following are the delegates and alternates from the United States, announced on the 22d, to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance convention, to be held in Stockholm, July 12 to 17 inclusive:

Delegates—Anna Howard Shaw, president National American Woman Suffrage Association, Pennsylvania; Miss Mary D. Ely, Connecticut; Mrs. Morrison-Fuller, Missouri; Mrs. Alice Parker Lesser, Massachusetts; Miss Frances Wills, California; Mrs. Julia B. Rogers, Maryland; Mrs. Minerva Butlin, Illinois; Miss Janet R. Richards, District of Columbia; Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. Marcia Townsend and Mrs. Charles Howard Winslow, New York.

Alternates—Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Pennsylvania; Miss Nettie Lovisa White, District of Columbia; Mrs. Margaret Foley and Miss Florence Luscomb, Massachusetts; Mrs. Zell Hart Deming, Wyoming; Mrs. William Parsons, Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, Miss Cameron and Mrs. Robert Elder, New York.

Frederick Nathan and Robert Elder have been chosen fraternal delegates to represent the Men Voters' League of New York, and Mary G. Hay is the fraternal delegate from the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

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The Council of the Empire, Russia, rejected

on the 21st a proposal to confer the voting franchise on women.

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By a vote of 8 to 3, the judiciary committee of the Massachusetts Senate recommended on the 21st that the petition for votes for women (p. 206) be referred to the next legislature. On the same day and also by a vote of 8 to 3, the judiciary committee of the New York Senate voted to report against two of the woman suffrage amendments pending before it (vol. xiii, p. 421), these being so similar to a third as to imply defeat of woman suffrage in any form or to any extent.

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A bill for votes for women was defeated on second reading in the Ontario parliament on the 21st by a large majority. Premier Whitney (Liberal) characterized the measure as hurried and reckless legislation.

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Extraordinary interest was taken by women voters in the municipal election in Tarrytown, N. Y., on the 21st. They voted for bonds of \$70,000 for purifying the local water supply and improving fire protection.

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Dispatches of the 21st credited the women of Milwaukee with taking a leading part on the 21st at the primary election for the nomination of school directors. This primary was under a new law which restricts candidates for the four vacancies to the eight polling the highest number of votes at the primary. Its promoters argue that its purpose is to secure majority elections; the Socialists argue that it is intended to defeat them. However this may be, only two Socialists out of four were nominated; and the dispatches attribute the result to women voters.

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Industrial Tax Exemptions in New Jersey.

The progressive bill on taxation which was introduced into the lower House of the New Jersey legislature February 27 by Arthur P. Jackson (p. 227), has come out of committee with a favorable report and now awaits the action of the House. As before reported, this bill proposes to—exempt from taxation all personal property, all buildings, structures, or other improvements erected or constructed upon or in land, and in which shall be included all excavations, earth elevations, grading, or other changes in the natural formation of the land which shall have been made within twenty years before the time exemption is claimed.

This bill does not include franchises or privileges in streets or highways or public places, within the class of exemptions. Although the act, if adopted by the legislature, is to take effect at once, it is not to go into operation in any municipality or

taxing district until adopted by the voters of such municipality or taxing district; and at such local elections arguments for and against adoption are to be supplied at public expense to each registered voter.

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To Cheapen Land in New York.

A commission of ten aldermen and ten unofficial citizens, recently appointed by Mayor Gaynor to make recommendations regarding the congestion of population and overcrowding in New York City, and of which ex-Senator Jacob A. Cantor is chairman and Benjamin C. Marsh is secretary, has reported at length and in minute detail. Its report makes numerous recommendations regarding building operations, tenement and factory regulations, area of dwelling apartments and rooms, conditions of labor, parks, playgrounds, schools, sanitation, outdoor relief, immigration, etc. The most important practical measure recommended will be found on page 5 of the report, as follows:

(a) That the rate of taxation upon all buildings be half the rate of taxation upon all land, and that this reduction be secured by an equal change in each or five consecutive years.

(b) The question of recommending an unearned increment tax has been strongly advocated before the Commission. The principal argument advanced in support of the imposition of such a tax is that in nearly every instance where real estate values have increased, such increases have been due wholly to public improvements and to the general development of the city, and in no way to action on the part of the property owner. Some members of the Commission have strongly urged that this Commission should advocate such a tax to be levied annually on the increase in the assessed valuations of land—the proceeds of the tax to constitute a fund to be used exclusively for the construction of rapid transit undertakings. The Commission has refrained from making such a recommendation because they believe that the subject requires greater study and investigation than they have been able to give it, and because there is a division of opinion among the members as to the expediency of such a tax at present. The Commission, however, refer this question to the officers of the City Government, with the request that it be examined and considered by them, and that public hearings be had in order to determine what action, if any, should be taken by the City with respect to this tax.

(c) That is a means of ascertaining the true price of land and of taxing it justly, the true price be required to be registered when the property is sold, so that the taxing officials may have definite information upon which to base their assessment.

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Land Value Taxation in Ontario.

There was a discussion in the Ontario parliament (vol. xiii, pp. 540, 1193) on the 21st over the question of local option in municipal taxation, in the course of which A. G. MacKay, leader

of the Opposition (Conservative); made a strong speech in favor of the principle. The bill had been introduced by A. E. Fripp (Conservative), of Ottawa, Ont. It allowed municipalities the right to tax buildings, improvements, business and incomes, at a lower rate than land values. Mr. MacKay argued that the adoption of the plan by one municipality would not interfere with any other, as the property taxed could not be moved, and that the plan would be particularly advantageous in the north, where land was often held for speculation. In Owen Sound (his own constituency), he said, there was a case where the growth of the town was making one man wealthy; and he added that Vancouver was not a country village, yet it had demonstrated how this plan of assessment worked out. In introducing the bill Mr. Fripp stated that the city of Ottawa was anxious to have it passed; that municipalities were not now receiving a sufficient proportion of the unearned increment of vacant land; that he did not think that incomes should be taxed, for a man who was able to earn a good salary by working hard was entitled to exemption as much as for improvements on his house. This plan, he said, stimulated industry, encouraged building, and checked the holding of land for speculative purposes. If manufacturers knew that every addition to their buildings would not be taxed there would be a great deal more building. It would also improve conditions of home life, and would do away with slums altogether. Mr. Fripp thought Ontario was behind in this kind of legislation. He referred also to the city of Vancouver, which had adopted the single tax system and had advanced wonderfully as a result. The bill was supported also by Allen Studholme, the Labor member for Hamilton. But the Premier, Sir James Whitney (Liberal), said that while he was glad the question had again been brought before the legislature, he objected to the bill on principle and requested that it be withdrawn. This was accordingly done. It will be introduced again, however, at the next session, 1912.

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The Ferrer Trial Discussed in the Spanish Parliament.

The trial and execution of Francisco Ferrer at Barcelona in October, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 1095; vol. xiii, p. 1001), has become a subject of debate in the Spanish Cortes, the proposal for a discussion of the subject having come months ago from the Republicans, and having been accepted by the government. In opening the debate on the 27th, Deputy Soriano asserted that none of the facts charged against Ferrer constituted the crime of rebellion, according to the military law. Ferrer's trial and execution, he said, were directly due to political causes, for which the Conservative government and party were answerable.

Russia's Constitutional Crisis.

The resignation of Mr. Stolypin as Premier of Russia, reported last week (p. 277), was withdrawn, according to dispatches of the 23rd. The resignation had been reported as having been due to the rejection by the Council of the Empire (corresponding to our Senate) of the Zemstvo bill for self-government in the nine western provinces of Russia. By Imperial ukase on the 24th two reactionary members of the Council of the Empire were suspended from all sittings of the Council until January, 1912. This was done, it is reported, as the price of Mr. Stolypin's continuance in office. Ukases were also signed adjourning the Council of the Empire and the Douma (vol. xiii, p. 1189) for three days, thereby creating an interval during which laws could be issued by Imperial action. Then on the 26th an Imperial ukase was issued promulgating the Zemstvo bill. On the 27th A. J. Guchkoff (vol. xiii, p. 350), leader of the Octoberist party—the most conservative of the constitutional parties in Russia—resigned as President of the Douma. On the 28th the Douma, after an impressive debate, adopted by a vote of 174 to 88 an interpellation which was supported by the Octoberists and the other opposition parties, accusing the government of unconstitutional practice in promulgating the Zemstvo bill.

NEWS NOTES

—The Rt. Hon. Richard Haldane, for the last six years British Secretary of War, has been raised to the peerage with the title of viscount.

—Andrew P. Canning will speak on "Individualism and Collectivism" before the Chicago Single Tax Club, 508 Schiller Bldg., Friday evening the 31st.

—Parkersburg, W. Va., has adopted the commission form of government with the direct primary, the short and non-partisan ballot, and the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

—The Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen, which has been ably edited by William Hoffman, a democratic Democrat, has passed from Democratic to Republican ownership, and Mr. Hoffman is no longer its editor.

—President Taft on the 27th decided to refuse pardons applied for in behalf of John R. Walsh (vol. xiii, p. 963) of Chicago, and Charles W. Morse of New York, both of them bankers convicted of banking offenses under Federal statutes.

—Two expeditions, one headed by the Englishman, Captain Robert F. Scott (vol. xiii, p. 543), and the other by the Norwegian, Captain Roald Amundsen (vol. xiii, p. 949), are now on the Antarctic continent for purposes of exploration and polar "discovery."

—The Direct Legislation League of Illinois (pp. 105, 252) makes a call for funds to carry on the

campaign for the Initiative and Referendum. Full information can be obtained of Frank H. Bode, Springfield, or George E. Cole, 86 Dearborn St., Chicago.

—The Oregon case involving the Constitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum (vol. xii, p. 157), brought to the Supreme Court of the United States by the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, has been postponed by the advancement of Federal cases on the Supreme Court calendar and may not be argued until next year.

—Fiske Warren, of Boston, widely known for his efforts for Philippine independence (vol. viii, pp. 813, 842), is reported by the Boston Globe of March 19 to have become converted to the land value theories of Henry George, and is preparing for a small experiment at Westbrook, Me., along the single tax lines of Fairhope, Ala., and Arden, Del.

—Judges of the United States Circuit Court for the eighth judicial circuit have appointed Miss Louise B. Trott of St. Paul, formerly deputy clerk, as clerk of the Circuit Court to succeed Henry D. Lang. Miss Trott during her service of twenty-two years as deputy in the office has become widely acquainted with lawyers of Minnesota and the neighboring States.

—Regarding the reported exclusion of Negroes from Canada (p. 266) an authoritative statement has been received by the United States department of state from the Canadian government to the effect that there are no Canadian immigration regulations specifically relating to Negroes, but that each immigrant possessing \$5 cash and transportation is entitled to admission.

—The Free Speech League was incorporated in New York on the 20th for protection from criminal prosecutions of mere psychological offenses, and to oppose by all lawful means every form of governmental censorship over any method for the expression or transmission of ideas. Leonard Abbott of New York is president, Brand Whitlock of Toledo is vice-president and among the other incorporators are Bolton Hall and Lincoln Steffens.

—The Court of Appeals of New York, the court of last resort in that State, decided on the 24th unanimously that a recent act of the legislature requiring employers in certain dangerous occupations to compensate their workmen for injuries received in the employment regardless of negligence on the employees' part is unconstitutional. They hold that the unconstitutional act would have the effect of depriving employers of property without due process of law.

—An International Municipal Congress and Exposition is to be held at Chicago from September 18th to 30th under the auspices of the Chicago Association of Commerce, with the indorsement of the City Council, the Citizens' Association, the Industrial Club, the Civic Federation, the City Club, the United Charities, and the Rotary Club. A committee composed of Harry A. Wheeler, John P. Mann, Albert R. Barnes, E. Louis Kuhns, Edward E. Swadener, Howard Elting and John F. Smulski of the Chicago Association of Commerce, has the affair directly in charge.

—By a sudden fire which swiftly burned out the Triangle shirtwaist (vol. xiii, p. 157) factory building at Washington Place and Green street in New York on the afternoon of the 25th, 141 persons, mostly women and girls, lost their lives, and 12 more are in the hospitals, dying or desperately injured. The ten-story building was without fire escapes, and the girls, driven by the flames, simply tumbled in streams from the windows, cataracts of living bodies.

—Friends of John Filmer, lately of Brooklyn but now of St. Louis, gave him a farewell dinner at New York just before his departure. Mr. Filmer, one of the earlier followers of Henry George, has been one of the best propagandists of the George doctrines. Richard F. George, the sculptor, arranged the dinner and presided. Among those present were Charles Frederick Adams, Frederick C. Leubuscher, Prof. L. E. Wilmarth, Thomas Ryan, W. E. Vernam, Durbin Van Vleck, E. B. Swinney, Ben Doblin, Fred Meybohm and George H. Macey.

—The first Italian parliament assembled in February, 1861, and on March 17, fifty years ago, declared Victor Emmanuel II, of the house of Savoy-Carignano, King of Italy. Celebration of the jubilee of Italian unity began on the 27th, the anniversary of the proclamation of Rome as the capital of the United Italy, with the formal opening at Rome, by King Victor Emmanuel III, grandson of the other Victor Emmanuel, of an international art exhibition. On the 29th an industrial exhibition is to be opened at Turin.

—Dr. Mendel Silber, rabbi of Temple Albert of Albuquerque, New Mexico, has been appointed to the chair of philosophy of the University of New Mexico. He is a graduate of the University of Cincinnati, and of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati; has served as pastor of churches in Cincinnati and Duluth, Minn., and of the large United Hebrew church in St. Louis. Dr. Silber is also a graduate in medicine of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at St. Louis. His lucid exposition of modern themes from the pulpit has been a feature of his Albuquerque pulpit work.

—Louis J. Duveen and Joseph Duveen, members of the art importing firm of Duveen Brothers (vol. xiii, p. 1002), pleaded guilty on the 27th at New York to making undervaluations of imports, and were fined \$10,000 each by Judge Martin of the United States Circuit Court. The fines were immediately paid. It also was stated that the Duveens have reached a compromise agreement for the settlement of the government's civil suit for \$5,000,000, by which the firm deposits \$1,200,000 with the United States Treasurer in full discharge of all claims against the firm. It is understood that District Attorney Wise has recommended that the government accept the offer.

+ + +

The history of an idea is that it becomes first a theory, then a principle, next a creed, blooms into a platform and ultimately ripens into a cause. After that it shrivels into history and scholars begin to write books questioning the motives of those who died for it.—Wm. Allen White in the American Magazine.

PRESS OPINIONS

On Selection of Jurors.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), March 9.—I have often wondered that lawyers for defendants selecting jurors did not ask the veniremen if they had ever seen or known enough of prisons to know the full meaning of a sentence of confinement therein for years. I have thought that no man who ever really knew what prisons are, even under the best management, would ever vote to send another man there.

* *

Women in Norway.

The Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep), March 23.—"I am from Norway where my mother votes," said Senator Waage at Springfield, asking for consideration of the suffrage bill. He might have added where a woman represents a constituency in the storting. Miss Rogstad, elected to fill a vacancy in a Christiania district, recently was welcomed to the assembly and made her first speech. The behavior of the storting was that of a body honored. The speaker and the premier paid the woman formal compliments and emphasized the importance of the day which saw her admitted. When she arose to make her speech, the entire assembly arose to acknowledge her address.

* *

A Good Congressional Program.

The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan), March 17.—Who would have prophesied, January 1, 1909, that by July 1, 1911, an income tax amendment would have been submitted by a Republican President, Senate and House, and ratified by a majority of States? Who would have predicted that by that time an amendment would have been submitted for the election of United States Senators by popular vote? Who expected tariff reduction so soon? And yet what the special session Democrats wanted but could not compel is here and brought by the "old guard"! Now Democracy has its chance. Let it improve it; let it meet the responsibilities of the hour. First, let it ratify the reciprocity agreement—the failure to ratify which brought the special session; second, let it admit Arizona and New Mexico; third, let it submit a Constitutional Amendment providing for election of United States Senators by direct vote; fourth, let it reduce the tariff, schedule by schedule, and either relieve the people or present an issue for the President and his party to meet. Cannonism has already been overthrown, and there are other reforms that need attention, but the ones mentioned come first.

* *

Free Speech.

The Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), March 27.—The incorporation under the New York laws of the Free Speech League, with writers like Lincoln Steffens, Brand Whitlock, Leonard Abbott, and Bolton Hall among its founders, is an interesting piece of news. . . . We have been too willing to let the individual do what he pleased, regardless of

its effect upon his community. And to balance this let-alone policy we have grown more and more unwilling to let him think and speak as he pleased. . . . Americans are less willing to concede freedom of thought and speech than our English cousins. We are far less open minded than the French. Whence comes . . . this tyrannic determination that any man who thinks or speaks differently from the average is to be punished and suppressed? . . . Strangle liberty of thought and speech, and liberty of action will not long survive it. Freedom of thought or, rather, freedom of its transference by speech or print, will not be destroyed in America by the act of oppressive governments unless we, the people, connive at it. If we deny to any man his own conviction or persecute him for it in any way, if we do not respect his liberty more than any belief or any interest of our own, then we make way for the end of our days as a free nation.

* *

The Landless Farmer.

The (Lincoln) Nebraska Farmer (agricultural), March 15.—Prosperity is reflected in higher prices for lands and in higher rents, both of which tend to push out the landless man.

* *

Private Wealth at Public Cost.

The Boston Common (ind.), March 11.—The City of Boston, as the United Improvement Association's Committee on Legal Affairs pointed out in its recent report demanding an investigation of the assessing department, is carrying a debt burden of nearly \$150,000,000 and an annual interest charge of almost \$6,000,000, practically all of it to pay for public improvements which have had a tendency to enhance the value of land. The committee truthfully says: "During the last 20 years, while this charge upon every man, woman and child in Boston, and upon those yet unborn, has been existing and accruing, the land values have increased \$306,558,225. In other words, the land owners of Boston have been enriched to the extent of \$306,558,225 above and beyond the profits obtained in the meantime from their exclusive ownership, and the public, past, present and future, pays the bills. These figures leave little doubt as to the justice and necessity of an immediate change in our laws that will enable the community to take from the owners of land at least a portion of the unearned increment." Why take it? Not to "rob them." But to do things in Boston that must be done if Boston is to become indeed a bigger, busier and better city—to build adequate harbor improvements, widen and straighten our narrow and crooked streets, erect a fitting public school plant, perfect transportation and perform other great and necessary constructive feats in the public interest. But, most of all, to undo the horrible housing conditions into which human greed and human need have plunged a great fraction of our population—condito week, indicts scorchingly our vaunted civilization! bare facts, such as we have been making from week tions so bad that a conservative statement of the tion!

* * *

Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.—John Milton, "Areopagitica."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"A LITTLE SUN, A LITTLE RAIN."

A little sun, a little rain,
A soft wind blowing from the west—
And woods and fields are sweet again,
And warmth within the mountain's breast.

So simple is the earth we tread,
So quick with love and life her frame;
Ten thousand years have dawned and fled,
And still her magic is the same.

A little love, a little trust,
A soft impulse, a sudden dream—
And life as dry as desert dust
Is fresher than a mountain stream.

—Stopford A. Brooke.

+ + +

A PARALLEL.

From *The Chancellor*, Published by L. J. Quinby,
at Omaha.

A slave wished to purchase his freedom. His master said, "You are too valuable to me; I could not think of selling so valuable a property." "But if I am so valuable," said the slave, "it is due to my effort and not to yours. Why, then, should I not have the results of my effort?" Said the master, "The reason is that the law gives that result to me. It is the return to me upon my investment in you—a property. It is due to me because of my 'foresight' in bringing you up. If my property earns wealth, that wealth logically belongs to me." "But," rejoined the slave, "if I am property of value and belong to you, there must be some figure in dollars and cents which will represent that value. Name that figure and I will buy my freedom." "Well," said the master, "I would not think of parting with you for less than two thousand dollars." "The condition is cruel," said the slave, "but since it is the only condition I may hope to meet, I will accept it and buy my liberty."

So the slave toiled early and late. He performed his services for the master according to the usual requirement, working overtime that the excess of his earnings might be saved to buy his liberty. In the course of a couple of years he again went to his master and said, "Here is the price of my liberty—let me go." But the master had seen a new light, and said, "You have, during these last two years, much increased your value. If you could not only earn the usual wealth for me, but in overtime labor save \$2,000 in two years, you have only the more proven that you were not only of more value than I thought, but through your greater effort during these two

years you have increased your earning capacity. No; I would not accept \$2,000 for you. You are worth double that."

Then the slave resumed his bitter task of earning wealth with which to buy his own liberty. But the more competent he became and the more wealth he produced, the higher became the price for him. The bitter wrong to him was in the fact that through his own efforts he was making it the more difficult for him to secure his liberty. When he had about reached the point of desperation, an emancipation proclamation was issued, declaring him a free man. His value immediately began to decline, not because he became less competent, nor because he worked less hard, but because there was no longer a market where human flesh and blood were sold.

Now for the parallel. Through their effort, thrift and enterprise, the people of Omaha have added great value to a certain spot of earth, say the corner of Sixteenth and Farnam streets. Nobody attempts to show that this value is due to anything but the thrift of this community. Surely, no one is absurd enough to attempt the proof that the owner, who happens to live in the East, has ever done a thing to increase the value of that spot. On the contrary, he has not even shown enough interest in Omaha, nor enough regard for his own interests, to put upon that spot a decent building. He has allowed a miserable, one-story shack to remain on that spot. But the spot is valuable, and for the privilege of using this spot, not the building but the site, a druggist is obliged to pay to this owner the sum of \$500 per month. No; the druggist does not pay it; he only collects it from the community and turns it over to the "owner," and the crime of it is in the fact that the very people from whom this druggist collects this \$500 per month are the very people who are increasing this value year after year. And the more these people strive, the more enterprising they become, the more they beautify this city, the more they increase the value of this spot of earth, the more they are obliged to pay to this idle parasite, who lives in luxury upon the results of the toil of thousands of "slaves" whom he does not even deign to visit. Time was when that particular spot had practically no value. That was because enterprise had not settled there, and industrious people had not thought of building a city about that spot. Then this owner, or his forbears, or someone from whom he obtained it, fenced it up, and now justifies taking the wealth of this community on the ground that he had foresight—that is, he knew that if a city should some day be built upon this spot of earth, which we call Omaha, this land would be valuable. It so chanced that a city was built here, and thereby the parasite became a "philanthropist." Wonderful transformation!

Therein lies the parallel; but it will not always

be so. Some day another emancipation proclamation will be issued that will so change the status of the master and the slave that the values which the slave creates will go to the slave, and the master will become a truly worthy citizen, and himself go to work. Yes, we'll

Pay ransom to the owner,
And fill the bag to the brim,
Who is the owner? The slave is the owner,
And ever was. Pay him!

+ + +

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.



As candidate for judge of the Circuit Court in Cook County, Illinois (the Chicago county), Edward Osgood Brown (vol. v, p. 395; vol. vi, p. 243; vol. xii, pp. 554, 565; vol. xiii, p. 1034) received at the election last fall (vol. xii, pp. 1057, 1095) the largest vote and the highest plurality polled by any candidate for any office at that election.

Judge Brown's total vote ran up to 174,107. As the entire opposition vote was only 150,851, and that for the next highest candidate was only 121,868, his majority amounted to 23,256, and his plurality to 52,239.

It was a "Democratic year," to be sure, and he

was the Democratic candidate; but his previous service on the bench had made a record for him which doubtless counted for more than party considerations. His strength was augmented also by the fact that he had been defeated as his own successor eighteen months before, by the appearance on the same judicial ballot of another candidate of the same name. Much of his support was thereby diverted, and his retirement from the bench came as a surprise to the public and to the bar. The accident has now been repaired in a manner highly complimentary to him.

Judge Brown is known by followers of Henry George throughout the United States and Canada and in Great Britain as one of their number who came into the movement in its earliest days.

+

Born in Salem, Massachusetts, 60 years ago of a seafaring ancestry which links up genealogically with that of Joseph H. Choate, former Ambassador from the United States to Great Britain, Judge Brown became a graduate of Brown University and of the Harvard Law School, meanwhile teaching at Southboro, Mass. He was for a time assistant clerk of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, where he was admitted to the bar, and where he practiced for two years.

In 1872 he came to Chicago with a college friend with whom he formed a partnership under the firm name of Peckham and Brown—now Peckham, Packard and Walsh—which has long numbered the First National Bank among its principal clients. It was in Chicago that he made the acquaintance of his wife, Helen Eagle, a niece of Father Eliot of the Paulists.

In the middle 80's Judge Brown became interested in the economic and political doctrines of Henry George. Knowing him to be a free trader, George A. Schilling advised him to read George's "Protection or Free Trade." This delighted him and he followed it with "Progress and Poverty." Consequently he became a George convert and one of the earliest members of the Chicago Single Tax Club, of which Warren Worth Bailey, now editor of the *Johnstown Democrat*, was president.

During Governor Altgeld's administration, Judge Brown served as the attorney of the Lincoln Park Commissioners, and was afterwards their special counsel in much important litigation. He was a candidate for appointment to the Federal bench when Cleveland was President, and had strong support; but his single tax proclivities were effective arguments against him. At the judicial election in June, 1903, he was elected to the Circuit bench in Cook County for the first time, and was soon assigned by the Supreme Court of the State to the appellate branch of the Circuit Court (vol. vii, p. 468) where he served until the expiration of his term of office. His record there commanded general confidence at the bar and

caused his assignment to the same place by the Supreme Court immediately upon his re-election. The value of this confidence is not a little augmented by the fact that the lawyers for the elevated railways named him (vol. vii, p. 388) along with Judge Tuley and Judge Dunne, in their challenge of judges for trials of franchise questions.

"I am glad he was defeated," said a friend of his whose respect for the judiciary was considerably less than his admiration for Judge Brown personally and his confidence in the latter's civic usefulness off the bench. It was at a public dinner in the interval between Judge Brown's first term and his second. "You wouldn't be if you were a lawyer," a member of the bar retorted.

Judge Brown was a sympathetic attendant upon the free trade conference at Chicago in 1889, and he participated prominently in the single tax conference at Cooper Union, New York, in 1890, and in that at the Art Institute, Chicago, in 1893. As a friend of Henry George, a Catholic, and a man of economic perception and literary taste, he was consulted by Mr. George on the manuscript of "The Condition of Labor"—George's open letter to Pope Leo—which was published in the early 90's.

Although a radical free trader and single taxer, minimizing George's doctrines in no particular whatever, Judge Brown, temperamentally conservative, is in most matters conservative also in opinion and action. For the dignity of the judicial bench (vol. xii, p. 554) he has a scrupulous regard, and to the principle that it is the function of judges to apply law, not to make it, he is profoundly devoted.

* * *

GARDEN BOOSTED.

It was the busy hour of 4,
When from a city hardware store
Emerged a gentleman who bore
1 hoe,
1 spade,
1 wheelbarrow.

From thence our hero promptly went
Into a seed establishment
And for these things his money spent:
1 pack of bulbs,
1 job lot of shrubs,
1 quart of assorted seeds.

He has a garden under way
And if he's fairly lucky, say,
He'll have about the last of May
1 squashvine,
1 egg plant,
1 radish.

—Washington (D. C.) Herald.

* * *

Nobody ever won lasting prominence by getting in line and shaking hands with a great man.—Chicago Record-Herald.

BOOKS

SEED FIELDS.

Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. With annotations. Edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Vol. 3, 1832-1835; Vol. 4, 1836-1838. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1910. Price, per volume, \$1.75 net.

In the continuation of earlier journals, previously noticed in *The Public* (vol. xiii, p. 596), Emerson gives pages of his impressions during his first voyage to Europe and of his travels through the various famous places, which he notes with informal praise or criticism. Interviews with many of the literary lights of that period give interest to the foreign records which serve as the seed-fields of some of his finished works; while reflections pertaining to the realities of the Everywhere Spiritual life drop in at every date and place.

Returning to Concord, the desire to live close to nature brought him to "The Old Manse," with its romantic environment; and later, with his wife, to his own Concord home, which has since been a sort of Mecca to his lovers and such celebrity seekers as look to find a man revealed wholly in his human personality. In the spontaneous journalizing of these volumes we find much that was expanded and published in later books, but there is a charm in the offhand, unpolished touch of familiar themes which no friend or admirer of Emerson would care to miss. There is a closer approach to the thinker in his flashes of light than may be found always with his trimmed and blazing fires of intellect.

Here, as in all of Emerson's writings, the gaze is directed inward rather than outward. The substance of things and not the counterfeit is the subject of his thought. It seems evident that he could look for no social reform except through the individual, and for no individual reform except from the interior will and motive. In his mental view there probably could be no cobbling or plastering over of causes with fictitious effects. Whatever work he accomplished in reform lines was based on the realities of the inmost life which alone makes clean the outer conduct and condition. On this plane of judgment he makes no distinction of artificial classes. In one of his paragraphs he remarks: "Democracy, Freedom, has its root in the sacred truth that every man hath in him the Divine Reason, or that though few men since the creation of the world, live according to the dictates of Reason, yet all men are created capable of so doing. That is the equality and the only equality of all men. To this truth we look when we say, Reverence thyself; be true to thyself. Because every man has in him somewhat

really divine, therefore is slavery the unpardonable outrage it is."

It will doubtless take long education to bring the ruling and serving classes to what we may style the Emersonian standard of equality; yet, recognizing the fact that education is an unfolding rather than an infilling of knowledge, we must grant that this infallible standard stands at the base of whatever equality we seek to establish and maintain permanently in the relations of men and women.

Again the journalist touches the same note in an earlier entry: "The root and seed of democracy is the doctrine, Judge for yourself. . . . It is the inevitable effect of that doctrine, when it has any effect (which is rare), to insulate the partisan and make each man a state."

What a crippling of party machines!

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Man with the Scar. By Warren & Alice Fones. Published by Richard C. Badger, 194 Boylston St., Boston. 1911.

—The Great Morning. By Clarence Lathbury. Published by The Nunc Licet Press, Minneapolis, 1911. Price, 75 cents; postage 6 cents.

—The Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America. By Frank Hatch Strelightoff. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston & New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

PAMPHLETS

Code of the People's Rule.

For this compilation of the statutes of various States and the charters of cities insofar as they relate to the suppression of machine rule and the substitution of people's rule, we are indebted to Senator Owen of Oklahoma. The subjects covered are registry of voters, secret ballot, direct primaries, publicity of campaign contributions, corrupt practices acts, publicity pamphlets, initiative and referendum, recall, Des Moines and Grand Junction plans of city government, and the short ballot. Not only did Senator Owen make the compilation, but he has secured its publication as a public document (Senate Document No. 603; Government printing office, Washington) so that it is easily accessible to all persons interested. For the use of debaters, speakers, writers and legislators this document is invaluable. Supplemented with Senator Bourne's speech on the working out of the Oregon plan of people's power, it furnishes the most and the best authoritative information down to May of last year to be found anywhere.

+ + +

Knicker: "Are you cutting down expenses?"
Mrs. Knicker: "Yes; I am paying only half the bills."—Puck.

PERIODICALS

The Women Workers' Magazine.

Life and Labor for March opens with an editorial by Margaret Dreier Robins—a deep, wide page of questions sprung from the recent strikes in the clothing industry, and holding within them, one feels, the reasons for her own devoted work. "What power makes necessary these terrible struggles for the simple right to live?" she asks. "Is the answer to be found in the fact that the industrial question of our day is but the world-old struggle between slavery and freedom in a new guise? . . . The power that would deny industrial freedom attacks the very heart of all that we cherish and hold dear in our America, for a free state and a free church cannot endure side by side with a despotic workshop." This whole readable magazine proves that its editors believe with Mrs. Robins in Labor's right to knowledge and beauty. Frances Squire Potter's article is a fascinating introduction to the theory of evolution, and it is hard to wait a month for the conclusion of Elizabeth Robins' story.

A. L. G.

+ +

Oregon at the Helm of Democracy.

Hampton's (New York) for April should be read from coast to coast and up and down the continent, if for nothing else than for Frederick C. Howe's vivid narrative of democratic progress in Oregon. Based on advances already gained, the people of that State are now entering upon local campaigns in every county for the adoption of Henry George's proposal for land value taxation as a substitute for the present burdensome taxes on farmers and other working classes. For twenty years the legislature of New York was urged to allow the counties and municipalities of that State to adopt this reform locally—"local option in taxation," it was called by Thomas G. Shearman and his associates, including Henry George, who initiated the movement—but utterly without success. But this that the New York legislature has persistently refused, the people of Oregon have by Initiative granted (vol. xiii, p. 1233); and now the contest between the land monopolists of Oregon and the followers of Henry George is forming in ballot battle line for the election in November, 1912. That fact gives exceptional interest and value to Mr. Howe's article in Hampton's. It furnishes explanations for an understanding and appreciation of the news of the pending contest during the next year and a half.—Another article of special value in the April Hampton's is Rheta Childe Dorr's report on woman suffrage in Colorado. So much that is false has been reported vaguely regarding women in Colorado politics that Miss Dorr's specific exhibit of the civic value of woman suffrage, with Colorado politics for object lesson, commends itself to general consideration.

+ + +

One of the greatest dangers to peace is found in the condition of "weaker peoples" whose land is coveted for one reason and another by their powerful neighbors, whether through subjugation or

"sphere of influence." Here is the opportunity for most valuable application of the important doctrine of neutralization, the greatest peace measure which mankind has developed and by which all the nations of the earth stand together in securing the independence and autonomy of the lesser brother. Neutralization of states, of sea-coasts, of waterways and canals is not merely a movement toward peace, it is a definite and positive embodiment of it, and every neutralized foot of ground and fathom of

water on the face of the globe is a real step toward the millennium.—Erving Winslow.

+ + +

"Father, do lawyers tell the truth?"

"Yes, my boy. Lawyers will do anything to win a case."—Washington Star.

+ + +

Standing by the entrance of a large estate in the suburbs of Glasgow are two huge dogs carved out of

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granite. An Englishman, going by in a hack, thought he would have some fun with the Scotch driver.

"How often, Jock, do they feed those two big dogs?"

"Whenever they bark, sir," was the straightfaced reply.—New York Times. -

* * *

Lawyer: "The cross-examination did not seem to

worry you. Have you had any previous experience?" Client: "Six children."—The Truth-Seeker.

* * *

"Have you any five-cent cigars?"

"No; but we can give you something just as good. Here's a ten-cent cigar."—Red Hen.

* * *

"What party does that member of the Legislature

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ADDRESS

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belong to?" "I don't know," replied the lobbyist. "I'm one of several parties who are bidding for him."—Washington Star.

* * *

Host: "Have a cigarette, old man?"

Guest: "No, thanks—I've chucked smoking—too effeminate, don't you know?"

—Punch.

* * *

American Citizen (A. D. 1810): "You don't take much interest in Congress, Ezra?"

Another: "No. I tell you they don't have the men there that they had twenty years ago!"—Puck.

The Public

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