

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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Brummagem Patriots.

The "patriotic" arguments for breaking our treaty obligations with reference to the Panama Canal must have been borrowed from a Canadian humorist. When consulted about the kind of arguments to use in the support of the Tory Party, he replied: "Don't argue; wave the flag!"



The Colorado Governorship.

One of the candidates for Governor of Colorado is Thomas J. Tynan. As warden of the Colorado penitentiary, Mr. Tynan has achieved nation-wide fame for his humane administration of that institution. It has been an efficient administration, too—efficient because humane. This is one good reason for electing Mr. Tynan chief administrator of the State; but it is not the only one that will appeal to the democratic Democrats of Colorado.



Roosevelt's Stands.

No one can deny that Theodore Roosevelt stands for many things besides himself. Most of us will heartily agree, also, that many of the things he stands for are good things. But aren't most of his stands "one-night stands"?



Roosevelt and His Party.

Progressive Party folk who distrust Roosevelt—and they are pretty numerous among the better informed—insist that their party should be con-

sidered on its merits, apart from the accident of its principal nominee. They are right. There is, to be sure, the obtrusive fact that in every practical aspect, and in the view of Roosevelt and his personal supporters as well as in the estimation of the general public of all party shades, Roosevelt is the Progressive Party. Yet it is true that in theory the party should be considered without reference to its candidate and simply upon its own claims as a political organization.



The Progressive Party.

Considered apart from its principal candidate's characteristics and career, the Progressive Party's appeal is attractive to the progressive spirit. But its demands, unless they can be secured without a new party can hardly be secured at all. If they are too weak in public opinion to win against hostile influences in existing parties, they are probably too weak in public opinion to serve in the manufacture of a new party. The progressive spirit, however, is a spirit of impatience. Unless it were it might not be progressive. And in this country its impatience turns to the manufacture of new parties instinctively.



Let an American get a new political thought, and, presto! he turns it into a new political party right before your eyes—if he can. It may not be helped, but it is a great waste. The energy spent in organizing new parties in the United States since the Civil War—parties that were futile except for agitation, and uneconomical for that, both in energy and time—could long ago have given progressivism complete control of one of the established parties and driven plutocracy into the other. May it not be this impatience of the progressive mind, rather than its progressivism, to which the Progressive Party's appeal is so alluring just now?



Here is a new party, let us say, which goes farther in favor of one's favorite ideals of progress than either of the established parties, and why shouldn't one go to it? The answer might be that the test of a political party is not alone what it declares for, but also what it can do. Appropriate efficiency, no less than good words and good intent, is as necessary a quality of political parties, *as such*, as it is of individual men and women in their several occupations. So the question of going over into the Progressive Party—considered apart from the characteristics and career of its spectacular candidate—necessarily involves consideration of its probable voting

strength; not in August, either, but in November. To "vote right" regardless of how others vote is not enough. No one votes right, if at a critical election and because the procession hasn't yet caught up to him, he "flocks alone." If overdone, this kind of voting may help to side-track the procession so that it may never catch up.



Such considerations, however, are at this time of less moment to progressive Republicans than to progressive Democrats. As the former are only beginning to break party ties, the Progressive Party is to them, and rightly, an inviting refuge. But progressive Democrats are differently situated. There is no "bolt" in their party, nor any present occasion for one. After struggling devotedly for sixteen years to democratize the Democratic party, they find it now almost everywhere committed to almost everything of progressive value that the Progressive Party declares for, and without the Progressive Party's paternalistic flavoring. Is this a fit time, then, for progressive Democrats to abandon the Democratic party to its plutocratic remnants? Shall democratic Democrats, at this turn of the tide, help re-elect Taft, or help throw the election into the House, by taking from Wilson a counterpoise for the votes that Roosevelt takes from Taft? Or shall they restrain the impatience of their progressivism until they can see whether, on the one hand, they really are in control of the Democratic party, and this party of the country; or, on the other hand, if disappointed in either respect, whether the Progressive Party is politically capable and permanent and essentially democratic, or only a temporary "bolt" from the Republican Party?



Commercialized Police Powers.

Attempts to make Mayor Gaynor responsible for the recent police-graft murder in New York must seem queer to the man who remembers his "little old New York." The argument runs like this: Mayor Gaynor forbade arrests on sight by the police for illegal liquor selling; the police said to themselves, "We get you," and then began commercializing prostitution, gambling, etc., as well as liquor selling. "Then began!" Bless the innocents who say so. Gambling and prostitution have been commercialized by the police of New York since time whereof the memory of policemen runneth not to the contrary.



Darrow's Acquittal.

The acquittal of Clarence S. Darrow at Los Angeles is an event to be glad of, quite apart from

anyone's sympathies regarding the circumstances out of which his indictment came. Criminal proceedings prosecuted with less public spirit than those in which he was entangled, it would be difficult to recall. The McNamara crime was indefensible and horrible, but methods used in prosecuting it and in disposing of it were better calculated to make crime than to discourage crime. Though Darrow had been found guilty in this aftermath of the McNamara case, and even if he had been guilty, it is by no means certain that persons interested in prosecuting him would not have deserved conviction more than he.



A Gruesome Warning to Young Girls—Especially Black Ones.

By operation of Virginia law, the action of a Virginia jury, and the non-action of the Governor of Virginia, a human life was taken last week in Richmond officially, and of course deliberately. It was the life of a woman—a mere girl, hardly more than a child. Her life was taken because she had killed her mistress, though not deliberately. Doubtless everyone would like to believe—but isn't it somewhat difficult?—that the official killing of this girl of less than seventeen was not because she happened to be of the servant class and black, and the person she killed of the mistress class and white, but for some reason more consistent with even-handed justice. Would a white girl of seventeen or less and not of the servant class be officially killed anywhere for any crime?



Farmers and Taxation.

Reasons have for sometime been cropping up to indicate that the traditional hostility of farmers to the Singletax is not in all instances attributable to misapprehension. Some farmers have seemed to understand quite clearly that the Singletax, while a good thing for the farming business, would be a bad thing for speculation in farming land. Such of these as either make money, or hope to make money, not out of farming but out of higher prices per acre for farms, have reason to be averse to the Singletax. But that such farmers are not farmers was pretty clearly shown in a recent issue of Carlson's Breeders' Review.



It seems that Carlson's Review—we are quoting from the editorial page of the Chicago Record-Herald of July 11, 1912,—was not satisfied with the higher credit ratings that farmers have been getting. So it set on foot an investigation which showed that this agricultural prosperity is due,

not to profits from farming, but to profits resulting from speculation in land. As the Breeders' Review is a Nebraska publication, it confined its specific inquiries to Nebraska, but it declared that the same conditions prevail in the United States as a whole. "If from the total farm production of the United States we deduct the cost of labor, farm management and interest on the investment," says the Breeders' Review, "we will find the balance on the wrong side of the account. It will not be necessary to charge the crop with the upkeep of the farm, seed grain, feed for work-animals, breaking of tools and machinery, labor of the family, insurance and a score of other necessary costs, in order to show a loss." Prosperity among farmers is then traced to men who are "good judges of property values," and to their speculative, not their farming, abilities. The value of farming land has increased enormously, the Review explains, adding, what is doubtless true, that farm land "is already too high in price from the standpoint of what it is now producing."



It is not from production but from land speculation that farmers get rich. But when they get rich in that way they usually retire to town or city, leaving tenants or "hands" to do the producing, while they themselves take ground rents in higher rent from tenants, or lower wages to "hands," or through some subtle process of "higher cost of living" for both, and then make the welkin ring with outcries against the Singletax because "it will hurt the farmer." Some farmers can prosper in this way; but as landlords and not as farmers. The Singletax would surely weed them out. But they are few at best. Their interest is not the tenant farmer's interest. Their interest is not the farm "hand's" interest. Their interest is not the interest of farmers who own and work their farms, and make their money, if they make any, by being good producers of food stuffs instead of "good judges of property values." It is "a long shot" for working farmers to get money out of increase in the value of their acreage. "Farmers" who succeed at that game are not of the working kind, as a rule, except as they "work" others.



Further in the course of its investigation mentioned above, Carlson's Breeders' Review says of Nebraska that "it would not be a difficult matter to double the per acre yield throughout the State," by "better seed, better tillage of the soil, better cultivation, more fertility, less waste from insects and the present system of marketing, and more

and better live stock." No doubt this is approximately as true anywhere as in Nebraska. But suppose it were done. How much better off would farm "hands" be? How much better off would farm tenants be after their leases expired? And farm owners, what about them? Would they be better off or worse off if they paid increased taxes on all their larger product, as tax laws now require, or only on the raw land value of their farms as the Singletax would require? As the Breeders' Review says, "farming in the United States will never be generally profitable until" farmers "know the difference between profits resulting from actual production and the margins of a speculation." But when farmers know this difference, no farmer who farms a farm will be averse to the Singletax. Every working farmer then will know that taxation of land values means taxation of land monopoly, and that exemption from taxes on production means exemption of farming from all taxation.

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LAISSEZ-FAIRE.

In considering concrete applications of abstract principles, one is sometimes tempted to doubt the principle because of failures in the application. Still, George's answer to Garrison, when the latter questioned the efficacy of the Singletax as a panacea for all social ills, "Nor do I believe it a panacea, but freedom is," should lend us heart.

A particular application of liberty may be followed by bad results. A particular denial of liberty may be followed by good results. But if a full and careful analysis be made, it will still be found that the good results were due somehow to liberty, and the bad to tyranny.



When the principle of laissez-faire was pounded, a wave of enthusiasm swept over the world. Many thought the economic problem had been solved. But somehow it would not stay solved.

England established free trade; but poverty persisted, and business depression followed prosperity.

And then, as though that were not enough to give the lie to liberty, Germany began her tariff orgy. She protected everybody, by turns. She taxed farmers for the benefit of manufacturers, then manufacturers for the benefit of farmers, and then both for the benefit of sailors. And strange to say, her restrictive legislation was followed by as remarkable results as was England's policy of freedom.

What was the reason?

Was the principle of laissez-faire wrong? Or had there been a mistake in the application?



The laissez-faire doctrine, liberally interpreted, embraces two points:

- (1) Clear the way.
- (2) Let alone.

The Manchester school succeeded in getting the government to let trade alone, but it would not clear the way.

By removing restraints upon trade, the wealth of England was increased to a marvelous degree; but that wealth, instead of going to the people in general, went to the particular persons who owned the land upon which Englishmen worked, and out of which they got their materials. Wages increased but little; but incomes from land—whether from factory sites, city lots, or mining rights—increased beyond all precedent.

In Germany, the reverse was true. That is, the restrictions placed upon trade were followed by an increase of business, an advance in wages, and a raising of the standard of living.

Does this mean that freedom has been found wanting? that the following after liberty is a vain pursuit?

By no means. A careful analysis of German conditions will make the reason of their apparent success as plain as the failure in England.



Germany was peculiarly conditioned. The youngest of western nations, and the least influenced by Roman thought and customs, her people had retained in largest degree their primitive individuality, and their inherent virility.

This tremendous latent force was quickened into life by the scourgings of commercial restrictions; just as the same force in England was quickened by freedom.

Bounties wrung from farmers will stimulate manufactures; and manufacturers in their turn can contribute to the prosperity of farmers; while both together may aid the shipping. But let no one suppose for a moment that this process can be carried on indefinitely.

Just as the dishonest bookkeeper who covers a shortage in one account by borrowing from another, and balances the second shortage by still further borrowing, must fail in the end, so must the nation fail that seeks prosperity by taxing one industry to stimulate another.



Lest apparent facts lead us to doubt a cherished principle, let the real facts be borne in mind.

The benefits of English free trade have been absorbed by English land owners; but when the principle involved in the Lloyd-George Budget shall have been carried to its logical conclusion, the benefits that heretofore have been intercepted by the landowners will be distributed among the workers.

So Germany, when she had completed the circle of special privilege exploitation, and was on the point of inevitable decline, turned to the taxation of ground rent. Thus there are two forces at work in the German Empire: (1) Commercial restriction, which must lead ultimately to business stagnation; and (2) the taxing of the unearned increment of land, which with equal certainty will lead, if perceptively pursued, to permanent prosperity.

It is peculiarly providential that Germany should have turned to the taxation of rent at the very moment when she had reached the limit of expansion by the exploitation of special privileges. But for that, her decline would have been as dramatic as her rise. Her remarkable progress has been in spite of commercial restrictions; its continuance will depend upon the taking of ground rent for public use, and the freeing of industry from the burden of double taxation.

Were it necessary to choose between a protective tariff and the taxation of ground rent, on the one hand, and free trade and the taxation of industry but without taxation of ground rent, on the other, the former were far preferable.

German conditions, so far from disproving the doctrine of laissez-faire, may be destined to establish its validity.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

CONDENSED EDITORIALS

THE NEW PARTY.

Louis F. Post, in the Chicago Daily Press of Aug. 10.

The first new party of staying qualities and national size in fifty years, seems to have come. No other was national in size; and although all came to stay, none stayed.

There was the Greenback Party. It won elections in a few States, and then petered out—"Benbutlered" out, as folks said.

Then the Populists. They also won in spots; and though they still have a committee for their party, there is no party for their committee.

Labor parties also there were in those historic fifty years, but they were short-lived and their successes few and local.

There is still a Socialist Party—two of them. But the Socialist vote, 5 per cent, gives poor promise of size, however long the stay. This party doesn't set up to be a new party, either; it sets up to be a new nation.

Since the days, then, of Fremont, when the Republican party was born, no new party with staying qualities has come into American politics until now—if it has now.

Ex-President Roosevelt says, "Let there be a new party of staying qualities and national size!" and, lo! there seems to be one.

This party has more "higher-ups" in its leadership than any other since 1856. Even ex-President Van Buren, who led a new party before that, hadn't the support of such leaders from old parties as ex-President Roosevelt has.

But is Roosevelt's Party here to stay?

Only political prophets can answer that question, now. And political prophecy usually springs from wishes more than knowledges.

Nevertheless, this new party has a tremendous meaning with reference to democracy.

Not party democracy, but fundamental democracy. The democracy of principle. The democracy of the Declaration of Independence, where it says that "all men are created equal." And not that this new party stands up straight for democratic principle. It does not—not straight.

Yet it has tremendous meaning with reference to democracy. It is a product of democracy. As bread (poor, good, better or best) is a product of yeast working in flour, so this party is a product of democracy working in American politics.

It may prove to be the product for our country and generation.

Or it may not. It may be dog-day politics and wither with the frost.

Whether it does or no, here is a bit of advice about it. The advice of a clear-headed American democrat of principle, it is as good now as when he uttered it: "How you vote doesn't make much difference, but how you think does; for if you think right, you will vote right."



WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE.

Newton D. Baker, Mayor of Cleveland, in The Woman Voter for August.

Ohio women should vote because Ohio is now recognized as one of the most progressive States in the American Union. Its legislation is beginning to represent the real vital interests of its people. This can never be fully realized until all of its people participate in making and approving its laws. This is not a man's government, but a people's government; and as nature has made emotional and intellectual differences among people, that aggregate of the public conscience and intelligence which is the basis of all sound law ought to include the varying opinions and feelings of all the people.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

REACTIONARY NEW HAMPSHIRE.*

East Jaffrey, N. H.

The sixth New Hampshire Constitutional Convention passed into history when it finally adjourned at 11 o'clock on Saturday, June 22. Although the

*See Public of June 23, page 609.

State has been classed as Progressive for the past few years owing to the efforts of Winston Churchill, Gov. Bass and others, yet sufficient attention was not given to the nomination of delegates, and the Convention was largely composed of reactionaries.

Edwin F. Jones, of Manchester, law partner of U. S. Sen. Burnham and of counsel for the great Amoskeag Company, was chosen President, and the leaders of those who thought the Constitution needed little "tinkering" were former Attorney-General E. G. Eastman of Exeter, Judge Mitchell of the Superior Court, Hon. James O. Lyford, naval officer of the Port of Boston, and Judge J. M. Barton of Newport, chairman of the Republican State committee. The Convention was composed of 409 members, there being at least one from each town, consequently there were a large number who had not studied contemporary politics sufficiently to realize the necessity for radical improvement in the organic law. Couple to this the fact that delegates were nominated under the old caucus system and not under the direct primary, and it will be understood why the Convention was chiefly composed of "best" citizens who were perfectly satisfied with things as they are.

The first pitched battle occurred over a resolution of my own, which provided for the Referendum on measures passed and rejected by the legislature, the legislative Referendum, and the submission of Constitutional amendments by the legislature and by the Initiative, and which was championed by Allen Hollis of Concord, R. B. Stevens of Landaff (respectively counsel and assistant counsel of the new Public Service Commission), R. B. Wolf, a Progressive Republican from Berlin, H. G. Dean, of Danbury, F. P. Hobbs of Wolfeboro, and myself.

From the opening of the Convention meetings were held every morning and afternoon by the supporters of the measure, which were attended by many delegates seeking information, and the evening previous to the discussion in Convention, Prof. Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard addressed the delegates on the subject at a public meeting. The matter was warmly debated all one day, and when late in the afternoon it came to vote, after the method of making Constitutional amendments had been sacrificed, the result was 177 against, to 157 in favor. In the meantime another I. & R. measure had been introduced to fall back upon, if necessary, embodying the straight Oregon plan; and the margin of defeat being so narrow, it was decided to make another fight.

Meanwhile, the matter of taxation had begun to forge to the front. New Hampshire still labors under the Constitutional provision of "proportionality" in the matter, but the Tax Commission in its last report had recommended that this word be stricken out, leaving the matter entirely with the legislature.

Before the opening of the Convention, however, they evidently had a change of heart; for the secretary of the commission, a delegate, introduced proposed amendments opening the door to classification of growing wood and timber, and intangibles, and nothing else. Mr. Stevens also introduced a resolution providing that the whole question of taxa-

tion be left with the legislature, the only restriction being that it should be "reasonable." This proposition was discussed at some length and found considerable favor, the second week closing with a growing sentiment in favor of the I. & R. and the Stevens amendment.

Over Sunday the forces of Privilege "got busy," and worked as only they know how to do; and when the delegates returned for the third week, they were greeted with a front-page "ad." in the principal State daily, calling their attention to the fact that both the I. & R. and the Stevens amendment were inimical to the great property interests of the State, and that certain large financial enterprises under contemplation must be held in abeyance if these revolutionary projects were submitted by the Convention. In addition, several leading attorneys of these interests were in evidence about the Convention.

On being put to vote the Stevens proposition was defeated 231 to 95, while the next day the second I. & R. resolution met its Waterloo by 227 to 133.

The Equal Suffrage advocates had previous to the Convention done an enormous amount of work in promoting public opinion, and before the assembling of the delegates had pledges of support from over 150; but the great Amoskeag Company, which employs nearly 16,000 operatives, and of course many children among them, evidently feared that "votes for women" might interfere with dividends from their mills. They threw the weight of their influence against the amendment, with the result that it was lost, 208 to 149.

Prof. Updyke of the Civics department of Dartmouth College, and a delegate, prepared and introduced several propositions looking toward the Short Ballot. All met the same fate: a unanimously unfavorable report from the committee to which they were referred, a fight being made in behalf of only one, and this so hopeless that only a voice vote was taken upon it.

An effort was made to submit an amendment for a different method of submitting Constitutional amendments, New Hampshire being restricted to a convention for that purpose; but the vote against the change was decisive, 189 to 65.

The Recall and Home Rule for cities were killed without even a requiem being sung over their remains.

The net result of the Convention was the submission of twelve amendments, all of them good, but, as Roosevelt says of Taft, they are "good feebly." They include an increase in the Senate from 24 to 36, with the districts divided on a basis of population instead of property; a decrease of the House of Representatives from 495 to 340; allowing the legislature to impose a graded inheritance tax, a tax on the incomes of public service corporations in lieu of a direct tax, and to classify wood and timber and money at interest for taxation and to impose

an income tax on foreign corporations (thus making such a conglomeration of Constitutional provisions as will cause legislators and courts many sleepless nights in years to come); to eliminate the word "Protestant" from the Constitution; to allow the disfranchisement of voters for violation of election laws; providing for the choice of State officers by pluralities instead of majorities; allowing pensions to be granted for more than one year at a time; extending the jurisdiction of police courts; and allowing the Governor to veto separate items in appropriation bills.

These are to be voted upon at the November election, and each must receive two-thirds of the votes cast upon it to be adopted.

During the Convention one of the Boston papers alluded to the Convention as a "joke." To the writer it seemed more as though the reactionaries were sitting on the safety-valve of a boiler which is liable to explode at any time, as has been the case at Lawrence, San Diego and elsewhere. The direct results, viewed from the Progressive stand-point, are the education which all the delegates, and through them the citizens, have received regarding these matters, the closer association of Progressives, and the prospective formation of a Voters' League which is to undertake the enlightenment of the voters on the records of candidates and matters of public policy.

GEORGE H. DUNCAN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

FARMERS AND TAXATION.

Cleveland, Ohio.

One of the chief stumbling blocks to a scientific method of levying taxes lies in the antagonism of the farmer. At least I have found this to be so here in Ohio. In my work in the recent Ohio constitutional convention, many of the farmer members, intelligent on general topics, showed not only their antagonism to the Singletax but showed me what I think the trouble is, not so much trouble with the farmer as with those of us who are trying to make some headway toward proper methods of levying taxes.

In assessing city property the law in Ohio, and the law or custom in most States, provides that the value of the site and the value of the improvements, that is, the structures, shall be assessed separately. The same law holds good in the country, with the result that all land is assessed at so much an acre, and the buildings are assessed separately. Don't you see that when you appraise land in the country at so much an acre, just as land in the city is appraised at so much a foot, there unconsciously arises the notion that the factors that contribute to the value of the acre are the same as contribute to the value of the foot?

Therefore, the farmer, when he considers "putting all the taxes on the land," just naturally kicks. And when Singletaxers say they don't intend to levy all the taxes on land but on "land values," he just as naturally doesn't know what they are talking about.

An explanation of just what is meant by land values can be understood, but "How are you going to get at the land values?" is the question he next asks; and because it is not done anywhere, except in the cities, where there is pure site value upon the land area, he shrugs his shoulders, and the inertia continues.

The remedy that I propose is, not a change in taxation laws—not yet. Change the assessment laws so that all site value shall be assessed by itself, as is now done in the cities; assess separately all labor value, where it seems to be a part of the land value as in the case of farms; and assess improvements separately as we do now. Not until we begin at this lowest rung of assessment shall we make easy headway toward a solution of the tax problem now agitating the people. Not until some program of this sort is carried out, will it be possible for the farmer to analyze his farm values. When he can do that easily it will not be any more difficult for the farmer to understand the injustice of taxing him upon what he does than in the case of the city man.

This program does not require amendment of Constitutions nor any change in tax laws. It simply requires a change in the law providing for the assessment. And such a change is no more a Singletax move than is the rule for the separation of the assessment of land from improvements.

The Singletax can not come in Ohio until the majority of the farmers know what it is and what it will do for them; and they can not know under present methods of assessing farm property. When their values are analyzed for them upon their tax bills, the movement toward the Singletax will take on force of itself.

E. W. DOTY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 20, 1912.

Graduated Land Value Taxation in Oregon.

Under the auspices of the Graduated Specific Tax and Exemption League of Oregon (225 Worcester Building, Portland) an Initiated amendment for the Constitution of that State will be voted on by the people at the election next November. This amendment provides for—

(1) Graduated taxes, in addition to regular and special levies, on owners of railroad or other franchise and right-of-way values amounting to more than \$10,000 in any county.

(2) Graduated taxes, in addition to regular and special levies, on owners of water-power-values and raw land or community-made-land-values amounting to more than \$10,000 in any county.

(3) Exempting all personal property and improvements from taxes, except when the people of a county vote to tax personal property and improvements.

(4) Changing the State Board of Tax Commissioners so that it shall consist of the Governor, the State Treasurer and the Secretary of State.

To prevent tax-dodging, any conveyance of this taxable property to a "dummy" to evade the tax makes the "dummy" its absolute owner, and any such conveyance to a corporation or fictitious person forfeits the property to the irreducible school fund.



This graduated land-value tax would, in addition to all other taxes, rise at the rate of 25 cents per \$100 on land worth \$10,100 or more and up to \$20,000; then at the rate of 50 cents, up to \$30,000; and similarly at the rate of 75 cents up to \$40,000, of \$1 up to \$50,000, of \$1.25 up to \$60,000, \$1.50 up to \$70,000, \$1.75 up to \$80,000, \$2 up to \$90,000, \$2.50 up to \$100,000. Thus for illustrated example:*

Land Value.	Tax rate per additional \$100.	Total Tax.
\$ 1,000	\$.00	\$ 0.00
5,000 .....	.00	.00
10,000 .....	.00	.00
10,100 .....	.25	.25
10,200 .....	.25	.50
10,500 .....	.25	1.25
11,000 .....	.25	2.50
12,000 .....	.25	5.00
15,000 .....	.25	12.50
20,000 .....	.25	25.00
20,500 .....	.50	27.50
25,500 .....	.50	52.50
35,500 .....	.75	116.25
45,500	1.00	205.00
55,500	1.25	318.75
65,500	1.50	457.50
75,500	1.75	621.25
85,500	2.00	810.00
95,500	2.50	1,037.50
100,000	2.50	1,050.00
105,500	3.00	1,215.00
1,000,000	3.00	26,835.00



The receipts from this proposed land value tax in each county are to be applied (1) to the share of the county for State revenues; (2) to the county school and library fund; (3) to the county road and bridge fund; (4) to other county expenses, and (5) for any public purpose approved by the voters of the county. Its payment does not exempt any of the property values so taxed from the regular and special tax levies of the taxing district in which the property lies.

*To make this table complete, there must be a separate item in the first column for each additional \$100 of land value; opposite each additional item of land value there must then be put in the second column the rate of tax for each \$10,000-value group; and in the third column there must be computation of the tax on each of those additional items of value, at the appropriate rate per \$100 for each \$10,000-value group. In this illustrative table all items of value between \$1,000 and \$5,000, between \$10,200 and \$10,500, between \$10,500 and \$11,000, between \$11,000 and \$12,000, etc., etc., are omitted to save space. But with the examples given, any one can compute the proposed tax for any item of land value that may be subject to it.

Opening of Singletax Campaign in Missouri.

The St. Louis papers of last week report a conference there of Missouri representatives of the movement for the gradual abolition in that State of taxes on business, farming, real estate improvements and other industrial operations and equipment, and the substitution of taxes on values of land monopoly and other public privileges. [See current volume, page 659.]



The St. Louis Republic of the 12th, in the course of its report of this meeting, said that—

representatives of the Joseph Fels fund for the promotion of Singletax legislation in the United States, yesterday assured representatives of the Equitable Taxation League of Missouri of financial assistance in the League's campaign this fall to have a Singletax amendment voted. . . . They declared that the eyes of the whole nation are on Missouri in the Singletax fight and that it is the first concerted, serious effort to enact a law of the kind. . . . A similar contest will be fought in Oregon, but the outcome affects but three counties. The Fels representatives appeared enthusiastic over the work already done by the League and immediately approved the advancement of a large sum of money to finance the fight with a promise to give dollar for dollar from the Fels Fund for all the financial aid elicited by the League. The Equitable Taxation League today will launch its active campaign for votes on the amendment at the November election, and towards this end has obtained speakers and printed an enormous amount of literature for use throughout the State. A compendium, which applies to 80,000 voters in St. Louis, showing just how much will be saved to certain men and whom the new scheme of taxes will affect, has been prepared for use in the local campaign. It is planned to duplicate this chart for the counties so that the gains or losses of every property holder or laborer in the State by the new arrangement may be demonstrated quickly. In the tour of the State for signers for the Initiative petition which has placed the amendment on the ballot, a Singletax propaganda was carried on and encouraging support was promised by the small land owners and laborers, it is said. Almost a united support is expected for the amendment from the Socialists of the State, while local labor and civic organizations have considered it favorably. The amendment, if carried, it is said, will mean the death of land speculation and will make land improvement compulsory. It will cause the improvement of 16,000,000 acres of vacant land in the State, the advocates assert, because taxes only will be levied on absolute land values and franchises and certain liquor and kindred levies. The Business Men's League is considering the amendment, and the committee of the Civic League has made a report on the matter, which is so pleasing to the Equitable Taxation League people that it is being used for campaign literature. . . . The amendment movement is being fought by the Anti-Singletax League and the Land Owners' Protective Association, both organizations of Kansas City. The Fels assistance,

it is said, was all that was needed to make the tax amendment the big issue of the coming election.



The report of the Globe-Democrat was as follows:

At two meetings yesterday of members of the Equitable Taxation League of Missouri at Hotel Jefferson and the League's headquarters in the Times Building, plans were outlined for an active campaign this fall in behalf of the two amendments on the ballot for the adoption of the Singletax idea. One amendment proposes all taxes shall be levied on land values and franchises, to be in full force by 1916. The second asks a permanent tax commission to be appointed by the governor. Dr. William Preston Hill is president and S. L. Moser, secretary of the League. Officers of the Joseph Fels Fund of America attended both sessions. They were: Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati, president; George W. Briggs of Elkhart, Ind., member of the executive board, and A. B. du Pont of Cleveland, treasurer. William Marion Reedy, Messrs. Black and Whipple, workers for the Singletax of Kansas City, were present. The work of the League was approved by the officers of the Fels fund. They offered the Missouri workers a goodly fund at once to prevent delay in opening the campaign. The League has obtained 30,000 signatures as required by law to place amendments on the ballots. The Fels fund was established by Joseph Fels to forward the Singletax idea. The founder agrees to duplicate every dollar raised by the Singletax organizations and it is said this now amounts to about \$300,000 a year. In addition to an immediate donation, yesterday's visitors promised to increase the donation as campaign needs require it. It was said yesterday interest in the success of the amendments is increasing, particularly in farming districts and among members of labor organizations. Socialists also have proffered aid. The campaign will invade every Congressional district and county.



Progress Toward the Singletax in Texas.

The tax commissioner of Houston, J. J. PastORIZA, makes this report upon the effect of partial exemption from taxation by that city of personal property and improvements upon land:

In the first six months of 1912 there were 219 more buildings erected than in the first six months of 1911, and the value of these buildings erected in 1912 amounted to three times the value of the buildings erected in 1911, which goes to show that the partial exemption of improvements and personal property from taxation had the effect to stimulate the building industry. It also has the effect to increase the number of land sales without depreciating the price of land. So that it appears that the assessing of land at seventy per cent on the dollar of its full value and taxing it for city purposes at the rate of one and one-half per cent on the dollar or \$15 on the \$1,000 value in addition to the State tax of \$8.60 per \$1,000 valuation, will not affect the selling price of land, but will stimulate its sale at an advanced price. This makes a tax rate of two and twenty-three one-hundredths (2.23) per cent on a seventy (70) per cent valuation

of land and a twenty-five per cent valuation of improvements. In 1911 the assessment of the land values of Houston, Texas, were increased twenty-five per cent over former assessments. At the beginning of 1912 land values were equalized and all land was assessed at about seventy per cent of its fair selling value, which in most cases was its speculative value. All personal property in the hands of individuals, such as money, furniture and other household effects, was totally exempted from taxes. Buildings and other improvements upon land and machinery of manufacturers were assessed at twenty-five per cent of their productive value. Franchises of public service corporations were assessed for the first time in Houston; the assessed value of the franchises of the various corporations amounting to \$1,799,900. A former charge for building permits was repealed. In fact, there was more done to relieve industry from taxation in Houston, Texas, during 1912 than has been done in any other city in the United States up to date.

[See current volume, pages 298, 578.]



Influenced by the experience of Houston, Beaumont has taken initial steps similar to those with which Houston began this reform, namely by the adoption of the Somers system of land valuation. Land-monopoly interests were quick to oppose the movement, as they have been in other places, their first step being an application for an injunction on the ground that the appraisal company using the Somers system usurps official powers. But the court decided otherwise and dissolved the injunction. Meanwhile the City Council had ordered a tax-payers' referendum. This referendum came to vote on the 6th, and notwithstanding vigorous campaigning by the land monopolists they polled only 71 votes against 501 for the immediate use of the Somers system. The work of valuation by the Somers system in Beaumont is therefore proceeding.



The Singletax in Canada.

In reply to inquiries made by E. F. Allen of Kansas City, Mo., the following letter of June 1, from F. S. Watson, of Watson & Company, real estate agents at Edmonton, Alberta, explains the tax reform in operation there:

The Singletax system has been in operation here for the past five years, and I would say that it gives entire satisfaction. I have yet to meet the business man who is opposed to it as it is working out here. At first we had a business tax extra, little different from that in the States. That is to say, so much per square foot, the amount varying for different lines of business. This has now been done away with and all taxes put on land. The only other taxes we have are a few licenses such as dog license, milk license and carters' license, and other lines of business which require special regulations.

At the last session of the Provincial parliament, they adopted an act putting the whole Province under Singletax. I will send you a copy of this act as soon as I can get it. A number of fair sized cities

and towns in the Province have adopted the system, and I inclose a little paper from Toronto which shows the movement in Vancouver and Victoria and also in Ontario, although the present Premier, a Conservative, is opposed to it.

You will notice that a petition is in from all the cities and towns, and also practically all trade unions and other bodies have applied for it. I have no doubt that if it were put to vote it would carry.

[See vol. xiii, pp. 1086, 1193, 1227; vol. xiv, pp. 197, 233.]

Presidential Vetoes.

President Taft vetoed the steel-tariff bill on the 14th, giving as his reason therefor that it provides for revenue only and takes no account of protection. He explained also that the bill affects not only the iron and steel industry but 59 allied industries. On the 14th the bill was passed over the President's veto, which is still before the Senate. The vote over-riding the veto in the House was 173 to 83, Republicans to the number of 61 being absent and 16 of those present voting with the majority. [See current volume, page 754.]

By 174 to 80 (21 Republicans voting with the majority) the wool tariff bill was passed over the President's veto on the 13th. The veto is still before the Senate. [See current volume, page 778.]

The President's veto of the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill, on the ground that it menaced the merit system by fixing a seven-year term for classified civil service employes, was sustained by the House on the 15th. The vote, although 153 to 107 against the veto, lacked the necessary two-thirds.

The Cotton Tariff.

On the 14th the Senate passed the House cotton-tariff bill by 36 to 19, but with an amendment repealing all of the Canadian reciprocity act except its free print-paper provisions. La Follette's substitute, drawn by the Tariff Board, was defeated by 46 to 14. [See vol. xiv, pp. 803, 876, 993, 1001, 1028; current volume page 539.]

A Parcel Post.

As the post office appropriation bill passed the Senate on the 13th, it contained provisions for a parcel post system, in different form, however, from those adopted by the House. When the bill came back to the House, Congressman Lewis of Maryland secured a modification, similar to the Bourne plan in the Senate, and on the 16th the bill went to conference committee of the two Houses. The Lewis plan provides for mailing parcels not exceeding 15 pounds in weight, 100 miles or anywhere in the county of mailing, for

5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound; to points outside of this local zone, 6 cents for the first and 2 cents for each additional pound for the first 150 miles and an additional 1 cent for each additional 150 miles; no charge for any distance to exceed 12 cents a pound, and the present rate for four ounces or less to be retained. The Lewis plan calls for a board of three experts to operate the system, and for a joint committee of three from each House to investigate further the feasibility of a general parcel post and report at the next session of Congress. The measure as it came back from the Senate had been referred to conference on the 15th, but through a technical blunder Congressman Mann (Republican) was able to move on the 16th that the House accept the Bourne plan. Thereupon the Lewis plan was substituted by the Democrats by 143 to 86. [See vol. viii, pp. 131, 152; vol. ix, p. 1066; vol. x, p. 771; vol. xiv, pp. 124, 1223; current volume, page 723.]

The Battleship Question in Congress.

When the question of constructing battleships came up in the House on the 17th, raised by the Senate's amendment to the naval appropriation bill, Congressman Foss (Republican) moved to authorize the construction of two. His motion was lost, by 79 to 150, but several members crossed party lines in the vote. The Democrats who voted for the increase from none to two, against the decision of the Democratic caucus compromising on one, were Murray and Curley of Massachusetts, Hammill and Kinkead of New Jersey, Lee of Pennsylvania, Mayer of New York, O'Shaughnessy of Rhode Island and Reilly of Connecticut. The Republicans who voted against the increase were Anthony, Campbell, Jackson and Young of Kansas; Bartholdt of Missouri; Davis, Lindberg and Steinerson of Minnesota; Helgeson of North Dakota; McKinley of Illinois, Mondell of Wyoming; Norris of Nebraska; Parran of Maryland; J. M. C. Smith and Wedemeyer of Michigan; Switzer and Willis of Ohio. The bill went to conference and came out with provisions for only one battleship. It was finally adopted by the Senate on the 19th and by the House on the 20th. [See current volume, page 722.]

Panama-Canal Tolls Question.

An agreement by conference committee on the Panama Canal administration bill was reported on the 14th, under which American ships engaged in foreign trade are required to pay tolls like all other foreign vessels, so that the bill as it came back to the two Houses from the conference provides as follows:

Free passage for American ships engaged in coast-wise trade.

American registry for American-owned foreign-built ships engaged exclusively in foreign trade.

No tariff on foreign ship-building materials for use in this country.

Trust-owned ships prohibited from the canal.

Railroads prohibited from owning competing water way lines operating "through the canal or elsewhere," when such ownership is detrimental to the public welfare.

Interstate Commerce Commission authorized to investigate ownership of water lines by railways and sanction it where it is beneficial.

One-man government for Panama Canal and zone. The Senate adopted the conference report on the 16th by 48 to 18. On that day the House adjourned in the midst of a strong fight against the report, but passed it on the 17th. It is now before the President. [See current volume, page 778.]



President Taft sent a message on the subject to Congress on the 19th, in which, while he does not say he will veto the bill because of the provision exempting American vessels engaged in the coastwise trade from toll charges, he leaves it uncertain as to whether he will or not if Congress fails to follow his recommendation that a provision be inserted declaring that—nothing contained in the bill shall be deemed to repeal any provision of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, or to affect the judicial construction thereof, or in any wise to impair any rights or privileges which have been or may be acquired by any foreign nation under the treaties of the United States relative to tolls or other charges for the passage of vessels through the Panama Canal, and that when any alien, whether natural person, partnership company or corporation, considers that the charging of tolls or the enforcement of any other regulation under and pursuant to the provisions of this act violates in any way such treaty rights or privileges, such alien shall have the right to bring an action against the United States for a redress of the injury which he considers himself to have suffered, and the District Courts of the United States are hereby given jurisdiction to hear and determine such cases and to decree the appropriate relief, and from the decision of such District Courts there shall be an appeal by either party to the action to the Supreme Court of the United States.



Federal Investigation of Labor Questions.

A Labor investigation bill, of which Senator Borah is the sponsor, was adopted by the Senate on the 15th. It provides for a commission of nine persons to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, with full powers of investigation along the following lines:

General condition of labor in the principal industries, especially in those carried on in corporate forms; existing relations between employers and employes; effect of industrial conditions on public welfare, and the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; conditions of sanitation and safety of employes and provisions for protecting their lives,

limbs and health; growth of associations of employes and wage earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employes; methods tried in any State or foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employers and employes; methods for avoiding or adjusting labor disputes through peaceful and conciliatory mediation and negotiations; scope, methods and resources of existing bureaus of labor and possible ways of increasing their usefulness; smuggling or other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its Insular possessions; and the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation.

The Commission is to make its final report in three years from the enactment of the law.



Reactionary Executions in China.

Fears of the sincerity of the republican professions of Yuan Kai Shi, expressed at the time he was elected President of the new Chinese Republic last February, seem not to have been unfounded. Reports have come during the past week in regard to the execution of several generals of southern China, concerned in the opening of the late revolution at Hankow, and belonging to the more radical group of new China, headed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. It is asserted that the generals were seized by order of President Yuan Shi Kai on the charge of being implicated in an alleged conspiracy against the Peking government; and that two were tried by drumhead court-martial at Peking and shot, while others were sent to Hankow in chains and there executed. The number of officers thus dealt with is not given. Upon dissemination of the news a great outcry rose throughout China, as a result of which Yuan Shi Kai is trying to fasten the blame on the Vice-President, Li Yuen Hung, and, fearing assassination, is surrounding himself with troops. [See current volume, pages 178, 706, 708, 709.]



After a stormy meeting on the 19th the National Assembly, sitting in Peking, resolved by a vote of 52 to 11 to petition President Yuan Shi Kai for a further explanation of the evidence on which General Chang Chen Wu and General Aeng Wei were seized and summarily executed. The petition set forth five of the charges which the government alleged in a manifesto had been proved, and then added rebutting comment. The Assembly requested President Yuan to answer within three days, and said that if his reply were unsatisfactory it would summon him to explain in person. If his personal explanation should prove unsatisfactory, the petition added, the House would impeach President Yuan or the whole Chinese government.



Upon learning of the executions Dr. Sun Yat Sen, radical leader and former provisional Presi-

dent of China, disregarding the warnings of friends who feared for his safety, left Shanghai on the 18th for Peking. General Huang Sing, who commanded the southern republican army during the revolution, and who first intended to accompany Dr. Sen, abandoned the journey because of its risks.

NEWS NOTES

—The Union of Canadian Municipalities is to hold its annual convention at Windsor, Ontario, on the 27th, 28th and 29th.

—The National Federation of Catholic Societies began its annual convention at Louisville on the 18th. [See vol. xiv, p. 876.]

—Jules Emile Frederic Massenet, musical composer, died at his home in Paris on the 13th, at the age of 70. Among Massenet's operas were *Manon*, *Le Cid* and *Thais*.

—General William Booth, the founder with his wife, the late Catharine M. Booth, of the Salvation Army, died at his home near London on the 20th, at the age of 83.

—Virginia Christian, a Negro girl less than 17 years of age, was killed by electricity at Richmond, on the 17th, under the laws of Virginia. Gov. Mann refused a deluge of appeals for mercy.

—Signatures to a woman suffrage petition under the public policy Initiative of Illinois are in circulation with a view to securing a vote at the coming election. [See current volume, page 397.]

—The National Negro Business League, of which Booker T. Washington is president, will hold its 13th annual session on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd, at the Institutional Church, 3825 Dearborn Street, Chicago. [See vol. xiii, p. 805.]

—Horace Howard Furness, Shakespearian scholar and author, died at his home near Philadelphia on the 13th, in the 79th year of his age. Dr. Furness' collection of Shakespeare material was probably the best private collection in existence.

—Friel Allen, one of the mountaineers charged with complicity in the Hillsville Court House murders, pleaded guilty to murder in the second degree on the 14th and was sentenced to eighteen years in the penitentiary. [See current volume, page 733.]

—The Orozco insurrectos in northern Mexico evacuated the city of Juarez on the 15th. A citizens' vigilance committee took charge of the city until the Federal troops should arrive. A victory over the Zapata insurrectos in southern Mexico was reported from Treinta on the 15th. [See current volume, page 780.]

—Mulai Youssef was proclaimed Sultan of Morocco on the 14th, in succession to his brother, Mulai Hafid, who had abdicated, as reported last week. The tribes in the Spanish zone in Morocco refuse to acknowledge the new Sultan, who is the creature of the French protectorate. A pretender to the throne, El Hiba, has appeared, and his support has proved sufficiently strong to have forced the French troops

to abandon one town. [See current volume, page 780.]

—Earthquakes continue in the vicinity of the region where Turkey in Asia and Turkey in Europe are closely opposite each other. The fatalities caused by the first severe shock on the 8th are now reckoned at 3,000 instead of 1,000. [See current volume, page 779.]

—An ultimatum presented to the Chicago traction companies on the 17th by the employes' committee having been rejected, the joint committee of the employes voted on the 18th to appeal to Mayor Harrison. They charge that the companies are acting in bad faith. [See current volume, page 779.]

—After a trial at Los Angeles, lasting nearly three months, Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago was promptly acquitted on the 17th upon an indictment charging him with attempted bribery of a juror in the case of the McNamara brothers whom he defended as principal counsel last year. [See current volume, page 491.]

—The age-long revolt of the Albanians in western Turkey in Europe is once more aflame. The permanence and bitterness of this revolt rests upon the fact that the Albanians are Christians under Mohammedan rule, and massacres of non-combatants are a hideous feature of this almost continuous war. The destruction of villages on both sides is reported in connection with the present uprising, which is located on the southern border of Montenegro. [See current volume, page 733.]

—Berrien county, Mich., including Niles, St. Joseph and Benton Harbor, was swept by the worst storm in its history, on the 17th and 18th. Fourteen inches of rain fell in less than 23 hours. Dams and bridges were swept away, and hundreds of acres of farm land flooded. The damage is put at \$1,000,000. A few deaths from lightning were reported. The storm seems to have had the peculiar torrential character shown so widely in the United States this summer, in all latitudes. [See current volume, page 733.]

—Dr. Montague R. Levenson, noted in connection with anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, anti-imperialism, the Singletax, woman suffrage and other reform agitations, and Miss Ethel Mary Charlton, one time principal of a girls' high school at Tamworth, England, were married at Nice last spring. After attending the Anti-Vaccination Congress at Hamburg from the 5th to the 8th of September, they intend coming to New York, Dr. Levenson's home, where he expects to complete his "Atlas of Vaccinal Pathology" for publication in France.

—The bombardment of Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, by the revolutionary generals, Mena and Zeledon, which began on the 11th, as reported last week, continued four days and ended with a victory for the defenders of the city. The government forces lost 14 men killed and 125 wounded. The insurgent casualties are estimated at between 400 and 500 killed and wounded. In addition a number of non-combatants, including women and children, lost their lives during the shelling of the city. An important feature of the government's strength was the co-operation of American marines, some of whom were sent up from the coast for the protection of American lives and property before the bombardment be-

gan, receiving re-inforcement later. [See current volume, page 780.]

—The one-hundredth anniversary of the Fort Dearborn massacre was commemorated at Chicago on the 15th, the closing exercises being at the Chicago Historical Society, where Nathan William MacChesney delivered the address. In the morning at the commemorative monument, 18th Street and the Lake Shore, the address was by Thomas Dent, president of the Historical Society.

—An itemized statement of all moneys received for the McNamara defense and from whom, as well as a statement showing amounts paid out and to whom, has been issued from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor at Washington. The total receipts being \$236,105.25 and expenses \$227,911.85, a balance of \$8,193.40 remains in the possession of Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, of the future disposition of which he announces his intention of making a statement. [See vol. xiv, p. 469; current volume, page 338.]

PRESS OPINIONS

So Mote It Be.

The Chicago Tribune (Progressive Party), August 16.—The Peoria Star has closed a lease of an office building for ninety-nine years, and Editor Baldwin undoubtedly will be on hand to renew it at the end of that time.



Roosevelt's Gymnastical Faith.

Springfield Republican (ind.), Aug. 15.—In this sort of business Mr. Roosevelt is entirely without an equal. He violently denounces certain views today; he jubilantly presents them as his own tomorrow. There is nothing wrong in it, of course. Why shouldn't a man change his mind? We all do; only Mr. Roosevelt seems to outdo everyone else in doing it.



The Singletax Campaign in Missouri.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem.-Dem.), Aug. 13.—The campaign for the Singletax amendment to the constitution of Missouri grows in intensity as the crucial day draws near and apparently its fate rests with the farmers. The opposition seems to have abandoned hope of defeating it in the larger centers, nearly all hostile effort being directed toward the rural vote, on the assumption that farmers can be more easily befogged regarding the effect of the proposed amendment than merchants, manufacturers and working men.



Taxation Home Rule in California.

(San Francisco) Coast Seamen's Journal (Labor), July 17.—Home rule in taxation involves the fundamentals of government. Generally speaking, a government is just about as good or as bad as its method of raising money—that is, its method of taxation. The proposed Amendment will not establish any particular system of taxation; it will merely

grant the citizens in each county the right to say for themselves how they shall be taxed. This is a proposition that is unassailable upon grounds of equity. The State may say how much money the people of each county shall pay, but it may not in common justice say that they shall be limited to any particular method of raising the money. With the single restriction (already provided in the Constitution) that the system of taxation shall not be confiscatory, the people of each county should have the right to say for themselves how they shall raise their respective contributions to the State's funds.



Land Value Taxation in Australia.

The Yorkshire (England) Observer (Lib.), July 5.—Advocates of the taxation of land values will be greatly encouraged by the success of the Australian land tax, as shown by the first report of the Commissioner. . . . As to its financial results, its promoters . . . expected a revenue of \$5,000,000 the first year; \$7,500,000 is the amount realized. Within nine months of the operation of the tax, estates valued at more than \$90,000,000 were sub-divided, and ready purchasers were found at good prices. The evil which the Act sought to remedy was generally admitted. Readers may remember a series of articles published in these columns some two years ago, giving the experiences of a group of Yorkshire emigrants in West Australia. They described how they traveled out to the back-blocks past miles on miles of fertile land close to the railway, land which any settler with a little capital would be glad to take up. It was nowhere denied that land was so held out of cultivation by speculators, but it was urged that the extent of the evil had been much exaggerated. The Commissioner's report is a sufficient answer.



Winning by Losing.

The Chicago Daily Press (ind.), Aug. 17.—There is nothing comical or unworthy of respect in the national convention of the Populist party in St. Louis. True, it consisted of only eight men. True, they represent few votes, and those the remnant of a party rather than the vanguard of one. But we take off our hat to those eight immittigable middle-of-the-rovers. They are men of a mighty stock, the rear guard of a wonderful march, the stragglers of a splendid army. They and their dauntless brood of lone fighters have conquered us all. We have stolen their thunder. We have accepted their political economy. We have emblazoned their slogans on our banners. We used to crack jokes about their whickers and cast slurs on their sanity. But one by one the things that were Populistic we have adopted as our convictions and called them "progressive." The Bull Moose party is marching under mottoes to which the Populists rallied a quarter of a century ago. The Democrats voted for a platform which might have been adopted in the Ocala convention. The Prohibitionists are as populistic as either of these. The Socialists only go a little farther along the same road. And even the standpat declarations of the Republican party this year, if examined, will be found to contain planks of Populistic origin. Therefore, all honor to the stubborn and almost irreducible minimum of the survivors of the greatest

teaching force ever embodied in a political party in America! All honor to the last group of eight! We who have learned of them salute them! Let them go their solitary way. They represent a glorious victory, wrought out of unvarying defeat.



The Chicago Daily Tribune (Progressive Party), August 16.—Eight loyal members of the grand army left! But these are not all that are left. Look through the platforms of the surviving parties and of the new party, State platforms, national platforms. Look, too, into the statutes of not a few States. There you will find many of the once derided "populisms," many of the proposals harried up and down the land by conservative ridicule. No longer sockless and bewhiskered, no longer breathing blood, populism no longer populism. Now it is received in the best political society, is bowed to respectfully, even if with hostility, in the public ways and sits in some States clothed with authority. Causes sometimes live by dying.



British Progress in Land Value Taxation.

The (London and Manchester) Daily News and Leader (Lib.), July 27.—The existing tax system, both for local and Imperial purposes, so far as it affects land, is undoubtedly a monumental injustice between individual and individual and a gigantic social evil. There will not be a new heaven and a new earth when it is put right, but there will be a notable advance to a healthier and more rational society. Many modes of reform can be suggested, but the foundation of all must be to make land values and not the buildings upon land the basis of land taxation. To charge the buildings as we do now is to penalize capital and enterprise, and make neglectful and wasteful ownership a privileged excuse for exemption. The taxation of land values must apply to agricultural not less than to urban land, for the evils of the present system are at least as strongly felt in the country as in the towns. One part of the reform should be the transference from local to national account of costly services like education and police and roads, which are essentially national in character. But the radical change must be the transference of taxation from improvements to land values; and the Budget's valuation register will supply the instrument for carrying through the transference.



One-Term Dangers.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Progressive Party), August 19.—When Senator Bailey gets busy in favor of anything, it is time to take another look at it. Let us examine the effect which a single six-year term would have on the human nature that is in Presidents as well as in other people. Each President would know that no matter how well he served the people during his single term, the people could not reward him afterward. He could expect no more from them. But if he served the Plutocracy during his single term, the Plutocracy could reward him afterward. He could expect much more from it. Senators like Bailey and Spooner, when their political careers are finished, have only to take the train to New York to find soft places waiting for them, rich

practices in corporation law. If the interests can do as much for Senators, of whom there are ninety-six at a time, what could they do for Presidents, of whom there are one at a time? Under the one-term system, many Presidents would be found who, because their hearts were pure, would serve the people faithfully. But insofar as the one-term plan touched upon the human nature in Presidents, it would tend to draw them from the popular to the Plutocratic side of things.



Farmers and the Single Tax.

(Minneapolis) Farm Stock and Home (farming interests), August 15.—There is no reason for fear on the part of the farmer that his interests will suffer. In fact the reverse is likely to be true, and he is apt to find after a fair trial of the Singletax that he would not wish to go back to the present system. Put in the simplest form possible the Singletax provides that all taxes shall be levied on the bare land, exclusive of improvements. Thus, if a man has a half section farm with a good set of buildings upon it he is taxed no more than the man who holds in idleness a half section adjoining. In other words, he is not taxed because he has been industrious, but because he holds for his own private use a certain part of the soil. If the man whose land lies idle objects that he cannot afford to pay the tax, the answer is that society cannot afford to have him hold out of use a half section of land needed by the community, which creates the value of the land to which he holds title. Every community has at least one example of such idle land enriching its owner without his raising his hand to help the neighborhood. It is the barns and houses and schools and tilled fields about him that have made his acres valuable, and the Singletax proposition is that society has a right to that which it has created—in other words, that it will not allow him to enrich himself at the expense of his hard-working neighbors. By taking the net profits on land as a tax the Singletaxers would drive the speculator into land cultivation or out of the land-holding business altogether. As a matter of fact the common practice throughout the country districts leans toward the Singletax idea. The writer knows whole townships where the absentee owner is taxed "all the traffic will bear," and where the assessment on live stock, buildings, and other property is cut to as low a point as possible. This is a recognition of the working principle of the Singletax. And it has as an object the use of the land by resident farmers. Rather than working a detriment to the agricultural interests of the country F., S. & H. believes that a just application of the direct tax on land values would largely improve farm conditions by forcing into use the idle lands now held for speculative purposes—lands that ordinarily do not bear any fair proportion of the tax burden, and directly in the degree to which a man was a farmer and not a land speculator such a tax would benefit rather than harm him.



Mrs. Fidget: "What's that noise I hear down in the library?"

Mr. Fidget: "Must be the history repeating itself. Go to sleep."—Puck.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE EXPOSITION.

Richard Wightman in *The American Magazine*.

She and I went to it, the Big Fair.
 We were the whole Attendance.
 It was all under one roof which was called The Sky.
 Every day this was rebued by invisible brushes, gloriously,
 And at night all lit by countless lights, star-shaped,
 And arranged curiously in the form of Dippers and things.

It must have cost a fortune in some kind of rare coin
 To do it that way.

By day the place was vast and very beautiful.
 The far edge of it, all around, was called the Horizon.
 Each morning, out of the East,

A huge golden disk came
 And swung itself slowly up along the arch of the sky-roof

And settled to the Westward, leaving numerous glories behind.

There was a water-place there, a Lake, with an Inlet and an Outlet.

It was not little and brown like those you see in Madison Square Garden,

But big and blue and clean.
 We splashed ourselves in it and laughed, like children.

The Lake had trout in it;
 I saw them leap when the water was still
 And the golden disk was falling.
 I looked around for a Don't sign
 But there was none,
 So I took a hook and caught some
 And She cooked them, for I had built a fire.
 (You see one could do almost anything there that one liked.

There were no Rules.)
 And there was a Spring, which kept filling itself and filling itself from somewhere,
 And spilling itself over its brim into the Lake,
 As if it were not a bit afraid there wouldn't be any more.

The Spring was clear and cold,
 And we knelt by it and saw ourselves in it,
 And sucked its water through our lips.
 There were also real trees, beeches and birches,
 And sometimes a real wind swayed them
 And their leaves made a sound
 Like the song of soft voices, blended.
 Pines there were, too, and balsams,
 But they were very still and dignified
 And never bent much even when the wind was in them.

(We rented our cot from the balsams—
 The one we slept on the nights we were there.
 And, oh, such sleep!)
 And hills! you should have seen them!
 Each was different from the others,
 An individual, but together they made a Range
 With a wavy top-line against the sky-roof.

And we climbed the hills and lost our breath,
 And on their crests stood long,
 And looked out over wooded valleys
 Threaded by satin streams.
 It was better for our eyes than an oculist's shop.
 Then, up there, we would sit down on the moss-cushions, She and I,
 And hum some old tunes, some very old tunes,
 And be quietly happy—
 A sort of happiness that didn't seem to need anything
 Outside of itself.
 We didn't see the Manager at all,
 But there must have been one around there somewhere
 To arrange all this and look after it.
 And we didn't pay anything to get in;
 Our hearts invited us.



THE DRAMA OF THE LITTORAL.

VI. The Diver's Joys.

This morning the waves are not too impetuous to forbid a dive among them from the cliff's lower shelf, though watchers on the brink above, who note the crashing attacks more than the ample intervals between, try to deter from the venture.

Climbing down over slanting slabs harsh with mussel-shells and barnacles, and clinging to the walls by their slippery, odorous tussocks of black-green weed, the diver waits, with compressed lips and brief tension at the breast, till a climax wave has foamed out its energy and left an inviting cradle of tilting calm, when a decisive plunge and a few broad strokes carry him into the safety of the apple-green swells, to hear with impunity the hoarse tumult of the next breaker behind him.

Landing on the ledge at the return requires more circumspection, for the swimmer must wait within striking-distance till a wave of lesser power approaches, then, as he hastens shoreward, time his arrival to its foaming ascent on which he depends to lift him bodily and set him on his feet on the granite platform.

Let him beware the embrace of the receding flood, for if it drag him down the rock again, it will not spare his flesh laceration of the knife-edge barnacles; but if he win safe footing, he will know exultation from the dandling power of the water that has conveyed him like a babe, and its mill-race retreat between his firmly-braced legs.

VII. The Wheels of Foam.

Out where the storm-rack drags loose tatters of its crape along the pale buff horizon sky, the sea in the sidelong light presents a sharply roughened surface of metallic black.

There can be no diving from the cliffs today, for below the turgid masses of cloud the breakers assault the jutting crags as if riding over them rough-shod with whirling white tires.

Before a comber reaches the ledges, with its whole might poised for the plunge, often a portion of its sharp crest will crisp over in a minor col-

lapse, with the sound of an intaken breath through shut teeth, leaving the reserve of sustained wrath in the rushing bulk beneath all the more vivid to the sense.

VIII. The Tide-Line.

Ah, for skill to convey the significance of the tide-line along the rocks when the ebb has bared them!

It is a stupendous ruling along the shores of the continent by the apparently wayward yet steady-handed deep, as by some adept artist whose almost playful abandon of execution rests upon arduous patience and precision of technique.

It is the tan-mark of the coast's muscular shoulders from which the blue vesture of the sea has been for a few hours rolled back.

Here the granite slopes that lie below the line are crusted thick with buff barnacle shells like the hull of a ship exposed for cleaning in a drydock.

Here again they are heavily hung with weed, that fringes the line like a shaggy beard beneath lips compressed in indomitable resolve, and glistens with superb somber hues of bronze-green, madder and coffee-brown.

And at intervals a volatile swirl of foam from a heavier wave ascends across the mark, and cascades from the rock-face in sibilant siphon jets of liquid snow, startling the pale-breasted sandpipers from their dainty pecking among the exposed fucus and sending them flying oceanward again, shrilly protesting.

IX. The Submarine Jungle.

No wanderer in African or Indian wilds could make a more startling discovery than this submarine wilderness of gorgon-lock seaweeds below the cliff's ledge at the seabrink, where I came only to watch the passing of the August afternoon on the swaying azure deep.

The low-slanting sunrays that illumine the tide-swept growths glimmer through their grim wild-wood and the sea they enclose, swart walnut-brown; I cannot express the shrinking amazement of gazing in!—It is an ocean jungle, a submerged tropic everglade of leaping, writhing straps and serpentine tentacles, lusting for the grasp of some living thing to ensnare and suffocate!

Lithe and swift as adders dart the glutinous thongs in the hollows of the waves as they curve to their breaking; and out beyond and beyond is ever the same gruesome life without life, sheltering the cold being of crustacea and fish, and seeming to beckon avidly to glowing flesh only to strangle and turn it livid and chill like all in its glooming lower world.

I feel as though I had been given a terrifying glimpse of Medusa's locks in the blue depths of Perseus' lustrous mirror.

X. The Salt Meadows.

In brilliant sunshine after rain, the salt meadows below the electric railway trestle spread

to superb distances of almost metallic green, merging into a golden bloom of haze, with glittering-scaled, serpentine inlets from the sea penetrating deep into the emerald plain.

A heron leaps into flight at the car's passage, and the breeze is sumptuously laden with perfumes of all this primal vigor and saline nudity of the littoral kingdom.

XI. The Gray Morning.

Lax, fish-cold fog adheres to the steely sea toward the horizon.

At the cliff's base the constant turmoil of broken waters has cast to the surface a brownish, clotted barm, that floats as a superposed layer on the white, horse-sweat froth.

And when a wave lifts this to the wind it is whipt away in chaffy flecks, vividly realizing the prophet's simile of the King of Samaria, "cut off like foam upon the water."

XII. Homeric Hues of the Sea.

This is one of the "endless summer evenings on the lineless, level floors," that Kipling watched on the English Channel.

The sun has left the lower ledges of the shore now in shadow, where the swirling tide in the coves, too deep for foam, is of somber indigo dye.

But a hundred feet out, where a solitary, enormous head of rock protrudes, as of some saurian bearded to the eyes with fucus and harshly armored with mussel-shells, the late sun-shafts still linger on the waters that surge about the savage jaws. In this light itself abides an evanescent pink glow that paints the foam with delicate luster, while the body of the waves beneath reveals the true Greek wine-color of the deep,—a regal purple as from grapes rich in violet stain.

And this wine is all living and sparkling, and lifts from its profound heart what glory of mingled sapphire and ruby hues to answer the lingering brilliance of departing day!

But was ever such foam on mortal beverage as here mantles in dazzling purity of tinted snow, till it overflows the brims of the granite beakers and rushes lavishly to waste on the darkening tides beyond the sun's accolade?

And now toward the horizon the majestic arc of pale-blue, waveless sea is suffused with the rosy flush, where the sprinkled sails become lenses to focus its splendor, and the white pharos shaft on its sea-girt island far from shore glows ruddy as a monument for martyrs, across the placid azure leagues.

XIII. Red Moonrise.

The first lift of the moon's rim above the sea's horizon might be the prow of some glowing scarlet warship, and when the full sphere is free of the water it casts a lurid trail down the waves as from wild fire.

About the base of the cliffs the breakers crash as in flight, with pallid cheeks and foam-lips

tinged crimson from the distant flare, and the wreathing whirlpools of their collapse gleaming like turbulent wine-vats.

With the moon higher, and its hot rose cooled to silver, the waves that rear themselves in its flashing wake cast portentous shadows before them, while the cross-ridges, hurled back by the cliffs and sliding over the new lines of advance, might be the entangled lengths of hose in a city street at a midnight fire, or the heaped coils of giant pythons in combat.

In the swaying hollows scarfs of foam lie like drifts of freshly-fallen powder of snow across a burnished crust, and ever rises the odor of brine in heavy breath of dampness from the lustrous confusion.

XIV. The Moonlit Reef.

The full moon lays its magic silver brilliance far along the gentian-blue sea of twilight and on every shoreward swell that enters lagoons of the reef left bare by low tide.

Against the outer scarp of the rocky barrier the breakers shatter with low-voiced booming and fling snowy manes into the delicate moonshine.

The evening wind brings the thick smell of brine and weed from over the brown desert of exposed rubble, and faintly against the bass of the surf sounds the melancholy, clear cheeping of sand-pipers.

ELIOT WHITE.



LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 10. The Outcast Woman.

For The Public.

It was late Saturday night, and a young man but recently from a farm was walking along the streets of old-time San Francisco; the hour was well past midnight. He had the fortunate heritages of tremendous health, clean up-bringing, and plain, honorable ancestry on both sides; he was making friends and a place for himself in the great city. But on this night he was calmly studying "the seamy side of life."

He noticed a disturbance across the street. Several waiters were persuading a stylish, elderly and too-convivial man, with his young woman companion, to enter a carriage. Suddenly came a gentle touch upon his arm; a girl spoke: "Come home with me."

He looked at her in such an uncomprehending way that she flushed under powder and rouge. She pulled harder at his arm.

"You are the greenest man I ever met! Have a good time, and give me a dollar or two," she said. "You might treat me to some supper first. I am awfully hungry. There's my room rent besides, or maybe I wouldn't have spoken."

The youth noted her soiled and tawdry cloth-

ing, her thin, worn-out shoes, her hardened face, her hoarse and broken voice, her piteous and terrible eyes. He thought of his own sisters and girl friends in far-off city and country places, asleep in love, innocence and protection. Into the sorrow and horror of this sudden Vision of Death, his soul fell; he asked himself: "Why are such things as this permitted by the Creator?" What he said was: "If my mother were here, she would take you to supper, right across the street. So come along."

A couple of reporters whom he knew were having oysters and ale there; he thought it might be well to speak to them. So, after he had made the outcast woman comfortable, he left her. In fact, he wanted to get away, for it hurt him to see how wolfishly hungry she was.

They were reporters of a fine and indeed unusual type. One was that lovable Harry Bigelow, whose name still remains as a glorious tradition of inside newspaper circles. Both were good judges of men and of motives; both had guessed with more or less accuracy that the youth had something more on his mind than the mere giving of a meal to an outcast. They knew him well enough to do so; they went straight to the problem, as they saw it.

"What you are trying to do," said one, "is Quixotic."

"It's lunacy!" said the other. "You bring her in here; you hang up her cloak; you treat her in all respects like one of your uptown friends. At present you are welcome in the best private circles of San Francisco, but if this gets around—it won't from us—you will be cut dead. That girl is bright enough. She might have made an extra fine woman. But she is clear down and out; she's notorious. She once tried to kill the man who ruined her."

The youth colored, and looked toward the other reporter, who was especially dear to his soul.

"It's true," said Harry Bigelow. "Everybody knows about her; a country girl once. But you can't be seen publicly with her. Go over and say good night. Give her all the money you can spare. Take this, too!" He emptied his purse on the table; it was a way that reporter had.

All three looked across the room. The girl paid no attention; she was still devouring her meal.

The youth hesitated, crossed the Rubicon, became a serious-eyed man as at one stroke.

"I guess you must let me go my own foolish way, boys," he said. "That poor thing has come to grief. She's awfully battered up. Men did it,—men, and our social system. But she and I, and you, besides, are really raft-mates. We must not be cannibals."

"Good-by, Don Quixote!" they told him. "Hope you won't be sorry."

Then he went back to the problem before him, drank some coffee, talked to her about pleasant

country places until her face softened, put on her cloak, and started out with her.

The restaurant proprietor took his money and then called him a trifle aside. "Don't bring that woman here again."

"How about the drunken man and woman your waiters put in a carriage awhile ago?" said the wrathful young man. "Were they much better?"

"Clear out!" the irate proprietor shouted. "I haven't any finer customers than those two."

The girl caught on, of course; the iron mask again fell on her face; she dropped the young man's arm at the door.

"Thank you, sir! Good-by."

He stopped her with a compelling and protecting gesture. "Not at all! I shall see you home."

Without a further word they went together to a horrible lodging house on the Barbary Coast. It was 2 o'clock Sunday morning. A drunken woman was piloting a drunken sailor up the stairs. A tigerish creature opened a wicket above a railing. She demanded seven dollars from the outcast woman for a week's rental in advance. The youth paid it instantly, walked past to the outcast's door, gave her money for breakfast, told her to meet him in Portsmouth Square that afternoon.

He looked her in the eyes and held out his hand. He spoke in a cool, clear voice which might have fallen from a star where love and friendship rule, and passion has been forever brought under control. Tears were in his eyes; mingled sorrow, rage and bewilderment were in his heart.

"Good night, my poor sister. Now go to sleep!"

Slowly he walked towards Market Street, took a car, and went home, struggling with the age-old problem. Surely the Almighty had not created Sex for such ends as this! He could not rest; he read of Juliet and Imogene; again he read the immortal sonnet:

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediment.

Slowly, climbing the road of Shakespeare, his soul came to the light from its Vision of Death. "The Sex law," he whispered to himself, "is unselfish Love, and holy Marriage, and the eternal communion of tw spirits."

"Poor, broken-hearted woman of the streets," he added, "she is some mother's daughter; she might have been some good man's dear wife."

That Sunday afternoon the young man and the outcast woman talked together in Portsmouth Square. She spoke with simple dignity and reticence. "The pressure," she said, "was too much for my ignorance of life; but I do want another chance."

He took the addresses of her relatives, gave her some hard-earned money—he was one of the toilers. "Eat and sleep," he said, "then try to get work. I'll find some woman to come and see you."

A certain rich man, prominent in social, literary

and religious organizations, went past, about this minute; saw the girl crying, saw the youth give her money, put the worst construction on the affair, told a dozen people before night, told his wife later: "A nice fellow to be a member of our Literary Club! Never saw anything so brazen, and in broad daylight, too!"

"Yes," said the youth to the outcast woman, as they parted, "I will get word to those aunts of yours."

The next evening he went to the most charming matron he knew, and told her the story. Would she take charge of this poor thing, call upon her, get her started in some self-supporting work, secure for her a woman-physician, communicate with her aunts?

The matron was frankly shocked. "Take her to the homes for such persons!" she said, breaking off the discussion.

The aunt in Colusa replied to the youth's letter:

"What you say about my wicked niece and her repentance sounds well enough. Her mother died of grief. Tell her so; it may help to make her behave better. Of course I have no means of knowing whether you are telling the truth about your relations. However, I know my duty. Send her up here, and I will remit the railroad fare."

The youth read this twice, and thrust it in the fire. Really, the problem was too much for him; he would go home before long; perhaps his mother would take hold of it.

The very next day one of his newspaper friends stepped into the office where the youth worked, to say that the Weekly Stiletto had picked up an item from the certain rich man; had invented a dramatic and very disreputable story, and was now trying to find the girl. "We'll move heaven and earth to keep it out of print," they said, "but you get that woman cut of town, Don Quixote!"

The young man shivered. Social convention, which he had always laughed at, began to look like a yellow-toothed, gigantic ogress, who had corraled him in her cave.

But that evening came a small, ill-dressed, gray-haired woman, from the redwoods of Mendocino, to see the young man. "I am Eliza's aunt," she told him. "I am so glad she has been found."

"Take her right home," he said, after they had talked awhile. "Give her a place in your heart. And tell her good-by from me."

She took both his hands, this toil-worn elderly woman, thanked him with words he never forgot, and went back, with the girl, into the healing mountains.

As for the youth, he long carried with him this case of one poor maltreated traveler. For the first time in his life since he went to Sunday School he questioned the orthodox foundations of the Social Order; he asked: "Why should there be castes, ostracisms, human slavery under a thousand other names, control of common resources by the

Few? Why is so much of our Christian civilization un-Christian?"

He had always seen plainly that for men as for women there could be but one and the same law of sex-purity—his mother had taught him that. Now, he saw just as plainly that if society forgives the man-sinner, it must equally forgive the woman-sinner. Also, he saw that Woman in self-protection everywhere needs opportunity and education in public affairs; needs to declare open and inexorable war upon every form of prostitution, and on all which creates and sustains it.

As the years went, his thoughts widened. He began to recognize the ferocious arraignment which every outcast man as well as every outcast woman might justly fling at the blunders and crimes of our civilization. More and more he gave himself to the greater issues of human life. His friends said sometimes that all this came from his Mother's training and influence. But those Gods of the Morning who bring light out of darkness, knew that, while his earnest Mother had her share in the gift, it was chiefly the work of the Outcast Woman, whose nameless agonies were thus melted into the slow creation of higher human standards on a more loving earth.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

REFORMER AND PROPHET.

Henry Demarest Lloyd—1847-1903. A biography by Caro Lloyd, with an introduction by Charles Edward Russell. In two volumes, illustrated. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York and London. Price, \$5.00.

"Now we know that war, slavery, tyranny, poverty, disease are doomed," said Henry D. Lloyd with faith in his vision of a time when the evils of our present politics will be superseded by an education that will fit all citizens for the service of the State and for all other social service. That this forecast sprang from the deepest desire of a pure, loyal, unselfish nature cannot be doubted when we look back over the career of the man himself. From his youth he seems to have been inspired with a burning purpose to aid in opening wider opportunities to those unequally placed in the arena of life. His best powers always were devoted to the work of arousing "the new conscience," which should make clear the way to the establishment of juster relations among men.

In these endeavors he was fortunate in having the sympathy and co-operation of the wife who shared his ideals and who stood ready with the support of loving thought and helping hand in all emergencies. As he once said to her:

Our love is not perfect for we are not perfect, but it is the best that is in us, the best that is for us—this sweet association of head and heart and life. Let us preserve its passion and its purity as we

would the beauty of the lily, and holding each other to this "best" let us look with calm minds on the carking cares of life.

There was need of this inner peace and harmony when later he called down upon himself the anathemas of the conservative public by his bold defense of the Chicago Anarchists and by his daring exposure of the facts that constituted the body of that famous pioneer work, "Wealth against Commonwealth." Yet the denunciations that fell on his devoted head after his startling disclosures of the crimes of wealth were finely balanced by the heart-warm congratulations that came to him from those who recognized the underlying motives and far-reaching results of an initial movement which, with tremendous impetus, is still going forward. The home of the Lloyds, always a refuge for the unfortunate, became also a rendezvous of reformers—men and women who were losing all thought of self-aggrandisement in the larger interests of society still in the agonized throes of evolution and redemption from the vampire stage that marks the progress of the race from the greed of the gormandizing beast to the graciousness and generosity of the man. The broad catholic spirit of Lloyd appears to have disposed him kindly towards reformers of all types. As he said in answer to one who asked him to define his position:

If we begin with definitions we are sure to end with schisms. Must we have an odium sociologicum pop that the odium theologicum is dying out? . . . I have never interested myself in any question of label or intricacies of creed. I no more believe it possible to cover the social situation by a name or a bunch of propositions than to cover the universe.

As the writer of the biography says: "Lloyd's life was a noble example of worship in the 'Church of the Deed.' That piety with which his race had for generations looked skyward, turned in him to a passionate devotion to the body of toiling, aspiring humanity. It exalted into importance the human needs of food and shelter, and lifted into universal brotherhood the lowliest creature. It made his city a part of heaven—every day an immortal moment, 'every building a temple, every man a redeemer.'"

In his work for the attainment of industrial brotherhood he came to a place where he felt it no longer a duty to expose evils, but to turn his thought and energies to that interior realm from whence all constructive ideas of good are derived. Out of the travail of his own experience sprang his belief that man is a creator with God in a world which is largely the man's own product, or, as Lloyd puts it—"We are every day creating and re-creating the world in which we live." In a manuscript unfinished and locked away in his Winnetka safe until his death, there is an outline of his theory of Love as a social force, and of the universal religion in which all men shall be the instruments of that divine power.

Among the notable things written during this

period of constructive thought may be mentioned "The New Conscience," and "The Money of the New Conscience," in which is sketched a financial system based on much higher laws than have been recognized by bankers and money lenders in general and therefore, for the present as impracticable as are so many of the visions of our so-called dreamers. The volume of his journalistic work is given in a complete list at the close of Volume II, and comprises subjects interesting to all who are making a study of social problems.

In the records of Lloyd's later life, his association with progressive thinkers, his co-operative land studies, his travels in New Zealand and his investigation of Socialistic ventures are exceedingly interesting from his point of view which is always directed to the advancement of the common welfare of the people. His active participation in the troubles of the coal strikes and his latest labors in behalf of municipal ownership are vividly described by the sympathetic biographer who, throughout the splendid story of Lloyd's life, gives the inspiring vision of noble motives that prompted the work which others are left to finish.

A. L. MUZZEY.

PAMPHLETS

Reformatory Proposals.

"Prostitution—A Remedy" is a collection (published by The Liberty Press, Roxbury P. O. Station, Boston; price, by mail 6 cents) of bills and petitions presented to the Massachusetts legislature at its last session by Morrison I. Swift. The proposed measures relate to schools, prisons, divorce, unemployment and strike-breaking, as well as prostitution.



A Talk on Taxation.

This is a heart to heart talk, by Stephen A. Royce of St. Albans, Vt., to his neighbors in a farming community. It is as readable as a story, notwithstanding its subject. Although open no doubt to controversy at some points, as any discussion worth while must be, Mr. Royce's pamphlet is on the whole, as good a document on taxation for farming communities, like his own, as could be desired. Its lively and interesting style and direct and pungent arguments, especially adapted to agricultural interests and points of view, give it an exceptional value.



Pamphlets Received.

An Individualist's Utopia. By J. H. Levy, Published by Lawrence Nelson, 11 Abbeville Road, S. W., London.

Preparing for Social Work: Year Book, 1912-1913, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 31 W. Lake St., Chicago.

Report of the Special Committee on Initiative, Referendum and Recall of The Pennsylvania Bar Association. Printed at Cape May, New Jersey. 1912.

Finding Employment for Children Who Leave the Grade Schools to Go to Work: Report to the Chicago Woman's Club, the Chicago Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the Woman's City Club. Published by the Depart-

ment of Social Investigation, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. Price, 25 cents.

Adam Black (Miner): His Letters to His Son, Jim, on Matters Interesting and Important to Workers. By Albert Dawson. "The Daily Herald," Printers, 117 Grenfell St., Adelaide, South Australia. 1912.

PERIODICALS

For Woman Suffrage in Ohio.

"We find everywhere a remarkable open-mindedness upon our question among the voters," writes Elizabeth J. Hauser concerning the Ohio woman suffrage campaign. "The Woman Voter" (30 E. 34th St., New York) for August is an Ohio number and a very good campaign document. Among the great democrats who contribute short letters on "Why Ohio Women Should Vote" are Mayors Baker and Whitlock, Herbert Bigelow, Bishop Williams and Harris R. Cooley. Mayor Whitlock says: "I should a little bit rather discuss the proposition of why they should have the right to vote, since it is the right that is important, rather than the exercise of it. And it is the right, you will notice, that the 'antis' deny; and they deny it because they do not believe in rights, they believe only in privileges. They are opposed to democracy. . . . Now, as I have said so often, I believe that women should have the right to vote because I believe in democracy. The women of Ohio should vote because they are women, just as the men vote because they are men, and for no other reason in the universe. And there is no argument against women's voting—indeed, there is no argument against the enfranchisement of women that could not with equal force be used for the disfranchisement of men."

A. L. G.



From Bodenreform, June and July.

Resolutions looking to the draughting during the next session of bills for housing reform were passed by the German Reichstag in May. There seemed, however, to the League of Land Reformers nothing fundamental in the proposed measures and this body therefore drew up an additional resolution asking the separation in mortgage transactions of the value of improvements from the value of the land itself. Dr. Jaeger and Mr. Mumm spoke in the Reichstag for this resolution, maintaining that at bottom the housing problem is really the land question.

Unlike Prussia, where the government has just clasped hands with the coal syndicate, Saxony is considering the best way of acquiring control over her coal resources. An administration report on the subject to the assembly recommends outright purchase of all unworked coal fields in the kingdom, the total cost of which it is estimated will be 56,700,000 marks (\$14,185,000). The little town of Winkel in Prussia recently resorted to a simple referendum. The burgesses there were divided about the municipality's buying a piece of land costing 57,000 marks (\$14,250). So the citizens voted on the question, and decided for the purchase. The city of Metz in Lorraine has this summer engaged in the vacant lot industry. There is in the city's extreme outskirts municipal land which this year the city has loaned in

plots to its dependent poor—an experiment considered by all highly successful. The land reformers are not only watching and reporting to one another these little steps toward land reform all over Germany, but are taking active part wherever they can—in Spandau, for instance.

In this city—close to Berlin—it was discovered last spring that the magistracy was, in secret sittings, negotiating for the sale of over 500 acres of the municipal forest. The land reformers gathered a great mass meeting of protest, the press took sides and a citizens' committee was appointed to carry on the fight. To no purpose. The city council agreed with one of its members that Spandau could not "afford the luxury of a great municipal forest. From the sale the city will receive nine million marks (\$2,500,000). Then the taxes can be lowered." Now Spandau is only a few miles from Berlin and was to be included in "Greater Berlin"—a bill for which was then before the Prussian Diet. Naturally those hoping and working for Greater Berlin would not care to see any of its towns sell off their wealth before annexation. To these interests the land reformers appealed in Berlin and with telling effect. Berlin, people, press and officials, were all against the Mayor of Spandau; the question was carried up to the Kaiser, and the citizens of Spandau are still in possession of their forest.

A. L. G.

A Chicago physician recently motored to Columbus, where he spent several days with friends on the East Side. While downtown one day he left his touring car standing in front of a hotel, and when he came out he saw the Negro doorman standing back of the machine, laughing.

"What's the giggle?" queried the doctor.

"Nothing, boss," answered the Negro. "But you're a physician, aren't you?"

"Yes."

"I thought so when I saw the red cross on the

front of your machine, but if I owned that car I'd take that sign off the back."

The doctor went around to the rear and looked at the license tag. It read: "35,000 Ill."—Columbus Dispatch.



"Who are those fellows over in the corner?"

"They are Socialists."

"They seem to be engaged in a very earnest discussion."

"Yes. I suppose they are trying to invent new theories of government."

"I thought they had plenty of new theories."

"They did have, but the rest of the people have caught up with them, so they've got to invent more in order to keep ahead."—Chicago Record-Herald.



"Why do they call Washington the city of magnificent distances?"

"Because," answered the office-seeker, "it is such a long way between what you go after and what you get."—Washington Herald.



"What did Mrs. Kloseman give you for cutting her grass?" asked Tommy's mother.

"Nothin'," replied Tommy.

"Why, she promised you ten cents, didn't she?"

"Yes, but then I used her sickle to do it with, and she charged me ten cents for the use of it."—Catholic Standard and Times.



Large pictures of Henry George are displayed upon thousands of walls and billboards throughout the land. Why? Because somebody named a 5-cent cigar after the great single taxer. Recently there has appeared in many of the newspapers and magazines a portrait of Tom L. Johnson, another great single taxer, who is represented as smoking a pipe, the ob-

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“What makes you think the baby is going to be a great politician?” asked the young mother anxiously. “I’ll tell you,” answered the young father confidently; “he can say more things that sound well and mean nothing at all than any kid I ever saw.”—Cleveland Plain Dealer.



The pot used to call the kettle black, but what will the fireless cooker say to the paper bag?—Toledo Blade.

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