

# The Public

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

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ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

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## EDITORIAL

### Bigelow's Triumph in Ohio.

More thoughtful, prudent, successful and conscientious work under adverse conditions and difficult circumstances, was never done than Herbert S. Bigelow's as a member and president of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio. It is a triumphant culmination, lacking now only the popular vote to make it complete, of ten years of truly democratic service by Bigelow in that State: a service which, beginning under the tutelage of Tom L. Johnson and pursued under Johnson's leadership while he lived, has been continued in Johnson's spirit since Johnson's death.



The task has not been easy. Like Johnson, Bigelow has ideals; like Johnson, like all other men with ideals, he yearns to pursue his ideals without turning either to the right or the left; but also like Johnson and all other men with gumption as well as ideals, he realizes that in leading in the common life no one can go straight to his goal. He "who would walk in a straight line," said Macaulay, "may do so in the desert but not on Cheapside." With Bigelow, therefore, as with Johnson, there have been not only enemies to misrepresent his cause, but "middle-of-the-road" friends to question methods, and professed comrades to make flank attacks from ambush. Tom L. Johnson went through it all, and Bigelow could escape none of it when Johnson's mantle in the

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Bigelow's Triumph in Ohio.....	313
The Supreme Court and the Oregon System.....	311
Toward the Light.....	315
The Primaries in Illinois.....	315
George A. Schilling for Congress.....	316
James O. Monroe for Congress.....	316
The Fight Against "Phossyjaw".....	316
Behold the Bench!.....	316
Demos Defamed (Asher George Beecher).....	317

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Problems in Great Britain (F. W. Garrison).....	318
The Initiative and Referendum in Ohio (G. C.).....	318
Land Value Taxes in Canada (H. Jacobs).....	319
Mayor Hanna's Victory (H. G. Gue).....	319

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

Direct Legislation in Ohio (portrait).....	319
Presidential Preference Primary Laws.....	322
Presidential Nominations.....	323
The American Coal Miners' Strike.....	323
The British Coal Miners' Strike.....	323
Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.....	323
Woman Suffrage in the United States.....	324
Shipping Arms into Mexico.....	324
News Notes.....	324
Press Opinions.....	325

### RELATED THINGS:

Psalm II (Arranged by Asher George Beecher).....	326
An Appeal to Brethren (G. Hughes).....	327
The Mother (Elizabeth G. Cheyne).....	329

### BOOKS:

Jesus and Socialism.....	330
The First Scientific Socialists.....	330
Socialistic Reading.....	331
Periodicals.....	331

Ohio leadership for Direct Legislation fell upon his shoulders and the crisis came.



But he has apparently come now into a generally recognized and justly earned victory. That some Singletaxers will grieve over the inhibition of Singletax legislation in the compromise amendment for Direct Legislation that Bigelow secured from the Ohio Constitutional Convention is probable, so prone are we all to value cherished names and plans above substance and results. But in truth the enemies of the Singletax have forced into the Ohio Initiative measure what is likely to serve the Singletax cause with excellent effect. If the proposed amendment to the Ohio Constitution had not inhibited the use for Singletax legislation of the legislative Initiative, a Singletax law could be voted on if petitioned for by 4 per cent of the voters; but this would have been useless without many more favorable voters than 4 per cent. The Singletax must have public opinion behind it to be worth while. As it is, the new Constitution can be amended by Initiative so as to strike out the inhibition as soon as public opinion is behind the Singletax; all that will be needed being 8 per cent of the voters to petition for such an amendment. For Bigelow to have opposed that inhibition would have been to jeopardize the Initiative and Referendum, and this without benefiting the Singletax movement. By accepting the inhibition, he disarmed the black horse cavalry of the Ohio State Board of Commerce and its allies, and, defeating them, won his principal present fight. He also thereby allowed them, all unconsciously to themselves (for they were not so very shrewd), to lay a basis for Singletax agitation, out of which an overwhelming Singletax sentiment in Ohio, especially in the farming regions, is almost certain to spring at no distant day.



This inhibition of the Singletax, written as it is into the Constitution of Ohio, will be a perennial object of public curiosity, wonder, discussion and debate all over the State. It advertises the Singletax better than posters could. Why is the Singletax inhibited? What is the Singletax that it must be inhibited? In whose interest is the Singletax Constitutionally barred? These are types of inquiries that will be discussed wherever and whenever any man, woman or school pupil chooses to raise the question. And then the answers. In the interest of farmers, for instance! But how? When that question once comes under discussion among farmers, it won't be long before they see

into the bunco game of their Big Business protectors. They will speedily realize—for farmers are not the fools their Big Business guardians take them to be—that the Ohio Constitution prohibits their voting to reduce their own taxes.



Considered without reference to inhibitions upon any specific question, the Initiative and Referendum provisions of the proposed new Constitution of Ohio seem to be, on the whole, equal to any and superior to most of those of the other States. The direct Initiative is available for Constitutional amendments on a 12 per cent petition; the indirect Initiative through the legislature (quite as good if not better) is available for Constitutional amendments on an 8 per cent petition; the indirect Initiative is available for all legislation except the Singletax and classifications of property for taxation on a 4 per cent petition; and the Referendum is well secured, as are both the Initiative and Referendum for municipalities. There is no weak point that we detect, unless a Governor's veto of legislation Initiated by the people and adopted by the legislature *might* be obstructive. It probably would not be so; and even if it were, the defect could be easily cured. The present Constitutional Convention of Ohio has given promise of taking a high place in the history of that State.



### The Supreme Court and the Oregon System.

A curious line of comment has followed the Supreme Court's decision in the Oregon Initiative and Referendum case. It proceeds upon the theory that the Court "side-stepped" the question by leaving its decision to Congress. That view is of course without foundation. The decision of the Supreme Court in this case was direct and unqualified. There was no "side-stepping." There was no creation of any new problem for direct legislationists to encounter. If the Court did not decide the question of "republican form of government," it did as it ought to have done. To have decided that the Oregon system is un-republican in form would have been judicial usurpation; to have decided that it is republican in form would have been to assume its right to decide the other way. By deciding unanimously that the whole problem is not judicial but political, and therefore refusing to pass upon the question of what constitutes republicanism, the Supreme Court took a long stride backward from its old tendencies to usurp legislative power. When it held that the question is one for the legislative department of

the government, it did not hand over to Congress any function of its own; what it did was to refuse to invade Congressional functions. It is true enough that Congress *could*, in conformity with that decision, declare the Oregon system unrepresentative and refuse to admit Representatives and Senators from that State, or take drastic affirmative action to abolish the system there. But it is not less true that no Congress will attempt anything of the kind.



### Toward the Light.

Everywhere there is a growing perception of the primary cause of all social disorder, monopoly of the land; and with it a feeling for the basic principle of all workable social solutions, community ownership of land values. To specify would be to catalogue. One would have to point to the new fiscal policies of powerful nations like Great Britain and Germany, to reawakening peoples like the Chinese, to American States like Oregon and to autonomous dependencies like Australia and New Zealand. One would have to cite also Canadian cities like Vancouver and her neighbors and American cities like Houston, which have made an effective beginning, and Seattle which has made an effective effort to begin. We have seen that Mexico has been touched by this influence, and word comes up from Uruguay that the President of that country is making a valuation of the land with a friendly eye toward land values taxation. But one of the most significant expressions we have seen is this comment on the British coal strike: "Great Britain is getting a great shaking up; she will never be quite the same after the coal strike; public opinion will be more open than ever to the doctrine of the land for the people; the old order is coming to an end with a rush, and some of Henry George's bricks will be laid in the rebuilding."



### The Primaries in Illinois.

Before another issue of *The Public* goes to press, direct primaries will have been held in Illinois for the nomination of Presidential, gubernatorial and other candidates to be voted for at the election in November.



The contest for the Presidential nomination on the Republican side will probably be between Senator La Follette and ex-President Roosevelt. President Taft is likely to stand aside in this State, as he did in North Dakota; and here as in

North Dakota Mr. Roosevelt is likely to get most of the Taft support that votes at all at the primary. Consequently, although Mr. Roosevelt may carry a considerable Progressive vote which ought to go to Mr. La Follette, the contest here will be essentially between reactionary Republicans under the Roosevelt flag, and progressive Republicans under La Follette's. The Republican who in this State votes against La Follette votes for Taft.



On the Democratic side, the Presidential contest in Illinois will doubtless be between Speaker Clark and Governor Wilson. Some democratic Democrats have already made one or the other of these two men their choice, while other democratic Democrats have made no definite choice as yet. The Public counts itself among the latter. But so far as the Illinois primaries of next week are concerned, the necessity for a choice is at hand, and it does not turn upon preferences regarding those two men. Something much more important than any such preference is involved. At this time and in this State a vote at the primaries for Speaker Clark is not so much a vote for him as it is a vote for William Randolph Hearst. Mr. Hearst has taken complete possession of Speaker Clark's candidacy in Illinois, and unfortunately Mr. Clark has done more than passively submit. Yet everybody who knows Mr. Hearst and his political entourage in Illinois knows full well that the candidate between the lines in his Illinois papers is not Speaker Clark but Mr. Hearst himself. The democratic Democrat of Illinois who cannot vote for Governor Wilson, had better (unless he wishes to endorse Mr. Hearst) vote for some other candidate than Speaker Clark, or else vote for none.



For the Governorship, the progressive Republicans who are genuinely what they profess to be and who understand the trend of political currents within their party, will vote for Walter Clyde Jones, whose record as State Senator and in the field as Republican candidate for Governor, proves him to be of the type of La Follette, alike in political apprehensions, vigor and fidelity.



The Democrats have three leading candidates for Governor, among whom Edward F. Dunne is clearly the superior in every quality which the progressive thought of the party demands. What his two principal contestants may be saying on the stump, only their respective audiences know;

but their official platforms speak loudly against them. If the platform of either means anything better than this, "The office of Governor looks pretty good to me and I want it," the interpretation has not yet been distinctly offered. But Judge Dunne's platform is unreserved in its specification of policies. He commits himself to what democratic Democracy is demanding in Illinois. This is what every legislative candidate should do, if he intends to represent public instead of private interests. The gubernatorial office being legislative as well as administrative, every gubernatorial candidate owes it to his constituents to pledge himself at the outset with reference to the specific legislative policies at issue before the people. The only leading Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois who has done this unequivocally and authoritatively is Edward F. Dunne.



### George A. Schilling for Congress.

The platform upon which George A. Schilling is a Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third district of Illinois, one of the Chicago districts, should be enough in itself to commend to the favorable consideration of genuine democrats of every party any legislative candidate who adopts it. But added to his campaign pledge is the guaranty of Mr. Schilling's personality and past service. As the chief of the Illinois Bureau of Labor under Governor Altgeld, he began officially the work which in the field of State affairs leads to and explains the present policy in national affairs that his Congressional platform announces. His platform pledge is not only to promote progressive policies in general, but it proposes a specific measure "for the organization of an industrial army for the reclamation of the arid lands of the West and the swamp lands of the South by bringing water to where it is needed and draining it from lands where it is not needed." Such an industrial army would no doubt organize itself if opportunities were not monopolized—the lands where irrigation is needed and those that overflow,—but meanwhile a Congressional bill thus to organize "surplus" labor would produce results if adopted, and stimulate helpful agitations if defeated.



### James O. Monroe for Congress.

On a platform of "the land for the people" and "tax monopoly not labor," James O. Monroe is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Eleventh Congressional District of Illinois—Will, Kane, McHenry and DuPage coun-

ties. There is an ample field for work in Congress in favor of conserving the land for the people, and a whole tariff-law full of opportunities to quit taxing labor and get after monopolies. For this reason, and also because Mr. Monroe is pitted at the primaries against a Democratic member of the legislature who voted for Lorimer for United States Senator, democratic Democrats of the Eleventh District of Illinois ought to find it easy to influence votes for Mr. Monroe.



### The Fight Against "Phossyjaw."

If the Senate follows the lead of the House in adopting the Esch bill\* and the President does not veto it, one of the most wretched of businesses—the manufacture of an article which condemns its impoverished producers to a deadly and loathsome disease—will be abolished. This will be done by placing a prohibitive tax upon a certain kind of matches. There is no necessity for matches of that kind, not even a business necessity. They are not so much as a special convenience. Matches as good can be delivered to the consumer as cheap. To abolish the manufacture of anything by means of a tax, even dangerous matches, is of course repugnant to a law-abiding mind; and if the question involved were merely one of business interests, the speeches of Congressmen against using the taxing power for purposes of business regulation could be read with satisfaction. But the power has been used so long for those purposes in business interests, that this is no opportune time to object to its use in the interest of humanity.



### Behold the Bench!

Judge-worship gets another jar from C. P. Connolly in the third of his Everybody's articles on "Big Business and the Bench." This time the curtain is lifted farther East and some of the "nicer" methods of the secret "recall" of judges by agents of the Interests are exposed. The more general and complete these exposures, the clearer becomes the necessity for a popular Recall, not exempting judges. Such a Recall would be in effect a recall of corporations from the bench, and that no doubt is in many quarters one of the most potent reasons for opposing it.



He who takes no interest in the general weal, and gives no thought for those who are trodden underfoot, save now and then to bestow alms, is not a good citizen.—Henry George.

\*See The Public of February 9, pages 123, 132.

## DEMOS DEFAMED.

Here it is again! This time a member of Congress repeats it.\* He says, "Pilate acquitted Christ; an appeal from Pilate's decision was taken to the people, and the Savior was crucified." In other words, *it was the people who condemned Christ to the cross!*



Our "representative of the people" is not the only one who has said this—in one form or another. And it could not be more absurd and false if Satan himself had said it. It is high time these Scripture-quoting defamers of Demos were made to face the truth.

When the Devil quotes Scripture, it is best to verify the quotation and to be careful about the exegesis. So, too, is it when Scripture is quoted by a man who is (or wants to be) seated in public office by the methods that in lying euphemism are called "election by the people."

How did the "member from Kansas" learn that Pilate acquitted Christ?

Matthew, Mark and John each say that Pilate "delivered him to be crucified;" and Luke says that Pilate "gave sentence that what they asked for should be done."

It is true that "Pilate sought to release him," but like many another office-holder, his manhood was too light weight to over-balance his selfishness; and so he delegated to Christ's accusers the legal power to take his life and furnished them the soldiers to crucify him.

But "the gentleman from Kansas" says that Pilate acquitted him, and the people condemned him to the cross!



If our history is wrong and our statesman right, and Pilate really did decide to release Christ, and there really was an appeal to the mob which our legislator respectfully calls "the people," then who was it that appealed from Pilate's decision?

Was it he who was accused? Was it Pilate himself? Was it the chief priests and elders? Or did the mob appeal to itself?

But let us not confuse ourselves with puzzling questions. It is plain that the appeal "was taken to the people"—our statesman says so. In other words, the appeal was to Demos! It was a *referendum!* Demos reversed Pilate's decision! And Demos condemned Christ to the cross!

Christ himself said: "Behold, we go up to

\*Campbell of Kansas in his published letter to Roosevelt.

Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles to mock and to scourge, and to crucify." But our Scripture-quoter says *the people* condemned him.

We read that at one time "the Pharisees took counsel against him, how they might destroy him;" that at another time "the chief priests and the Pharisees . . . sought to lay hold on him," but "feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet;" that at another time the chief priests, elders of the people, scribes and Pharisees "gathered together unto the court of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas; and they took counsel together that they might take Jesus by subtlety, and kill him. But they said, Not during the feast, lest a tumult arise among the people." And we read that Judas "sought to deliver" Jesus "in the absence of the multitude;" that the chief priests, the scribes, the elders and the Pharisees sent officers and a company of men, with whom went a mob [*ochlos* not *demos*], in which, doubtless, there were money-changers, and merchants whom Christ only a few days before had the second time driven from the temple. We read that this "great multitude [*ochlos* not *demos*] with swords and staves" seized Jesus at night, took him to Annas, and then to Caiaphas, and "when morning was come," to Pilate; that when Pilate sent him to Herod, "the chief priests and the scribes stood and vehemently accused him." and that when Herod sent him back, Pilate called together the chief priests, and the rulers, and the people [*laos* not *demos*]; "and that the chief priests and the elders persuaded the multitudes [*ochlos* not *demos*] that they should ask for Barabbas, and destroy Jesus."

So it was not Demos, but the aristocrats and the mob *Ochlos* (more respectfully *Laos*) who cried, "Crucify him! crucify him!"



We read that "the common people heard him gladly;" that they desired "to make him a king;" that a few days before his crucifixion, great multitudes of them—gathered at a great national feast—went out from Jerusalem to meet him, and "spread their garments upon the way," and palm branches "which they had cut from the fields"—and rejoiced, and praised God "with a loud voice," and shouted "Hosanna to the Son of David." We read that after Pilate had delivered him to be crucified and he was on the way to Golgotha, about the middle of the forenoon, when, doubtless,

the tidings of what was being done had spread, "there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented him."

Surely the people who did these things were not the same people that cried, "Crucify him!"

If we *must* call that cry a *Referendum*—a *viva voce* referendum, then the "votes" were the votes of hierarchs and aristocrats and the votes which they controlled; if perchance a few brave negative voices mingled in that fearful cry, they were votes not "called for"—not counted—not heard; it was a referendum to the Jewish *aristos* and not to the Jewish *demos*.

Demos had nothing whatever to do with that aristocratic tribunal. The Jews of Palestine were then subjects of the Roman Emperor, and demos and democratic methods had no existence in that country.



It is not the masses but the classes that have made history a tragedy. Thus far Demos has played a very, very small part in the drama—even in these United States of America. And while, now and then, he may have been guilty of some sin of omission, the sins so freely charged to him have been almost universally the sins of *Aristos*—that defaming hypocrite, that pretender and usurper, who always has been, is now, and always will be, leprous with every sin possible to a ruler.

Let us remember with hopeful and grateful hearts, that the Prince of Peace, so cruelly slain by *Aristos*, has taught Demos to build no longer rude, perishing structures on the sand, but to build gloriously on the rock, and so firmly that he need fear no wind nor flood.

ASHER GEORGE BEECHER.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### PROBLEMS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

South Devon, England, March 21.

The discussion caused by the coal strike in Great Britain is noteworthy for the advance it shows in clear economic thinking since the great Budget campaign concentrated attention on the land question. It is doubtful if any previous labor dispute has revealed more clearly the common enemy of both capital and labor, viz, land monopoly. It has become a commonplace to ask what service the landlord performs in return for the estimated £6,000,000 he receives yearly in royalties from the coal mines. The risks of the capitalist are obvious, and the sufferings of the laborer are better realized each day as the sordid conditions of life in the mining regions are described. But the landlord, without risk or

anxiety, collects a tax of about 5½d. on every ton of coal brought to the surface.

Nobody supposes that a minimum wage concession will secure stable conditions, although it is perhaps the immediate step best calculated to bring about a quick resumption of work in the mines. State ownership and operation is advocated by Mr. Chiozza Money and J. A. Hobson, one estimate of the cost of purchase being £85,000,000! A wiser suggestion is to tax mining royalties heavily enough to compensate for the abolition of the present taxes on tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar and tobacco, a step which would bring a measure of relief not only to the miners but to all wage earners, and would be in harmony with the Freetrade principle.

The sudden and unexpected attack by the Tories upon the Government's minimum wage bill is regarded as a daring, if heartless, attempt to regain control in the game of party politics. But so reckless a move must have been determined by some powerful influence. The land-owning class, frightened by the events of the last few years, and fearful of further assaults upon their privileges, are apparently determined to make another desperate effort to break the power of advancing democracy.



On March 12 the final report of the British Royal Commission on Vivisection was issued as a Blue Book. It defends the practice in these words:

After full consideration we are led to the conclusion that experiments upon animals, adequately safeguarded by law, faithfully administered, are morally justifiable, and should not be prohibited by legislation.

At the same time a number of recommendations are made, advising (1) an increase of the inspectorate, (2) further limitations as regards the use of curare, (3) stricter provisions as to the definition and practice of pithing, (4) additional restrictions regulating the painless destruction of animals which show signs of suffering after experiment, (5) a change in the method of selecting and in the constitution of the advisory body to the Secretary of State, (6) special records by experimenters in certain cases. A majority of the Commission expresses the opinion that present enactments favoring horses, asses and mules might well be extended to include dogs, cats and anthropoid apes. This view is taken also by Lord Cromer, President of the Research Defense Society, in a letter approving the findings of the Commission. Dr. G. Wilson, one of the members of the Commission, in an additional memorandum, maintains that the fallacies and failures of vivisection are far more conspicuous than the successes.

FRANCIS W. GARRISON.



### THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN OHIO.

Columbus, Ohio, March 30.

After an all day session and late in the evening of the 27th, the Fourth Constitutional Convention adopted a Proposal recommending amendment of the Constitution to provide for use of the Initiative and Referendum. While this Proposal is not all the

I. and R. people want, it will make corporation money scarce about the State House at future sessions of the General Assembly, by putting an almost if not an altogether insurmountable handicap on the fine art of stealing by law.

The defenders of predatory privileges capitulated only after exhausting all their resources. From the previous Thursday, delegates had in turn taken revenge upon each other with speeches, some worse than Job's affliction of boils. A few, however, stand out in the memory of those privileged to hear the sessions, particularly the speeches of Fackler of Cuyahoga, Bowdle of Hamilton, Stilwell (Labor delegate from Cleveland), and the concluding address by Herbert S. Bigelow, President of the Convention.

The opposition play had been to fight the I. and R. with the story that it is a Singletax scheme, insidious in approach, far-reaching in evil results, and promoted by a millionaire soap manufacturer of Philadelphia and a millionaire newspaper man of California, all looking to robbing the farmer of his home.

The State Board of Commerce\* had for months been spreading terror of Singletax in the rural districts. This having been done in advance and kept up, an inhibition clause was put in to prevent use of the I. and R. by the people to adopt the Singletax on land values; and with the virus of false statement working in the veins of farmer delegates, the fifteen Labor delegates were impressed with the thought that to get confirmation of the I. and R. at the polls the farmer must be protected against the possibility of a land value tax in future.

The final gun of the Opposition was spiked near the end of Mr. Bigelow's speech, when he told the Convention that the friends of the I. and R. were not going to oppose the Singletax inhibition in the I. and R. Proposal. That announcement had about the same effect on leaders of the Opposition as a kick in the stomach. It knocked their breath out, and before they had time to get it back, Judge Peck of Cincinnati demanded "the previous question." They tried to get away from the effect of the sentiment made by Mr. Bigelow's speech by shooting in a flock of amendments, which were one by one either put on the table or voted down. The play to take a recess till morning was made a little too early in the game, and before adjournment for the day the I. and R. Proposal had been adopted.

G. C.



### LAND VALUE TAXES IN CANADA.

Calgary, Canada, March 29th.

Singletax advocates in Calgary have won a substantial legal victory. Last December the City Council, sitting as a board of revision, set aside the increased assessment fixed by the City Assessor on certain lands inside the city limits, on the ground that the Council had made an agreement with the owners that they should not be assessed at more than \$50 an acre until subdivided into building lots. Two of the city papers, and of course the Singletax League, protested. The result was that a mass meeting appointed a committee which engaged a solicitor and, raising a fund by public subscription, made an appeal to the court. The City Council, in

\*Allen Ripley Foote's organization.

order to maintain their consistent disregard of the public's rights, instructed their solicitor to defend against this public-spirited action of the citizens' committee! But Mr. Justice Carpenter set aside the decision of the court of revision (the City Council) on the 28th, and in consequence the Singletax gospel is heard here with added interest and respect.

H. JACOBS.



### MAYOR HANNA'S VICTORY.

Des Moines, March 30.

The common people of Des Moines won a decisive and sweeping victory for economy, good government and municipal ownership last week in the city election. They were opposed by the public service corporations, "Big Business" and three of our city dailies.

A specially bitter fight was made on Mayor Hanna by the local "Grocers' Trust" because he had secured a Market House for the people in spite of the opposition of McVicar, who has been secretly fighting it for years.

Both Hanna and Roe were venomously opposed by the Street Car Co. because of their action during the strike last summer in preventing the thugs who were imported as strike-breakers from carrying concealed weapons. Enforcing the law against strike-breakers the same as against other people spoiled the plans of the company and saved our city from one of those bloody affairs which have disgraced so many American cities.

McVicar, who won his place several years ago by opposing the public service corporations and favoring public ownership, has gradually swung around to exactly the opposite stand, and for that reason was overwhelmingly defeated; being next to last on the ticket in spite of the persistent and desperate efforts of three of our city dailies to save him.

Mayor Hanna led the ticket with over 10,000 votes; more than twice as many as his competitor. Ex-Police Judge F. T. Van Liew stood next with over 9,000; Mr. Roe next with some 8,500; W. A. Needham, the Labor candidate, next with about 8,300, and Ex-Postmaster Myerly last with about 7,500.

H. G. GUE.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, April 2, 1912.

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### Direct Legislation in Ohio.

By a vote of 97 to 15—only 7 members absent or not voting—the Constitutional Convention of Ohio adopted on the 28th a proposed amendment to the present Constitution of that State, which, upon approval by vote of the people, will supersede Section 1 of Article II of that document. [See current volume, page 300.]

The proposed amendment provides for the following Direct Legislation system:

The legislative power of the State is vested in a General Assembly consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to adopt or reject the same at the polls independent of the General Assembly; and also reserve the power, at their own option, to adopt or reject any law, section of any law, or any item appropriating money in any law passed by the General Assembly.

To amend the Constitution by Initiative, a petition signed by 12 per cent of the vote cast for Governor at the next preceding election (not less than 6 per cent each from half the counties of the State), sends the amendment directly and without legislative intervention to the people at the next general election held not less than 90 days after the filing of the petition. If signed by 8 per cent of that vote (not less than 4 per cent each from half the counties of the State), the amendment goes first to the legislature, which must either reject or without alteration approve the amendment within four months after receiving it. Whether the legislature approves, or rejects, or fails to do either within four months, the amendment goes to the people at the next regular election. If adopted by a majority of the people voting thereon, any amendment so submitted, whether directly on a 12 per cent petition, or indirectly through the legislature on an 8 per cent petition, the proposed amendment amends the Constitution accordingly.

To legislate by Initiative, subject to the limitations of the Constitution, a petition signed by 4 per cent of the vote cast for Governor at the next preceding election (not less than 2 per cent each from half the counties of the State), and filed ten days prior to any session of the legislature, must be rejected or approved without alteration by the legislature within four months after it is received. If the legislature rejects the proposed legislation, or fails to act decisively within four months, the proposed legislation goes to the people at the next regular election; and if adopted by a majority of the voters voting thereon, any legislation initiated indirectly through the legislature [there is no provision for direct submission of legislation as there is of a Constitutional amendment] becomes legally effective without approval by the Governor, provided it be Constitutional. If, however, the legislature approves, then the proposed legislation becomes legally effective if approved by the Governor, and if Constitutional, provided it be not opposed on Referendum, which applies on the same terms as to any other act of the legislature.

If the legislature refuses to approve initiated legislation or initiated amendments to the Constitution without alteration, it is at liberty to adopt competing provisions (legislative or Constitutional as the case may be) on the same subject; and in such event both the proposed and the competing law, or both the proposed and the competing Constitutional amendment, must be submitted for approval or rejection at the next regular election. In these circumstances, the voter is to vote on four questions as follows: "Either measure," "Neither measure,"

"For Initiative measure," "For Legislative measure," and if the majority of the votes cast on the first issue is for "neither measure," both measures fail of adoption; if a majority of the votes cast on the first issue is in favor of "either measure," then the measure receiving a majority of the votes cast on the second issue is the law or the amendment to the Constitution as the case may be.

No law passed by the legislature, unless expressly excepted by this Amendment, goes into effect until 90 days after being filed by the Governor; and if within that time a 6 per cent Referendum petition is filed on such law, section of such law, or any item appropriating money in such law, the question goes to popular vote at the next regular election subsequent to 60 days after the filing of such petition. And no such law, item or section, goes into effect until and unless approved by a majority of those voting upon the same, although the remainder of the law is not thereby defeated or delayed.

The excepted measures are defined as "acts providing for tax levies, appropriations for the current expenses of the State government and State institutions, and emergency measures necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, if such emergency measures upon a ye and nay vote shall receive the vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each branch of the General Assembly." All these measures shall go into immediate effect and be free from Referendum; but the facts constituting such necessity must be set forth in one section of the act, which section must be passed only upon a ye and nay vote upon a separate roll call thereon.

Signatures to petitions are to be presumed to be sufficient "unless not later than 40 days before election it shall be otherwise proven, and in such event 10 additional days shall be allowed for the filing of additional signatures to such petition; and no law or amendment to the Constitution submitted to the electors by Initiative petition and receiving an affirmative majority of the votes cast thereon shall ever be held unconstitutional or void on account of the insufficiency of the petitions by which such submission of the same shall have been procured, nor shall the rejection of any law submitted by Referendum petition be held invalid for such insufficiency."

Provisions for publicity prior to Initiative and Referendum elections require that "a true copy of all laws or proposed laws or proposed amendments to the Constitution, together with an argument or explanation, or both, for, and also an argument or explanation, or both, against the same, shall be prepared. The person or persons who prepare the argument or explanation, or both, against any law, section or item, submitted to the electors by Referendum petition may be named in such petition, and the persons who prepare the arguments or explanations, or both, for any proposed law or proposed amendment to the Constitution may be named in the petition proposing the same. The person or persons who prepare the argument or explanation, or both, for the law, section or item, submitted to the electors by Referendum petition, or for any competing law or competing amendment to the Constitution, or against any law submitted by Initiative



petition, shall be named by the General Assembly, if in session, and if not in session then by the Governor. The Secretary of State shall have printed the law or proposed law or proposed amendment to the Constitution, together with the arguments and explanations, not exceeding a total of 300 words for each of the same, and also the arguments and explanations, not exceeding a total of 300 words against each of the same, and shall mail or otherwise dis-



Herbert S. Bigelow, President Ohio Constitutional Convention.

tribute a copy of such law or proposed law or proposed amendment to the Constitution together with such arguments and explanations for and against the same, to each of the electors of the State as far as reasonably possible.

The provisions of this Constitutional amendment are to be self-executing except as therein otherwise provided. Legislation may be enacted to facilitate their operation, but in no way to limit or restrict either such provisions or the powers reserved.

Provision is made for the Initiative and Referendum in "each municipality on all questions which such municipalities may now or hereafter be authorized by law to control by legislative action, such powers to be exercised in the manner now or hereafter provided by law."

It is expressly provided by the proposed Consti-

tutional amendment that the powers of Initiative and Referendum thereby created shall not be used "to enact a law authorizing any classification of property for the purpose of levying different rates of taxation thereon or of authorizing any single tax on land or land values or land sites at a higher rate or by a different rule than is or may be applied to improvements thereon or to personal property."

But this clause may be amended or repealed by Initiative on the terms required for amending any other part of the Constitution. An attempt to prevent future amendments striking out the clause inhibiting Singletax legislation was defeated in the Convention by 69 to 42.

Before the almost unanimous adoption of the foregoing by the Constitutional Convention, several days were spent in debate, the Opposition concentrating all their strength upon the Singletax. They argued that the Initiative and Referendum were intended to open the way for burdening Ohio farmers with taxation; and the fear of this, which had been fostered by the "Ohio State Board of Commerce"\* placed the Initiative and Referendum in jeopardy. These tactics were effectively met by Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the Convention, who, as reported by an unfriendly paper, the Cincinnati Enquirer, of the 28th, is "regarded as the apostle of Singletax," and who "openly sacrificed his claims for that principle, in order, as he said, to silence the batteries of the enemies of the Initiative and Referendum." According to the Enquirer, the organization (Ohio State Board of Commerce) "which has been fighting for over a decade for a Constitutional amendment permitting the classification of property for taxation purposes, met with the same bitter portion of defeat, for in the same clause was placed an inhibition against classification."

Mr. Bigelow's service has elicited the highest commendation from the progressive elements of Ohio. The Scripps league newspapers, which have faithfully and vigorously fought for Direct Legislation throughout, declare that the people of Ohio owe him "a big debt of gratitude," and urgently advise the Democrats at their coming State convention to nominate him for Governor. Even the Cincinnati Enquirer, a hostile paper, was compelled to credit him with the victory. Describing the day's session when this victory was won, the Enquirer of the 28th said:

Two remarkable speeches were made during the day. The first by Woods, of Medina, was a scaring, blistering attack upon President Bigelow, in which some cruelly cutting things were said and sensational charges made. The other was delivered by President Bigelow, and was an eloquent plea,

\*Allen Ripley Foote's organization. See The Public, vol. xiv, pp. 772, 821, 1186; current volume, page 49.

rich in imagery and overflowing with sentiment, for the cause of the common people. Pilloried for two weeks by the able and fearless Opposition and his very seat threatened, the President surprised his hearers by taking the moderate side. Direct blows were leveled only at Woods and Halfhill, of Lima, and behind them was none of the softness and sweetness of the principal address. The State Board of Commerce came in for its share of denunciation, which was as direct as language could make it. . . . When Bigelow finished his address he was greeted by applause that made the old hall shake, and he reascended the rostrum with the gratifying knowledge that his effort had resolved all doubt and had carried the day for the compromise.

The scene that followed caused the galleries to burst forth into cheers as the delegates who favored the Initiative and Referendum gave vent to their feelings in most demonstrative fashion. . . . President Bigelow was given the floor and the time limit was taken off. . . . On the matter of the Singletax he asserted that he did not impugn the motives of the delegates who had made that a slogan, but he did challenge those of the State Board of Commerce whose game these men had been unconsciously playing. The I. and R. men in the ten-year fight had been silencing gun after gun in the battery of that organization, the biggest piece being silenced when the United States Supreme Court approved the Oregon law's constitutionality. All that was left was the funny little gun of Singletax to provide wadding for which the paid lobbyists of the State Board had been laboring so hard. "You'll not use that little gun to confuse the issue and defeat the will of the people," said Bigelow. "We are going to take the Singletax inhibition and put it into the proposal." . . . Pointing to a mass of postal cards, telegrams, letters and even railway timetables, designed to cast obloquy upon himself and the Convention, he said that he would not deign to read them, though he had been urged to do so. Then addressing himself to a remark of Halfhill's fearing the "Huns and the Vandals," who would be let loose by the I. and R., Bigelow impressively declared that these were not the gold-crushed inmates of the slums of his city, but those who were gorged with gold. "Their pockets are crammed with the plunder of the people, and their gold drips with the tears of bondmen," he said amid great cheering. These were the Huns and the Vandals to be feared. The speaker said that it was pitiful to sit for two weeks and hear railings and defenses of the homes and the farms, "as if we were so dishonest as to do anything to prevent a man on the farm or in the factory from earning an honest living." Pitiful, too, was it to hear these arguments about money and property, and no word of love for or mercy to the poor. Replying to Major Cunningham, of Harrison, who had quoted the condemnation of the Savior as an object of popular rule, he asserted that the Cadiz man was unfortunate in comparing the American electorate to an Oriental mob. Nor was the illustration correct. Reading from the Bible the President showed that the mob had been raised by the high priests, the scribes and the elders, "the representatives of that day," and that care was taken not to choose a feast "lest there should be an uproar among the people." A plea that was couched in

beautiful language was made to adopt the I. and R. for the sake of delivering legislators from temptation followed, the speaker describing the succumbing of a poor man in a franchise fight to the lure of gold. It seemed to him that rather than hound these men into the penitentiary, and disgrace their families, it was a finer justice to save them from being tempted and from falling. In his peroration he asserted that the I. and R. would make the State a great school of statesmanship, holding that the safety of all republics lay in the education of the people, a thing that would automatically flow from this principle and develop the greatest citizenship the world has ever known.

After he had ceased and the compromise had been offered . . . Pierce of Butler essayed to strike out the inhibition against the Singletax and classification and failed, 74 to 37. Halfhill then offered his amendment to prevent the I. and R. from ever being used to change the Constitution on these subjects. Anderson, of Mahoning, defended the compromise and insisted that as drawn the State would have to vote as a unit upon Singletax before a law could be passed, and even then the law could be forced to a Referendum. "That means that we'll never have Singletax," he said. Halfhill's amendment was lost, 69 to 42. Then Thomas, of Cleveland, speaking for the labor group, offered his 5 per cent amendment, and he was defeated, 63 to 24. Judge Peck demanded the previous question, which carried. The compromise was then adopted, 91 to 21, and then the amended proposal was put through, 97 to 15.

The convention adjourned amid the cheers of the victors, who surrounded President Bigelow and congratulated him on his address. His opponents, though attributing the result to the concessions and his abandonment of the Singletax clause, joined their compliments to what was undoubtedly the best speech of the convention. It was the third time that his eloquence had won for him.



#### Presidential Preference Primary Laws.

Pursuant to the call by Governor Deneen, the legislature of Illinois met in special session on the 26th. The Senate had a quorum on the first day and passed several preferential primary bills to second reading. The House had got a quorum on the 27th, whereupon the Senate passed one of the bills before it by 37 to 1, and on the 30th the House passed it by 110 to 0. It was signed later on the 30th by Governor Deneen. This bill amends the Direct Primary law, which provides for an advisory vote on United States Senator, by including an advisory vote for nominations for President. Generally petitions for President must be filed not less than 30 days before the April primary and be signed by not less than 3,000 nor more than 5,000 primary voters; but for 1912, petitions may be filed not less than six days prior to the April 9th primary, and be signed by not less than 1,500 primary voters. The vote in the State at large is to be considered as advisory to the national delegates and alternates at large, and the vote in each Congressional district as advisory

to the district delegates and alternates. [See current volume, page 277.]

Maryland also is reported to have enacted a Presidential preference primary law during the week just closed, and which, like that of Illinois, is to be operative with reference to the forthcoming Presidential conventions.

Presidential preference primary laws are now operative in ten States, namely, Oregon, California, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Maryland and Illinois.

#### Presidential Nominations.

As a result of the New York primaries on the 26th under the direct primary law of that State, 43 delegates favoring President Taft for the Republican nomination and 7 favoring ex-President Roosevelt are indicated. The vote in all but 42 of the 885 districts in New York City gave 31,111 to Taft and 15,262 to Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt and his supporters attribute the result to fraud. [See current volume, page 297.]

The Republican convention of Indiana elected 4 delegates on the 26th instructed for President Taft. A bolting convention was at once organized and a contesting delegation named with instructions for ex-President Roosevelt.

At the Republican State convention for Colorado on the 27th the Taft interests controlled by a vote of 656, to 242 for Roosevelt. The delegates elected to the national convention are all instructed for Taft.

#### The American Coal Miners' Strike.

An agreement for the bituminous coal fields in the United States was made at Cleveland on the 29th by the compromise committee, whereby there is to be a general advance in wages of 5 cents a ton on screened lump coal with a corresponding increase for day labor. Writing of it to the Chicago Record Herald of the 31st, Luke Grant, the labor correspondent, says:

On both sides it is regarded as the most important event in years in the bituminous mining industry. Not only does it insure peace for two years, but the inter-State movement has been strengthened by the creation of a permanent commission of two operators and two miners from each of the four States to deal with all national questions arising affecting the coal industry. Operators and miners are to work

in harmony in legislative and other matters affecting the industry. The most important step so far agreed to is that for an endeavor to obtain the creation of a national commission to deal with affairs in the coal trade as the Interstate Commerce Commission does in railroad matters. Opposition to the agreement is developed in certain sections of Ohio and western Pennsylvania, where the miners were determined to obtain payment on the mine run basis, but the leaders believe there is no doubt that the contract will be ratified by a referendum vote. [See current volume, page 299.]

An official call was issued on the 29th by John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers, for a strike in the anthracite fields. It calls out 175,000 men—except those of them whose work is necessary to protect property. A conference is set for the 10th at Philadelphia.

#### The British Coal Miners' Strike.

After a long conference on the 27th, the owners of natural coal deposits in Great Britain decided to accept the Ministerial minimum wage bill, and on the same day the Miners' Federation ordered an immediate referendum to their membership. Meanwhile the bill had been formally passed in the House of Commons by 213 to 48. Late on the 27th the House of Lords allowed it to pass second reading. They gave it third reading and final passage on the 28th unanimously, but with the express purpose of placing the responsibility wholly upon the Ministry. The bill was signed by the King on the 29th. London dispatches of the 1st state that on the referendum ordered by the Miners' Federation the Ministerial bill was accepted by the miners by a vote of about 3 to 1. [See current volume, page 299.]

#### Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

The "conciliation bill" for woman suffrage in Great Britain, which would enfranchise about 1,000,000 women on a property basis, and which passed the stage of second reading in the House of Commons last year by 255 to 88, was defeated on the 28th by 222 to 208. It was opposed by the prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, but supported by one of his cabinet associates, Sir Edward Grey. Describing the vote, a special dispatch from London to the Chicago Tribune of the 29th explains that—it was not a party vote and there were many absentees. The bill affected the tactics of the Irish members, forty-one of whom voted against it, probably in the hope of getting an extra week for the forthcoming home rule bill, because of putting the women's bill to death. Of the Irish members Timothy Healy and William O'Brien alone supported the bill. Last year a majority of the Irish members voted for the same measure. Moreover, all the miner

Labourite members of the House were absent, having gone to their constituencies in connection with the ballot on the question of the miners resuming work. If present they would have supported the measure.

[See current volume, page 301.]



#### Woman Suffrage in the United States.

The Senate of Michigan adopted an equal suffrage amendment to the State Constitution on the 26th by 28 to 5. It was adopted in the House on the 28th by 75 to 19, and goes now to the people for ratification.



Vigorous campaigning, both in public meetings and by house-to-house canvasses, is being made in Chicago in anticipation of the primary of the 9th, at which an advisory vote on woman suffrage is to be taken. [See current volume, page 277.]



#### Shipping Arms Into Mexico.

At the urgent request of Henry Lane Wilson, American Ambassador to Mexico, indorsing a petition of the American Council of Defense representing approximately 10,000 American citizens now in Mexico City, President Taft has made an exception to the regulations preventing the shipment of war materials into Mexico—one of the exceptions he was authorized to make under the terms of the regulations as recently passed by Congress—and has had dispatched to Vera Cruz, leaving New York on the 28th, 1,000 rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition. This action is taken with the consent of the Mexican government, which has guaranteed the delivery of the arms and ammunition under seal to the American legation after it is landed at the Vera Cruz docks. Only registered American citizens will be allowed to buy these weapons. They will pay \$6.25 for the rifles and \$15 per thousand for the cartridges. The weapons are not to be used except by these citizens themselves for purposes of defending their homes or places of business against invasion, and Ambassador Wilson is personally responsible for their proper disposition.



President Taft is reported further as now being ready to permit the Mexican government to buy arms and ammunition in the United States, under special permit in each case, as additional authorized exceptions to the recent regulations. Such shipments are not regarded as any violation of neutrality as the belligerency of the insurgents has not been recognized. [See current volume, pages 277, 301.]

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## NEWS NOTES

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—By 189 to 92 the lower House of Congress passed a bill on the 1st reducing tariff duties on wool and woolens. [See vol. xiv, p. 874.]

—Tom Mann, the British labor leader, was released on the 28th on \$2,000 bonds to refrain, pending his trial, from advising soldiers not to shoot labor strikers. [See current volume, page 300.]

—Proceedings in the United States Senate to unseat Senator Stephenson of Wisconsin for corrupt election, were defeated on the 27th in that body by a vote of 40 to 34. [See current volume, page 159.]

—By a gas explosion in the Jed Coal and Coke Company's mine, near Bluefield, West Virginia, on the 26th, 83 men were entrapped, and probably all lost their lives. By the 28th 45 bodies had been recovered.

—The recently recalled Colombian minister, General Pedro Nel Ospina, has been succeeded at Washington by Mr. Julio Betancourt, who formerly represented Colombia at Madrid. [See current volume, page 205.]

—The Arizona legislature on the 26th elected Marcus A. Smith and Henry F. Ashurst United States Senators, leaving the United States Senate to decide which shall have the long term. [See current volume, page 181.]

—President Taft transmitted to Congress on the 26th the Tariff Board's report on the cotton schedule with a recommendation that that section of the tariff law be taken up with a view to reductions in the rates of duty. [See vol. xiv, pp. 875, 946.]

—The trial of 126 women in connection with window smashing raids in London on the 26th resulted in a succession of sentences of the violence faction of British suffragists to prison terms ranging from four to six months. [See current volume, page 301.]

—At the Municipal election in Milwaukee on the 2d the Socialist ticket, headed by Mayor Emil Seidel, was defeated by the Republican-Democratic fusion ticket, headed by Dr. G. A. Bading, a Republican, by a vote of 43,177 to 30,200. [See current volume, page 298.]

—By 5 to 3 the Senate Committee on the seat of Senator Lorimer of Illinois decided on the 28th that the evidence failed to show that Senator Lorimer used corrupt methods to secure his election or that such methods were used. [See current volume, page 131.]

—The Constitutionality of the laws of Missouri, under which the Courts of that State ousted the Standard Oil trust, was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States on the 1st in a decision affirming that of the Supreme Court of Missouri. [See vol. xii, p. 276.]

—The jury in the trial of sugar trust magnates in the Federal court at New York were discharged on the 31st after thirteen hours' deliberation and no agreement. One of the defendants was John E. Parsons, a former leader of the New York bar, now over 80 years of age, who organized the first trust. The verdict is reported to have turned upon the ques-

tion of the statute of limitations. [See vol. xiv, p. 443; current volume, page 265.]

—A summer-camp-school of Organic Education, under the direction of Mrs. M. L. Johnson of Fairhope and Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Potter of Arden, is announced to open at Arden (Edge Moor, Del.), among the hills of northern Delaware, for the ten weeks from July 1 to September 9th. [See vol. xiv, p. 1289.]

—Overruling the Commerce Court, which had overruled the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Supreme Court of the United States decided on the first that the Interstate Commerce Commission has the legal power to compel common carriers to make reports on intra-State as well as on inter-State traffic.

—At the Des Moines election on the 25th Mayor Hanna was re-elected by 10,788 to 5,018, a majority vastly larger than at his first election. John H. MacVickar was badly defeated, polling 5,025 votes less than Mayor Hanna and standing seventh in the list of eight candidates of whom only four could be elected. [See vol. xiv, pp. 991, 995.]

—The national convention of the Socialist party will be held at Indianapolis, the decision of the national committee to hold it at Oklahoma City having been reversed on referendum to the dues-paying party members by a majority of 10,980. The total vote was 22,501 for Indianapolis and 11,521 for Oklahoma City. [See vol. xiv, p. 1312.]

—After seven joint ballots had resulted in a deadlock, the New Mexico legislature elected on the 27th as the State's first United States Senators, Judge A. B. Fall and T. B. Catron, both Republicans. The final ballot stood: Fall, 39; Catron, 38; Felix Martinez (Democrat), 25; A. Jones (Democrat), 23; necessary for choice, 35. [See current volume, page 63.]

—The Illinois Senate adopted a joint resolution on the 27th providing for the submission of a Constitutional amendment at the next general election which would permit the submission of as many as three Constitutional amendments at any given election. The vote was 43 to 0 for the adoption of the amendment. Only one title may be amended at one election under the present Constitutional provision.

—The Esch match bill designed to prevent phosphorus necrosis, commonly called "phossy jaw," was passed by the lower House of Congress on the 28th, the vote being 163 to 30. Minority leader Mann was the only Republican who joined the opposition to the measure. The bill provides that an internal revenue tax of 2 cents a hundred shall be levied upon all matches manufactured of white or yellow phosphorus, the poisonous ingredient which produces the disease. [See current volume, pages 123, 132.]

—The House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature on the 26th laid on the table by a vote of 41 to 35 a proposed Constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum. A full House at the time might have given the amendment a majority, but three-fifths were necessary. Advocates of the measure are gratified because they have secured for the first time a favorable committee report and a vote, and are sure that had a vote been taken in any preceding House the amendment would

not have had above 5 or 10 supporters, instead of the 35 it got on this occasion.

—With the exception of two districts in which Socialists were successful, the Conservative government of the Province of British Columbia (Canada) was returned to power at the elections on the 28th. They won 40 of the 42 seats in Parliament. The Liberal party, which had only one representative in the last Parliament, was left without a representative. The two Socialists come from coal mining centers on Vancouver island.

—Robert Love Taylor, senior United States Senator from Tennessee and three times Governor of that State—"Fiddling Bob" as he was affectionately called with reference to a contest for Governor when he as the Democratic candidate and his brother as the Republican candidate made a campaign in which they relieved the speaking with violin solos and he was elected—died on the 31st at Washington from the results of a surgical operation at the age of 62.

—Owing to an absence of winter thaws and an unusual March snowfall, the great region of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys is unprecedentedly threatened with spring floods. Great damage is already reported from widely separated points. At Cairo the Mississippi had reached a stage of 53 feet on the 1st, which was eight-tenths of a foot higher than any previous record. Vast inundations extend from Cairo in every direction in Illinois, Kentucky and Missouri.

—The German Land Reform League will hold its second Easter-time course on economics, civics and oratory in Berlin from April 9th to 14th. Three hundred men and women from ninety-six towns in Germany attended last year. Announced lecture subjects include such titles as "The Meaning of Political Education for Our People," "Social Problems of the Present Time" and "The Principles of Economics." Inspection trips under expert guidance will be made through some of the important industrial plants and institutions of Berlin.

—Captain Robert F. Scott, leader of the British expedition of discovery to the South Pole, has sent word to civilization by his ship, the Terra Nova, that he is "remaining in the Antarctic another winter, in order to continue and complete" his work. The Terra Nova brings the news that on January 3 Capt. Scott had reached a point 150 miles from the South Pole, and was still advancing. This statement removes the possibility of Captain Scott's having reached the Pole prior to Captain Amundsen's achievement of it in December. [See current volume, page 250.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Hearst's Policy.

The Springfield (Ill.) Record (Dem.), March 19.—William Randolph Hearst's signed statement, published in the Chicago American, Saturday, in which he declared that it would be better for the Democratic party to go to defeat than that Woodrow Wilson should be elected President, is in keeping with his usual tactics, tactics with which every Dem-

erat should be familiar. Hearst has denounced not only Woodrow Wilson, but William Jennings Bryan and virtually every other Democratic leader, with the single exception of Champ Clark. Ostensibly Hearst is for Clark, but if he really believed that Clark would be nominated and elected he would be just as bitterly opposed to the famous Missourian as he is to the Governor of New Jersey. . . . His signed statement, referred to above, leaves no construction possible other than that if Mr. Hearst is not allowed to dictate this year's Democratic Presidential ticket, he will bolt that ticket. Yet, in face of a record of long-continued treachery to Democratic nominees, in face of his presumptuous declaration against Woodrow Wilson and other Presidential aspirants, Mr. Hearst has the unmitigated nerve to demand that the Democratic organization in Illinois and other States be turned over to his management.



### The Bigelow Victory in Ohio.

The Columbus (Ohio) Citizen (Scripps-McRae League), March 28.—The people of Ohio owe a big debt of gratitude to President Herbert Bigelow and the delegates to the Convention who, under his splendid leadership, have kept the faith and withstood the assaults of Privilege and its tools in and out of the Convention. The speech of President Bigelow, which closed the two weeks' debate on the Initiative and Referendum proposal, was a magnificent effort by one of the greatest men who has appeared in public life in Ohio in a generation. It will be a serious reflection upon the intelligence of the people of this State if they permit Bigelow to retire from public life now that they have won under his generalship their great battle against the Powers that Prey. There are many great battles yet to be fought. The Governorship is the natural place for the people's leader to occupy. Judged by his works, his ideals and his unselfish and unswerving devotion to the welfare of the common man, Herbert S. Bigelow is the very embodiment of those qualities of which real people's Governors are made. Within two short months the Democratic party of Ohio in convention will nominate a Governor. The party has a wonderful opportunity to do a thing which will go a long way toward justifying its claim of being the party of the common people.



The Cincinnati Post (Scripps-McRae League), March 28.—The death knell of special privilege as the controlling force in the lawmaking of Ohio was sounded when President Bigelow announced the result of the roll call which made certain the submission to the voters of the Initiative and Referendum proposal. That the proposal will be approved at the polls by an overwhelming majority and thus become a part of the fundamental law of the State is as certain as that the election will be held. No man who is at all familiar with the temper of the people of Ohio on this subject can have any doubt of it. There has not been a time during the past ten years that the people of Ohio have not been in the mood to take back into their own hands the government of their own State, stolen from them by

Privilege with the aid of its tools—cowardly and dishonest legislators.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### PSALM II.

#### The Reign of Messiah.

[A sacred song which represents David, kings and rulers, Jehovah and Messiah as speaking; and in which the divine poet and musician affirms unrighteous government to be a cause of violence, war and national folly, pictures kings and rulers as impotently planning against the power and purposes of Jehovah and the sway of his Messiah, and warns them to avoid their ruin in impending calamities by serving Jehovah and humbly submitting to Messiah.]



Why do the nations rage,  
And the peoples meditate a vain thing?  
The kings of the earth set themselves,  
And the rulers take counsel together,  
Against Jehovah,  
And against his Anointed.

Let us break their bonds asunder,  
And cast away their cords from us.

He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh:  
The Lord shall have them in derision.  
Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath,  
And vex them in his sore displeasure:

Yet, have I set My king,  
Upon my holy hill of Zion.

I will tell of the decree:  
Jehovah said unto me,  
"Thou art my son;  
This day have I begotten thee.  
Ask of me,  
And I will give the nations for thine inheritance,  
And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.  
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;  
Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

Now therefore be wise,  
O ye kings:  
Be instructed,  
Ye judges of the earth.  
Serve Jehovah with fear,  
And rejoice with trembling.  
Kiss the Son,  
Lest he be angry,  
And ye perish in the way,  
For his wrath will soon be kindled.  
Blessed are all they that take refuge in him.



Note.—As for ages it has been, so is it still;  
The nations rage,  
And the peoples meditate a vain thing.

And why?

The rulers take counsel together,  
Against Jehovah and his Anointed.

Although there surely is a statesmanship which  
sees that

Righteousness exalteth a nation;  
But sin is a reproach to any people,

it is found, in the wide wastes of world history,  
as seldom as is the cooling spring that in a great  
desert here and there dots with verdure the parch-  
ings sands.

Yet, Jehovah has "set" his "king," and ever  
that day draws nearer when

The meek shall inherit the land,  
And shall delight themselves in the abundance of  
peace;

and

The kingdom of the world is become  
The kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.  
Even now, do we not see the light of the morning  
sky that precedes the glorious dawning!

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.



## AN APPEAL TO BRETHERN.

Portions of a speech made to the Topeka Socialists,  
at their room, and by their invitation, by G.

Hughes, upon Sunday, Jan. 21st. Its pur-  
pose being to explain the efforts now  
being made by the Fels Fund of  
America.

This is the day of rest. For centuries it has been  
the custom to worship the Creator upon this day.  
It is a custom which has great effect upon human  
movements; this cannot be denied. The effects  
have varied according to the fundamental views of  
those who have in the past gathered together in  
His name. Just how fundamental their efforts  
have been has determined the progress which any  
congregation has obtained, the lasting effect which  
any congregation has produced.

I am going to read to you a part of a prayer  
which seems to me to be really religious, really  
binding. It seems to me to really bind men to-  
gether and up to their Creator, and that is the true  
meaning of the word "religion." Some of you  
will recognize it, if not all. I got it from your  
weekly paper called "Topeka Labor."

O Lord, we beseech thee to arouse the enthusiasm  
and energy of our good ministers and direct their  
intelligence so that they may understand the cause  
that undermines and destroys the virtues and morals  
of your children; cause them to see, O Lord, that  
when the blood is diseased, the blood must be  
treated instead of the eruption that may appear on  
the skin. Further direct our spiritual advisers to  
study thy laws of nature as well as the laws of  
Jews, so that they may become better qualified to  
cope with the problems of the world as they present  
themselves.

Yes, my brothers and sisters, this is a really

binding prayer. This prayer should appeal to  
every thinking mind which regards the teachings  
of Christ as principles which must be the basis of  
every human law and custom. From the first  
moment that your party existed, how clear the  
opening of this prayer has been to Socialists—the  
opening of this prayer, the complete understand-  
ing that to really abolish sexual lust, drunken  
excess, murder, stealing, lying and all that we call  
sin, one must go deeper than the surface to find  
and to fight with and destroy these sins. Back of  
these things which we call sins, and which if we  
are right minded, we desire to sweep off of God's  
storehouse, off of the earth, is the underlying  
cause. It is not imperfection in the work of the  
Creator which causes these unnatural actions  
which wreck so much life. The cause is that our  
human laws and conditions are so very contrary to  
the natural laws which the Creator designed to  
rule, and to make harmonious the growth of His  
creation.

"Further direct our spiritual advisers to study  
thy laws of nature." This sentence rings through  
my heart. It is an appeal than which there is  
none more needed, none more full of healing for  
our human sores and eruptions. The remedy lies  
just there—to make the natural laws of God to be  
the laws which rule our modern civilization. It is  
joy to me to speak to you here tonight, here in  
your own house. It is good to open up one's heart  
to men and women as determined as you are to  
cure this social chaos. It makes one joyous indeed  
to address men and women who are as well ad-  
vised as you are on the distance which civilization  
today is from the design of the Creator of this  
wonderful earth. Of this earth, this real miracle,  
which has within it the substance which will sat-  
isfy the needs of all life to the full—of *all* life no  
matter how the quantity of life increases. This  
store-house, which when labor is applied to it,  
yields abundance heaped up and running over to  
satisfy every human desire.

And men are walking the streets of every city in  
the world begging to be allowed to labor. And  
men who never idled, who have labored an average  
of ten hours or more every day, cannot do more  
than barely eat. And women whose faces show  
that they are patterned after the divine image,  
are selling themselves. Men are drowning their  
sorrow in drunkenness; gratifying their sense of  
injustice by murdering; selling their manhood to  
what they know is false.

All these things are happening upon this per-  
fect store-house, and why is it?

The chief reason is that by our human laws and  
customs this store-house is not free for the use of  
labor.

God made the earth before he made man, before  
he made life even. Before the Hebrew language,  
before any language, before the advent of any

prophet, before Christ even, this earth so perfect for the satisfaction of all living desires, was here.

With this perfect store-house, the earth, there were also the laws to control it; to make creation evolve; to insure that the earth should meet the demands of the ever-increasing life upon it.

One of these laws is the law of labor: that to open this store-house, to obtain from this store-house what is needed to satisfy desires, to labor is the key.

This is the law which governed the first human life, along with the law of gravity. This is the law which you, my friends, are endeavoring unturningly to make the law which shall control the civilization of today. This law is the one which it is my burning desire also to see control human society.

That this law of labor may become the law which controls human society today, it needs must be that we must find a means to free for the use of labor, this store-house, the earth. The things which satisfy human needs of every kind cannot be produced by any other means than by the application of labor to land. Our human laws have for generations allowed individuals to own the store-house. Our conditions of today have made it so that there is no more certain way of enjoying without laboring, than by holding parts of this earth, this store-house, out of use; by holding land so that labor cannot use it, or so that labor cannot use it for its most profitable results.

To free this earth, this store-house, for the equal use of every human being is the *first* step that must be taken to do away with those un-God-like conditions called unemployment, white-slavery, and the host of things which we call sin. This is to my mind the most important step for us to take at this time, if we really desire to destroy the sins which are the outward signs merely of the fundamental disease.

And how can this perfect store-house the earth be freed for the equal use of all human beings? This earth, this store-house designed and made by the Creator, this store-house to which the birth of every baby adds a value for using, this store-house to which every discovery of a new force within it which will make the return of labor more abundant, adds a value for using—how shall we free this earth for the equal use of all labor? That is for me the very first question which must be answered, and answered rightly. It is a question, this of freeing the store-house the earth, which you will agree with me is of the first importance; this is a social injustice than which there is no greater, than which there is not one more virulent.

Now I am here to set before you briefly a remedy for this injustice—that individuals should grow rich by holding out of use, or half used, land, without using which, labor can achieve nothing.

To me it is indisputable that the remedy is to take for society by the method directly at hand, taxation, the values which are added to land by the increase of population and the growing improvements in producing wealth (things which satisfy human desires) which labor is discovering and bringing into universal use—to take this value which attaches to all land, and use it for social purposes; and to free from taxes, tariffs and any imposts whatsoever, the things which are produced by labor from land.

Here in Kansas we live under the most absurd law for collecting revenue that there is. There is not one of you here who does not know that the result of the general property tax is that laborers pay nine-tenths of the tax total. There is not one of you that does not know that to tax labor products is to increase the price the consumer has to pay for things produced by labor, wealth. It lessens jobs, it lessens the amount of wealth consumed, it absolutely demoralizes distribution. Meanwhile the steel trust owns land with coal and iron ore beneath it, and holds it out of use. By this means this trust has more laborers desirous to work for it than it has need of. By this means this trust can sell steel rails—everyone here helps pay for them—for a price 33 per cent higher than is necessary to pay everybody wages, good wages for their kind of labor.

My friends, it is my pleasure in this effort that I need not give you any more examples; you are posted on the power of escaping labor given by the ownership of land values. Under the single tax, for which I stand, the steel trust could not hold that coal and iron-ore land out of use; it would not pay to do so. It would be taxed as what it is—mining opportunities. Today it is taxed as pasture land, or as waste land, because the plutocratic trust does not mine it. I am thinking that if the land had to be mined, the trust would be advertising for laborers of every kind. Either that or it would abandon this land, and laborers would organize, as they have successfully done in England, and mine that land themselves, paying to government, and not to any individual, the ground rental—the singletax.

Now a man who describes himself as a grand robber—his name is Joseph Fels—through watching the efforts and lives of sundry men, among them the English Socialist leaders—came to this conclusion: That he was awfully sick of doing nothing but trying to steal legally—these are his own words. He did not care to buy automobiles, or to buy houses like palaces. How on earth was he going to have some fun out of this “swag”? My brothers, I wish I could put it as humorously as he puts it himself; what I have said is an effort to do this, and it is not overdrawn either.

Well, Fels decided that he would spend what he calls his swag, in trying to free God's earth for the equal use of all laborers. He is business, is



Fels, so he determined to try to do this in every civilized country. And, say, the help that Fels's swag, coupled with Fels's business ability, has been to the cause of justice, it would be hard to figure out. His plan is this: For every dollar that Singletaxers or anyone will give to hasten the trial of this method of raising public revenues, he, Fels, gives another dollar. By this means a sum of \$50,000 was raised to fight landlordism in England. And it has done something, too. It has brought it about that the site, the ground which is England, will presently be valued. There has been efforts made to value the site of England by many parliaments; they failed, until the land value men, aided by the Socialist members and the Liberals, passed the now celebrated 1909 budget. Things are mighty bad in England now, so I am advised by the aristocratic press. Maybe they are, but Englishmen are understanding things which they *never* will forget. They know the cleverest way there is for the few to enslave the many who labor. And the Fels Fund, as it is called, was a big factor in bringing this about.

Now the Fels Fund of America is on the same job. Every dollar I can send myself or get others to send, becomes two dollars when it reaches the treasurer of the Fels Fund Commission, which determines where to use it for freeing land. They are getting quite close to Kansas in their efforts. Besides helping to get several counties in Oregon to exempt all labor values from taxation, they are using the Fund to educate the voters of Missouri, so that the Initiative petition to make Local Option or Home Rule in taxation the law under which public revenue shall be collected in Missouri, shall become law at the November election this year.

I am asking you to help the Fund in this work. I am asking you to help the Fund get some of the counties in the State of Oregon to adopt the singletax. Oregon has Local Option or Home Rule in taxation, so they can do this. I am asking you to help the Fels Fund to fight the Interests and to educate the voters so that a majority of them will vote that Home Rule in taxation shall become the way that Missouri raises the funds needed to carry on public business.

I am not asking you for large sums. I know that you have none of you got any graft but a ten-hour day, about. I know that to be a Socialist is to give money in organized and constant fashion for the purpose of increasing and putting in use truth and justice. I am asking that you help us as you can; and that you bear in mind that a nickel becomes a dime, a dime twenty cents, a quarter fifty cents, as soon as it reaches the treasurer of the Fels Fund Commission. I need not tell you that the want of money in Oregon and in Missouri is great, and that success in this project depends largely upon our getting it. You know these things.

My brothers and sisters, I thank you heartily for the opportunity you have so kindly given me. I love this fight to free the land for the use of labor. And as I go around seeking contributions from folk who ask me if I am not fussy, and say there is nothing much wrong with things anyhow, it will be a pleasure to remember that once I spoke to folks all of whom knew that things were and are wrong, and spend their time and effort and money trying, with growing power, to right them.



### THE MOTHER.

Elizabeth Gibson Cheyne in "The Way of the Lord."

There are two mothers in the country where I live—

Another mother, and myself;  
I am the mother of the rich children,  
And the other mother is the mother of the poor children.

I am not jealous of the other mother—

Because my children have everything,  
And hers have nothing.

I am not cruel to her;

I allow her to come and work for me,  
As a nurse, a sewing woman and a charwoman,  
And I pay her as much a day as my own breakfast costs me,

For that should feed and clothe herself and her children handsomely;

I give her my children's clothes,

And sometimes I give her their rejected food,

If their particular pet animals do not need it;

I speak civilly to the other mother, because I am covertly thankful

I am not she,

And because I am afraid that if I spoke otherwise She might strike me or my children.

And demand hers and their share of everything,  
Or steal it when we are not looking.

I think that when people are poor it is their own fault,

And that it is because they are lazy or drunken or both.

It is a shame that I have to pay for the poor children's education,

As it takes all I can afford to send my own children

To the public school and the university.

It is a greater shame that I have to pay for their school dinners and their medical inspection,

As it takes all I can afford to feed my own children on epicures' food,

And send them to the best eye specialists and physicians.

I take all that is given to me and my children.

But I am afraid of pauperizing the poor mother and her children.

I think that she ought also to save up for her old age pension.

One day, when I was explaining these things to  
 her politely,  
 She retorted that it was I who am the pauper:  
 And that her children must go ragged  
 That mine must be smart;  
 That hers must be hungry that mine may be  
 pampered;  
 That hers must die that mine must live.  
 So I told her that she was talking politics, which  
 is not woman's business,  
 And that the Socialists had been perverting her.  
 I shut the door in her face, and gave her no more  
 work  
 Till I could do without her no longer,  
 And had to send for her to come back.  
 She said that some of her children had died in  
 the meantime,  
 As she had had no money to buy food for them.  
 So I said: "That will teach you to keep your  
 place, and not to call me a pauper."  
 Now she comes and cleans my nurseries,  
 And feeds and tends my babies,  
 And makes elaborately embroidered clothes for  
 them;  
 But she says nothing,  
 And I wonder why she is silent.  
 One night I dreamed that I asked her why,  
 And she said:  
 "My dead children are crying to me to kill you,  
 And my living children are crying to me to for-  
 give you,  
 And I have not yet decided which to do."

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## BOOKS

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### JESUS AND SOCIALISM.

**Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus.** By Henry C. Vedder. The Macmillan Co. New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

As a matter of fact the connection between the ethics of Jesus and Socialism is tenuous enough because, in the first place, Jesus lived and taught in a time, and in reaction to an environment, in which neither the status of man nor the social consciousness necessary for the conception of Socialism, were existent; and secondly because Jesus' teachings had reference to the individual alone—his parables of the Kingdom of God within the human soul being the full content of his authentic teaching according to the most scholarly criticism—and therefore Jesus' teachings can only apply to our moral attitude toward our fellow men, and not to any administrative proposal for the expression of that attitude. Jesus could not say, without self-stultification, "Be a Socialist," or "Be a Singletaxer"—although if he ever had committed himself to an administrative creed it would probably have been, "Be an anarchist."

Jesus, consistently with his message, could only say, "Be a doer—but choose the party which you see to be right—not the party which you are told is right."

Such a distinction between the teachings of Jesus which are inspirational and the advocacy of any particular doctrine as being more "moral" than any other, is necessary, for it is a pity that Jesus should be used either to turn anyone into or away from Socialism. As he is generally used to turn people away from Socialism, Dr. Vedder's book will perform a useful function in tilting the balance in the other direction.

While his interpretation of the message of Jesus is too full of debatable points for discussion in a brief review, and while, in the opinion of the reviewer, the question as to what Jesus would have thought of Socialism, had he ever been called upon to pass judgment on it, is pragmatically of no importance for our day, there remains, aside from those points, a mine of valuable knowledge and suggestion between Dr. Vedder's covers. One regrets, however, that having set out to treat his subject historically, and given a chapter to the rather dead subject of political anarchism (whose death is perhaps a necessary prerequisite for the ultimate birth of a real anarchism of freely acting moral agents), he only devotes a paragraph of inept criticism and a few scattering remarks to the ever living subject of the single tax.

Full bibliographies add to the value of the work as a survey of the subject.

LLEWELLYN JONES.



### THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISTS.

**The Ricardian Socialists.** By Esther Lowenthal, Ph. D., Assistant in Economics, Smith College, No. 114 of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. London: P. S. King & Sons. 1911.

A unique essay among the many other valuable ones of this serial publication of Columbia University. It deals with the writings of certain socialists who preceded the communists and were not of the Marxian school, nor yet utopians. They were "scientific" socialists in the scholastic use of that accommodating adjective; and are called "Ricardian Socialists" because they advocated the abolition of private property in the means of production in harmony with Ricardo's theory, which was the "science" of that day. The leaders in this cult, whom Dr. Lowenthal's essay re-introduces, were William Thompson, John Gray, Thomas Hodgskin and John Francis Brey. They wrote between 1820 and 1840. It is interesting to note how the same analytical flaw runs throughout the writings of those early social thinkers, and of Dr. Lowenthal's essay as well. All disregard the truly scientific difference between capitalized labor

products and capitalized land. To label both of them "capital" and treat them as identical is to vitiate all argument which depends for its validity upon a correct observation of totally different things.



**SOCIALISTIC READING.**

**Business the Heart of the Nation.** By Charles Edward Russell. New York. John Lane Company. 1911. Price, \$1.50.

**A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.** By Karl Marx. Translated from the second German edition by N. I. Stone. With an appendix containing Marx's Introduction to the Critique, recently published among His Posthumous Papers. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Company. 1911. Price, \$1.

**Socialistic Fallacies.** By Yves Guyot. New York. Macmillan Company. 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

**Socialism: A Critical Analysis.** By O. D. Skelton, Ph. D., Sir John A. Macdonald Professor of Political Science, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

Charles Edward Russell has the training of a newspaper man, the experience of a magazine writer, and the heart of a democrat. In this book he writes accordingly.

No haphazard guess is Mr. Russell's assertion that "business has become the real ruler of our affairs." It is a conclusion from proof piled upon proof until the reader gasps at the climax. But every intelligent reader recognizes nevertheless the soundness of the proof and its menace to all that has long been held patriotically sacred as "American."

Mr. Russell, however, is unafraid, believing that he sees the way out. He calls the menacing condition "Capitalism"—the businessizing of Privilege,—and just "as serfdom ran its course and gave way to feudalism, and feudalism ran its course and gave way to capitalism," so he regards capitalism as having about run its course to a goal where it must "give way to a system under which the communal interests shall supplant the interests of personal greed and aggrandizement."

The system to which capitalism must in Mr. Russell's view give way is socialism, and for the political vitalizing of socialism he points to a party "already organized, equipped and actively engaged in educational work." In the earlier part of his volume, Mr. Russell suggests little to hope for from already organized and equipped political parties as political parties. He then observes that "parties are not made" but come into being of themselves, evolved from the stress of tremendous conditions," "born out of the people and always from the bottom of the pile," whence "they ascend toward the top and there they are corrupted and finally stifled by the force they

were born to fight." His earlier is probably the truer view of political progress, whether revolutionary or evolutionary.

But it is not to that point that we especially call attention here. Since it is to socialism and the Socialist Party that Mr. Russell's readers are directed for release from the reign of Privilege, there must be those among his readers who would learn somewhat of socialism. For this purpose there is an abundance of socialist literature available, some of it of the tract kind but much of it heady reading; and application to any active socialist will bring an abundant harvest of both—suggestions at any rate. Just at hand, however, we find upon our table the second book among those named above. This is by the father of modern socialism, Karl Marx. Although it preceded his great book "Capital," it sets out the substance of his thought in a little volume that may be of value as an introduction to the later and larger one, or as its substitute except for purposes of minute study.

On the other side, Guyot gives in his "Socialistic Fallacies" a distinctively French and somewhat antique interpretation of the subject. But a better adverse criticism than Guyot's, if one wishes to know the subject rather than to have his prejudices tickled, is Dr. Skelton's, the last of our list.

Dr. Skelton's and Mr. Russell's, the one for a vivid picture of the business conditions that make for socialism, the other for a serious and neither friendly nor unfriendly inquiry into the origin and qualities of socialism, go well together. Without regard to whether or not they would convert a reader to socialism, it may be safely said that they would at least make him competent to discuss it with a reasonable degree of intelligence.

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**PERIODICALS**

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**Everybody's.**

What the Singletax is, how and why men like U'Ren and Hill, Fels and Kiefer and White, are working for it through the Initiative and Referendum, is told with enthusiastic breeziness by Frank Parker Stockbridge in *Everybody's* for April. Most excellent photographs of some of the leaders in the Singletax movement illustrate the text. Any Singletaxer will fail a soul-warming glow of satisfaction who misses the article, and it seems very well fitted also to interest him to whom it is really addressed—the general reader.

A. L. G.



**The Spanish Singletaxer.**

The Spanish Singletaxer for March opens with an "Introduction to the Study of Political Economy," by Henry George. Next comes the concluding article on the "Fight Against Tuberculosis," by Dr. Felix

Vitale of Montevideo, Uruguay. Then follows a translation by F. Amayo Rubio, of an article entitled "The Re-establishment and New Interpretation of Liberalism," by Alex. Mackendrick, who states that "liberalism does not signify equality or fraternity, but simply means liberty, limited only by the liberty of others. . . . Monopoly is the antithesis and enemy of liberty." There also appears a translation of a letter from Mr. Joseph Fels dated Boston, July, 1911, addressed to "All Charity Associations." The number concludes with some maxims of political economy.

C. L. LOGAN.

### Bodenreform.

How the new Imperial Increment Tax is working in Germany is hinted at in the returns for the last four months of 1911 from a few suburbs of Berlin, as given in Bodenreform for February 5. This tax has during this third of a year added to the income of five of these towns taken together—Mariendorf, Schmargendorf, Steglitz, Britz and Grunewald—a total of 384,900 marks (\$96,225). Of this, the Empire takes one-half and the local governments receive the other, a sum which it can easily be seen will in each community "help to unburden honorable toil and improve living conditions." On another page in the same issue of Bodenreform is an interesting table of real estate assessments in the towns of Greater Berlin. Almost all of these municipalities tax unimproved land at a higher rate—twice higher in many cases—than improved. Berlin proper is one of the few which does not value and tax improvements and land separately. Several towns will raise their rate on real estate in 1912, and among them is Schöneberg, which in addition to this general higher rate will impose a special rate higher still on all unimproved real estate in either of two locations that railroad stations and the new city park make more desirable.

A. L. G.

### The Singletax Debated in the Swedish Parliament.

From Snallposten (Gothenburg) just to hand we learn that the Singletax question has been under debate in the second chamber of the Swedish Riksdag. The discussion seems to have been lively while it lasted, especially because of the misunderstanding of the subject which some of the participants displayed. It seems politicians the world over will try to learn and understand anything under the sun except the main subject of their calling, political economy. The fight was over a resolution introduced by a Representative, Mr. K. Lindhagen (Mayor of the city of Stockholm), calling on the government for a "speedy and thorough investigation of the land value question, and the presentation to the Riksdag of such bills as this tax question primarily calls for." The committee had reported adversely, and the discussion ended by voting the proposition down and out. So the cat will have to come back and is sure enough to do so. Both the Snallposten and the Budkavlen criticise Mr. Lindhagen mildly for not arguing the case more strongly and fighting for it harder, but to an outsider this hardly seems fair, considering that he is a Socialist, who believes, as he stated it before the previous Riksdag, that

"land values can be separated into two parts: One is that which the owner has produced himself by his labor, the other is produced through society without any labor or expense of the land owner." One would rather think Mr. Lindhagen acted very nobly in consenting to present and plead the case of a party not of his own faith; and that the Swedish Singletaxers had better learn how to plead and fight for their case themselves, since they now have members of their own cult in the Riksdag.

S. T.



The Red Knight sat down on the river's edge and broke out crying. He wept so bitterly that Alice felt sorry for him. She came back to where he sat and said, "I'm awfully sorry. I didn't mean to hurt your feelings." But the Red Knight only went on weeping.

"Please, do stop crying," said Alice. "Take out your handkerchief and wipe your eyes; come now."

"I can't," said the Red Knight. "I had my handkerchief in my hat, and my hat is in the ring," and he sobbed as if his heart would break.

So Alice took out her own handkerchief and wiped

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his streaming eyes, but still he would not stop. So, to quiet him, she said, "But you said you were good at arithmetic."

"Oh, I am," said the Red Knight, and his face grew quite radiant. "Have you ever figured out how many Governors have come out for me?"

"No," said Alice.

"Well," said the Red Knight, "there's the Governor of New Hampshire, and the Governor of West Virginia, that makes two; and the Governor of New Hampshire, that makes—"

"But you counted the Governor of New Hampshire," said Alice.

"Only once," said the Red Knight. "People say

that the Governor of New Hampshire is of two minds about me—that means twice, doesn't it?"

"Does it?" said Alice.

"Of course it does," said the Red Knight. "Then there is Kansas, which makes five, and Nebraska, which makes eleven, and California, which makes twenty-four, and New Mexico, which makes thirty-seven out of a total of forty-eight Governors."

"I don't see how you figure that out at all," said Alice.

"I do it by long addition," said the Red Knight.—The New York Nation of March 28.



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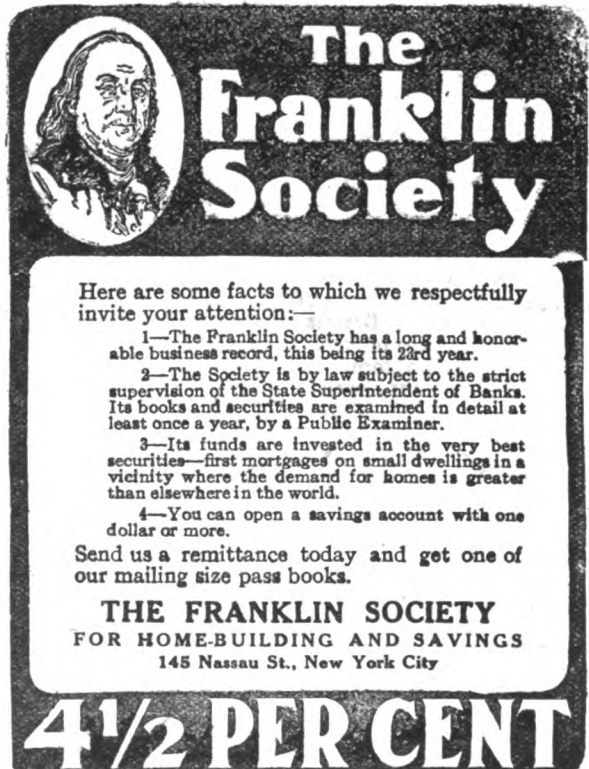
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