

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Singletax in Oregon.

As may be seen from Mr. Eggleston's letter in another column, it is now finally and authoritatively settled that the Singletax for local taxation will be voted on next fall in every county in Oregon in which a petition under the Initiative law shall be presented to the Secretary of State. The right to this Initiative was inserted in the State Constitution of Oregon at the election of 1910,\* over the opposition of land speculators and public utility corporations; but as that amendment did not create special electoral machinery for separate voting by counties, a notion took root to the effect that nothing could be done under the amendment until the legislature should create the necessary machinery for giving it vitality. To the uninformed, the point seemed strong; and there was fear on one hand lest the benefit of the amendment be lost, while on the other there was intense satisfaction for the same reason. There was also a third state of mind. This ran into "the jubilant jeer" at Wm. S. U'Ren, C. E. S. Wood, E. S. J. McAllister and the other engineers of the amendment. Needless to say that the electric-power interests in Oregon, with their allies round about, were particularly well pleased and cunningly active. But all who raised this point in good faith overlooked the rather simple fact that there was already on the statute books of Ore-

\*See The Public, December 30, 1910, page 1233.

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gon as complete a system of electoral machinery for the purpose as could be desired.



Inasmuch, however, as the point had been confidently raised, a decision of the Supreme Court of the State was desirable before the expense of circulating petitions had gone far. Consequently, a petition for Clackamas County was obtained and proffered to the Secretary of State under the general law for Initiative procedure. The Secretary of State, aware of the objection, referred the question to the Attorney General. Fortunately, the Attorney General thought the point might possibly have enough weight to make a Supreme Court decision directly upon it worth while. He therefore advised the Secretary of State not to file the petition, and this action on his part opened the way for mandamus proceedings to compel the Secretary to file it. The Supreme Court has now decided the question in favor of the petitioners.



Our Oregon friends are therefore getting under full headway for a referendum next fall on the Singletax for county purposes in every county of Oregon. The expense of this work is not light, and they will need financial help. None will come from electric-power interests or other land speculators—not *for* the work. All help will have to come from persons who believe in fair play in taxation, regardless of private interests. And now, gentle reader, whoever you are and wherever you live, "it is up to you" in a degree, if you are sympathetic with the Singletax idea or antipathetic to land monopoly. Do you wish your Oregon friends to win? If you don't, don't help them; but if you do, prove it.



### Another Oregon Experiment.

Oregon will try for the first time at the coming primaries there, April 19th, not only to instruct delegates to the national conventions but also to send delegates who sympathize with their instructions. The delegates will be chosen, as in some other States, at the direct primaries which give the instructions; but, not as in any other State, they will have their traveling expenses paid, so that the chosen delegate of the voters may go, be he never so poor in purse, without dependence upon politicians or corporations.



As an illustration of the workings of this new law of Oregon, Portland affords an example. Among the candidates for delegates there is a La-

bor-union man for each party—C. M. Ryerson for the Republican convention, and Alfred D. Cridge for the Democratic. These are official candidacies. As a further illustration of their value in promoting discussion on public questions, we might refer to Mr. Cridge's declaration of principles, filed under Oregon law in the office of the Secretary of State. He here promises that if elected a delegate to the national Democratic convention, he will "advocate and support the following fundamental Democratic principles:"

Application of Initiative, Referendum and Recall to national issues, officials and judges; all tariffs are frauds (ample revenue in land values exclusive of improvements and personalty); four transcontinental railroads owned and operated by the government, also all Alaska railroads; parcels post, postal telegraphs and telephones; proportional representation for Congress, abolition of United States Senate; equal suffrage regardless of sex; Congress to forbid Supreme Court to pass on constitutionality of laws; largest navy in the world, but engaged in commerce, transporting passengers and freights.



Regardless of the merits of Mr. Cridge's proposals, what better evidence could be desired of the civic value of this Oregon method? At a cost of \$200 for each delegate, only \$4,000 in all for both conventions, Oregon may secure representatives of public sentiment instead of representatives of franchise loot. It is economical as well as democratic; and unless the party system is abandoned, all the States will have to come to it.



### Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

Supplementary to our recent editorial on this \* subject we may say, upon the authority of "The Common Cause" of January 4, that in Great Britain "there is only one body, national in its scope," so far as this woman-suffrage publication knows, "which refuses to believe it possible to proceed by way of amendment" to the Ministerial bill to secure votes for British women. Evidently the one organization alluded to is that of which the organ is "Votes for Women." The ostensible grievance of this organization is that the Prime Minister, although he promised last year that this year an equal suffrage measure would be given a fair chance in Parliament, brings in as the official bill one for manhood suffrage only, and leaves woman suffrage to "fend" for itself in a hopeless effort to amend that bill in Parliament.



Now the fact happens to be that what the Prime

\*See current volume, page 52.

Minister did promise was a fair chance in Parliament for the "Conciliation bill." This promise he is keeping in both letter and spirit. He is keeping it more broadly than its terms require. He is keeping it as broadly as "Votes for Women" says he must. The "Conciliation bill" would greatly limit woman suffrage. There is another and broader measure, one which Lloyd George is supporting by way of compromise in the belief that adult suffrage, in which he believes, cannot yet be got. And then there is adult suffrage—the abolition of all property qualifications as to both men and women. By assuring the woman suffragists of full opportunity in the Commons to amend the official bill by adding to it *any of those measures*, the Prime Minister keeps his promise more comprehensively than its terms require and as fully as "Votes for Women" asks for. And this is no empty assurance. For Mr. Asquith gives his own word and that of the Ministry, which includes woman suffragists and anti-woman suffragists, that any woman suffrage amendment adopted by the Commons—and whether by Liberal, Conservative, Irish or Labor members—shall be *an integral part of the official bill*, and as such will be forced through the House of Lords with all the influence and power of a united Ministry.



What more in fairness could be asked of any ministry, of any political party, of any coalition? Nothing. And so all the woman suffrage organizations of Great Britain, national in scope, appear to believe, with the exception of the one which publishes "Votes for Women" as its organ and maintains a physical force campaign against the Liberal Ministry. This is truly an organization of vast proportions, and as representing woman suffrage sentiment it may count for more than many others. Of that we are not now speaking. We speak at this time only of the absurd demand it makes upon the Ministry. Its demand, supported by none of the other suffrage organizations, amounts in effect to this, that the Ministry itself must put woman suffrage in the official bill or go out of office.



Whatever the motives for that demand may be, its effect, were it conceded, would be to turn over the government to the Conservatives, whom the coalitionists have twice defeated in hard-fought elections within two years on democratic issues, and invite another such contest under a grossly undemocratic electoral system—one so Toryistic as often to enable "one rich man to cast twenty votes easier than twenty poor men can cast one vote."

The Ministry are pledged never to allow another election under that system, and that they shall keep this pledge is more important to British democracy just now than anything else. Then why this drastic demand of the violence wing of woman suffragists? It cannot be because Asquith doesn't keep his promise; he is keeping it. It cannot be because the Ministry won't give woman suffrage a fair hearing in Parliament; such a hearing is assured. And so fair is this hearing to be that it cannot fail to establish woman suffrage in Great Britain unless the reform lacks a majority in the Commons.



### Prosperity.

Erwin's "Market Letter" of December 26 (26 Beaver St., New York) does not look at business prospects through lenses brilliantly colored; it prefers an honest microscope. "If fundamental conditions the world over are as we think they are," it advises investors, "it is highly improbable that this country can have anything like a business boom until the uncompleted liquidation of 1907 has extended to *land values*, to the trading and transportation industries and, possibly also, to the labor market." The acknowledgment here that we are still in the midst of the business depression that began in 1907\* is unmistakably true. It is generally recognized outside of speculative circles. Such facts as may be cited against it are fully explained by Erwin's reflections upon the future: "We expect to see only spurts of improvement with the spurts getting shorter and shorter until we reach the bottom of the next depression." Those are the prosperity facts we have had since 1907—"spurts," spurts that get "shorter and shorter." The files of any responsible business periodical, examined over periods of **from three to six months**, furnish evidence of it. According to Erwin's the "big fundamental factors" that are unsound factors in the present situation are many, but they include one which we should think enough if there were no others—"inflated *land values*."



### One of the Signs of the Times.

A fine program of economic reform is that of The Twentieth Century Magazine which it emphasizes in its January issue. Immediate relief of the unemployed through useful constructive work by government; collective ownership of public utilities; extension of the public domain to mineral deposits, forests and water power; shorten-

\*See The Public, volume x, pages 314, 362, 506, 723, 746, 963.

ing the work-day and the work-week; effective factory inspection; suppression of child drudgery; a minimum wage; no more exploitation of convict labor; compulsory insurance; inheritance taxes; and, last but not least either in importance or in the Twentieth Century editor's estimation, for he emphasizes it especially, "*the appropriation of the unearned increment by the taxation of land values.*" When the last shall have been done, much of the rest will do itself; but meantime the Twentieth Century is right in not ignoring even the ameliorative features of its program. If any of them are of "the hothouse variety," as some critics protest, let all such critics observe that the hothouse has a useful function before spring brings its tender buds and summer its normal fruit.



### A TRUST "OF BANKERS AND FOR BANKERS."

When Nelson W. Aldrich, chairman of the Monetary Commission which has recently reported to Congress,\* spoke at a Chicago banquet last fall in behalf of the central reserve plan as then proposed by the Commission, he characterized that plan—inadvertently perhaps, but none the less truly it may be—as providing for an organization "*of bankers and for bankers.*"

After that speech the plan was modified by the Monetary Commission so as to give it an appearance of divesting banking interests of control, and this alteration ought to be considered in advance of any further discussion.

Whether the gigantic organization is to be *for* bankers may be considered later; whether it is to be *of* bankers, in the sense of being under their control, we shall consider now.

#### I.

At the time of Senator Aldrich's defense of the proposed organization as one "*of bankers and for bankers,*" there were to be, with reference to the mode of choosing them, four classes of directors of the central body; and in the bill as it has since been reported to and now lies before Congress, there are four such classes. For convenience of reference those classes may be tabulated as follows:

I. 6 ex-officio. II. 15 elected by branches. III. 12 elected by branches (proportionally). IV. 12 elected by classes II and III (no bankers except b'k direct'rs. 45 Total.	I. 7 ex-officio. II. 15 elected by branches. III. 15 elected by branches (all to be non-bank- ers, etc.). IV. 9 elected by branches (proportionally). — 46 Total.
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\*See *The Public*, vol. xiv, pp. 1162, 1169; and current volume, page 35.

A brief examination of the foregoing table will make clear the difference between the two plans with regard to their classifications of directors.



As to Class I the plans are alike in respect of the number of directors, except that one ex-officio director is added, making a total of 7 ex-officio directors instead of 6 and of 46 directors in all instead of 45. The ex-officio directors, under the bill as finally reported and now before Congress, would consist of 1 governor, appointed by the President of the United States from a list of 3 or more candidates proposed by the board of central directors, such governor to hold office for ten years unless sooner removed by two-thirds of the board "for cause"; of 2 deputy governors, to be chosen by the directors themselves; and of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture (not in the earlier plan) and the Comptroller of the Currency, all of whom are of course appointees of the President for the time being.

As to Class II the plan as reported is in substance like the one described by Senator Aldrich as "*of and for bankers.*" The board of directors of the 15 branches of the central body would each independently elect one central director of their own unrestrained choice; and as they themselves are to be elected by their respective constituent banks without restraint as to choice, all these 15 central directors might and probably would be bankers.

As to Class III the two plans are not alike. Under the former, 12 directors were to be elected by representatives of the directors of the 15 branches, acting as a whole but with voting power proportioned to their respective holdings of shares in the central body. The number in the bill reported to Congress is increased from 12 directors to 15, who are to be elected like the 15 of Class II but are not to be bankers; and the proportional method of election is shifted from Class III of the old plan to Class IV of the pending bill.

Furthermore, a peculiarity of Class III in the pending bill has been shifted, with alterations in its terms, from Class IV of the earlier plan. We indicate it in the table in parentheses in Class IV of the former plan and in parentheses in Class III of the pending bill. This peculiarity we shall consider farther on; for it is especially referred to, mistakenly we think, as making the central reserve organization one which banking interests cannot control.

As to Class IV, the two plans are of course not alike. The former provided for 12 additional central directors to be elected by the central directors of Classes II and III; the bill as reported provides for only 9 additional directors, who are to be elected not by other directors but by the branches and under proportional stock representation.

## II.

We may now consider the probable effect of those alterations, in divesting banking interests of the control they would have had under the plan which Senator Aldrich described as "of and for bankers."



There was a clause in that earlier plan with reference to the directors of Class IV as distinguished in the first column of the table above, a loose clause which purported to place some restraint upon the election of bankers as directors of the central body. This clause provided that the 27 directors of Classes II and III should elect 12 additional directors, who should "fairly represent the industrial, commercial, agricultural and other interests of the country," and who should "not be officers of banks." But by the same clause "directors of banks" were "not to be considered as officers"!

This plan would have made it feasible to pack the central board with at least 41 bankers in the total of 45 directors. Even if the President and Congress and all the people of the United States were opposed to its policies in public matters, nevertheless a banking ring could easily have controlled; for the governor of the National Reserve Association, and three Federal officials, would have been the only directors to whom the united banks could not have dictated—the only ones who would not have been officers or directors of banks if the banking ring wanted an all-bankers board.

Unnecessarily greedy of power for bankers was that plan, and apparently this has been realized. At any rate, the alterations disclosed by a comparison of Classes III and IV of the foregoing table were made before the bill was reported to Congress; and in lieu of a probable 41 or more of bankers in a directorate of 45, there is substituted a probable 27 or more of bankers in a directorate of 46.



The provisions of the earlier plan for electing central directors which we have distinguished as Class III and Class IV have been altered in the pending bill so as ostensibly to prevent control by

bankers; but only ostensibly. The net result, as the Commission's report shows and as indicated above, is a directorate which bankers could at any time control, not only indirectly by influence upon non-bankers, but directly through a clear majority of bankers themselves.

While a Cabinet minister is added to the ex-officio class, the whole number of directors to be chosen by bankers is the same, 39; and while those to be chosen indirectly by bankers in proportion to their stock in the central body is reduced from 12 to 9, the number to be chosen by bankers directly is increased from 27 to 30.

Connected with the choosing of half the latter number, however, is the alteration of the clause that we describe above as "a peculiarity of Class IV" in the earlier plan which has been shifted to Class III in the later one.

This clause, as it appeared in the earlier plan and as we quoted from it above, provided that the 12 additional central directors to be elected by the 27 central directors of Classes II and III, "shall fairly represent the industrial, commercial, agricultural and other interests of the country," and shall "not be officers of banks" but may be "directors of banks." Under the bill as reported and now pending, that provision would apply not to 12 directors to be chosen at the discretion of 27 directors all of whom may be bankers, but to 15 of the 30 directors to be chosen directly by the branch associations. Those branch associations are to be absolutely controlled by bankers (at least five-sixths of their directorates respectively may be bankers), but in making their choice of the particular 15 central directors provided for by Class III of the pending bill, the branches would be specifically and comprehensively limited. Instead of being generally admonished to elect persons "who shall fairly represent the industrial, commercial, agricultural and other interests of the country," and forbidden to elect "officers of banks" except "directors of banks"—as under the former plan,—they are by the pending bill required to choose persons "who shall fairly represent the agricultural, commercial, industrial and other interests of the district, and who shall not be officers nor, while serving, directors of banks, trust companies, insurance companies, or other financial institutions."



Because of that provision, and apparently for no other reason unless it be the addition of the Secretary of Agriculture to the central directorate as a member ex-officio, it is gravely urged that bank-

ing interests could not control the National Reserve Association!

For instance, the Chicago Record-Herald, which seems to hold a brief for the Aldrich scheme in any form the bankers approve and against any they disapprove, has done a soothing bit of editorial cooing on the subject, from which we quote, referring to its issue of January 10, 1912:

The Commission's plan involves no "domination" or concentration of power in bankers' hands. One-half of the directors of the National Reserve Association will represent the agricultural, industrial and commercial interests, and they will not be connected in any way with banks or other financial institutions.

Fiddlesticks! Are not those representatives of "agricultural, industrial and commercial interests" to be chosen by bankers?

Green indeed must he be who supposes that there could be "no 'domination' or concentration of power in bankers' hands." Won't bankers choose their own favorites in other business connections? Most certainly, if they have any; and he must be decidedly unsophisticated who imagines that bankers' favorites cannot be found in "agricultural, industrial and commercial circles." Even the nominal owner of the Chicago Record-Herald should be above suspicion of that degree of innocence. Hasn't his affinity for bankers been so marked these many years as to give rise in Chicago to the grimly jocular story that he has chosen bankers in advance for his pallbearers, with the idea that as bankers have carried him all his life they ought to carry him at the end?

But if the bankers did happen to be so disinterested as to choose the whole 15 representatives of "agricultural, industrial and commercial interests" from business circles beyond their own influence, and even if the 15 persons so chosen were Spartan in their independence of the choosers, how would the matter work out? It would work out nicely, for a banking ring. Instead of one-half the directors being independent, only 19 out of 46 would be so!

There would be to begin with, 15 bankers and 15 Spartan independents chosen by bankers.

If, then, the three members of the President's cabinet and the Comptroller of the Currency were also Spartan independents, we should have 4 independents to add to the other 15, making 19 independents and only 15 bankers—34 in all. So far the bankers would be in a minority. But observe that the bankers would elect 9 directors by a proportional vote based upon their respective investments in the capital of the central body. These would be bankers, of course, if the bankers wished

it so; and who doubts that they would wish it so if profit or power were in the balance? "Presto!" then, and the bankers' minority of 4 is turned into a bankers' majority of 5, the bankers having 24 representatives and the independents only 19; 43 in all.

Even this substantial majority of bankers could grow without drawing from the 19 independents. For two deputy governors, ex-officio directors of the central body, are to be chosen by the other directors, who, with a vote of 24 bankers to 19 independents, could choose a banker for one deputy governor by 5 majority, and then another banker for the other deputy governor by 25 to 19, thereby adding 2 to the bankers' group and giving them a majority of 7 over the independents—26 to 19 in a total of 45.

But there is one more ex-officio director, the governor of the central association, and as he is to be appointed by the President of the United States, wouldn't he count against the bankers' group if the President were against them? Even if he did, their majority would be 6 instead of 7, and might not the bankers' ring flourish comfortably at that disadvantage? The pending bill is so drawn, however, as to guard against any such contingency, slight though its dangers be to the ring.

Although the bill provides that the President shall appoint this ex-officio director to be the governor of the association, he might be and probably would be *compelled to appoint a banker*, for he must select from 3 whom the bankers nominate; and if the appointee didn't comport himself agreeably to the bankers' ring, *the ring could remove him* by a two-thirds vote—"for cause," of course; yes, "for cause"—and this would necessitate the conversion of only 4 of those 19 independent directors who "fairly represent the agricultural, industrial and other interests of the respective districts" from which they are chosen by the bankers of those districts. The President's appointee would be a banker, if the bankers' ring wanted a banker, and the President couldn't help himself; or, if not a banker technically, at any rate a bankers' satellite.

So there you have 27 bankers as directors of the National Reserve Association, and only 19 independents, in a total directorate of 46—a clear majority of 7 for the bankers' ring at all times, with two-thirds "on call" and never difficult to get.

Yet the Record-Herald echoes the banker crowd and their satellites in assuring its confiding readers that the Aldrich plan, as now altered, "involves

no 'domination' or concentration of power in bankers' hands"!

### III.

But the prospect as to control by bankers is really worse than we have outlined it above. Thus far we have resolved every doubt in favor of the measure. Thus far we assume that the bankers would be (except for power to remove the governor of the central association) absolutely dependent upon powers given them *directly*. But that view is altogether too favorable. Their *indirect* powers would be enormous, if "needed in their business."

Readers "from Mizzoura"—and all readers ought to be "from Mizzoura" while this extraordinary measure is under consideration—will want to know why they should trust the 4 Federal officials in the central directorate to be independent of the banking ring. Don't Comptrollers of the Currency and Secretaries of the Treasury usually pass out of office into banking service as gracefully as they go to dinner?

The man "from Mizzoura" will also want to know, as he ought to, why he should trust to the Spartan independence of any, or of all 15, of the non-financial directors whom bankers are to elect. Are bankers likely to elect outsiders whose financial interests are not sufficiently tangled up with their own to make them amenable to "safe and sane" advice wisely given?

And if "the man from Mizzoura" insists upon "being shown" he will find that the more he is shown the greater is the justification for his incredulity.



Among the additional reasons for incredulity the "man from Mizzoura" will find, if he interrogates the Aldrich bill as it now lies in Congress—awaiting action by "the job session" next year, as Mr. Bryan intimates,—some highly significant provisions. Observe that we take no account here of the uses, good or bad, to which the control of this gigantic organization may be put. This consideration we postpone to a further inquiry. At present we confine our inquiry exclusively to the question of whether or not that control, whatever the possibilities of its use, would be lodged with bankers.

(1) We have already shown control by bankers *directly* through an absolute majority in the central directorate if they want it, and further control *indirectly* if they resort to their influence as money lenders or credit brokers.

(2) An inspection of the pending bill will show that under no circumstances can any person

or interest, public or private, invest in or hold, directly or indirectly, any shares of the National Reserve Association, except national banks, State banks and trust companies (well known adjuncts of banks and participators in banking interests); and that the banks and trust companies may hold *neither more nor less* than an amount of such shares equal to 20 per cent of their paid in and unimpaired capital. A wise provision, we make no question, provided the organization itself is necessary or desirable; but a provision which strongly emphasizes the inference of *control by bankers*.

(3) Districts and branches in addition to the 15 fixed by the bill can be and may be created only by the directors of the central body; and so of readjustments of all districts, creation of new local associations, and readjustment of all local associations. Their power is absolute in this respect. In so far, then, as either public or private interest is concerned in this matter, the central board of directors, with its majority of bankers, could be dictatorial. This arrangement also may be very well regarded as necessary, provided the scheme itself is necessary or desirable. We raise no question here as to that. Our inquiry still rests upon the question of the power of bankers over the organization; and this clause also adds emphasis to the inference that *bankers could control*.

(4) The directors of branches are to be 12 in number, or more (in addition to ex-officio members); and one-half are to be elected by the constituent local associations, each of the local associations having for that purpose one vote for each branch director. The same local associations would vote in the ratio of the holdings by their respective constituent banks of shares in the central Association, for one-third of the directors of their respective branches. The remaining one-sixth of the branch directors would be chosen by the other five-sixths. This tagged-on sixth must "fairly represent the agricultural, commercial, industrial and other interests of the districts and shall not be officers, nor, while serving, directors of banks, trust companies, insurance companies or other financial institutions." Ex-officio memberships in the branch association would be created and their incumbents elected by the other directors, except that the branch manager must be one of these and chairman of the board. The manner of filling vacancies is to be determined by the central body. There doesn't appear to be anything here to weaken the inference of *control by bankers*.

(5) The directors of the local associations,

composed of banks holding shares in the central Association, are elected by those banks—three-fifths by one vote from each bank for each director and two-fifths in the ratio of holdings of shares by the banks respectively in the central Association. Still unimpaired seems to be the inference of control by bankers.



Were we to turn, then, to the official report of the Monetary Commission which recommends this measure and of which Senator Aldrich is chairman, we might hope to find some explanation or excuse for the benefit of "the man from Mizzoura," of the wisdom or the necessity for lodging the powers of this great corporation, whatever those powers may prove to be, so *completely in the control of bankers*.

But we should be disappointed. The incredulity of "the man from Mizzoura" would hardly be allayed. There is nothing in this report to "show him," if his incredulity has any civic sense back of it.

Among the arguments of the report in favor of the plan as now submitted to Congress, the only one of moment *in so far as the plan relates to control by bankers* (the point we are now exclusively considering), is a well guarded implication that the plan is "democratic"!

Why democratic and how?

Because the associations are grouped in analogy to the county, State and national groupings of our political system; because "the individual bank is the voting unit" in the local associations; because a majority of banks elect three-fifths of the directors of local associations, and a majority in stock interest elect the rest; because, "the source of authority" of the central body being "democratic and not autocratic," the central body "instead of overshadowing banks" is "their representative." So reads the report.

If this is democracy, it is democracy of that intra-financial kind which is more commonly known as plutocracy. But be it democratic or not, in that sense, bankers themselves must judge. It is a question for them, and concerns the general public not at all—unless the system is to have jurisdiction and power over public affairs. One might as well discuss the democracy that is said to prevail in Masonic lodges, if the system is to have no cinch upon public interests. The question of control, whether in Masonry by Masons or in banking organizations by bankers, is without public concern unless power over the public is involved. Instantly thereupon, however, the question of control

looms up. If Masonry were to be given power over public affairs, it would not be enough to be assured that Masonry is "democratic" among Masons; it must be democratic in respect of all concerned. And isn't the same thing true of banking? To say that an organization of bankers to be given power over public interests is "democratic" because banks are federalized among themselves, or because individual banks are the voting units, or because the central body represents banks instead of overshadowing them, is to trifle with public interests in a play upon words.

If the Aldrich scheme is in fact to give power over public affairs to a private profit-making corporation, that organization cannot safely be entrusted to the control of bankers as a class.



And that a power over public affairs is in fact involved, the report of the Monetary Commission quite clearly discloses. But this question we reserve for consideration later. The question in hand, the only question we are now considering, is whether the organization proposed by the Aldrich bill would be under the control of bankers; and that it would be absolutely so, seems incontrovertible.

#### IV.

As now drawn and pending before Congress, the bill of the Aldrich Monetary Commission would, beyond all reasonable grounds for dispute, place the National Reserve Association completely within the control of a bankers' ring. Or, lest "ring" seem unparliamentary, we hasten to substitute the phrasing of the Monetary Commission's report—"a co-operative union of all the banks of the country."

Whatever else it may be, for good or bad, the pending bill to incorporate the National Reserve Association and to give it for *fifty years* vested rights in law to all the privileges directly or indirectly conferred by its proposed charter, whatever those privileges may turn out to be, is to make of that Association an association of bankers. Senator Aldrich was thus far right in his Chicago speech, whether his tongue slipped or not, when he characterized it as an organization "of bankers and for bankers."



In the broad view, the labor of children is as disastrous and as dishonest an industrial policy as paying dividends out of capital or issuing bonds to meet a regularly recurring deficit in current transactions.—F. H. Streightoff in "The Standard of Living."



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**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE**


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**OREGON HOME RULE TAX AMENDMENT UPHELD.\***

Portland, January 24.

By a 4-to-1 decision, the Supreme Court of Oregon decided, January 23, that the County Home Rule Tax Amendment—the so-called Singletax amendment—adopted by the voters in 1910, does not need an enabling act or additional legislation, and that county tax bills initiated under that amendment must be placed upon the ballot.

The only county tax bill thus far initiated and offered for filing at the office of the Secretary of State is the Clackamas County bill, which is a Singletax measure. When that bill was offered to the Secretary of State, he asked for the Attorney General's opinion, and was advised that the bill could not be placed upon the ballot because no machinery exists by which to put into execution the power conferred upon counties by the amendment of 1910—Section 1a of Article IX of the Constitution. That opinion, was based upon two contentions:

(1) That the Amendment itself is not self-executing; and (2) That the Amendment is not executed by existing Initiative and Referendum provisions of the Constitution, because the words "municipality and district" as used in those provisions were not meant to include counties.

The plaintiff, G. A. Schuebel of Clackamas County, through his attorneys, C. E. S. Wood, W. S. U'Ren and E. S. J. McAllister, obtained a writ of mandamus from the Supreme Court, which took original jurisdiction, directing the Secretary of State to file the Initiative measure or to show cause for his omission to do so. The brief for the plaintiff was prepared by C. E. S. Wood's son, Erskine, who has not yet been admitted to the bar because of his youth. It is a model of brevity and clearness.

In answering the objections raised against the Clackamas County bill, the plaintiff admitted that the County Home Rule Tax Amendment is not self-executing, but held that the second contention was erroneous because "municipality and district" as used in the Initiative provisions of the existing law includes counties. Three decisions of the Supreme Court of Oregon were cited in the brief, in which the Court used the words "municipality and district" as including counties, and it was shown that the legislature of 1907, in the enabling act putting the Initiative and Referendum amendment in force, used the words "municipality and district" so as clearly to comprise "counties."



The opinion of the Court, written by Justice Bean, holds that in construing a written constitution the object is to give effect to the intent of the people in adopting it; that the Constitution reserves to the legal voters of municipalities and districts the right to enact local, special and municipal measures, and that this authority is to be exercised in the respective localities by the Initiative; that whatever have

been the duties or powers of counties prior to the adoption of these amendments, there is no reason why such quasi municipalities or districts cannot be endowed with legislative functions by the plain provisions of the Constitution; that a county is clearly a municipality or district within the meaning of the Initiative provisions of the Constitution; that the word "county" is practically incorporated into and made a part of the Initiative provisions by the County Home Rule Tax Amendment for the purpose therein expressed.

So the Court holds that though the machinery for putting the Initiative provisions of the Constitution into effect was created before the adoption of the County Home Rule Tax Amendment, yet that this machinery created and the provisions of the enabling act fit with almost exact nicety, and it is not necessary for the people or the legislature to provide other or additional machinery.

In conclusion, the Court says it is not called upon to construe the provisions of the Clackamas County Bill, or to decide whether or not it is local.



In his dissenting opinion, Justice Burnett said that if the proposed Clackamas County Bill infringes upon or in any way hinders the State in the collection of its revenues, it is void to that extent; "which nobody will deny." But that question was not before the Court, and it is not alleged that the bill will infringe upon or hinder the State in its collection of revenues. Doubtless every judge on that Bench agrees with Justice Burnett to that extent, as do the proponents of the Clackamas County Bill. The dissenting justice confined his dissent to matters not at issue.



Now that the Supreme Court has decided this question, petitions for Singletax bills will be circulated in other counties in Oregon. A petition will be circulated immediately in Multnomah County, which includes Portland, and "The Oregonian's" editorial shrieks of pain and anguish will increase in volume, velocity and vehemence.

"There's a reason" for "The Oregonian's" anguish. The chief owner of that paper is a thrifty, industrious, saving speculator, who owns a nice unimproved block in the business part of Portland, worth \$1,500,000 in 1910, and assessed that year for \$502,000. Just enough Singletax to raise the same amount of money that was raised by the general property tax in 1910 would have boosted the tax on that block of land from \$11,044 to about \$18,850. Hence it is the "editorial policy" and firm conviction of "The Oregonian" that "Singletax will ruin the farmer" and reduce the home owner to the pitiable condition of a cocked hat.

W. G. EGGLESTON.


**TAXATION IN PITTSBURGH.**

Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 29.

The report of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission on Taxation\* has aroused considerable interest and

\*See The Public, volume xiv, pages 1053, 1068, 1093, 1098.

\*See volume xiv, page 658, and current volume, page 51.

comment throughout the country. In many quarters it is supposed that this report must have been prepared and adopted by Singletaxers. This is far from the case. The framers and backers of the report are among Pittsburgh's leading business men, who have been carefully studying conditions in Pittsburgh for the last three years.

Many recommendations have been made which dealt partially with evils and defects of the city, but these partial remedies have been gradually seen to be insufficient; they did not go to the root of the matter. It was gradually borne home that Pittsburgh must have radical treatment in order to overcome existing handicaps. The recommendation to tax buildings at only half the rate on land is the outcome.

The chairman of the Housing Committee presenting the report is one of Pittsburgh's largest and best known contractors. The president of the Commission itself is an ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce, president of the Local Men and Religion Committee, a leading insurance agent and a member of the Executive Committee of the Crucible Steel Company. Another very prominent endorser of the report is H. J. Heinz, the pickle man, and one of Pittsburgh's most successful business men. Another sponsor is Joseph W. Marsh, president of the Exchange National Bank, and the Standard Underground Cable Company. He was appointed receiver of the Westinghouse Companies in 1907.

The list of the Commission and its Housing Committee might be gone through with in the above fashion, and it would be seen that this report has been issued by as thoughtful, conservative and successful business men as Pittsburgh possesses. Consequently, the report is receiving corresponding attention in Pittsburgh, and this statement as to its sponsors would give the report additional influence throughout the country.

ALLEN T. BURNS.



## LA FOLLETTE AT NEW YORK.

New York, January 25.

The meeting arranged on Monday, January 22, by the Insurgents' Club to afford Senator La Follette an opportunity of addressing a New York audience, was a noteworthy one in many ways. Carnegie Hall was crowded to the last inch of room and there was an immense gathering in the street outside. Mr. Frederic C. Howe, President of the club, introduced Mr. Gifford Pinchot as Chairman of the evening. Mr. Pinchot said that his remarks were merely to gain time while Senator La Follette was addressing the disappointed in the street outside. He said that the keynote of Senator La Follette's democracy, as well as of the aims and purposes of the Insurgents' Club, was a thorough understanding of the rights of the many who could not get in, as against those of the few, who were in.

When Senator La Follette arrived he was very hoarse from his previous exertions, but he held his audience for nearly two hours. It would have been quite impossible for any one wedded to partisanship in politics to tell, from anything the Senator said, what party he belonged to. He repudiated the machines of both parties with equal candor and

vigor. His speech was one of fundamental democracy—with a small "d"—from beginning to end. He was speaking to a typical, well-dressed, comfortably-off New York audience, a goodly proportion of which were women, and he succeeded in convincing them of his absolute sincerity. It should have been a revelation to many of them who believe that it is impossible for a man to attain a leading political position in this country without owing allegiance to the machine, or in spite of owing an open allegiance to ideas of justice and true democracy.

Mr. La Follette's remarks on the Recall, particularly as applied to the judiciary, were naturally the culmination of the evening, as far as the interest of the audience was concerned. He was quite frank in his comments on the necessity for this measure shown in some recent Supreme Court decisions.

If possible the greatest applause was called out by his equally frank advocacy of the political enfranchisement of women.

Several of the papers, commenting editorially on Senator La Follette's speech, although not at all predisposed to support him, could not avoid remarking on his evident sincerity and on the sincerity of the welcome accorded him. But they gave a note of warning in reminding him, without mentioning names, of the similarly warm welcome accorded Mr. Bryan years before. This welcome in the opinion of the papers quoted led to nothing, because it did not win office for the recipient of it. The fact that it won the confidence of the better elements of the party, as is happening now in Senator La Follette's case, apparently does not count.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



## ADAMS IN WASHINGTON.

Spokane, Washington, Jan. 24th.

The recent visit of Charles Frederick Adams under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago, was most successful in point of public interest and size of meetings. Mr. Adams addressed sixteen meetings, all well attended and manifesting a keen interest in the Singletax philosophy. Our demand for literature and Singletax speakers is unprecedented.

Mr. Adams possesses the happy faculty of winning the respect and sympathies of conservative people. He fully demonstrated this at the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Ad. Club, and the University Club noonday luncheons. He received a most respectful, and even enthusiastic, hearing from their membership. For the three meetings before these business men's organizations, we are indebted to the good offices of our Commissioner of Public Utilities, Mr. C. M. Fassett.

WM. MATHEWS.



Jim Driscoll, a farm boy, got a job in the steel mill, and his boss gave him a foot rule one day, and said: "Measure me that plate out there in the yard."

Jim, at the end of a half hour returned and said:

"The plate is the length of the rule and three fingers over, with this piece of cobble stone, and the stem of my pipe, and my foot from here to here, bar the toecap."—New York Sun.

**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, January 30, 1912.

**Final Result of German Elections.**

At the second elections in Germany on the 25th, the political complexion of the new Reichstag, to meet on the 7th of February, was disclosed. There were 33 seats yet to fill, of which the Socialists won 11 out of the 22 which they had the right (through being either first or second at the first elections) to contest. This increases the Socialist strength from 53 in the Reichstag just dissolved, to 110 in the one about to convene; and it gives them 29 more seats than they have ever had before. It also makes the Socialist party the strongest individual party in the Reichstag.



The balance of power in the next Reichstag is reported to be held by the National Liberal party, of which Ernest Bassermann is the leader. This party can, by co-operating with either the reactionaries or the progressives, create a Parliamentary majority; and it is surmised that they may come to an understanding with the Socialists and other progressives, thereby divesting the conservative element of all control. This, however, is doubtful. The National Liberal slogan is said to be: "The *foe* stands on the Left, the *opponent* in the Right."



The final results of the elections show the following partisan distribution of seats:

Socialists .....	110
Centrists .....	97
Conservatives .....	71
National Liberals .....	47
Radicals .....	42
Racial parties .....	33
Independent .....	1
	401

Dr. Karl Liebknecht, son of the great Socialist leader who died a few years ago, was elected as a Socialist by an overwhelming majority at Potsdam, hitherto a strong Conservative constituency. "His chief constituent," say the dispatches, "is the Emperor," who, while the campaign was on, threatened to ruin the business interests of Potsdam if it elected Liebknecht. Dr. Liebknecht had recently served a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment for having made an anti-military propaganda. In the Emperor's own district in Berlin

the Socialist was defeated by a majority of only 7 in a total vote of 12,000. The result is as a whole distinctly a Socialist triumph and is so regarded on all hands. [See current volume, page 82.]



Some understanding of the party groupings may be got from a description of tendencies published by Edward Bernstein, the German Socialist, in the London Nation of December 30, 1911. There is a tendency, Mr. Bernstein writes, to division into three large camps, viz.:

1. The Conservative Camp, embracing the two Conservative parties, the Catholic Centre party, the Agriculturists, and small kindred groups.

2. The Liberal Camp, composed of National Liberals and the Radical Populists.

3. The Democratic Camp, consisting of the Social Democrats and the Democratic Radicals, of which Herr Rudolph Breitscheid is the best-known leader.

Besides these combinations, there are some small national groups, such as Poles, Alsations, Guelphs, Danes, and so on, forming together a force of twenty-five to thirty members.

Of these "camps," as Mr. Bernstein calls them, the Agriculturists and other small groups are probably included in the Conservative group in the above table; but no line can be drawn in the table between the Radical Populists, whom Mr. Bernstein puts in the Liberal "camp," and the Radical Democrats whom he puts in the Democratic "camp" with the Socialists.



**The Freetrade Fight in Congress.**

The metal tariff bill was taken up in the lower house of Congress on the 26th, Representative Palmer presenting and explaining the bill in behalf of the Democratic members of the ways and means committee, with Bartlett of Georgia and Underwood of Alabama supporting him, and Dalzell of Pennsylvania, Crumpacker of Indiana and Austin of Texas in opposition. The measure reduces the tariff on steel, iron ore and other metals and their products by an average of 35 per cent. It passed the House on the 29th by a vote of 210 to 109. Of the Progressive Republicans 20 voted for the bill with the Democrats and 14 against it. Three Democrats voted against it: Martin, Rucker and Taylor of Colorado. [See vol. xiv, pp. 394, 530.]



**Progressive Republicans in Illinois.**

Two sessions of the Progressive Republican conference of Illinois were held in Springfield on the 27th, with Charles E. Merriam and E. P. Lovejoy as temporary and permanent chairman respectively. Medill McCormick was chairman of the resolutions committee and Walter S. Rogers of the committee on organization. The resolutions,

which named no candidates, but condemned the Taft administration and denounced Cannon, Deeneen and Lorimer, included in their declaration of principles these clauses:

The American people will not tolerate the control of their markets by a few individuals dominating the trusts, nor will they consent that prices for steel, oil, woolens, or any other products shall be so fixed as to earn dividends on billions of watered stock. Such monopoly, stock watering, and arbitrary price fixing, we denounce as robbery of the many for the benefit of the few.

We favor the enactment of such legislation as may be necessary to secure Presidential preference primaries.

We favor the direct election of United States Senators.

We favor the extension of popular control over the agents and acts of government by means of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Practical experience has demonstrated that these measures constitute a wise and necessary supplement to but not a substitute for representative government. They will prevent the barter and sale of political authority by corrupt servants and make impossible the jackpot.

The taxing system of Illinois is antiquated and outgrown and imperatively demands revision in order that the burden of taxation may be equitably distributed.

We favor the appointment of an industrial commission to investigate the labor conditions in Illinois with special reference to unemployment, minimum wage for women and children, industrial diseases, and with a view of formulating legislative policies for the prevention of and insurance against losses now falling too heavily upon the individual worker.

We favor the enactment of adequate legislation for the supervision and regulation of all public utility corporations within the State.

We favor a short ballot. A long list of elective officers confuses the voter, complicates issues, and increases the power of the political boss, both in primaries and elections.

We favor a nonpartisan judiciary, a thorough corrupt practices act, conservation of the natural resources of the State, honest enforcement of the civil service laws.

We favor the abolition of minority representation in the State legislature."

[See current volume, page 34.]

### A Questionable Bargain.

Serious question has been raised by the City Club of Chicago regarding the wisdom and good faith of the proposed contract of the City with the Illinois Central Railroad regarding lake front land. In a pamphlet and through speeches before the harbor committee of the City Council on the 21th, this Club asserted that the railroad company would get 162 acres of submerged lands worth \$21,000,000 at an average valuation of only \$3 a square foot, and in addition 20,000 square feet of streets and alleys worth \$200,000,

while the city would get only 10½ acres of land, worth \$3,500,000, and riparian "claims" which even if they should be found to be legal are worth only \$430,000. Following is the City Club's tabulation of the estimates:

#### What Illinois Central Gets.

One hundred and sixty-two acres.....	\$21,000,000
Twenty thousand square feet street and alley vacated .....	200,000
Total .....	\$21,200,000

#### What the Public Gets.

Thirteenth street pier.....	\$ 1,500,000
Depot site and eighty-five foot strip, 39,000 square feet .....	2,000,000
Nine-tenth riparian rights.....	430,000
Total .....	\$ 3,930,000

Balance in favor Illinois Central.....\$17,270,000

[See vol. xiv, p. 1268.]



### Detroit's Traction Question.

At a referendum election in Detroit on the 23d, Mayor Thompson's measure for securing municipal ownership of the traction service on pre-determined terms at the option of the city, and meanwhile reducing fares under a franchise to the old companies expiring in 1924, was defeated by a decisive vote. The question submitted was as follows:

Do you favor adopting ordinance which makes provisions of Detroit railway ordinance cover the entire city, ends all franchises Dec. 4, 1924, fixes fare at eight tickets for 25 cents from 5 a. m. to 8 p. m., 5 cents (single fare), or six tickets for 25 cents at any time, with transfers (on both day and night tickets), secures certain extensions in 1912 and annually thereafter 5 per cent of track mileage in city streets, and gives the city right to purchase said system?

For adoption, the vote required was 60 per cent; but the measure not only fell short of the vote necessary for adoption, but was defeated by a clear majority, the vote being 22,259 for the ordinance and 30,648 against. [See vol. xii, p. 1120; vol. xiii, pp. 208, 805; vol. xiv, p. 1102.]



Mayor Thompson's measure had been framed in consultation with and under the advice of the late Mayor Johnson of Cleveland until the latter's death, and thereafter of Mayor Johnson's coadjutor, A. B. du Pont, with a view to putting the city in position to take over the property and municipalize it. The adverse vote was secured not because of popular objection to municipalizing, but in consequence of a campaign of municipalizers against any further public utility franchises on any terms.



Since the election, an ordinance has been in-

troduced in the City Council to compel the traction company to carry passengers on all its lines where franchises have expired; and steps are in contemplation to condemn the plant to public use upon payment of its physical value. This is the traction system that Governor Pingree and Tom L. Johnson tried to bring over into city ownership several years ago at a price which the City rejected as excessive. This rejection left in corporation ownership and control a public utility property that soon rose in market value to a point 50 per cent higher than the rejected price.



#### Organized Labor and the Singletax in Oregon.

At the meeting of the Oregon State Federation of Labor on the 17th the following resolution was adopted with only two dissenting votes:

Whereas, The people of Oregon have accepted as a part of the Constitution of the State the measure endorsed and proposed by the Oregon State Federation of Labor in 1910, which does away with the iniquitous poll tax, takes from the legislature the power of enacting tax laws without the direct consent of the people, places in the hands of the people the direct and sovereign power of taxation, either in the Commonwealth as a whole or in the several counties for their local revenues; and whereas, this has made the matter of taxation a leading public issue, and the question of the taxation of labor products, capital invested in productive enterprises, homes and improvements and personal property of all kinds, open to the people to legislate upon, therefore, be it—

Resolved, That the taxation of land values exclusive of all improvements and personal property wherever to any extent put in practice encourages the employment of labor, attracts capital seeking to invest in manufacturing enterprises, discourages the monopoly of land and other natural resources being held for speculation and not for use, builds up the city and encourages the working farmer by reducing his taxation burdens, puts the workers in homes of their own, and makes for the higher forms of civilization.

Resolved, That it is to the best interests of the working and producing people of Oregon, in city and country, to the best interest of capital not seeking special privilege and monopoly, to the best interests of all Oregon, that special privileges in land, in water and in transportation and public service franchises instead of personal property and improvements, be made to carry public burdens, and that the power of the people to make such regulations for the raising of public revenues should not be impaired or abolished.



#### Extension of the Singletax in Canada.

The royal commission on taxation of the Province of British Columbia, Canada, submitted its report to the Provincial Parliament on the 23rd. It makes these three principal recommendations: (1) abolition of poll taxes; (2) abolition of per-

sonal property taxes; (3) abolition of taxes on real estate improvements. According to the news dispatches these recommendations were adopted by the royal commission after a thorough investigation of the character and workings of the whole system of taxation in the Province of British Columbia. If the recommendations of this report are adopted by the Provincial Parliament, all the taxation of the entire province—like that of Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria, for city purposes—will be upon land values only. [See vol. xiv, pp. 770, 892.]



#### Political Lynchings in Ecuador.

As a strange sequel to the close of the little civil war in Ecuador has come news of the lynching by the populace of General Pedro Montero, the head of the revolutionary government which capitulated on the 22nd as reported last week. The dispatches relate that General Montero was tried on the evening of the 25th by courtmartial at Guayaquil, which had been the headquarters of his party and the scene of his surrender, and was sentenced to sixteen years imprisonment; and that thereupon the fickle populace, desiring a more severe punishment, mobbed the courtroom, shot the prisoner, and later beheaded him and burned his body. Other revolutionary leaders, including Eloy Alfaro (a former President of Ecuador), and General Paez, in prison at Guayaquil, were then hastily sent by night to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, and the headquarters of General Leonidas Plaza's victorious government. An amazing dispatch of the 28th, from Guayaquil, relates that on that day an infuriated mob had broken into the Quito penitentiary, and in spite of doubled guards had lynched General Eloy Alfaro, his wounded brother—General Flavio Alfaro, General Ulpiano Paes, Manuel Serrano and Medardo Alfaro, all revolutionists. [See current volume, page 82.]



#### Shuster in London.

W. Morgan Shuster, late Treasurer-General of Persia, was given a banquet at the Savoy in London on the 29th, by the Persian committee which is composed of members of the House of Commons and other prominent men. Mr. Shuster's frank defense of Persia's independence was enthusiastically cheered, according to the news reports. The Chicago Inter Ocean's dispatch describes Mr. Shuster's speech as—

a detailed narrative of the wrecking of Persia's constitutional government. He placed the entire responsibility upon Russian antagonism to a strong, independent Persia, and made it plain that he thought the British people had been deceived regarding the facts. He declared that 99 per cent of the disorders charged as a partial excuse for intervention had been imported by Russia. Replying to

the accusation in the British newspapers that he lacked tact, Mr. Shuster declared that he had kept on the most cordial relations with the Russian and British Ministers at Teheran throughout. To criticisms of his course in presenting Persia's case through the newspapers, he said he had asked the Persians "whether they preferred their country slain in a dark alley, or that the crime should be committed in a public square," which evoked prolonged cheering. He strongly condemned the last Russo-British ultimatum which had forced Persia to pledge herself to satisfy all the claims that Russia had made in the past and might make in the future. "I am not bitter about our experience," he said in conclusion. "I would be a hypocrite did I pretend not to sympathize with the bitterness of a Mohammedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the ten commandments do not apply in international politics."

[See current volume, page 83.]



#### Ng Poon Chew at the Chicago City Club.

At a crowded luncheon at the City Club of Chicago on the 27th, Dr. Ng Poon Chew, the editor of the Chinese daily paper published in San Francisco, lucidly explained the revolution in China; and eloquently advocated republican government there, appealing especially for American recognition of the Republic. Dr. Chew was followed in a sympathetic response by Charles R. Crane.



#### China.

The new Republican Senate, forerunner of a Chinese parliament, which was announced two weeks ago, was inaugurated at Nanking, the Republican capital, on the 27th. There were present forty-two Senators who appeared in the dress of the western world. President Sun Yat Sen in his speech of welcome urged unity. He said, according to the dispatch, that it was proposed by the new regime to build up, not to destroy. At the close of the President's address there was an impressive scene, the members rising in a body and giving three cheers for the Republic. The hall was handsomely decorated and a military band played popular airs familiar to the foreigners present. [See current volume, pages 62, 83.]



Mail advices in regard to the fall of Nanking into the hands of the Republicans early in December, reported on the basis of cable dispatches in *The Public* of December 8, have come to hand. The North China Daily News, published at Peking, describes the event with much reference to the part played in the capitulation by Dr. W. E. Macklin, head of the Christian hospital at Nanking, and the translator of "Progress and Poverty" into Chinese. We reproduce an article from the News, as follows:

#### The Fall of Nanking.

A prominent part in the capitulation was taken by Dr. Macklin, who was accompanied by the Rev. Frank Garrett and Mr. Hales. Dr. Macklin's story is full of interest.

It appears that the day before the capitulation, an Imperialist General Chu, or Chao, in command of 1,000 men, had two of his fingers damaged by a piece of shell or a bullet, and that in the afternoon Dr. Macklin operated on him and fixed him up. He told Dr. Macklin that he and his men were anxious to surrender but that they were afraid to, and that he was not going to leave his men in the lurch. Dr. Macklin told him that he was going to get some sleep but that he (Mr. Chu) had better go round and get together a few leading men for a conference which they could hold at his (Mr. Macklin's) house.

This was apparently done, and the conference decided to surrender, whereupon Mr. Macklin volunteered to go out and talk to the Revolutionaries, and his offer was eagerly accepted. He, with a party, got down to the gate (presumably the one opposite Purple Mountain—probably the Taiping Gate) about 4 a. m. and started to dig a way through (the gate had been filled up like the other). In the meantime Mr. Macklin went up into the wall with lanterns, which lanterns immediately drew shell fire, presumably from Purple Mountain. Macklin put his lamp out quick, but some of the Chinese apparently didn't know how to put the lamps out, and Mr. Macklin hurried round and did it for them. The firing continued, so they moved down off the wall and waited a bit. Just as dawn began to break they went up on the wall again at another spot and this time apparently succeeded in attracting attention not only from Revolutionaries but from quite another and undesirable quarter also.

There was at this time still an Imperialist force (estimated at 750) defending the Tartar city, and directly some Revolutionaries advanced in response to the signals of Mr. Macklin's party, this force opened fire both on the Revolutionaries who retired and on Mr. Macklin's people. Hearing the bullets whistling over their heads they once more came down. Mr. Macklin then dispatched Mr. Chu to persuade the force in the Tartar city to surrender and with assurances that he would speak with them and persuade the Revolutionaries not to commit any excesses in the way of massacres, and meanwhile devoted himself to getting a way through the gate, which was filled with loose rubble. Finally they succeeded in making a passage just big enough to get through and got to the gate and opened that just enough to get out. They then got out, and started toward the Revolutionary lines, whereupon they once again became objects of attention from all sides.

I did not gather from Mr. Macklin how this was finally stopped, but presume that Chu persuaded the force in the Tartar city that it would be better to surrender and that the Revolutionaries found out their mistake and desisted. Anyhow, that is the story of how the two sides were brought into actual touch with each other, and it seems to me that Dr. Macklin deserves great credit for his persistent efforts to that end in the face of such difficulties and very considerable danger. He still has a consid-

erable number of wounded in his hospital, which has done splendid work throughout, and is now turning his attention to the relief of distress.

#### Relief Schemes.

Such relief is only to be given by his organization in return for work, and I understand that this is to take the form of colonization of the large tracts of waste land inside the city, hitherto the property of Manchu pensioners who would neither work it themselves or allow it to be worked. In this work he has the candid assistance of the new officials, and he is very optimistic.

According to him (Mr. Macklin), all private property, even of Imperial officials, is being scrupulously respected and the land which is to be taken by the authorities for his scheme is only public land or the land granted to the pensioners referred to above (corruptly according to the Revolutionaries).

Whatever may be the eventual fate of these "land colonies," there is no doubt that Mr. Macklin's relief schemes are well worthy of support and he will be very glad to receive contributions of money or old clothes. It is only fair to Mr. Macklin, however, to add that he never asked the writer to draw attention to his plans—he just told me about them very enthusiastically and I was struck first by the rapidity with which he has got to work, and secondly by the great fact that there at least is a real effort not to pauperize.



Dr. Macklin had previously written under date of October 20:

I am now circulating lots of literature. It is a great time, and literature counts. . . .

Just enjoying the revolution. . . .

I enclose a card of Mr. Kung, who is in the seventieth-odd generation from Confucius (Kung Fo Yei). He is a graduate, I believe, of Yale and a student of finance. I had a long talk with him on finance and Singletax. I had a long talk the other day with Wu Tingfang. They may call me in to help them on taxation. It takes with intelligent Chinese. Now is the psychological moment for hard work. I want to get literature in the hands of the peace commissioners.



Joseph Baillie, chairman of an Industrial Committee of the Red Cross Society, wrote from the University of Nanking on December 31, in regard to Dr. Macklin's influence and status as a taxation expert:

Dr. Macklin took me with him a few days ago to see Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who since then has been elected President of the Republic of China. Dr. Macklin took twenty copies of "Progress and Poverty" (in Chinese), along with a number of other tracts on Singletax, and presented them in person to Dr. Sun. Dr. Sun thanked him heartily for the books and said that he was very glad that "Progress and Poverty" had been translated, and added that he himself had thought of translating it. After a short conversation I remarked that it was Dr. Macklin who had arranged for the giving over of Nanking to the Revolution-

ary forces. Whereupon Dr. Sun again thanked Dr. Macklin. Later in the conversation he told Dr. Macklin that when he came to Nanking he would be glad to confer with him on this subject again. Dr. Macklin has also interviewed Wu Tingfang, who, though not so out and out for the Singletax as Dr. Sun, still is favorably impressed. But Sun is the more important man, and Dr. Macklin has his ear. I may say that Dr. Macklin is the Singletax man in China. He is known from Peking to Canton, and from Shanghai to Tibet; and everyone that knows him, knows him as an advocate of the Singletax. I am one of his converts away back in 1896.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Speaker Clark announced his Presidential candidacy on the 27th.

—Edward F. Dunne began his campaign for Governor of Illinois on the 27th at a meeting in Chicago, at which Judge Wm. E. Dever presided. [See current volume, pages 60, 75.]

—Questions arising from Italy's seizure of French vessels on charge of carrying contraband supplies and aid to the Turks are to be referred to The Hague courts. [See current volume, page 85.]

—Paraguay, suffering from revolution, has committed or permitted attacks on Argentine shipping in Paraguayan waters, and Argentina threatens war. [See volume xiv, page 1000; current volume, page 63.]

—An unfavorable report upon the woman suffrage amendment pending before the legislature of Virginia, already reported upon adversely by the committee of the lower house was reported upon adversely by the Senate committee on the 29th. [See current volume, page 85.]

—By a vote of 460 to 307 the Modern Woodmen of America, with a membership of 1,270,608, decided at their convention at Chicago on the 27th, to increase their rates for fraternal insurance by about 45 per cent; ranging, for instance, from 75 cents per \$1,000 per month at 18 years of age to \$2 at 45.

—Representatives from twenty-two States attended the opening session of the eighth annual conference on child labor at Louisville on the 25th. By unanimous vote they adopted resolutions urging the passage of the Borah bill, now before the United States Senate, providing for a national children's bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

—The loss of the Women's Trade Union League, by fire, of a library of 700 volumes, was partly made up on the 27th by a book shower at the rooms of the Woman's City Club. "There were books of all shapes, sizes and colors," says the Record-Herald report, "but one class of book was not to be found there, and that was the paper-back with which working girls are supposed by the unknowing to enjoy themselves." [See current volume, page 85.]

—Pursuant to resolutions of the fourteenth convention of the Texas Federation of Labor, the officers of that body have called a State conference of "all friends of the people's rule through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall," to be held at



Waco, February 12, 1912, for the purpose of "promoting the movement to secure the submission by the next legislature of a Constitutional amendment establishing this system of government."

—At the banquet of the Chicago Political Equality League at the Congress Hotel on the 27th, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout presided as toastmistress and the other speakers were Sylvia Pankhurst, Col. Wunsch, Charles T. Hallinan, Ella S. Stewart, Maurice Browne, Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Nellie J. O'Connor, S. E. Kiser, Louis F. Post and the Marquis of Queensberry. The singing was by Jennie F. W. Johnson and Narcissa H. Yager.

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club of New York City (47 W. 42nd St.) will hold a series of dinners on the following dates: Thursday, February 22 (Washington's birthday); Thursday, March 14; Tuesday, April 2 (the annual Jefferson dinner); Monday, May 6. Dinners will be served at 6:30 promptly. Dress is informal. Dr. Mary D. Hussey will preside at the dinner on February 22. The price at each dinner is one dollar per plate, and the place will be printed on the ticket.

—At a regular meeting of the Ohio League of Municipalities held in Columbus on the 24th, 150 city officials in attendance, the principal subject of discussion was home rule for cities; and on the 25th the League agreed upon recommendations allowing Ohio cities to frame their own charters and "to exercise thereunder all the powers of local self-government" subject to control "by the general laws of the State except in municipal matters." Mayor Baker of Cleveland was elected president of the League.

—Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago was indicted at Los Angeles, California, on the 29th for complicity in alleged jury bribery in the McNamara case, wherein he was leading counsel for the defense. Upon giving bail Mr. Darrow said: "I was expecting to be indicted, and I am prepared for it; all I will say in regard to the indictment is this: I have repeatedly said I know nothing about any attempts to bribe or influence a juror. I repeat that steadily. I confidently hope and expect to be acquitted." [See current volume, pages 32, 33, 36.]

—The Women's Henry George League of New York City will hold their annual Lincoln dinner at Cafe Boulevard, Second Avenue and Tenth Street, Monday, February 12, 1912, at 6:45 p. m. sharp. The topic for discussion will be "The New Morality," and the following speakers will discuss various phases of this question. Bishop Williams of Michigan, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, John S. Crosby, Grace Isabel Colbron, Rose Schnelderman and Charlotte O. Schetter. E. M. Murray, President Women's Henry George League, will preside. Seats for the dinner are \$1.25.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Persian Question.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), Jan. 25.—What has really happened is that Persia's unexpectedly

setting out to pay off the mortgage and rebuild her house so alarmed the covetous mortgagees that they did not hesitate at highway robbery to keep the redemption money from being paid.



### The True Presidential Outlook.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), Jan. 25.—The little democracy of the country watches the maneuvers of the plutocracy in both the old parties, and it waits. When the big scheme has worked out in the two conventions, the democracy will act. And if the plutocrats can get the nominees on both sides there will be a new party born of the sort of passion for justice that brought Lincoln into leadership, and—"a government of the people for the people and by the people shall not perish from the earth."



### Investigate the Money Trust.

The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan), Jan. 26.—Wall Street is making every possible effort to discourage the Democratic House of Representatives from making an investigation of the Money Trust. Every reader of The Commoner is asked to immediately wire or write to his member of Congress to support Robert L. Henry, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, in his efforts to have the Democratic House push the Money Trust investigation. Mr. Henry is a brave and conscientious man and is heartily in sympathy with the proposed investigation. Democrats have for years been complaining of the dark deals. Now that they are in power in the House they should not hesitate to turn on the light.



### Taxation in Kalamazoo.

(Kalamazoo, Mich.) Common Cause (ind.), Jan. 27.—The primary rule of taxation is, "Tax things you don't want, not those you do want." This rule is recognized to some extent in most cities, in the tax on dogs. As a consequence, any increase in their number is checked and the cities are in no danger of being overrun with dogs. Does it not follow that a tax on buildings, machinery and other things which we do want, will tend to decrease their number and quality? A tax on buildings and building material makes them more expensive to build and hold. . . . "Abolish all taxes on personal property, buildings and occupations." But . . . what, then, shall be taxed? Common Cause says, "Tax land values." This is no new theory. The doctrine was preached in France more than two hundred years ago. It was made popular in our day through the untiring efforts of an American, Henry George. But the idea is no longer a mere doctrine. We should no longer try to evade it on the ground that it is theoretical. Far from that, it has demonstrated its practicability. Many localities are now prospering under it as they never prospered before.



Whoever knew truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?—Milton.



## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### A VISION OF JUSTICE

For The Public.

Out of the hurly-burly,  
Far from the struggle and strife,  
Into the sanctum sanctorum,  
At home with my boys and wife,

There came a vision of Justice,  
So majestic and great and wise  
That the scales she held in balance  
Seemed hanging to the skies.

On her eyes appeared no bandage;  
On her lips was a smile of love;  
In her hands was equal freedom  
From the Heavenly Father above.

She filled my heart with her beauty,  
She freed my mind from its fears,  
I saw, and knew that her glory  
Would fill my life all its years.

I planned and fought for her kingdom;  
I dreamed and struggled in vain;  
Resistance was bitter and personal,  
And life seemed shattered with pain.

Then I looked, and saw close above us  
The beautiful vision once more;  
I saw that our efforts would triumph,  
That her kingdom was now at the door.

The lowly of earth she uplifted;  
All privileged thrones she cast down;  
Her reign was the promised millennium,  
Only Justice and Love wore a crown.

No longer shall labor be burdened;  
No more shall trade be restrained,  
For democracy surely will triumph,  
And truth shall then be unchained.

I've seen it, I feel it, I know it—  
That justice on earth is at hand;  
The nations afar all proclaim it—  
Our just, equal rights to the land.

J. W. BUCKLIN.



#### "JUDGE NOT."

For The Public.

A wise and kind Philosopher once said:  
"Judge not, that ye be not judged."

We say of a child born in certain slum districts:

"It is inevitable that he shall be a criminal."  
Or, "It is inevitable that she shall be a prostitute."

Why, then, when the Inevitable comes to pass, should we judge harshly? Why not rather unite in opposition to the—Inevitable?

In the same sense are we not all products of the Inevitable?

Was it not Inevitable that you, born with your particular hereditary tendencies, environed as you were, should be as you are?

Then what of the Rockefeller tribe?

Yet I, for myself, cannot plead the Inevitable.

I must hold myself responsible to myself.

And you to yourself.

Therein lies progress.

You must not judge me, however.

Nor I, you.

Yet "Murder is Murder."

HARRY W. OLNEY.



## TRUE LITTLE TALES OF MINOR REFORMERS.

### 5. The Man in White Linen.

For The Public.

He was selling newspapers by Lotta's Fountain in San Francisco, long years since—an old, old man dressed in white linen in midwinter. The young school teacher, who had come to the city to buy some books, stopped to get a paper from this quaint and sweet-faced man.

"You look mighty neat, and as well as they make them," said the school teacher, smiling as he took the paper.

"Thank you, sir; I do thank you! It's all my dress and one or two other things. Yes! I am very well, and perfectly happy, and I truly expect to live to be as old as Methuselah. I could show everybody how to do that."

"Tell me about it," responded the school teacher, sitting down on the curb-stone.

"Well, sir, I found out, a good many years ago, that we musn't wear wool or silk next to the skin—we must wear linen or cotton. I learned too that one ought to sleep in the open—I slept under a tree in my garden summer and winter. Finally I got like this and now I enjoy all sorts of weather. I never wear a head-dress and I hate shoes. I like sandals on these dirty streets, but in the country I go barefoot. I really believe in one loose garment of linen belted about the waist, but it's too conspicuous, so I just wear a buttonless linen coat, and linen pantaloons—not a thing else."

"What do I live on? Oh, very plainly—fruit and vegetables and nuts and mushes, but never any butter, nor tea, nor coffee."

"Is there anything else? Certainly—the olive oil. I rub all my joints with pure olive oil every night. That spruces me right up and keeps me young as ever. Here I am over eighty, and feel as if I were forty!"

His eyes twinkled with a saving humor. "There's only one drawback to the olive oil. Since my wife died and I sold the garden, I have to board, and

all the women say that I spoil the bed-clothes. So now I furnish my own sheets and pillow cases. I use up a quart bottle of olive oil every week. It doesn't show on my clothes because I rub it off so hard with cotton rags every morning."

"It's very interesting," said the inwardly amused school teacher. "And certainly every fellow ought to live in the way that suits him, always providing that it doesn't upset any one else."

"Well," the old man replied, "my way would just about put all the doctors out of commission. But people can't yet see it. Once I wrote some leaflets about how to live, and had them printed. Then I gave them away for a long time. But I couldn't hear of any one else going in linen, nor sleeping in the wind and rain, nor rubbing in olive oil, so I quit on the leaflets. But I like to have a man ask me about these things."

"Of course every one who thinks he has hold of a good idea wants to see it spread," the young school teacher remarked. "That's the way I feel myself about several things. Now, I like your notion about sleeping outdoors in all kinds of weather. Very few persons do that as yet, but I think others will learn how. I can't say anything about the rest of your scheme of life, but it seems to suit you to a dot. But why not write another leaflet on just the outdoor idea, and wait awhile about your other points? One thing at a time."

"Perhaps that might be a good way," said the old man.

"Now here's the address of a printer in this city—a fine fellow who likes to sleep outdoors. He'll print your leaflet, I think, at cost, and will distribute some. But don't give them away. Sell five for five cents. Here's a silver dollar of our daddies that I earned pretending to teach school away up in Humboldt, and here's my address. Send me a hundred of your leaflets."

The old man fairly beamed upon him.

"I wish my wife were alive," he said. "I haven't had so helpful a word since she died and she would have known what to say to you. She used to look over my leaflets before I printed them."

"There!" said the school teacher. "I ought to have thought of that. I'll see that printer and you let him help you straighten out what you write. If I lived here I would rather do it myself. I expect he will want you to say that it's good outdoor sleeping if you put up a waterproof canvas in rainy weather."

"I thought so at first," the old man answered with a laugh. "But I found that one can sleep warm in a big storm, and get no harm from a sopping wet blanket. Only rub down good and hard in the morning!"

They shook hands and parted. The school teacher went off, thinking how many, many sorts of plans, hopes, schemes and ideals are walking abroad all over the earth, seizing upon the minds of men and shaping them in fire-heats, on anvils.

"May all the kindlier spirits that ride on the wings of the wind," he thought, "grant that at least one truly great and inspiring Reform some time sits at my fireside, puts on my armor, goes out to war unseen at my side, as Pallas Athene went with her chosen. Let me not spend my devotion on clothes and grub, on oils and unguents, nor on any little and lonesome problem of life. For the great world of people needs so much, and still has so far to climb into the full sunshine!"

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

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## BOOKS

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### WAGES AND LAND.

*Arbetslönerna och Jorden (Wages and Land)*. A Collection of Facts from Various Lands and Times. By Johan Hansson. Published by Svenska Andelsförlaget, Stockholm, Sweden, 1911.

The well-known leader of the land value taxation movement in Sweden has by this little book of a hundred pages added another valuable contribution to the economic literature of his country, and one feels the same regret in reading it as one does with the others of his books—the regret that it does not appear in English, so as to reach a wider circle of readers. In this particular case the feeling of regret is all the more keen, as a very considerable part of the book deals with past and present conditions in England, showing the close relationship between land and wages. The book is written in a popular and interesting style, and may well be said to be a miniature history of land conditions in England, in particular, although also Germany, America, New Zealand, Australia, Africa, Alaska and Sweden are dealt with in specific chapters.

The author takes us back as far as the thirteenth century in England. He shows us how, contrary to common conceptions, the wages of labor have not constantly increased through the ages. The golden age of labor in England was the fifteenth century. The purchasing power of average wages in England, referred to the common standard of the price of bread, was in the year 1500 twice that in 1550, and more than four times that in 1803, and six times that in 1812. Abundance of free land and high wages—total monopolization of land and starvation wages—have gone hand in hand.

A most interesting part of the book is that which refers to the causes of the rise of wages in England during the past century. While many other causes, of course, have been contributory, the fact that millions of acres of free or cheap land became available to the toiling masses of Europe during the past century, has been the primary cause of the victories of labor in its struggle for a living wage. These millions of acres were

across the sea, but not inaccessible, and America's cheaper soil has, indeed, been the irresistible economic force that has elevated the conditions of labor in Europe, and especially in England, where the free trade policy has permitted the people to take full advantage of the improvements due to an increase in wages.

The recent origin of the idea of absolute private ownership in land is well illustrated by a quotation from an edict by Gustavus Vasa (king of Sweden, 1521-1560) in which it is stated that "all such lands as unused are, belong to God, the king and the State of Sweden." While this king is still hailed the liberator of Sweden because of his military exploits, his excellent economic doctrine, which would liberate the people in the highest sense of the word, has been forgotten.

Johan Hanssen has done a great service to his country by placing all these facts relating to wages and land before the mass of the people, in an intelligent, concise and readable form. Economic reformers have a tendency to "run to statistics" when they handle subjects of this kind. This book is a fortunate exception.

ERIK OBERG.



## LAND, OR LAND VALUES?

*Jorden eller Jordvardet? (Land, or Land Values?) Experiences from many Countries.* By Johan Hansson. Published by Svenska Andelsförlaget, Stockholm, Sweden, 1911.

In a book of over 200 pages, the author has furnished a very complete review of the progress of land value taxation all over the world, the methods employed, and the results achieved. The book is the revised and enlarged edition of an appeal addressed to the members of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament). It contains a mass of information, giving details of the system of taxation in every country state or city where any kind of land value taxation is in force. Methods for ascertaining site values are dealt with, notably the system used in New York City.

The efforts of Johan Hansson to enlighten the leading men in political life, of the real significance of land value taxation, and of the steps taken elsewhere, have not been without results. Previous to the last election (September, 1911) he sent a circular letter to all the candidates for the Riksdag. The letter contained five questions pertaining to land value taxation and free trade legislation. About 280 answers were received, of which 85 were in full harmony with the aims of the land reformers, and 150 answered in the affirmative on the question whether they were in favor of absolute free trade. How many candidates for Congress do we have at one of our elections that are as enlightened as that?

Only 38 clear "no" answers were received; one

of these was from a clergyman running for office, who wrote his "no" in letters one inch high.

It is fortunate that so thorough economic information is being made available in a small country like Sweden, as it seems more likely that early results will reward the reformers' efforts there than elsewhere. The great nations have so many problems to deal with that the attention is diverted from those which, while most important, are not apparently so to the mass of the voters.

ERIK OBERG.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—*Love and Ethics.* By Ellen Key. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, 50 cents net.

—*Daily Bread.* By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

—*Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus.* By Henry C. Vedder. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*What Tolstoy Taught.* Edited by Bolton Hall. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50; postage, 10 cents.

—*The Story of America Sketched in Sonnets.* By Henry Frank. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.35 net.

—*Readings on Parties and Elections in the United States.* By Chester Lloyd Jones. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price \$1.60 net.

—*Documents on the State-Wide Initiative, Referendum and Recall.* By Charles A. Beard and Birl E. Shultz. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—*New York Charities Directory.* An Authoritative, Classified and Descriptive Directory of the Social, Civic and Religious Resources of the City of New York, including the Boroughs of Manhattan, The Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond. Compiled by Lina D. Miller. Twenty-first edition. Published by the Charity Organization Society, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City. 1912.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### The Food Value of Corn.

"Corn is one of the most important cereal foods from the standpoint of palatability, nutritive value and digestibility." When cooked thoroughly as any grain food should be, the elements of cornmeal are almost wholly assimilated, especially since modern milling removes the hull before grinding. Its tissue-building properties (protein content) are too low in proportion to its energy-producing qualities (fat and starch content) to make corn, eaten alone, a well-balanced food. But the current notions that it is indigestible, or "too heating" for summer time, seem not borne out by science. The other food-products of Indian maize, its structure and history, are

also described in Farmers' Bulletin Number 298, which Charles D. Woods has written for the United States Department of Agriculture.

A. L. G.



### Pamphlets Received.

Chambers of Commerce for Arbitration. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston.

The Arbitration Treaties and Our Religious Duty. By Edward Cummings. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston.

The Arbitration Treaties: An Examination of the Majority Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. By Albert E. Pillsbury. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston.

Syndicates for War: The Influence of the Makers of War Material and of Capital Invested in War Supplies. Reprinted from the New York Evening Post by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston.

## PERIODICALS

### The "Common Cause" of Kalamazoo.

A simple, yet typographically handsome weekly, fundamentally democratic in principle and fearlessly direct in statement, made its appearance in Kalamazoo (Michigan) last week under the general direction of ex-Congressman Todd, with W. W. Powell as managing editor. It is one of those periodicals which, like the Boston Common, makes local emphases of democratic principle. Also, like The Boston Common this Kalamazoo periodical is thoughtfully and vigorously edited. With papers like these establishing themselves over the United States, venal dailies will soon be of little service to the special interests, with which most of them are allied or upon which they are dependent.



### The Spanish Singletaxer.

Among the leading articles of the second issue of "El Impuesto Unico" (The Singletax) are a translation of Henry George's address, "Thy Kingdom Come," and a copy of a letter to Mr. Claudio Williman, President of the Republic of Uruguay, from that active Singletaxer, Dr. Felix Vitale of Montevideo, which is a preamble to an address given by Dr. Vitale before the third Medical Congress, on "The Fight Against Tuberculosis"—the address to be printed in the next number of "El Impuesto Unico." Dr. Vitale emphasizes the fact that the underlying cause of the White Plague is purely economic. Mr. A. Wangemann, of Chicago, has a fine article on land monopoly, which he is to follow with others on the civic and moral aspects of the Henry George philosophy. There is also a Spanish translation of Mr. Jos. Fels's letter to Andrew Carnegie, which appeared in the Philadelphia North American of December 29, 1910, regarding the donation of ten million dollars by Mr. Carnegie to the "Peace Fund." Mr. Fels pointed out the futility of striving for peace between nations, while maintaining tariff protection; trade expansion being the excuse for the exploitation of the weaker nations by the more powerful; and free trade between all countries being the strongest incentive to universal peace; while the

abolition of land monopoly will supply all that can be desired in a home market. Mr. Antonio Albenin is doing well in this, his new venture. (Imprinta Rondena, Plaza Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain.)

C. L. LOGAN.



The Bandit: "Take your last look on the sunrise for belike you will ne'er see another."

The Captive: "Indeed, I trust not. It's the first

## NOTICE OF MEETINGS

A small advertisement in The Public is the most inexpensive and effective way of reaching the members of Single Tax Clubs and of democratic organizations generally. Notices of meetings for insertion can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday).

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB meets on the 2nd at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Building.

Speaker, W. F. REED

Subject: THE INHERITANCE TAX AS A SOCIAL REFORM.

All are Welcome. Ladies Invited. Become a Member and Assist in the Work. JAMES B. ELLER, Sec'y.

THOSE who wish to become members of THE CLEVELAND SINGLE TAX CLUB are invited to send their names and addresses to the Sec'y-Treas., MARTIN F. MCCARTHY, 1464 E. 11th Street, CLEVELAND, OHIO. There are no dues or other obligations. The Club has luncheon every Thursday, 12 to 2, at Weber's, opposite Post Office.

## PAUL M. CLEMENS

Architect

Winnipeg, Man.

When You Select a Shorthand School be sure that it teaches

### BENN PITMAN PHONOGRAPHY.

The Standard Shorthand of America. Written by more than half the Government employees. Taught in the best schools. Briefest, most legible, most easily mastered.

Published by the Phonographic Institute Company, Cincinnati, Ohio

BENN PITMAN, Founder.

JEROME B. HOWARD, President.

## Do You Advertise?

Half a page in any popular publication will attract **some** attention "in the crowd." But half a page in The Public, not crowded, is a **direct personal appeal** to all our readers who are in sympathy with The Public and who believe in our advertisers.

And have you figured the comparative cost?

**STANLEY BOWMAR,**

Manager.

I've seen and I consider that as a spectacle it is grossly overrated, while the cold is intense."—Punch.



In pioneer days a settler near the present town of Albany, Mo., bought for his wife the first cook stove ever seen in that part of the State.

It was an object of great curiosity, and the woman's next door neighbor—who lived ten miles away—came to see how it would work.

Without comment she saw the dinner cooked;

she ate the meal with judgment held in reserve, and then remarked, with a shake of the head:

"Well, Sarah, it cooks all right, and the victuals taste good, but I don't believe it will ever be a success."—Youth's Companion.



She: "Wonderful pictures, aren't they, dear, in this gallery?"

He: "Yes, but hurry? The Joneses did the Louvre,

**T**HE Harvard "Alumni Bulletin" says that for the two last years of their course forty-five per cent of the Harvard sophomores specialize in economics, history and government.

If statistics could be gotten of the number of students—young and old—amongst the mass of the people not at college, who are now vitally interested in these subjects, an increase of numbers just as encouraging would be shown.

Which is fine. But the question is, What teaching is this growing army of the Common Good to get? The "democracy" of the average "progressive" daily newspaper or the democracy which has behind it the inspiration of fundamental truth?

You can help answer that question. One thousand six hundred and fifty-four new subscribers have been added to The Public the last two months—since December 1, 1911—as against 1,121 in the same period last year.

There's an extra day this month. Suppose you give half of it to writing letters to or making a few personal calls on friends, asking them to give The Public a trial!

STANLEY BOWMAR,  
Manager.

**\$1.15 WORTH FOR 50c**

Here is the remarkable offer:

The new Magazine, **Progression**, one year, regular price, 50c.

The famous **McCall's Magazine**, one year, regular price, 50c

A celebrated **McCall Pattern**, and you can have one of the most expensive ones if you like, 15c.

Total at regular prices, \$1.15.

Extremely extraordinary special snap price to introduce the new magazine **Progression** throughout the United States, only 50c.

Think of it! \$1.15 worth for 50c!

Offer is good for renewals or extensions on **Progression** or **McCall's**. All you have to do to get the pattern is to make your selection within 30 days from the receipt of **McCall's Magazine**, and send a postal card order to the address of the **McCall Co.** in New York City.

**Progression** is the new monthly "magazine of reformation, renovation, innovation and information," and it's a "live wire." Connect!

**Progression** teems with the progressive spirit, stands for progression in all things, and has a conspicuous combination of spice, wit and humor as an alluring feature.

**McCall's** is a great family magazine with more than a million circulation.

You can have **La Follette's Magazine** or **Bryan's Commoner** clubbed with **Progression** and **McCall's** for \$1.25.

You can have **La Follette's Magazine** or **The Commoner** clubbed with **Progression** alone for \$1.

This proposition is exclusively for the U. S.

Detroit subscriptions, 12c extra for postage on each combination.

Send money order, money or stamps—now.

Address

**PROGRESSION,**

1068 Fourth Avenue, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Luxemburg, and Cluny in four hours. We must beat their record!" —Puck.



"You saw this horse?" asked counsel for the defendant.

"Yes, sir, I—"

"What did you do?"

"I opened his mouth in order to ascertain how old he was, and I said to him, I said, 'Old fellow, I guess you're a good horse yet.'"

At this juncture opposing counsel leaped to his

feet. "Your honor," he cried, "I object to the statement of any conversation between the witness and the horse when the plaintiff was not present!"—Philadelphia Record.



New Parson (having noticed that the double-bass player uses his left hand simply to support the instrument): "I see you don't use your fingers when you play, John?"

John: "Noa, sir; ye see there be some as twiddles

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