

The Public

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

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

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
LINCOLN STEFFENS, Connecticut
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New York
HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
W. C. EGGLESTON, Oregon
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1912.

No. 725

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

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Seattle's Singletax Campaign.....	169
"Ten Men for Nine Jobs".....	170
The Movement Toward Canada.....	170
A Presidential Weather Vane.....	171
Capital Punishment.....	171
Diplomatic Impoliteness.....	171
Investigating the "Money Trust".....	172
The Larger View of Scientific Management—Its Relation to Labor (Erik Oberg).....	173
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Singletax Facts in Oregon (W. G. Eggleston).....	174
Wm. Allen White in Cincinnati (M. D. Bigelow).....	177
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
A Business View of Cold Storage (David Rosenheim).....	177
The Aldrich Bill (Irwin L. Page).....	177
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
China Becomes a Republic.....	178
Land Tenure in Papua.....	178
The British Parliament.....	179
Home Rule in Great Britain.....	179
Local Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.....	179
The German Reichstag.....	179
The Colombian Affair.....	180
Decision in the Oregon Direct Legislation Case.....	180
Direct Legislation in Texas.....	180
Statehood of Arizona.....	181
In the Constitutional Convention of Ohio.....	181
La Follette's Presidential Candidacy.....	181
News Notes.....	181
Press Opinions.....	183
RELATED THINGS:	
To Robert M. La Follette (Chas. H. Winke).....	183
"Unskilled Labor" (Elliot White).....	183
The Root Question (Margaret McMillan).....	184
BOOKS:	
The Great American Tariff Game.....	186
Pamphlets.....	187
Periodicals.....	187

Seattle's Singletax Campaign.

As the municipal election in Seattle approaches—it comes off on the 5th of March—the fight over the Singletax proposals gets hotter. Multiplying evidences of fear for the result by the privileged interests of that city are significant of even more than a possibility of another municipal victory for the Singletax. Two proposed amendments to the city charter are to be voted on. One provides for a progressive shifting of taxes over a period of years from improvement values to land values; the other provides for immediate abolition of all taxes except on land values. So imminent to the land speculators of Seattle does their danger seem, that they are making the newspapers ring again with their outcries. Letters to the editor, real estate advertisements, editorials, and plenty of them, all go to tell the story of a great local fight—one which, no matter how the approaching election turns out, spells *doom* for land speculation.



That land speculation is doomed by the Singletax movement, and in the interest of land us, is virtually confessed. Read this paragraph from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, the leading daily newspaper of that part of the State of Washington:

One of the leading real estate dealers, explaining the difficulty in finding a market for unimproved property in Seattle, says that the regrade districts

have been almost entirely tabooed by investors, owing not only to the heavy financial burdens imposed upon the property by reason of the cost of the improvements, but by the threat of the passage of the Singletax amendments to the city charter. Already this threat, it seems, has caused a serious financial injury to a considerable class of people, who have borne a heavy tax burden without serious complaint, while without income from their taxable property to aid them in doing so.

To the "P. I." that seems a typical case. We suppose it is; we hope it is. Seattle Singletaxers should welcome the confession. Even the *bare expectation* of the Singletax is here confessed to be producing the beneficent effect which its adversaries "of mart and college" have been contending that it would not produce though in full operation.



What is that effect? That investors are made shy "by the threat of the passage of the Singletax amendments." What kind of investors? Investors in unimproved land, of course, for the above quotation notes "the difficulty in finding a market for *unimproved* property in Seattle." Why the difficulty in finding a market for that kind of property—vacant building lots? The same quotation confesses that it is because the price has fallen. "Already this threat," says the "P.-I.," "has caused a serious financial injury," etc., etc. That is, the land speculators cannot get the profits on their land monopoly which they expected to get. And the Singletax—a mere "threat" of Singletax—has done it. "Good for the Singletax!" is what every workingman, every home owner, every builder, every storekeeper, every other producer in the city of Seattle ought to say, and if wise will say by his vote on the 5th of March. Since the Singletax would exempt improvements from taxation, and would squeeze the "water" out of the price of places to improve upon, the Singletax amendments would surely bring prosperity to the *improvers* of Seattle. And isn't it improvers that Seattle wants to make prosperous?



Seattle may defeat this amendment. We can hardly think the intelligent industrial population of that progressive city will be so easily fooled by land speculation interests, but they may be. If they are, however, sadly will they rue the day. For above the Canadian line Vancouver is going ahead with a stride, under the fostering influence of the Singletax in operation there; and Vancouver will apply it more instead of less. To the south of Seattle, Oregon is about to vote for the

Singletax in her counties, and Portland is almost certain in consequence to follow Vancouver's example. There will then be two large cities, one a little to the north of Seattle and the other a little to the south, in which improvements are not taxed. What effect on the flow of *productive* capital will that have, think you? With two such competitors, both of them exempting all industry, all production, all homes from taxation, Seattle will have little left for it, if she defeats the Singletax amendment, but to change her vote or "dry up and blow away." *Productive capital* will not go to Seattle to be taxed to death, if it can go to Vancouver and Portland and be *tax free*. Under those circumstances, the only kind of investments Seattle could attract would be those that do no city any good. They would be investments not in the production of desirable property that isn't there now, but in boosting the prices of a kind of property (the site of the city) which has always been there and can't get away. Even these blighting investments wouldn't long continue going to Seattle; the turning away of productive capital from Seattle to Vancouver and Portland would make even the site of Seattle a drug in the market.



"Ten Men for Nine Jobs."

There are at all times in Chicago 100,000 men who want employment but can't find it. So says the official report of the free employment commission of Illinois filed at Springfield last week. Yet idleness is explained by laziness, poverty by unthrift, labor tyranny in conserving jobs by crafty labor leaders, and labor dynamiting by wanton wickedness. "What fools these mortals be," to be sure; these mortals who, when their own hearths are heated and their own bellies filled, think the whole world warmed and fed.



The Movement Toward Canada.

Now and then are heard hysterical demands that the migration of Americans to the farm lands of western Canada be checked. But why check it? And if there is a Why, what then about the How? Conditions in Canada attract some American people more strongly than conditions in the United States; else Americans would not migrate. If we would hold our population, we must do more than bewail the departure of those that are now leaving, and we must propose something less vague than "checking" them. Why not ask how it comes that Canada has a greater appeal for certain Americans than America has? American citizens

don't go to Canada because they lack patriotism, and they will not stay here in response to sentimental appeals to national pride. Movements of population always take place in response to the stirrings of self-interest. The tide of migration that populated our own West flowed thither from the Atlantic States and from Europe. Why? Because easy access to land meant high returns to industry. The tendency of population away from our once "golden" West into Canada has the same fundamental cause. But our West is not all settled and overcrowded. The present tendency of Americans toward Canada is not due, then, to lack of good land in America. It is due to the fact that all the best unoccupied land in the United States is held at a high price. Land speculation, like a great wet blanket, has at last chilled the industrial life of the West as it has long chilled the industry of the East and of Europe. Moreover, Canada and other British countries are already turning towards a more intelligent land policy than that which prevails in the United States. May it not be better to "check" migration to Canada by checking land speculation at home, than by trying to "check" it with wishbone incantations?



A Presidential Weather Vane.

The Hearst papers have started a Presidential boom for Mayor Harrison, a pretty good sign that Speaker Clark's chances have improved.



Capital Punishment.

Five men were strangled at a legalized hanging in Chicago last week. The gallows-trap was sprung by the people of Illinois; for it is true, as one protestant writes to his newspaper, that what we as citizens require of the sheriff, in conformity with the law upon our statute books against which we make no protest, nor any attempt to alter or abolish it, we do ourselves—all of us and each one of us.



Not many reasons appear for perpetuating these barbarous laws. One of them is that the hanging of murderers is necessary as a deterrent of murder. The weakness of that excuse is well illustrated in this very case. Swift and relentless was the law's execution, and notorious the fact. Yet "hold-ups" with deadly weapons, the very crime in committing which those hanged men had resorted to murder as an incident, were perpetrated on an ambitious scale (and under circumstances

which made murder almost an incident in one and within the intention of the criminals in both) twice within 48 hours after these horrible executions and within the sphere of their influence. Legal homicides do not prevent those that are illegal. The former foster the latter, if there is any influence. So completely is this indicated by experience with both, that it is difficult any longer to consider the contrary contention as at once in good faith and intelligent. As an argument it has become only an excuse for that real motive for capital punishment which is rooted in the spirit of revenge—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. If the vicious spirit of revenge were exorcised, and love for morbid excitement were given vent through some less brutal sport, all arguments for capital punishment as a preventive of crime would be abandoned.



The sentimentality which pities the murderer on a gallows regardless of his crime, is bad enough to be sure; but the sentimentality which hangs him out of pity for his victim is worse. If the one is spineless, the other is revengeful. Never should it be forgotten that the great fact which tells against capital punishment is not that it is a disagreeable experience for the murderer, but that where tolerated it is degrading to the community both individually and collectively.



Diplomatic Impoliteness.

Whether or not the Colombian minister at Washington has been technically impolite to gentlemen of the American State Department in publishing his letter of protest against Secretary Knox's proposed visit to Colombia, he has at any rate earned the gratitude of the American people by letting them know why the United States of Colombia is aggrieved at the United States of America. It seems that our public servants are keeping the people of this country in ignorance of the important fact that Colombia asks arbitration of a controversy over treaties, and that those servants offensively ignore the request. As they have seen fit to conceal this fact from the American people, the Colombian minister has done the people a favor by publishing it. Of course it is delightfully euphemistic for them to denounce his publication as an insult to the people when it is at the worst an insult only to servants of the people—somewhat such an insult as a guest might be guilty of who took occasion to inform the host that his butler was pawning his silverware. Impoliteness

to public servants is not necessarily an insult to the people they are pledged to serve.



Investigating the "Money Trust."

It won't be the first time that the Interests have "caught a tartar," if William J. Bryan accepts their jibing invitation to appear before the banking committee in Congress and tell them what he means by saying that "the fact that the money trust wants that committee entrusted with the investigation is proof positive that it thinks it can control that committee." Perhaps this significant fact may not be the only proof Mr. Bryan has up his sleeve.



Whoever looks over the names and districts of the members of the Congressional committee on banking may be pardoned for having suspicions, regardless of anything Mr. Bryan has said on the subject or can say. There could be nothing more significant in confirming those suspicions than the fact that the "money trust" is grateful to the Democratic caucus for voting against a special committee of investigation and referring the investigation to the committee on banking. "The conservative statesmen," said the Washington editor of the Chicago Record-Herald (a big-bankers' organ) in its issue of February 8, "as well as the business interests that have feared an outbreak of probe mania with politics for its main motive, will now rest easier." But why rest easier those "business interests that have feared," if Mr. Bryan's estimate of the committee on banking isn't about right? Significant also is the line between factions. Big Business apologists in Congress are all opposed to a special committee and in favor of the banking committee. Yet the banking committee, a standing committee, might be supposed to have regular work of its own to do without the further burden of a special investigation hardly more in its own line than any other grand jury question. And is it not at least conceivable that the banking committee, with its Louisiana reactionary for chairman, was appointed with due regard for the interests of the Wall Street "money trust"?



That there is a "money trust" centralized in Wall Street—"credit trust" would describe it more accurately, no doubt, but "money trust" is the generally understood colloquial term—no one with any information at all upon the subject can very seriously dispute. To understand it, however, and

appreciate the significance of the break in the Democratic ranks in Congress over the "money trust" investigation, the fact must be grasped that "Wall Street" is not one "crowd" but two, and that those two "crowds" are not really distinguished as "bulls" and "bears." The younger element are one "crowd," and they are fighting the older and entrenched "crowd." The younger "crowd" suffer as much from the "money trust" and Big Business generally as any other of the unentrenched anywhere. Nor do the younger "crowd" scoff at the idea of a "money trust." They are "up against it" and know all about it. They are a more conscientious and progressive "crowd," too. How long they would remain so if they themselves were once entrenched, no one can say; but they are so now. They oppose the shifty dealing and the shifty relations of the stock exchange; they want that famous trade union of which they are a part, incorporated so as to bring it under legal control; and generally they are for recognizing and falling in with the changed conditions and tendencies of the national consciousness. With all this, however, they haven't yet got their bearings, or else they have to drift helplessly with the current the entrenched "crowd" controls. Be that as it may, this younger "crowd" in Wall Street looks with no reluctance upon a thorough-going investigation of the "money trust," except perhaps that individuals in the "crowd" may fear becoming involved as witnesses. In that event they might provoke from the entrenched "crowd" a vengeance vastly more dreadful than their mere exclusion from "good things."



The "money trust" is dissected by Samuel Untermeyer, the corporation lawyer of New York, of whom Moody's Magazine for February remarks that he might say of it "what Aeneas said of the siege of Troy, 'All of it I saw; part of it I was.'" According to Mr. Untermeyer's dissection, there are twelve bones in the "money trust's" anatomy. First, a few groups of men in New York City control the finances of the consolidated industrial and the railroad corporations. Second, thereby they dominate most of the great banks and trust companies. Third, there has consequently been an enormous concentration of banking power. Fourth, the money and securities' markets have thereby largely fallen under the dictation of those few men. Fifth, they prevent independent railroad construction. Sixth, they prevent competition with the corporations they foster. Seventh, they dominate the New York Stock Exchange and the New York Clearing House. Eighth, part of their system is

the use for their own ends of the arbitrary power of the Clearing House and of the Stock Exchange. Ninth, they use the funds of the banks and trust companies they dominate for the speculative and other enterprises they take under their wing. Tenth, those banks and trust companies are thereby drawn into partnerships in great speculative enterprises foreign to their legitimate business. Eleventh, panics are arbitrarily produced through the complexity of great financial interests under the control of these few men. Twelfth, the same men are at all times able to know when and how to strike a victim, because all secrets are open to them through their control of the banking mechanism.



Is it any wonder that a committee on banking was packed in the lower House of Congress for the purpose of putting through the Aldrich bill, for the benefit of that same "money trust"? or that under the Underwood-Fitzgerald leadership the proposed Congressional investigation of that trust was whisked away from a special committee to the standing committee on banking? To know this situation is to know why Bryan is hooted at by Congressional allies of the Interests. He interferes with the game. An obtrusively troublesome "cuss," this Mr. Bryan!



THE LARGER VIEW OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT—ITS RELATION TO LABOR.

Ever since the day of Louis Brandeis's famous assertion before the Interstate Commerce Commission, that the railroads of the country could save a million dollars a day by a thorough application of the principles of "scientific management," the periodical press of the country has taken a great deal of interest in this phase of industrial development. The general relation of the labor unions to this new principle of management has been set forth in "Industrial Engineering," as follows:

The labor unions have been accused by those opposed to them, of being strong upholders of the doctrine of limitation of output. Whether this accusation is true or not, we shall not at this moment inquire. There are two points of view from which to consider the doctrine of limitation of output by the workers, and it depends on the point of view whether this doctrine is justifiable or not.

The first point of view is that whereby the entire country is considered as a great manufacturing plant in competition with other manufacturing plants, that is with other countries. If a nation be so regarded,

it is absolutely indefensible to limit the output of the workers, because such action permits the competing countries to enter into the market of the country under consideration and sell goods in competition with it which otherwise would be sold by it. Furthermore, regarding the country as a manufacturing plant and limiting the output of the workers in this plant, necessarily raises the cost of the goods manufactured by it, and this cost may be then so prohibitive in competition with the cost of goods made in other countries, as to preclude the sale of the articles made in a country where the output is limited. For it is obvious that the selling price of the goods must bear a proportion of the overhead expenses of the plant, and if the output is but one-half of what it might be, then the proportion of overhead expense borne by each unit of manufacture, is double what it otherwise would be. This is as true of the country as a whole as it is of any single manufacturing establishment. It is thus readily seen that limitation of output may serve in the end to prevent any output whatever for export use, and possibly for domestic use, unless the given industry is protected by a high tariff which prevents foreign-made goods entering into free competition with those of domestic manufacture.

This broad-gauge view of affairs is not the one commonly ascribed to the labor union leaders. These gentlemen are usually considered as holding the contrary viewpoint; namely, that there is only a limited amount of work of each kind in the country to be done, and that if it is done too rapidly, the men will work themselves out of a job. This belief goes hand in hand with the practice of limiting the number of apprentices in any given industry, for, according to this idea, the more men there are to do a given amount of work, the sooner that work will be done and all hands rendered idle. It is one of the fundamental facts of political economy that reduction in the cost of a product stimulates the demand for that product. It is this fact that the gentlemen of the labor unions profess to disbelieve, and is the rock upon which capital and labor often split.

It is on account of their disbelief in this fundamental fact that opposition is being offered in certain quarters by the labor unions to the introduction of scientific management. Scientific management, as has been proven beyond doubt, is the most powerful tool ever placed in the hands of American manufacturers for the reduction of costs. At the same time that it reduces costs, it enormously increases the output of the workers and thereby runs afoul of the doctrine of limitation of output.

Neglecting in this connection the apparent misconception of some of the most fundamental laws of economics, as evidenced by the latter part of the second paragraph quoted, let us ask ourselves if scientific management really would, under present social and economic conditions, materially reduce costs.

Is it not true that as soon as manufacturing can be done more profitably in one locality than in another, and as soon as wages rise in one locality

as compared with another, the values of land—rents—rise also?

If the manufacturing efficiency of the whole country is raised to double its present level, *how much* of the increase of the production or the decrease in costs will benefit the producers—either in their capacity of manufacturers or workers?

Have we not the evidence of generations past, that very nearly the total increase—the total benefit—will take the form of increased land values? And that therefore the “scientific manager,” who is not a land-owner, and the “scientifically managed” workman, will both find that neither of them is any better off than today?

Admitting this to be true, can we blame the labor unions for seeing no benefit to the worker in the methods of scientific management?



What the advocates of scientific management do not seem to understand is that equitable distribution of produced wealth is by far a more pressing industrial problem than is increased production.

We have gone on for the past fifty years increasing production beyond the boldest dreams of the engineers of half a century ago, yet the workers in the industries are not materially better off today than they were at that time. At least, they are no nearer—but farther—from their cherished hope of independence and freedom from want in advanced years. Hence a mere increase of production cannot appeal to the wage-earner. It does not benefit him.



Real scientific management must look farther than to a mere increase of goods per worker; for it seems as if our increased production went into a bottomless pit. That pit is the monopoly of land—of natural resources—of ore lands, of mining lands, of forests.

What we need is scientific management of the natural wealth of our country. And in order to have scientific management in this respect it is necessary that we prevent limitation of output in a greater sense than that applied to the labor unions. The monopolist who holds vacant lots idle if he does not get the tribute he demands, the farmer who quits working his farm and rents it to a tenant if he finds one who will pay his price, the owners of mining land who require high royalties from the operating capitalists—all these restrict the output. They should bear the blame for the limitation of output fully as much as the disinherited workman who resorts to this means purely in self defense.

If we had scientific management of the nation, if all the land values were required to contribute to the support of the government an approximate equivalent of the benefits attaching to land on account of the existence of government, then it would not be possible for the owner of natural resources—of land—to gather unto himself all the profits from an increase in production. Then it might be worth while to talk to the wage-earner of the benefits of double productive efficiency; but not till then.

This proposition, however, is one which most of our advocates of scientific management cannot see. They are, in general, either by training or association, closely allied with the monopolistic interests, and to them scientific management means nothing except increased profits.

And, therefore, although all doctrines of limitation of output are wrong in principle, we cannot accuse the labor unions of any error in judgment, as long as those men who profess to know better than the laboring people, themselves uphold the greatest example of limitation of output known to the world: *The monopoly of land.*

ERIK OBERG.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SINGLETAX FACTS IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, Feb. 14.

In preparation for the vote on land values taxation for Clackamas County,* Oregon, at the election in November next, the “Singletax Assessment and Tax Roll of Clackamas County, Oregon, for 1910” is now complete and ready for the printer. It shows in detail what the taxes under the present system were in 1910, and what they would have been for that year if, instead of the present tax system, the Singletax had been in operation in that county. As Clackamas County is a fairly typical progressive community, the data will probably be useful everywhere.



Under the supervision of the deputy assessor of Clackamas County the name, assessments and taxes of every taxpayer in the county were copied into large blank books especially prepared for the work.

The land values and labor values are shown separately; then the Singletax exemptions and assessments; then the taxes actually paid on the 1910 assessments, and by contrast the taxes that would have been paid under the Singletax to raise the same amount of revenue in the county. As the Clackamas County Initiative tax bill to be voted on by the people of the county proposes to abolish all revenue from licenses and permits, the amount raised from those sources for 1910 is included in

*See The Public, volume xiv, pages 824, 844; current volume, pages 97, 105.

the column showing what the tax would have been under the Singletax.

The costs of this very extensive investigation are paid by the Joseph Fels Commission out of the Joseph Fels Fund of America, and the work has been done with greatest care. Everything has been balanced by accountants who were instructed to be accurate, whatever the cost in time, trouble or money. For example, the clerks who copied the official books made an error in separating Singletax exemptions from Singletax assessments. The six accountants spent about three weeks correcting that error. Yet it would have made a difference of not more than 1 per cent in the totals for the whole county.



Anyone seems able to understand how land values and work values are separated on city lots; but there are many who do not understand that improvements in farm land are work values just as much as are improvements and personal property on any kind of land. So, to illustrate the Clackamas County method of making Singletax exemptions and assessments in the case of farms I shall "spell out" one example.

M. E. Blanton has a farm in Clackamas County; 75 acres cultivated in 1910 and assessed \$49 an acre; 84.82 acres uncultivated, and assessed \$12.38 an acre; improvements and personal property assessed \$400; total assessment under the present system, \$5,125, on which the 1910 tax was \$128.13. But in the Singletax assessment, his cultivated land is estimated at the same as his uncultivated land—\$12.38 an acre. That is, in his cultivated land Mr. Blanton has \$12.38 an acre of community value and \$36.62 an acre of "labor value," and by the Singletax system the labor values are all exempt as work values.

Now let's itemize Mr. Blanton's assessments and taxes under the two tax systems, and see how they look:

	Singletax.		Present Tax System.	
	40.47 mills.	25 mills.	Assess-ment.	Taxes.
Labor value IN land..	\$2,745 Exempt	No tax	\$2,745	\$68.63
Labor value ON land..	400 Exempt	No tax	400	10.00
Totals on labor values...	Exempt	No tax	\$3,145	\$78.63
Community value of land	\$1,980	\$80.13	1,980	49.50
Total assessments.....	\$1,980	.....	\$5,125	.....
Total taxes .....	.....	\$80.13	.....	\$128.13

Blanton would have saved \$48 by the Singletax—the difference between \$128.13 under the present tax system and \$80.13 under the Singletax system.

Of course, the tax rates under the two systems vary according to school districts and road districts, though the general fund rates are the same all over the county. The different assessments and taxes will not be set out as in the foregoing diagram when the tax roll is printed, but all the figures for each individual taxpayer will be printed on one line.

Notice that Mr. Blanton's farm is not quite half improved; he has more uncultivated than cultivated acres.

Now let's take a speculator, a wealthy Portland apostle of Big Business.

J. C. Ainsworth owns a tract of 160 acres in Clackamas County; not an acre in cultivation in 1910; assessed \$20 an acre; total of \$3,200, and the 1910 tax was \$48. Under the Singletax he has no exemption, his assessment is \$3,200, and the tax would have been \$74.18.

True, this increase of \$26.18 is not much, but it helps some.



The speculators and other philanthropists who "feel for the poor," and utter their wails through the columns of The Oregonian, are much concerned lest the Singletax ruin the "little home owner." Their eyes spring a leak every time they think of the "little home owner" and what Singletax will do to him.

Well, Hannah Bluhm is one of the little home owners of Clackamas County. She has 5 acres, all cultivated; assessed \$80 an acre in 1910, with \$250 of personalty and improvements; total \$650, taxed \$10.40. But the community value of her land is only \$20 an acre, so her Singletax assessment would have been only \$100, her Singletax exemption \$550, and her tax only \$2.50. Her saving by Singletax would have been \$7.90.

Thomas C. Biggs is another little home owner; with a quarter of an acre assessed \$160 in 1910, no uncultivated land, and \$250 of "labor value on land." Total general property assessment, \$290; tax \$4.35. But the community value of his land is \$20 an acre, or \$5 for the quarter acre—and his Singletax assessment would have been just \$5, on which the tax would have been 12 cents. Mr. Biggs would have saved \$4.23, which means ruin and desolation, according to The Oregonian.



How do we know what is the exact community value of a farm when all the land of the farm is cultivated?

We don't "know," but we take the county assessor's estimate of the value of adjoining uncultivated land, as we take his estimate of all land and other property. We are not adopting arbitrary methods, nor making arbitrary assessments; and we are not saying that the assessor is right or wrong in his valuations. Some day we shall have scientific assessments; the sooner we have Singletax, the sooner shall we adopt scientific methods of assessing land.

Here is an example of a man with no cultivated land who would have saved money by the Singletax: Arndt Boe had 7.5 acres uncultivated, assessed \$175; buildings and personalty assessed, \$340; total general property assessment, \$515, and tax \$9.28. His Singletax exemption would have been \$340, assessment \$175, and tax \$4.70. Mr. Boe has another tract of 39 acres, 29 cultivated, \$400 of improvements and personalty, total \$2,390, on which he paid a tax of \$54.97 for 1910. His Singletax exemption would have been \$1,415, assessment \$975 and tax \$26.14. So on his two pieces of land he would have saved \$33.41 by the Singletax.



How about home owners in Clackamas County

cities and towns? There are two kinds of "home owners." The Estacada State Bank represents the wrong kind. It owns 320 lots, assessed \$15,645; buildings and personalty, \$1,670; total, \$17,315; 1910 tax, \$516.49. Singletax exemption \$1,670, assessment \$15,645, and tax \$1,043.66—which means an increase of \$527.15 in taxes on the Estacada State Bank. There are several "home owners" of that kind in Clackamas County.

District Judge J. U. Campbell, of Oregon City, is an example of the other kind of home owner. In 1910 he had one lot assessed \$400, buildings and personalty assessed \$700; total, \$1,100; taxes, \$35.74. His Singletax assessment would have been \$400; tax, \$26.34.

Dr. A. E. Sommer, of Oregon City, had two lots assessed \$200; buildings and personalty, \$2,500; tax paid, \$87.75. Total Singletax assessment, \$200; Singletax, \$13.17.

Another horrible thing about Singletax is that "it will interfere with business." For example, the Canby Bank & Trust Company, of Canby, owns half a lot assessed \$150; building and personalty, \$8,700; total 1910 assessment, \$8,850; tax, \$230.11. Singletax would have "interfered" with it by exempting the \$8,700, making a total assessment of \$150, and total tax of \$7.41.

Burmeister & Andresen, jewelers, have one lot in Oregon City assessed \$10,000; building and personalty, \$20,000; total assessment in 1910, \$30,000, and taxes, \$975. Singletax would have blown up their business in this way: Exemption, \$20,000; assessment, \$10,000; tax, \$658.40. Observe the wreck!

The Oregon City Manufacturing Company—woolen mills—had eight lots, assessed \$29,500 in 1910; buildings and personalty, \$70,500; total assessment, \$100,000; taxes, \$2,583.75. Their Singletax assessment would have been \$29,500, and tax \$1,942.28. That saving of \$641.47 would have crushed the business, wouldn't it?

The Hawley Pulp & Paper Company has 6 lots in Oregon City, assessed \$10,200 in 1910; buildings and personalty, \$92,200; total assessment, \$102,400; taxes, \$3,542.50. The Singletax on their \$10,200 of lots would have been \$671.57—which would have been another "attack on business."



Another "blot on the 'scutcheon' of Singletax, according to The Oregonian, is that it will benefit the railroads and other big corporations by "totally exempting them from taxation." We didn't want to do any guessing at the franchise and right-of-way valuations of the nine big franchise corporations doing business in Clackamas County; so we brought Edward P. E. Troy up from San Francisco last September to make an accurate valuation. After exactly two months of hard labor he got his valuations. See how they compare with the valuations of the same properties by the State Tax Commission:

Tax Commission	\$2,989,965
Mr. Troy	2,943,329

Mr. Troy exempted all the improvements and personal property, and found almost as much value for the franchises and rights-of-way as the Tax Com-

mission and local assessor together found for all operating property. The tax figures show for the nine corporations:

Singletax for 1910.....	\$100,975.75
Taxes paid for 1910.....	70,197.37
<hr/>	
Increase by Singletax.....	\$ 30,778.38

That does not include the substantial Singletax increase on the 89,370 acres of speculative land owned by the Southern Pacific in 1910, and assessed \$1,105,555.

Mr. Troy made his estimates from the reports of the corporations filed with the State Tax Commission and the State Railroad Commission, and from other data. The reports filed with the two commissions are really marvelous examples of expert bookkeeping, especially in their disagreements. One report is prepared to keep assessments down; the other is prepared to keep traffic rates up. It requires a first-class juggler to make such reports—and that's why the franchise corporations employ jugglers to handle figures for them.



Just a few words about two other "home makers." T. D. and E. S. Collins own 19 tracts of uncultivated land almost in a bunch, containing 10,851 acres assessed in 1910 at \$162,000; no improvements or personal property. The 1910 taxes were \$3,444. The Singletax would have been \$4,642. That 10,851 acres of land is a good deal, isn't it? But the chief owner of The Oregonian, Mr. Pittock, has one block of speculative land in Portland, 200x200 feet, or less than one acre, which was assessed \$502,000 in 1910. That illustrates the difference between "land" or "land area" and *land value*. Mr. Pittock's little piece of Portland land was assessed \$12.55 a square foot, and the Collins acres were assessed \$14.98 an acre.



A County Singletax law will be initiated in Multnomah County, like the one already filed for Clackamas County, and we shall dig up some 1910 figures to show how the Singletax would have affected Portland home owners, business and speculators in 1910. We can't make a tax roll for the whole county; all we need is enough to keep The Oregonian up to the boiling point.

W. G. EGGLESTON.



P. S.—Do you—whoever you are—think this work is worth while? If you do, send to Daniel Klefer, Cincinnati, a contribution to the Joseph Fels Fund of America. Don't wait until you are rich, or dead—"do it now." Don't be ashamed to send a dime if you can't send more. If you can send more without spraining your pocketbook, do so. None of the Fels Fund is spent for buying votes, "fixing" conventions or soaping delegates. It is spent for such work as is being done in Oregon—work that will put the Singletax into operation in America. Any object lesson here will make the reform popular everywhere.

W. G. E.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE IN CINCINNATI

Cincinnati, Feb. 18.

William Allen White spoke in place of Mr. Bigelow at the People's Church here today on "Pedagogues." His audience numbered from 1,000 to 1,500 people. His address was read and listened to with such subdued enthusiasm as one seldom finds. Many felt as if Tom L. Johnson had come again. In voice and attitude, in genial good-fellowship, and in essential truth he did come again. William Allen White dared to tell Cincinnati that the saloon must be eliminated. Daniel Kiefer asked him if he wore any badge, and the only one White would acknowledge was "Kansas Progressive Republican." Someone asked him if the women suffragists of Kansas were going to carry their Amendment, and he switched ideas to politics by saying that the Amendment was going to get just the number of votes "Teddy-Bear" was going to get. Some of us do not want "Teddy-Bear" votes, but then we do not live in Kansas. But William Allen White is one of God's noblemen and we all want him to pass this way again. Mayor Baker of Cleveland speaks next Sunday at the People's Church.

MARGARET DOANE BIGELOW.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A BUSINESS VIEW OF COLD STORAGE.

Chicago.

Cold storage warehouses perform so important a function in modern food preserving that the time has come when the Federal government ought to regulate them just as it is now trying to regulate the railroads. So large a percentage of the people's food is stored in cold storage that the control of these warehouses and their contents means absolute control of the prices of such farm produce as butter, cheese, eggs, apples, poultry, fish, meats, dried fruits, etc.

One of the chief causes of the constantly increasing price of these products is the fact that they have become articles of speculation—just as wheat, corn, oats and hog products have—and the speculative trade is carried on in much the same way, to wit: by the circulation of "bullish" news of all kinds, such as crop failures, abnormal consumption, large export demand, and the like. There is little objection to the storing of food in these warehouses, when they have been properly constructed and sanitary conditions are maintained; in fact, they perform the important and desirable function of equalizing prices, which otherwise would at certain seasons of the year be abnormally low and at others correspondingly high.

If all the perishable food products now stored in coolers had to go into consumption at the time of maturity, the price would be so low that the producer would be bankrupted; and at other seasons of the year, by reason of the difficulty and expense of producing them out of season, the price would be so exorbitant that few people could buy. The cold storage warehouse has, therefore, become a necessity and should be regulated as all public utilities

are being regulated. It should be encouraged to perform its legitimate function of storing food products, and stopped from becoming an agency in the hands of speculators for advancing prices.

Let Congress pass an act requiring the superintendent of every cold storage warehouse storing food products for inter-State commerce to make a sworn report on the first of every month either to the Bureau of Commerce and Labor or to the Agricultural Department of all the kinds and quantity of food under his charge. These reports when tabulated and published by the government would keep the consumer and dealer informed of the quantity of surplus food in storage at all times, and everyone interested would know how fast it was going into consumption, which would make the circulation of false reports impossible and thereby prevent illegitimate speculation. As a rule there is not much complaint from the consumer on account of a high price, if he can be satisfied that the price asked is warranted by conditions. After these reports had been published a year, comparisons could be made each month with the corresponding month of the previous year, and soon the country would know the quantity of each article of food required to maintain normal prices.

DAVID ROSENHEIM.



THE ALDRICH BILL.

Bonne Terre, Mo.

The whole, sole and only purpose concealed in the cumbersome machinery of the Aldrich bill is to perpetuate for all time the practice of the banks of sending the money belonging to the people to Wall Street, where the Captains of Industry may have access to it through their control of the Wall Street banks, thus enabling these Captains to have ready money to float those Trusts which are designed to rob the very people whose money is used to make the Trust possible.

National bank and State bank laws wisely provide that banks must at all times keep on hand a certain per cent of their deposits. Provision is made that these banks may redeposit this money supposed to be on hand with the banks in the larger cities, and the banks in the larger cities send it to the System banks in New York. This plan was authorized in the belief that the country and city banks could always get their funds from the System in a time of stress—a theory that was exploded by the John Smith panic.

We now need this machinery wiped off the statutes in nation and State and should compel the banks to retain in their several communities the funds deposited by the people of each community. This will enable the communities to develop along natural lines and will for all time put a stop to the domination of Wall Street and to the organization of Trusts.

IRWIN L. PAGE.



Entails are founded upon the most absurd of all suppositions, the supposition that every successive generation of men have not an equal right to the earth and to all that it possesses.—Adam Smith.

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, February 20, 1912.

China Becomes a Republic.

Following the abdication of the Manchu dynasty last week, all China began to fuse into the republican government already organized in the south. The Ching Hwa Republic becomes the official name of the new China. On the 14th the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, officially informed the foreign legations at Peking that the Throne had instructed him to form a republican government which would for the time being continue to be carried on with his former cabinet. An official telegram from Peking to the Chinese legation at Washington has directed that while "a provisional government is being established, all ministers accredited to foreign governments shall act provisionally as diplomatic representatives and continue to perform their duties as heretofore. All members of the legation staff and consular officers (in America) shall temporarily retain their present posts." [See current volume, page 153.]

To make possible a coalition between radical south China, already organized into a republic under the Presidency of Sun Yat Sen, and conservative north China, just coming out from under the dominance of the Manchu Emperors, and left by the Imperial edicts in charge of Yuan Shi Kai, regarded in China as the ablest of living Chinese, it became immediately necessary to arrange for some compromises. President Sun Yat Sen, following out a course he had indicated from the beginning of his official responsibility, resigned the Presidency on the 14th, two days after the abdication of the little Emperor; and on the 15th the National Assembly, sitting at Nanking, unanimously elected Yuan Shi Kai President, and decided that the provisional capital should remain at Nanking, though it is also reported that a majority of the members are willing to permit a temporary removal to Peking for convenience. Dr. Sun Yat Sen's resignation was accepted by the National Assembly, on condition that both he and the present cabinet should hold office until the new President and cabinet should take over the duties. The National Assembly afterwards passed an impressive tribute to Dr. Sun, saying of his voluntary resignation of his exalted office, that—

Such an example of purity of purpose and self-sacrifice is unparalleled in history. It was solely

due to his magnanimity and modesty that northern China was won over.

It was at first announced that Yuan Shi Kai would undertake the responsibilities to which he had been elected, but that he could not go to Nanking at present, as his presence was needed in the north to ensure tranquillity. It was reported on the 17th, however, that he had on that day telegraphed Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the Republican Minister of Justice, as follows:

I am unable to control the involved situation in China, as I am suffering from impaired health. Now that the aims of the Republicans have been attained, I have accomplished my duty. The post of President of the Republic would only serve to lead to my ruin. I ask your kind offices and interest with the people of the country to elect Dr. Sun Yat Sen, to whom credit should be given. I will wait here until I am relieved. Then I will return to my home and resume my work as a husbandman.

In the meantime Yuan is said to have had his queue cut off, to signify his acceptance of Republican customs as well as principles.

The old style Chinese calendar, abrogated by President Sun Yat Sen on his inauguration on January 1st, went finally out of existence on Friday, the 16th, when the year 4609 ended. [See current volume, page 15.]

According to news given out by the Department of State at Washington, China is now assured of an early abolition of the Indo-Chinese opium traffic, and the prohibition of the importation of morphine or cocaine except for medical use, by the terms of the convention between the Powers represented at the international opium conference at The Hague. The United States, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Persia, Russia and Siam have signed the convention, and all other civilized Powers not represented at the conference will be urged to do so. The subscribing Powers agree to limit the number of ports where prepared opium may be exported, and the Powers agree to control the manufacture. Traffic in raw opium will be limited to authorized persons. [See vol. xiv, pages 318, 323, 363, 443.]

Land Tenure in Papua.

On January 12 the London Morning Post, a Tory paper which strongly opposed the great Budget of 1909-1910, printed an interview with Mr. Staniforth Smith, Administrator of the Australian dependency of Papua, the southeastern part of the large island of New Guinea lying north of Australia and just south of the equator. Mr. Smith expressed himself as well satisfied with the

land laws, which he believes are calculated to encourage agricultural enterprise and the investment of capital. Papua has an area of 90,000 square miles, a healthy though tropical climate, and a rich, well watered soil. "One of the most interesting features of the system of colonization," says the Post, "is the determination of the Administration to retain the fee simple of the land of Papua." Out of 58,000,000 acres only 27,000 are free hold. This fortunate condition is due to the watchfulness of the Australian Government which defeated an almost successful attempt on the part of an English syndicate to acquire a huge slice of territory. "The Commonwealth Government claim to have averted the introduction into the territory of a system which is said to be responsible for the holding-up of millions of acres which were acquired by syndicates and corporations in Australia through the complaisance of the Colonial Office in the early days of settlement, and which have now to be bought back by the state at enormously enhanced values." The land in Papua may be taken up on 99-year leases, at an average yearly rental of three pence per acre, subject to reappraisal every twenty years. Some 370,000 acres are thus employed for the cultivation of Para rubber, coconuts, coffee, sisal-hemp, maize, sugar, tobacco, etc. All the rest of the land, excepting one million acres in possession of the government and the small freehold already mentioned, are held by the 300,000 natives. There are 1,100 white residents. The condition of the natives under this regime is particularly noteworthy. "The foundation of the natives' charter of rights," says Mr. Staniforth Smith, "was the wise provision that they should be confirmed in the actual possession of their own lands. . . . No settler is allowed to purchase lands from the natives. If a planter desires to lease an area of land belonging to a Papuan he must apply to the Government," whose land buyers authorize the transfer "only in the event of the natives not requiring the land and being willing to sell it. . . . The million acres of Crown lands are held in trust, as it were, to meet future applications." In providing that no land can be alienated in fee simple and that rental must be assessed on the unimproved value of land, the law recognizes the common interest of all the inhabitants in the soil which supports them. [See vol. xi, page 678.]



The British Parliament.

Reassembling on the 14th, the British Parliament was addressed from the Throne in the usual perfunctory manner, the King's speech being a colorless reflection of Ministerial policy. It announced the submission of three distinct proposals of importance, as follows:

A measure for the better government of Ireland will be submitted to you.

A bill will be laid before you to terminate the establishment of the church in Wales and make provision for its temporalities.

Proposals will be brought forward for the amendment of the law with respect to the franchise and the registration of electors.

[See vol. xiv, page 1293.]



Home Rule in Great Britain.

That Irish home rule will be followed with home rule for Scotland and Wales, with the ultimate result of home rule for England also, and for national purposes a national parliament representative of all the autonomous British governments on the globe, has for three years or more been in the undercurrent of British political discussion. This discussion came to the surface in London on the 17th, when 20,000 persons assembled in Trafalgar Square, London, in support of the Ministerial policy of home rule for Ireland. Resolutions adopted at the meeting urge the necessity of giving as generous a measure of home rule to Ireland as is consistent with the maintenance of Imperial supremacy, and suggest that the bill be framed so as to be capable of early application to England, Scotland and Wales. They are reported to have been adopted with the greatest enthusiasm. [See current volume, page 154.]



Local Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.

At a meeting of the City Council of Glasgow, Scotland, on the 25th, a resolution soliciting powers from Parliament to resort to land values taxation for local purposes, was adopted by a vote of 43 to 11. [See vol. xiv, pp. 1101, 1170.]



The German Reichstag.

Later dispatches confirm the rumor that the president of the Reichstag, Dr. Spahn, of the Catholic party, refused to hold the office with a Socialist for first vice-president. Dr. Spahn resigned, and Johannes Kaempf, a Radical, was elected in his place. The National Liberal second vice-president, Dr. Paasche, also resigned, presumably for like reasons, and Heinrich Dove, a Radical, was chosen to succeed him. These changes officered the Reichstag with Radicals for president and second vice-president, respectively, and a Socialist for first vice-president, the latter being Mr. Scheideman. Dispatches of the 17th report that Mr. Scheideman has declined to take part in the ceremonial call of the Reichstag officers upon the Emperor to announce its organization; the same dispatches report that the Emperor refuses to receive the two Radicals. [See current volume, page 154.]

The Colombian Affair.

Pedro del Ospina, the minister to the United States of America from the United States of Colombia, created a sensation on the 18th by authorizing the newspaper publication of a note he had sent to the State Department at Washington suggesting that a visit to Colombia about to be made by Secretary Knox might be considered there as at present inopportune. In this note, the Colombian minister, in polite, diplomatic terms and in his "own name and without any knowledge of the views of" his government, stated that he took—

the liberty of suggesting that there is perhaps reason for believing that such a visit of his excellency the Secretary of State may happen to be considered as inopportune at the present time, in view of the fact that Colombia still finds herself placed by the United States in an exceptional position, as the only member of the numerous family of independent nations scattered over the face of the earth to which, despite its constant demands, the United States refuses to submit to arbitration questions referring exclusively to the interpretation of public treaties and the compliance with obligations imposed by the universally accepted principles of international law on all civilized nations in their relations one with another.

After saying that Mr. Roosevelt, both as President and in private life, "has always emphatically maintained the propriety and desirability of submitting to the decision of an impartial tribunal of arbitration the decision of international controversies involving such questions," and urging that his letter be taken as born of the desire "to avoid any occasion of aggravating the differences which exist between the two countries, and to see the hour arrive when they may be satisfactorily settled," to which his own country "always has been and is now disposed," Mr. Ospina specifies the grievance as follows:

Nearly three months have elapsed since, in compliance with the instructions of my government, I reiterated (Nov. 25) to the government of the United States the demand for the arbitration of the existing controversy, and I see myself obliged to say, with surprise and mortification, which you will doubtless well understand, that up to the present I have not had the honor of receiving a reply. One of the several grounds of complaint put forward, if my memory serves me well, as I have not the document at hand, by the government of the United States to the government of Great Britain, in 1893-'94 when, in such peremptory terms it demanded the submission to arbitration of the boundary question then pending with Venezuela, was, as you will well remember, that England had left without reply for a considerable length of time an important note of the State Department. Let it be permitted to Colombia, in her weakness, to respectfully and candidly express how hard it is for her to see herself subjected to a like treatment. No one who knows the unrest which is being felt in my country at the delay in the satisfactory disposal of these questions will fail to look

sympathetically upon the efforts which it is necessary for me to make to obtain a settlement as rapidly as possible.

Mr. Ospina's consent to the newspaper publication of his letter is reported from Washington as having made him "persona non grata" to the American government, his note being officially regarded as in effect charging the American people with bad faith in connection with the secession of Panama from Colombia. He appears to have authorized the publication because it had been the subject of newspaper comment as the reply made by Colombia to the circular note of the State Department apprising the countries of Latin America of the contemplated visit of Mr. Knox. [See vol. xii, pages 61, 829.]



Decision in the Oregon Direct Legislation Case.

Final decision was pronounced on the 19th by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company against the State of Oregon, wherein the Constitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum under the Federal Constitution was involved. Finding that the questions at issue are political and governmental and not therefore within the reach of judicial power, the Court decides that the case presented is not within its jurisdiction. The decision therefore sustains the Initiative, Referendum and Recall provisions of the Oregon Constitution against all Federal interference except by Congress. [See vol. xiv, page 1220.]



Direct Legislation in Texas.

At the Direct Legislation conference for Texas, held in Waco on the 12th, 40 delegates from widely scattered parts of the State were in attendance. The conference was called to order by Wm. Hoefgen, of San Antonio, president of the State Federation of Labor; and the Hon. R. L. Cable, of Montague county, was elected chairman, with John R. Spencer, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, as secretary. The following committee report was adopted:

Whereas, The Terrell election law requires that the State Democratic party shall hold its primary election, and forbids any demand for specific legislation being a party demand unless first submitted to the voter; and whereas, the Democratic party is the dominant party in Texas, through which laws are passed and Constitution amendments are submitted; therefore, be it resolved, that inasmuch as this conference is non-partisan, we recommend the creation of a permanent non-partisan State organization to promote the cause of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to carry on a campaign of education looking to its final adoption in our State Constitution. And, be it further resolved, that a committee of Democrats be selected, one of which will

be Hon. R. L. Cable, chairman of this conference, and four others, and that they be vested with full power to operate under the primary laws of our State to the end that we have a Constitutional amendment submitted to the voters of Texas through said party.

A committee of 25, with the Hon. W. H. Vaughan, of Bowie county, was named, to call the State meeting to promote the cause. The State meeting will be in Dallas on March 18. [See current volume, page 111.]



Statehood of Arizona.

The Presidential proclamation completing the formal admission of Arizona into the sisterhood of States of the United States of America, was signed by President Taft on the 14th. Arizona's admission adds one more star to the blue field of the American flag, making 48 in all, and places under State governments all the contiguous territory of the Union. With Jeffersonian simplicity the first Governor of the State was inaugurated at Phoenix on the 14th after notice of the President's proclamation. He promised in his inaugural address to give the new State a "golden rule" administration, and recommended an anti-lobby measure and an amendment to the Constitution restoring the provision for recalling judges by popular vote. [See vol. xiv, p. 1292.]



In the Constitutional Convention of Ohio.

A vote on liquor license was taken on the 12th in the liquor license committee of the Ohio Constitutional Convention. There were 12 for liberal license and 9 for restriction. [See current volume, pages 157, 159.]



On the 13th the suffrage committee voted, 16 to 1 (4 not voting), to make a favorable report upon a woman suffrage clause to be submitted to the people separately at the same election at which the proposed Constitution is submitted as a whole. This decision followed a protest before the committee, made in behalf of women opposed to suffrage by society women of Cleveland and Columbus—Mrs. John Gundry, Miss Elizabeth Parsons (a niece of President Taft), Mrs. Herman Hubbard and Mrs. J. A. Jeffrey.



A State income tax was adopted in principle on the 13th by the committee on taxation. [See current volume, page 63.]



La Follette's Presidential Candidacy.

Persistent rumors, based upon his illness, that Senator La Follette had withdrawn in favor of

ex-President Roosevelt as a contestant for the Republican nomination for President, called out an inquiry from the Courier-News, of Fargo, North Dakota, in response to which Mr. La Follette returned the following reply on the 13th over his own signature:

In response to your telegram, I will say to the progressive Republicans of North Dakota that the report that I have withdrawn as a candidate is false and the statements regarding my health are gross misrepresentations. They are a part of the pressure brought to bear to force me from the contest, which I willingly undertook at a time when the one else could be induced to make the fight. I have overtaxed my strength and require a few weeks' rest, which I shall take and then return with renewed vigor to the struggle for thorough-going progressive principles.

I want the support of delegates, who are ready to win, or lose, if need be, in the interest of a great cause, without compromise and without entering into any deals or combinations.

Let me, through you, assure the voters of North Dakota that I shall, as always, keep faith with them and with supporters in other States and shall remain a candidate steadfast to the end.

In anticipation of the primaries in North Dakota, the names of Senator La Follette, Mr. Roosevelt and President Taft were reported on the 18th as having been placed upon the official ballot. [See current volume, page 157.]

NEWS NOTES

—Governor Deneen opened his campaign for reelection as Governor of Illinois at Taylorville on the 19th. [See current volume, page 132.]

—A letter from William Randolph Hearst, made public on the 20th, advises the Democrats of California to support Speaker Clark for the Presidency instead of himself.

—The judgment for damages for libel in favor of Collier's Weekly and against C. W. Post of Battle Creek, is reported to have been reversed and a new trial ordered. [See vol. xliii, p. 1202.]

—The Rev. David Morgan of St. Paul was nominated on the 19th by the Socialist party in convention at Minneapolis for Governor of Minnesota. Its nomination for Congressman-at-Large was J. S. Ingall of Minneapolis.

—Mataafa, the old ex-King of Samoa, who resisted the three treaty Powers—England, Germany and the United States—and their nominee, the boy-King Malletoa Tanu, back in 1898-99, has died in the Fiji Islands. [See The Public of July 22, 1899, page 9.]

—President Taft has nominated Mahlon Pitney, Chancellor of New Jersey, to the vacancy in the Supreme Court to which he was expected to nominate Judge Hook. The nomination was sent to the Senate for confirmation on the 19th. [See current volume, pages 124, 151.]

—The legislature of the Canadian Province of Alberta, by unanimous vote on the 16th, adopted a

resolution proposed by Charles Stewart (Liberal), calling upon the Ministry to institute an inquiry into the working of Direct Legislation in all its aspects, with a view to its introduction as part of the normal machinery of the government of Alberta at the next session of the House.

—John Z. White will speak under the direction of the Henry George Lecture Association, Chicago, as follows: Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 26; Wilmington, Del., Feb. 27; Washington, D. C., Feb. 28; Baltimore, Md., Feb. 29, and New York City, March 1 and 2. Under the same auspices, Charles Frederick Adams will speak at St. Louis, Mo., on March 1, 2, and 3, at Des Moines, Ia., on March 5 and 6, and at Omaha, Neb., on March 7 and 8.

—The Lincoln Day dinner of the Women's Henry George League, held in New York City on the 12th, was attended by 165 guests, and E. M. Murray presided. The speakers were Grace Isabel Colbron, Rose Schneidermann, Dr. W. E. B. du Bois, Charlotte O. Schetter, John S. Crosby, and Charles D. Williams, Episcopal bishop of Michigan. The bill of Congressman Henry George, Jr., for levying taxes progressively upon land values was unanimously endorsed. [See current volume, page 112.]

—Disorder continues in Mexico. Insurrectionists in the Laguna district, on the 13th, formally proclaimed Emilio Vasquez Gomez President of the Republic. It was reported on the 18th that President Madero and his cabinet had appealed to the permanent Congressional committee to suspend the article of the Mexican constitution which provides for a free press, and also to authorize the extension of the zones in which the suspension of personal guarantees are operative, and had received negative replies to both requests. [See vol. xiv, page 1313; current volume, page 132.]

—Mayor Harrison of Chicago appointed on the 19th, by authority of the City Council, the following commission to investigate the causes of unemployment in Chicago and to suggest remedies therefor: Charles R. Crane (chairman), Professor Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago (secretary), John A. Cervenka, Louis F. Post, Malcolm McDowell, Graham Taylor, Rev. M. J. Dorney, Rev. R. A. White, H. G. Adair, Oscar G. Meyer, F. A. Delano, Edward Tilden, John J. Sonstebly, Jas. H. Bowman, O. G. Finkelstefn, Edward Osgood Brown, W. H. Cruden, Ald. F. P. Danisch, Ald. J. R. Bowler, Ald. J. H. Lawley, Ald. W. F. Schultz and Ald. Chas. Twigg.

—The cannibals of darkest mid-Africa have art, poetic expression, and a wisdom of life, according to the Rev. Daniel Crawford who has recently returned to England after spending 23 years in the Katanga country. As reported in the press, Mr. Crawford says that once he had been addressing a meeting, and ended with the phrase, "Heaven is beyond the stars." "It was a weak little phrase—not beyond the capabilities of the ordinary Sunday school teacher—but when next I heard it, woven into the wonderful poetry of the native mind, they rendered it: "Those stars are the lights he has left burning along the dark road that leads up to his city." "They have a nightingale in Central Africa," continues Mr. Crawford, "which easily excels the English nightingale in the charm and beauty of its song. Its nest, however, is merely

two leaves tied together. 'Listen to him,' say the natives, 'gushing, gushing, with all that beautiful talk—but he lives in a garret!'"

—Numerous arrests of labor officials in different parts of the country were begun on the 14th, upon the basis of indictments found by a Federal grand jury at Indianapolis for alleged illegal shipments of dynamite across State lines. Among the persons arrested were Frank M. Ryan, president, Herbert S. Hockin, secretary-treasurer, and J. T. Butler, first vice president, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron-workers. J. J. and J. B. McNamara, now serving sentences upon their pleas of guilty in the Los Angeles cases, are among the 54 persons indicted along with the 41 whose arrests were made on the 14th. All but one of the others have been arrested since. [See current volume, page 112.]

—The Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, one of the most distinguished members of the Negro race and a notable scholar, has recently died at the age of 79. Dr. Blyden was born in the Danish West Indies of pure Negro parentage. Denied education in the United States, he went to Liberia and ultimately became president of Liberia college. The Springfield Republican says of him that he had "the acquaintance of many distinguished scholars and other famous men, and was the author of several books and many magazine articles. Hamilton college conferred upon him the degree of A. M., Lafayette the degree of D. D., and Lincoln university the degree of LL. D. Dr. Blyden served as secretary of state and secretary of the interior in the cabinet of the president of Liberia; in 1862 was commissioner to the United States for Liberia; in 1877-79 was minister to Great Britain, and at one time served the British government as diplomatic agent to make treaties with the powerful Mohammedan and pagan chiefs of central Africa."

—Five men were hanged in the county jail of Cook County, Illinois, at Chicago, on the 16th. They were hanged in relays—two, two, and one—the event occupying about two hours. The first two were white men, Ewald and Frank Shiblowski, young and brothers; the second two were Phillip Sommerling and Thomas Schultz, also white and young, and one of them married; the fifth was a Negro. The Negro had been convicted, principally on the evidence of a thumb-print, of murder while committing a burglary; the white men, along with two boys of 16 now in prison for life, were convicted of "holding up" a market gardener and robbing and murdering him. Confessions were obtained from these, but the Negro did not confess. On the same night after these executions, train No. 11 of the Vandavia railroad was "held up" at Liggett, Indiana, by armed bandits who shot at the crew and nearly killed the fireman; and in Chicago on the 17th—one day after the executions—and within sight of the building where they took place, "hold-up" men robbed a store by driving the clerks into a vault at the point of pistols.



"Order restored," cheerfully report the Russian generals from Tabriz. It's the old formula—first provoke the disorder, then quell it, then take the country as pay.—Springfield Republican.

PRESS OPINIONS

Singletax in Canada.

* Reprint from St. John Standard in Berwick (Nova Scotia) Register, Feb. 15.—Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Singletax in its local application, and we are likely to hear a good deal on this subject before we are much older, there can be no question that in the comparatively new communities of the west the operation of the tax is having an effect in compelling owners of vacant land either to sell or put it to use.



Singletax in the District of Columbia.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Feb. 19.—Congressman Henry George, Jr., has introduced a bill "to provide for a complete method for the annual assessment and taxation of real property in the District of Columbia." It provides for the gradual introduction of the Singletax. Mr. George's measure will, if passed, make the holding of land in Washington out of use a more expensive luxury. Improving of land will not be punished as now by a fine in the shape of increased taxes. The holders of vacant lots will find it to their interest either to improve these lots themselves, or let others do so. Consequently, there will be more houses, more competition between owners for tenants and lower rents. It will be possible then for wage earners of Washington to secure decent living quarters on more reasonable terms. There will no longer be the necessity of living under slum conditions. There will furthermore be an increased demand for labor in the city, not only in the building trades, but in all other industries. The untaxing of labor will remove a burden that is crushing industry. All lines of business must necessarily flourish as never before. Besides this, Washington will offer a refuge to tax-burdened enterprises of Maryland, Virginia, and other States, unless these should be wise enough to untax labor also. Every Congressman should be urged to vote for Mr. George's bill.



Mr. Shuster's Case.*

(London) Daily News (Lib.), January 30.—The plain tale which Mr. Shuster told at the dinner given to him in London last night by the Persian Committee makes lamentable reading for this country. It is the story of a betrayal as flagrant as any on record, and in that betrayal England is deeply involved. Persia had long groaned under the heel of a corrupt and tyrannous despotism. At last, against overwhelming odds, the people threw off the yoke, drove out the oppressor, and established a form of constitutional government. It rested with the two great neighboring Powers, Great Britain and Russia, to give the infant democracy a reasonable chance of weathering the storm. If they had simply stood aside it would have been enough. But they did not stand aside. They solemnly covenanted to preserve the independence and integrity of the country. If that

promise had been carried out there would have been no Persian question today. Persia would have been firmly established as a constitutionally governed country. . . . Meanwhile, Russia has overrun Northern Persia with her troops. Martial law, merciless and murderous, is established. Yesterday we reported six more executions at Tabriz. The treasury is depleted. No money has been collected since Mr. Shuster was driven out, and Teheran is confronted with famine. It is a situation that fills one with despair and shame.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.*

For The Public.

You are the idol of your green-hued State:
Filled with a purpose that has known no pause,
You still are champion of a People's cause!
Through bitter years of conflict, early, late,
You braved the foe, unmindful of your fate,
That Privilege be banished from the laws;
And though you won the multitude's applause,
The Few heaped on you ridicule and hate.

La Follette! ours is still the ancient strife
That Liberty has waged from time unknown
Against Oppression in its changing guise;
O lighten not the labor of your life!

Unto the greater tasks to which you've grown,
Bring undiminished your brave enterprise!

CHARLES H. WINKE.



"UNSKILLED LABOR."

For The Public.

A gang of Italian workmen are breaking up the pavement for repairs to the surface-car tracks, in one of the city's busiest streets.

They keep their many steel sledges whirling over their heads in impetuous assault upon the long chisels that their companions hold in place with the grip of their bare hands.

The sun glints dully on the rotating hammers, and the clank of metal on metal fills the street like an anvil chorus of lesser volume.

Every few minutes the men have to cease their activity, the chisel-holders withdraw their tools from the clefts, and all clear the track for a car that demands passage with warning gong, but the rear platform barely gives clearance to the sledges before they begin again their wheeling flight.

There is mingled fascination and dread in watching such a scene of labor with its display of almost superhuman accuracy.

*As a result of energetic campaigning for democratic Republicanism, Senator La Follette has been ill at Washington for two weeks, but is reported to be on the road to recovery.—Editors of The Public.

*See The Public of February 2, page 109.

Never a tremor of fear seems to distract the aim of a hammerer, or disturb the phlegmatic carelessness of a chisel-holder, although a single failure to strike the narrow mark would bring the heavy weapon crashing down on the holder's naked hands, or let it glance to smite his arms or body.

The observer feels an impulse to hurry on before he must witness such accidents as impend here only an inch of smooth steel away, yet he lingers in the thrall of the reckless precision, like the spectator of an acrobat's defiance of peril on a high wire or trapeze.

What a vivid parable these workers present, of the risks that must be taken by all breakers of paths, and pioneers of the collective human task through the ages, in the twin spheres of invisible thought and outward achievement!—ever must the ringing strokes that smite the tools of progress endanger the vulnerable, courageous hands that hold them to the work.

One of the hammerers in the gang is a swarthy, handsome young fellow, almost a boy, whose face and figure would delight an artist for a model of the youthful Bacchus, and make him wish that the rough garments of toil might be removed from the slender, sinewy form, to let its supple movement and rippling muscle claim the admiration they deserve.

The strokes this lad deals with his sledge are no less accurate than those of his companions, but in apparent recklessness he exceeds them all.

His black eyes sparkle, and his perfect teeth flash with his laughter at some jest of his own in the staccato Neapolitan dialect, until his share of the labor that the others perform as gray drudgery assumes the gaiety of a schoolboy's athletic romp.

The flexile, steel-spring swerve of his body, as he starts the wide arc of the hammer's swing, is followed by a swift uncoiling of the whole form, erect to the outstretched arms that carry his implement overhead and downward with the tension of a spoke in a great driving-wheel, to meet un-failingly the crown of the chiming drill.

His attack is impetuous as that of a young Bayard or Cid cutting his way alone through encompassing foes, with battle-ax or two-handed sword in a medieval battle;

His "delivery" suggests that of a baseball pitcher, delighting in his ability to outwit opposing batsmen, and smiling toward his infielders as he turns to gather speed for a bewildering curve;

Or again he might be the ringer of some ponderous festival bell, laughing for very joy of the season he proclaims, as he launches all his weight and vigor upon the pendant rope.

It is scarcely strange that the audacious precision of this youth and his companions, whose labor is rated as "unskilled," should rather come to seem akin to the expert accuracy of the surgeon with his scalpel, the organist at his banks of keys,

the artist with his bolder brush-strokes, the cowboy with his lasso, the housesmiths tossing and catching white-hot rivets across yawning gulfs of a steel building-skeleton, and the aviator hurling his aeroplane to a spectacular plunge and recovery before a frightened grandstand.

ELIOT WHITE.



THE ROOT QUESTION.

An Address by Margaret McMillan of London to the Working Girls of America. From "Life and Labor," the Organ of the Women's Trade Union League, for April, 1911.

You girls in Chicago have just been on strike. This in itself proves that you feel yourselves in the power of something or of some one and wish to free yourselves a little. What is this that you have found in the new country? In the office of the Women's Trade Union League I met last month a little Russian girl, whose father had lost everything he had in Russia, and who had had to come to Chicago to get her living in a factory. "I must work," said the child, who already looked tired out (she was but sixteen), "else what will become of me and my sister? We must work very hard now." Close by was an elderly woman with worn, haggard face. She, too, was working hard every day, driving the wolf from the door, a wolf that came back always.

Yet just outside the city we saw plains teeming with riches, seen and unseen. For hundreds and hundreds of miles stretches this glorious continent, with its rich soil, its extensive forests, its laughing slopes, in the fall heavy with ruddy harvests, its great waterways curving round fertile corn lands and rich orchards. Why must people fight for bread—even in America?

It is this very question that is setting Great Britain in a ferment today. Our English Parliament is supposed to be discussing "The Question of the Lords," but it is really "The Question of the Landlords."

"The land!" Do you in America say, "it is not Land but Capital that we have to challenge. The great employers of labor must give us a minimum wage, and also conform to a standard of life (which we will raise when necessary) in all factories and workshops." This is excellent, and yet one of the great dangers of industrial life today is that an immense number of workers, and these not the least intelligent, will concentrate all their attention on workshop reform, and have none to spare for the greater, deeper problems that lie beyond the wage question and have created the wage-system itself.

In a city one is in danger of forgetting that one does not live by stone walls and paved streets, but by the living earth—the Mother Earth that

yields from her heart and womb not only every grain but every mineral, and feeds all the lower life on which human beings live. She, this mother of us all, makes terms with all her children while they are free. To some she says, "Here are ripe fruits. Eat and be happy," or, to some coral islander she shows the gorgeously hued fish that swim among the rosy and golden weeds that float in the blue waters. In the north lands she is sterner but not less kind perhaps, for she says, "Strive for the food and shelter and clothing I can give and you will grow strong and noble." In the blue circled isles, on stern dark hills there is always a treaty we may make with the Earth, and it is when all is said and done, a wonderful generous, motherly treaty. The free Indians of America know it, and the Sicilian knew it once, and even the Hebridean, bare as are his islands.

Something has come between us and Mother Earth in the old world. Something is coming between her and you in America! That is why even if wages are high they are uncertain and may fall at any time to starvation point. That is why labor is always, relatively, cheap and why thousands and tens of thousands are always out of work.

"See! After all you have a good wage," says the master at times. No one listens to the voice of the fields, the prairies, the meadows, the voice that says, "Till me, and you may eat." No wages should fall below the level of those which she would give us in any area for our labor. Meantime there is a stampede to the towns. Everyone is willing to accept the terms of city labor. Competition waxes apace and wages fall. They are bound to fall lower and lower as masters grow richer and absorb more and more of Mother Earth and her fruits, taking her captive over large areas, and thrusting themselves between her and her children.

The factory worker looking round on the walls of her factory or "shop" and listening to the roar of machinery is not reminded very often of the meaning and life of Earth. She pays rent for a room, or perhaps for a flat. The house she lives in is built on the earth, but even this fact is not clear to her always, though she helps to pay not house rent merely, but ground rent as well. Always she is dealing, not even with men but with bodies of men or representatives of companies and combines! So she is in danger of forgetting—forgetting not only for herself but for others.

If we look into the past we see clearly that progress consists very largely in the limitation as well as the increase of the things that may be bought and sold. As regards the increase we have no difficulty in seeing that, for whereas a savage needs only a very few things in order to live happily, a modern rich woman has an urgent desire for hundreds of objects and kinds of service

—for every refinement of a luxurious mind and habit.

Still, all the while there is warning off of the barterers and merchants and exchangers. "Thou shalt not buy or sell thy fellow-man," said the American North to the South. The South rose up in horror. She was ruined for a time simply because her kind of merchandise was suddenly condemned. Now a new commandment is going forth, or rather one kind of exchange and barter is being condemned. "Thou shalt not buy away and keep forever Mother Earth, the source of all wealth," says a new order of reformers. And now England is dividing into hostile camps—friend separating from friend, father from son, as well as class from class.

What though the land tax levied by the English Government is very small? The principle involved is not a small thing. It is the beginning of the end of monopoly. It is the beginning of real democracy.

Well, you are in this new struggle. Behind all the trade disputes and strikes of today there is the desire for freedom, not freedom to live idle, but freedom to work and reap and enjoy on terms no harder than those which Nature (not human nature) imposes on this planet. That desire is behind the Chicago strikes and all the other strikes. And since mere girls join in these great trade wars it is the hour to tell girls what the real issue is, and to help them to become fully conscious of it. But now having said a few words about Mother Earth we may glance at this human nature which is the crown and pinnacle of her great, age-long, ceaseless, wasteful striving. The modern human being is the result of immense strivings conscious and unconscious, and he or she is also the beam of exhaustless treasures that cannot all be reached save by long effort. Sorrow and joy and labor develop some of this treasure—bring it to the surface as it were. Overwork and mere brutish toil sinks it to where it must remain lost or barren. In order to be oneself then one must have a long human education, passing triumphantly and not too rapidly from infancy to childhood, from childhood to adolescence, and then without haste through adolescence to manhood or womanhood. Then full-grown, one is fit to live a large, swinging, sweet life—to get riches from Mother Earth, to create beauty, and spell out the meaning of existence. Above all one is fit to enter into equal relations with others, but not into unequal relations. Real education destroys every form of slavery—even the later forms. And life is not worth living if we do not live to give it to everyone.

You have free education in the States. But you have also children in the mills and factories. You have not stamped out child labor (which is very little better than child-murder). No doubt you will do it before long. But if it is to be done

effectively it will have to come from the mothers and sisters of working class children. Others might release the children from labor, working women alone can prepare them to become not merely citizens of a free country, but masters and mistresses of their own destiny.

BOOKS

THE GREAT AMERICAN TARIFF GAME A NATIONAL SPECIALTY!

The Tariff in Our Times. By Ida M. Tarbell. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

If there is any one of our national institutions calculated above all others to make the Comic Spirit rejoice, surely it is the political farce known as Tariff Revision. For more than thirty years now our National Legislature has devoted much time during every session to a continuous performance of this highly edifying and amusing entertainment. We really would miss it if it was ever actually settled. Senators, Representatives, the public and the newspapers would undoubtedly feel a lack, as of a dear friend missing, if any of our Presidents took a definite stand on the tariff question, either refusing to argue it at all, or else settling it one way or the other. What would our Presidents do for a message if there was no Tariff Revision to talk about? They would be as badly off as the comic papers would be if the mother-in-law joke went really out of fashion. It is all so ludicrous, or rather it would be, were it not so tragic in its effect on the physical and moral well-being of the nation.

Now that they are at it again in Washington, with a non-committal Presidential message, and an only slightly less non-committal Tariff Board report to consider (what a blessing Congressional sessions so seldom conflict with the baseball season), Ida Tarbell's "The Tariff in Our Times," a book giving a painstaking history of this other great American Sport, comes with a timely appeal. It is an enlightening work, as much from the spirit in which it is written as from the facts it details. It may possibly be provable that some of the facts have been misrepresented or misunderstood. But the mass of them is a matter of common knowledge, and the author has marshaled them in a crushing arraignment of our National Farce. Page after page of names and figures; page after page of history repeating itself from session to session; the same old heart-breaking round of struggle between a few ardent souls who in all sincerity of belief called up a Frankenstein they themselves could no longer control; the same earnest desire for revision on the part of a few, with still another ardent few fight-

ing for the principles of Free Trade; and between all these the great overwhelming army of the Interests, the clamoring Grafters, the thronging lobbyists, the futile messages and reports, the ludicrous attempts at change, leaving no change perceptible at each changing Administration;—the very dreary repetition proves the disastrous folly of it all!

And with this, outside in the great world of daily life, a few growing richer and richer, the great mass growing poorer and poorer; capital and labor taxed alike for the benefit of whoever controls some Senator or Representative—all the natural outcome of a false economic system hemming logical evolution. We may not agree with Miss Tarbell that Protectionism, bad as it is, is at fault for all the economic ills that oppress us. Many of these ills are found in an aggravated form in Freetrade countries. But the very facts she arrays prove beyond a doubt how much of it the tariff is responsible for.

The deadly parallel between the tariff fights of any time during the past twenty years and the tariff fight of last year is appalling. We have gone no further for all our fancied advance in civilization. Or, yes, there is one ray of hope. More of us are beginning to awaken to the fact that the tariff is not a matter of political expediency, not merely a commodity with which to bargain for political preferment. We are beginning to realize that the tariff means a false burden of taxation, and out of that grows, or should grow, logically, the understanding of the fact that wrong taxation is at the heart of all social wrongs of today.

There is no need to linger over special facts in the book. Its most striking feature is the splendid summing up of the case against Protection given in the last chapter. Here, with Rhode Island, a Protection-made State, as an example, the benefits American labor has derived from protection are shown in appalling pictures of conditions among the mill hands in the textile industry. Here also Miss Tarbell strikes at the heart of the trouble in her arraignment of the moral effect on the tariff fight on the minds and hearts of our people—of those who have benefited by it, as well as of those who have been crushed by it out of all joy of life.

"Deeper than the wrongs it is doing the poor, deeper than the warping of the intellect, is the question of the morals which underlie its operations. Simmered down to its final essence the tariff question as it stands in this country today is a question of national morals, a question of the kind of men it is making."

No institution can be morally right which teaches the individual to disregard the rights of others. And no institution that is not morally right can be politically right for any country. This is the burden of Miss Tarbell's book, this

the point of view which raises it far above the level of a mere political history.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Why Should We Have Any Primaries? By Linton Satterthwaite, Trenton, N. J. 1911.

Taxation of Land Values in Massachusetts. By Jonas M. Miles. Published by Thomas Todd Co., Boston. 1910.

The Mexican Revolution. By William C. Owen. Published by "Regeneration," 914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Calif. Price, 5 cents.

Rochester Social Centers and Civic Clubs: Story of the First Two Years. Published by the League of Civic Clubs, Rochester, N. Y. 1909.

The Lincoln Memorial School. Address delivered by Charles Weidler at the Dedication of the Lincoln School, South Bend, Ind., February 12, 1911.

On Conservation of Our National Resources. Address by Governor John F. Shafroth in the House of Representatives. Printed at Washington, D. C. 1911.

Good Roads. Remarks of Henry T. Rainey in the House of Representatives, January 13, 1912. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Land, Money and Highways. By Alvin H. Low. Revised Edition, 1912. Published by the Author, 1417 Hoover St., Los Angeles, Calif. Price, 50 cents.

The Lockport Proposal. By F. D. Silvernall, Consulting Engineer, Lockport, N. Y. Publication Number 646, American Academy of Political and Social Science. Price, 15 cents.

The Judges and the County Fee System. Statement to the Taxpayers of Cook County by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago. December, 1911.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 46th Annual Report, for the Year ended December 31, 1911. Published by the Society, Madison Ave. and 26th St., New York.

The Park Governments of Chicago. General Summary and Conclusions of a Report Prepared by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago. December, 1911.

The Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association. Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention held at Richmond, Va., October 17-20, 1911. Printed by George F. Lasher, Philadelphia.

Solving a Great Financial Problem. By W. H. Allen. Reprinted from The Sewanee Review for January, 1912. Published by the University Press at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

The N. E. A. Phonetic Alphabet, with a Review of the Whipple Experiments. By Raymond Weeks, James W. Bright and Charles H. Grandgent. Published by the New Era Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa. 1912.

Opportunities in School and Industry for Children of the Stockyards Districts. By Ernest L. Talbert. Number I in A Study of Chicago's Stockyards Community. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1912.

The Rural Awakening in Its Relation to Civic and Social Center Development. Address by Herbert Quick at Madison, Wis., October 27, 1911. Bulletin (General Series Number 310) of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

Bureau of Streets, Civil Service Commission and Special Assessment Accounting System of the City of Chicago.

ga: Reports submitted to the Chicago Commission on City Expenditures. Published by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Ct., December, 1911.

PERIODICALS

Twentieth Century.

Frederic C. Howe writes in the Twentieth Century (Boston) for February on Senator La Follette as a public "man with a vision" of democracy, and L. M. Powers explains the "superior civilization of Germany." Gerhardt Hauptmann begins a serial story, "Atlantis."



The French Singletax Review.

"La Revue de L'Impot Unique" for February lays emphasis upon the need of studying the land question in order to arrive at a just interpretation of history. Two articles, "What is the Significance of France Today?" and "A General Idea of a Rational History of the French Revolution" throw light upon this neglected aspect of historical investigation. If France has been cheated of the liberty, equality and fraternity promised by the Revolution, is not sufficient cause to be found in the system of landlordism which it strengthened, and which even more thoroughly than the system of chattel slavery undermines all freedom? The claim is sometimes made that the Revolution "gave the land to the peasant," but we learn from the actual figures that out of a total area of 49 million hectares, the share of the peasant is but 4 million hectares, and even this showing must be modified when we come to consider the extent to which his lands are mortgaged. Whether or not the Jesuits and Free Masons are as formidable as they appear to the editor, his reliance on land value taxation as an antidote is well founded. No menacing combination, political, religious or commercial, can hold together when stripped of privilege. "The history of men and peoples," says M. Darien, "is only one aspect of natural history. Natural history is the history of the earth. Hence the history of men and peoples must also be the history of the earth." Broadly speaking, a people are what their land laws have made them, and if we are to understand past events we must do so through the medium of present conditions which are the fruit of the past. Once made familiar with the facts, we perceive that the boasts of the Revolution are hollow. Deny the equal rights of all men to the use of the earth, and Liberty becomes a mockery. Destroy this fundamental equality and no other equality can be sustained in stable equilibrium. Nor is fraternity conceivable in a society which accepts the absurd paradox of industrious poor and idle rich. Not only did the Revolution fail to establish justice, but when it had spent its tornado-like force, there lay buried in the ruins the beneficent ideas of the Physiocrats which, thanks to La Revue de L'Impot Unique, are today finding fresh and vigorous expression in the land of their origin.

F. W. GARRISON.

Major S. Harris, one of the Australians who fought in the South African war, visited British Columbia and finally settled down in Vancouver. Now he tells of a man in his province who went over to see London for the first time last year and was being shown through Westminster Abbey. He got into conversation with a tourist agent who was showing a party about, and at intervals the man who was explaining

asked the British Columbian questions about Vancouver. "I suppose that in your country you have no place like the Abbey?" he suggested.

"No," replied the other.

"Then what, may I ask, do you do with your illustrious dead?"

"First," replied the British Columbian, "we appoint a commission to see whether the man is really

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.

To Twin City Single Taxers:

A very important situation confronts the Single Taxers of the nation, and everyone interested in the promotion of the Single Tax is urged to assemble at 3:30 Sunday afternoon, February 25th, in the parlors of the First Unitarian Church, corner 8th Street and Mary Place, Minneapolis, Minn., to take council together as to how best to cope with the situation.

Will you not lay aside every other obligation and engagement and give an hour at the time specified to this important work.

Yours respectfully,

S. A. STOCKWELL.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

Meets every Friday at 8:00 P. M., at 506 Schiller Building.

Feb. 23rd: Speaker, Wiley W. Mills—"Direct Legislation and the Single Tax." All are welcome. Ladies invited. Become a member and assist in the work.
JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

At Glen Ellyn, Illinois

on the 29th, Louis F. Post will speak at a dinner given by the Congregational Church Men's Club. His subject will be "The Single Tax; an Elementary Explanation." The dinner is announced for 6:30 p. m.; admission 75c. Speaking at 8:00 p. m., admission free.

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. 111th 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.

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.

SWEDENBORG A COLOSSUS

Edwin Markham, the poet, says in the New York American: "As the genial ocean streams imperceptibly warm and invigorate our shores, so the mighty current of Swedenborg's thought has for a hundred years been thawing and warming the bleak theology of the Middle Ages, and his writings are today the prime influence beating down the wall of irrationality, making way for a faith that appeals at once to the reason and to the heart—Swedenborg was one of the colossi of all ages, one of the three or four greatest intellects that have appeared upon the planet."

I will furnish any one of the following works of Swedenborg in stiff paper cover for twenty cents each:

"DIVINE LOVE AND WISDOM"
"DIVINE PROVIDENCE" "HEAVEN AND HELL"
Stamps Taken

PASTOR LANDEBERGER, Windsor Place, St. Louis, Mo.

Are You Going to Florida?

If you want to get, not only the benefit of the Florida climate, but also desire to carry away with you the remembrance of having spent your time at—so they say—the best Hotel in the South, first-class in every respect, the best table you ever sat down to, and at the same time being cozy and homelike, go to

Lake City, Florida

—and stop at—

THE BLANCHE

Rates from \$14 to \$22 per week. Subscribers to The Public 10% off regular rates.

JOHN W. ETTTEL, Prop.

PAUL M. CLEMENS

Architect

Winnipeg, Man.

The Bible Unveiled

by M. M. Mangasarian

Every educated man ought to know what kind of a book the Bible is. Twenty million copies of it are sold every year. **The Bible Unveiled unveils** the Bible. The book was written in answer to Wm. Jennings Bryan's challenge to produce a better book than the Bible.

Dr. Rufus K. Noyes

of Boston writes:

The Bible Unveiled is the best exposition of the Bible I have ever read. It is unanswerable; its style, force, serenity, lucidity and logic are delightful.

"Among scores of volumes of Free Thought I have few equal to it. Mr. Mangasarian has done the World a great service. The book should be translated into every language. It has a permanent value and I predict for it a great sale."

Cloth, name stamped in gold, 240 pages.

Price \$1.25. Postage 8 cents.

The Independent Religious Society

Fine Arts Building

::

Chicago, Illinois

dead, and then if the commission decides in the affirmative we send him to the Legislature."—Argonaut.



An Australian delegate to the Irrigation Congress was asked: "Does your country tax improvements on land?"

He didn't understand, at first. Finally, they got the idea through his head and he answered:

"Tax a man for improving his land? Why, that

would be like fining him for brushing his teeth, wouldn't it?"—The Record.



Household Hints.—Stair carpets may be made to last indefinitely by using them only when you have company.

There are many cures for warts, but as a rule nothing that has cured anybody else's wart will cure yours.—Chicago Tribune.

A. J. OREM & CO.

79 Milk Street
Boston, Mass.

Newhouse Building
Salt Lake City, Utah

Developers of Natural Resources

We make a specialty of underwriting short-term Bonds on Coal, Copper, Railroad and Irrigation projects—usually convertible. We have been selling securities for the last 15 years. No bond issue placed by us has ever defaulted an interest payment or failed to pay principal at maturity.

Issues are acquired without the "middle man's" profit. Write for current offerings. Our financial weekly paper will be sent gratis on request.

Renewing his subscription to The Public, C. A. Teagle, attorney, of Houston, Texas, writes:

"This is one of the best investments I ever made. Wish every intelligent farmer and mechanic and every patriotic lawyer in the Union would read The Public."

Sample copies of The Public can be had for the asking, either for distribution amongst your thinking friends or at progressive political meetings.

Help spread the light.

Stanley Bowmar, Mgr.

\$2 pays for three subscriptions, two of them new; \$4 for six; \$6 for nine.

Books Explanatory of

The Single Tax

Other Than Those by Henry George

Natural Taxation

By Thomas G. Shearman. "An inquiry into the practicability, justice and effects of a scientific and natural method of taxation."

In light green cloth, with portrait, postpaid, \$1.00
In gray paper cover, " " " " .50

Social Service

By Louis F. Post. Concrete business applications of principle.

In blue cloth, postpaid.....75
In blue paper, postpaid.....40

Bisocialism

By Oliver R. Trowbridge. "The Reign of the Man at the Margin." A scholastic economic analysis.

In blue cloth, postpaid.....60

Common Honesty

By Orren M. Donaldson. A simple, readable study of fundamental principles, and their relation to the labor problem.

In buff cloth, postpaid.....60

Land, Labor, Wealth: The Coming Civilization

By Lee Francis Lybarger. A lecture platform presentation.

In green paper cover, with portrait, postpaid, .25

Hard Times: The Cause and the Cure

By James P. Kohler. A study of panics, and "An A, B, C of political economy."

In grey paper cover, with portrait, postpaid, .15

The Story of My Dictatorship

By Lewis H. Berens and Ignatius Singer. The taxation of land values clearly explained in fictional form.

In red paper cover, postpaid.....05

The Case Plainly Stated

By H. F. Ring. A clear and simple statement of the fundamentals of the land question.

In gray paper cover, postpaid.....05

The Single Tax, What It Is and What It Will Accomplish

By Judson Grenell. Questions and Answers.

In colored paper cover, with portrait, postpaid, .05

The Single Tax and the Farmer

By Thomas G. Shearman. With facts also as to the application of the Single Tax to cities and towns.

White paper leaflet, postpaid.....05

The Public, Book Dept., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

BOOKS BY AND ABOUT HENRY GEORGE

Progress and Poverty

By Henry George.

In dark blue cloth, postpaid.....\$1.10

In paper cover, postpaid30

Our Land and Land Policy

By Henry George. This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come."

In dark green cloth, postpaid \$2.50

The Land Question

By Henry George. This volume includes "Property in Land: A Passage at Arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George," and "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII."

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.00

In paper cover, postpaid30

Social Problems

By Henry George.

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.10

In paper cover, postpaid30

Protection or Free Trade

By Henry George.

In blue cloth, postpaid \$1.00

In paper cover, postpaid30

A Perplexed Philosopher

By Henry George.

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.00

In paper cover, postpaid30

The Science of Political Economy

By Henry George.

In dark green cloth, postpaid \$2.50

The Life of Henry George

By Henry George, Jr. In two volumes. With fourteen illustrations.

In dark blue cloth, the set, postpaid \$2.00

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Compiled by Edmund Yardley.

In dark blue cloth, postpaid40

The Crime of Poverty

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid10

Moses

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05

Per dozen50

"Thy Kingdom Come"

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05

Per dozen50

"Thou Shalt Not Steal"

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05

Per dozen50

The Public, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

New York City TAX LIENS

An eight per cent investment

Better than the best mortgage

Interest payable March
first and September first

32

THE TAX LIEN COMPANY
OF NEW YORK

68 William Street, New York City, N.Y.

Premium Books

Would you like a copy of Louis F. Post's "Social Service"? We will send you one, post free, if you will send us a new dollar-a-year subscription.

—Or any one of the following five books by Henry George:

Social Problems

Progress and Poverty


Protection or Free Trade

The Land Question, or

The Perplexed Philosopher

Tear off this page, pin a dollar bill to it, write the name and address on the margin and mail to us to-day. No letter is necessary.

The Public, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago, Illinois



The Franklin Society

Here are some facts to which we respectfully invite your attention:—

- 1—The Franklin Society has a long and honorable business record, this being its 23rd year.
- 2—The Society is by law subject to the strict supervision of the State Superintendent of Banks. Its books and securities are examined in detail at least once a year, by a Public Examiner.
- 3—Its funds are invested in the very best securities—first mortgages on small dwellings in a vicinity where the demand for homes is greater than elsewhere in the world.
- 4—You can open a savings account with one dollar or more.

Send us a remittance today and get one of our mailing size pass books.

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY
FOR HOME-BUILDING AND SAVINGS
145 Nassau St., New York City

4 1/2 PER CENT

The Public

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription.

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly .....	.50
Quarterly .....	.25
Single Copies .....	.05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.
Free of postage in the United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

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

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one, stating with what issue the change is to take effect.

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

Advertising rates furnished on application.

By mentioning The Public when ordering of our advertisers friends can help us effectively.

To the Public:

PLEASE take the first opportunity you have to ask your druggist about the complete line of toilet specialties of the House of Ingram.

For two generations these toilet preparations have been the choice of particular people.

Ingram's ZODENTA

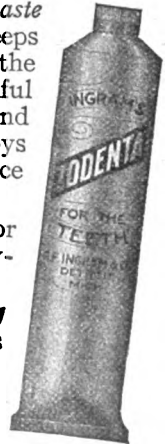
And Other High-Grade Toilet Specialties

Ingram's Zodenta—paste or powder, for the teeth. "Keeps the teeth white. Keeps the breath right." Insures healthful gums. Prevents ferment and objectionable breath. Destroys bacteria and stops decay. Price 25 cents. Sample free.

Ingram's Eliteine—for chapped skin and after shaving. Price 25 cents.

Ingram's Shaving Stick—in sanitary glass jars. Price 25 cents.

Ingram's Talcum Powder—Price 25 cents.



Druggists Know and Will Tell You So—Or Write Direct to Us
INVITATION

Confer a favor upon us by requesting us to see that you are supplied with liberal samples of Ingram's Specialties that you desire—through your druggist, or direct from us if you have any difficulty in getting what you ask for.

FREDERICK F. INGRAM, President
FREDERICK F. INGRAM COMPANY
Manufacturing Pharmacists and Perfumers
73 Tenth Street,
Windsor, Canada Detroit, Mich., U. S. A.