

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### Governor Wilson and Harper's Weekly.

Weaker than a flying feather are the assaults upon Woodrow Wilson, most of which come from politicians of a different breed, and all of which are inspired by Big Business. The latest is the awful accusation that he is "ungrateful."



Something to be deplored, no doubt, is ingratitude; under some circumstances, but not under all. Ingratitude of a certain kind is one of the virtues, in a presidential candidate. We live no longer in that romantic age when chivalrous dependents were expected to be grateful to patrons at the expense of the common weal. If, then, Governor Wilson's behavior toward Harper's Weekly really is ungrateful, his ingratitude would seem to be of the virtuous and not the reprehensible sort.



What did he do? He asked the editor of Harper's Weekly to drop his name from the head of its columns as its candidate for President. Why was that ungrateful? Because Harper's Weekly had discovered him and exploited him into popularity, as a suitable Presidential candidate, and this was "going back" on it. Well, does any paper acquire a vested interest in the gratitude of a popular Presidential candidate because it is the first to propose him as such? Not unless the

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Presidency is a personal prize instead of a public function.



But what are the anterior facts in this case? Harper's Weekly, an organ of morganic plutocracy, noting that Mr. Wilson was democratic in the academic abstract but with pronounced tendencies toward plutocracy in the political concrete, hit upon him as an ideal candidate of plutocratic Democracy for President. Thereupon its editor called together in New York City some of the robust plutocratic politicians of the Democratic party in New York and New Jersey to put Mr. Wilson in training. They began by giving him "the glad hand" as pluto-Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey; and everything worked well until George L. Record, a Progressive Republican State Senator of New Jersey, intruded.



Senator Record didn't like the jangling noise which that pluto-Democratic outfit made. It "got on his nerves." Yet above the din he distinguished notes of genuine democracy in the candidatorial song that Mr. Wilson was singing. It set his shrewd Green Mountain mind a-working, and he put nineteen questions publicly to Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson answered them publicly. They are famous questions in New Jersey politics even unto this day. So are the answers. Mr. Wilson answered those questions like a democratic citizen, not like a mere Democratic candidate. That was the turning point in his career. Senator Record was satisfied, which means much; the plutocratic Democracy was mad, which means more. Governor Wilson became a new democrat that day and has proved it since. As a Presidential candidate he is no longer to be tested by what he wrote or said or did prior to that memorable New Jersey campaign of 1910, in which Senator Record played bull to Harper's china shop. He is to be tested now by what he has written and said and done since he answered those questions, and by the ring of it all.



One thing Governor Wilson has done since then is to be ungrateful to a pluto-Democratic organ which Pierpont Morgan controls—Harper's Weekly. Doesn't that ingratitude really make him ring true? Why, gentlemen, Harper's was stunned for weeks, literally stunned, when Governor Wilson abandoned the plutocratic band wagon. Upon recovering consciousness it kept on playing Wilson tunes, but everybody who read the music with any

care realized that all this was humbug. Hasn't the support of Harper's Weekly been freely and continuously used by morganic touters to discredit Wilson by making the thoughtless believe that "Morgan wants him"? What better policy could Morgan have adopted to kill off Wilson than to have one of his own principal organs pretend to support him after democratic Democrats had begun to get confidence in him?



Ingratitude to Harper's Weekly! Let us be thankful that the Democratic candidate at present most popular, dares to be ungrateful to plutocrats and their organs. President McKinley was grateful, and the Republic was disgraced with Hannatism. What may it not have escaped by the ingratitude with which political plotters and antique romanticists are now in one great chorus charging to Governor Wilson?



#### Roosevelt's Candidacy.

Only one thing now stands in the way of ex-President Roosevelt's Presidential candidacy before the Republican convention. He hates President Taft bitterly and wishes his defeat. He would like to defeat him himself. He would like, too, to be President again; for the "sport" of it thrills him, it appeals to his adventurous spirit like the pursuit of big game. *But he fears defeat!* This fear gone, and Roosevelt will be President again,—unless, before the votes are cast, public seriousness supersedes that base-ball feverishness which makes him appear a hero in politics wherever sporting blood runs red and free.



#### Two Representative Senators.

Senator Root and Senator La Follette have both spoken at New York City within a few days on the judicial Recall. Senator Root sees judges through Hamiltonian lenses; Senator La Follette with democratic perception. To Senator Root, judges—as sacrosanct as the kings they are superseding were to the courtiers that have given way to the bar—are responsible only to God; to Senator La Follette, judges are public servants and responsible as such to the people. The judiciary as it has developed in this country looks the same to both Senators—a city of refuge for big corporations. Senator Root, holding a brief for big corporations, likes what he sees; Senator La Follette, holding a brief for the public, doesn't like it. It is to the credit of both that their respective pleas

for their respective clients are in harmony with the fundamental political principles they respectively avow.



### Judge Dunne for Governor.

Both the strength of Judge Dunne's candidacy for Governor and the importance to the democratic Democracy of Illinois of making it successful, are attested by the hysterical opposition its announcement has called out from Hearst. Whoever is any longer misled by Hearst, sins against light. In the politics of San Francisco, of New York and of Chicago he has revealed himself for what he is—a mere self-seeker, unprincipled, unattached, and ready for any kind of political adventure that promises spoils for Hearst. The spoils Hearst seeks now are *delegates* to the Democratic national convention, where he calculates to figure as a "dark horse." Part of his plan is to push into the background, with his buccaneering newspapers, every strong candidate for President, and into the foreground temporarily the weaker ones. Hence his slambang opposition to Governor Wilson; hence, also, his fatal friendliness to Speaker Clark, with Mayor Harrison held in reserve in case Clark grows strong. The other part of Hearst's plan—"delegates, delegates, delegates for Mr. Hearst," as his factotum, the irrepressible Mr. Lawrence, is wont to express it—necessitates his opposition to the gubernatorial candidacy of Edward F. Dunne. The matter is perfectly plain. At the approaching Democratic primaries any vote *against* Dunne, from whatever motive, will turn out to be a vote *for* Hearst. The democratic Democrats of Chicago understand this. If those in the rest of the State do not, they would do well to inform themselves before they vote.



### Graham Romeyn Taylor.

Thousands all over the United States will sympathize in a spirit of friendliness with this young man in his suffering from the deadly blow of a mysterious assailant. As one of the editors of The Survey, he has come to be widely appreciated for a devotion and usefulness that were known before and are better known now by personal friends in Chicago. A son of Graham Taylor, he grew up at the Chicago Commons among struggling masses to whose influence it was in his infancy supposed to be the height of folly to subject the youth of a Christian family! His career has fully justified his parents' democratic confidence. It has been surmised—an error probably—that it was this

career that provoked the assault from which he suffers, for his work has not been calculated to comfort interests that keep thugs among their retainers. At any rate, The Survey has been doing valiant and valuable social service, and Graham Romeyn Taylor has the right to share in the honor of it even as some have surmised he is now sharing in its incidental dangers.



### Hiram Petty.

Well known in Rochester, Minnesota, and throughout his county of Olmstead, as a courageous and vigilant soldier in the army of the Common Good, and one of the long-time friends and promoters of The Public, Hiram Petty died with the coming in of the new year. He was a highly respected man in his community; none the less so because he utilized his wide knowledge of public affairs effectively in unofficial public service. Neighbors to whom his carefully thought-out opinions seemed a novelty at first, learned to respect them and to take light from them in their citizenship. From such men and in such ways this world gets its progress. To the full corn in the ear, their neighborhood work is as the seed which dies only to sprout again and multiply itself.



### The Russian-Treaty Abrogation.

Those of us who recall the proceedings for abrogating the Russian treaty will remember that great stress was laid by Administration agencies upon the "offensive tone" of Congressman Sulzer's resolution which the House adopted and the Senate shelved. That resolution ought not to be forgotten. It declared the true democratic attitude of the United States in all such matters, with reference not alone to American Jews, but to Americans of *all* races and religions. Since its terms were objectionable to President Taft and to a majority of the Senate, we quote the declaration in full:

That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia concluded at St. Petersburg December 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citi-

zens, on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the government of Russia.

Now, why were the President and Senators opposed to that resolution? Was it the democracy of it? Did they see that it would include Negro citizens, for instance, and might become embarrassing as a precedent? They didn't say so. What they said was that the Russian government had protested against that form, and that therefore its adoption would be an affront to a friendly Power. But Russia had in fact not protested. An error of the Associated Press, widely published, indeed gave an appearance of truth to this plea of a Russian protest; but the Associated Press correction, not widely published, was ignored. Here is the proof, over the signature of the General Manager of the Associated Press, Mr. Stone, in a letter to Congressman Sulzer:

It is quite true that in a dispatch dated Washington, December 16th, The Associated Press was led to say that the Russian Government had protested against the House resolution through Ambassador Bakhmeteff. But on December 18 we carried and transmitted to the American newspapers a rather lengthy dispatch from St. Petersburg in which the Russian Foreign Office denied explicitly that any such protest had been made. Also, on the same date we carried a dispatch from Washington quoting Secretary Knox as saying that Russia had not protested either "against the abrogation of the treaty or against the language of the Sulzer resolution." So that it seems to me we have already clarified the situation as well as it is possible for us to do.

Evidently the pigeon-holing of the Sulzer resolution was not to oblige Russia. Nor was it lightly done. There was a purpose, and now this purpose seems obvious. For the Senate solemnly to declare the equality of citizenship rights under treaties, regardless of race, might make much trouble in the future for gentlemen of Senatorial and Presidential size who never cross race lines except when angling for race votes.



### La Follette and New Political Parties.

It is doubtful if the philosophy of new political parties has anywhere or by any one been more exactly and briefly stated than by Senator La Follette in his autobiography in the American

Magazine for February. "New parties," he writes, "are brought forth from time to time, and groups of men have come forward as their heralds, and have been called to leadership and command. But the leaders did not create the party. *It was the ripe issue of events.* It came out of the womb of time, and no man could hinder or hasten the event. No one can foretell the coming of the hour. It may be near at hand. It may be otherwise."



### Singletax Progress.

Sad indeed is the fate of that Singletaxer who in these days sits upon his back-porch and mourns because the Singletax does not progress. Were he to shift positions to his front-porch, and wipe away his blinding tears, he could see the Singletax procession moving forward on the main highway. Many a Singletaxer can remember—it isn't very long ago—when he would have given his right hand to be assured that by this time the Singletax would be half as far ahead as it actually is. But back-porch mourners are so lost in sorrow that they forget to help make the procession move. Because it isn't yet moving exactly in the way or in the place they hoped for, they leave the work and the responsibility to others. The English movement is across the seas, alas; and alack, the Canadian movement is over the border; while Seattle is only a town, and Oregon and Missouri are in the far-away woods! Yet in Seattle and Oregon and Missouri the Singletax fight is on. Whether it wins or not in any of them is a secondary consideration. The merits of the question will be talked about and written about and thought about in those places—yes, and elsewhere—until the vote is cast, and afterwards too, no matter how the vote goes—with a keenness and vigor that only such campaigns as these can provoke. For propaganda purposes alone, these opportunities are magnificent compared with ordinary ones, and for home purposes everywhere these campaigns will be beneficial, and if successful where they are waged will be triumphs everywhere.



But who is doing it all? *You*, if you are helping. But before you are the men and women of Seattle and Oregon and Missouri, without whose activity and devotion not even the chance for a fight would be at hand. They can't make the fight what it ought to be, though, if they are unaided; and there is your opportunity, public spirited reader! If you have done something and are will-

ing to do more, or have done nothing but want to do something—there is your opportunity, whether you live in those places or elsewhere, and whether you reckon your income in thousands of dollars or in dimes. Every dime will help. If you can't give a thousand dollars, give a nickel, or something not so extreme as either; but give.



Give through the Joseph Fels Fund, unless you object to that channel. What you give will be distributed better and count for more if given that way. It will be distributed better, for the Joseph Fels Fund Commissioners know the relative need of different places, and have financed the work to its present stage; it will count for more, because to that fund Joseph Fels will add a dime to your dime, a dollar to your dollar, a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand dollars to yours. If you object to this channel—for any reason, good, bad or indifferent—don't allow your objection to serve as your excuse for not helping. For Missouri you can send direct to Dr. William P. Hill of St. Louis; for Oregon you can send to William S. U'Ren of Oregon City; for Seattle you can send to Thorwald Siegfried. And don't wait. They vote on the question in Seattle the 5th of March, and in Missouri and Oregon next November, and the campaign in all those places has already begun. Whether you send direct to those men or to the Joseph Fels Fund, send! Send now. Send enough to convince *yourself* that you really want your cause to win and are no dawdler. Don't wait until the fight is over. If you do, and the fight is lost, it will not be for you to criticize, nor if it is won for you to cheer. The fight you have prayed for is on. Whereabouts are *you*?



## THREADED OBSERVATIONS.

In a New York speech, and again in Washington, Governor Wilson of New Jersey made an observation that shows that he knows how to string his observations on the right thread.

In his New York speech he said: "As a politician I'll agree not to trouble this country's business if this country's business men will agree not to trouble politics. The trouble is that the business men of the country won't agree to this. The purpose of one political party now is to take the tariff out of politics and settle it for the good of the whole country. But as long as the schedules of the tariff are settled by special interests there is going to be trouble. . . . Suppose we ask the

*business men of this country to stop meddling with the tariff."*

This is the talk of plain common sense, something heard too rarely in speeches by our public men.

The majority of them, and the great mass of conservatives generally, in private conversation or in public utterances from the platform, in newspapers and magazines, have a great deal to say about the way in which the country is surely going to the dogs unless politics will stop interfering with business. But now we have a public man who reminds us that the interference of business with politics came prior to, and is the direct cause of and reason for, the present concern of politics with business.



An editorial in one of the big New York dailies recently showed the same popular misunderstanding of cause and effect, the same lack of proportion.

In giving some kindly paternal advice to organized Labor apropos of the Los Angeles troubles, that paper asserted that "ninety millions of people cannot endure that two millions should subvert the common welfare from any motives whatever, good or bad."

This sort of argument is always used to organized Labor in connection with any manifestation, violent or otherwise, on its part. But, apropos of Governor Wilson's suggestion, how about the less than two millions of representatives of Big Business who for some decades now have been subverting the common welfare of ninety millions of people for their own advancement?



A constant perusal of the daily press is a great delight to a person with a sense of humor.

Another editorial writer, in dealing with the epidemic of poisoning cases in the Berlin Municipal Lodging House, remarked that the case was astonishing in that it revealed an incredible depth of poverty in that prosperous city. It seemed to this writer that but few people here or in Germany realize that even in a well-governed city like Berlin there is such a tremendous sum of actual want and misery.

Possibly if he would think the matter over, he might understand that in the so suddenly revealed depth of misery lay the explanation for the remarkable gains in the Socialist vote at the German elections. But when the papers report Socialist gains, public opinion here is surprised,

and the conservative portion of it shakes its head dubiously and says, "Why should such things be?" and "What are we coming to?"

They don't seem to realize that the Socialist vote is not the result, as they like to suppose, of the work of "agitators and demagogues," but a result of conditions that fill the municipal lodging houses with thousands of homeless and penniless men.



Truly saith that arch-humorist, George Bernard Shaw: "How meaningless are our observations if we haven't the right thread to string them on."

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### MUNICIPAL HOUSEKEEPING IN WINNIPEG.

Winnipeg, January 10, 1912.

We, the citizens of Winnipeg, are now in possession of our own hydro-electric power. The current from the city's power plant (see *The Public*, vol. ix, p. 749; vol. x, p. 898) was first "turned on" on the 16th of October, 1911, being immediately put to use in lighting the streets, and shortly after, in lighting private buildings, as well as those belonging to the city. The plant is now in full operation, and installations for private lighting and power are now taking place. Some delay in this was caused by attempts of the city Executive to repudiate the rates fixed by the city's "power prospectus," previously issued, by raising them; but agitation carried on by the honest newspapers and citizens, as well as the approach of the civic elections, compelled the abandonment of those attempts. So, it has come about that we are now enjoying electric lighting at one-third its usual price to us.

For, no sooner had the city announced its rates than the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company—which hitherto has had a monopoly on our lights, both gas and electric, and our power—mattered a "special announcement re electric lighting rates" to its "customers," saying: "The Winnipeg Electric Railway Company wish to announce that on meter readings taken on and after the 5th of December, 1911, the rate for electric lighting will be precisely the same as that decided upon by the City Council, namely 3½c per kw.-hour, with 10 per cent discount for prompt payment within ten days from date of bill, thus making the rate 3c net per kw.-hour, with a monthly minimum charge of 50c."

When it is remembered that up to the present the company has been charging its customers at the rate of 10 cents per kilowatt-hour (kw.-hour) this reduction is enormous.

Think of having your monthly bill of \$5.38 suddenly reduced to \$1.63! That is one case. And the same proportion in larger and smaller amounts maintains throughout this happy community of light consumers.

Although—partly owing to the delay caused by the attempts to raise the rates—the installation of the city's lights comes upon a time when lights are much needed and all are not willing to swap masters in the lighting business, and although the electric company is stooping to conquer by lowering its rates below what has been maintained as profitable, yet all public-spirited citizens feel that, by installing the city current in their houses they are assisting in an undertaking in which they themselves are the stockholders; an undertaking, it may be added, which—as shown above, and indirectly confessed by the company's announcement—has relieved them of a certain amount of monopolistic oppression.

PAUL M. CLEMENS.



### WASHINGTON'S CONSTITUTION AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Snohomish, Wash.

Anyone acquainted with the people of the State of Washington, and with the people of the Eastern States during the last decade of the nineteenth century, must have been struck with the marked difference in political thought existing in Washington and the older communities at that time. The democracy and social equality which seems always to exist in a new community, doubtless was the cause of the very progressive thought which pervaded the State of Washington at the time of its admission to the Union. Every community in the State had its little crowd of thinkers, all of whom who were not Socialists were Singletaxers.

Accordingly, when the Constitutional convention met in the Territorial capitol the following was adopted:

Art. 7, Sec. 2. Taxation-Uniformity and Equality-Exemption.—The legislature shall provide by law a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation on all property in the State, according to its value in money, and shall prescribe such regulations by general law as shall secure a just valuation for taxation of all property, so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property. Provided, that a deduction of debts from credits may be authorized: Provided, further, that the property of the United States, and of the State, counties, school districts, and other municipal corporations, and SUCH OTHER property as the legislature may by general laws provide, shall be exempt from taxation.

This provision became a part of the Constitution of the State of Washington.

It seemed plain from this that any class of property which a legislature might by general law exempt, would be exempt from taxation. And one of the first laws enacted by the State legislature was a law exempting household goods and other personal property to the amount of \$300. No one questioned this law, and property was exempt from taxation under it until the year 1897. In that year the Fusion legislature, in which was a large element of Singletaxers, passed an Act relating to revenue and taxation from which the following is taken:

Section 5. All property described in this section, to the extent herein limited, shall be exempt from taxation, that is to say: . . . (5) All fruit trees, except nursery stock, for four years after being transplanted from the nursery into the orchard. (6) The personal

property of each person liable to assessment and taxation under the provisions of this act of which such individual is the actual and bona fide owner, to an amount not exceeding \$500.00. . . . (§) The improvements in and upon land of each person liable to assessment and taxation under the provisions of this act, of which such individual is the actual and bona fide owner, to an amount not exceeding \$500.00, etc.

This law (partly because of its Singletax tendency but more because it was passed by a Populist legislature) was at once subjected to violent attack. Reputable and conservative men seriously said: "If this exemption is allowed, where will we get our taxes? The country will be bankrupt," etc.

The matter was taken into the courts, the title of the case being *State ex Rel Chamberlain vs. Daniel*, 17 Wash. 111. The opponents of the law argued that the expression, "such other," in the section of the Constitution above quoted, referred to property of the United States, and of States, etc.; while its proponents pointed out that this interpretation was impossible, inasmuch as the clause "other municipal corporations" was included in that class. They also argued that if it had been the intent of the Constitutional Convention to restrict exemptions by the legislature to government, State and municipal property, the phrase should have read "other such" instead of "such other."

The Supreme Court decided against the law. The actual grounds upon which the decision was based are stated in this quotation taken from the decision:

Mr. Sutherland in his work on statutory construction, paragraph 238, says: "When the meaning of a statute is clear, and its provisions are susceptible of but one interpretation, that sense must be accepted by law. Its consequences, if evil, can only be avoided by a change of the law itself, to be effected by the legislature and not by judicial construction." And this is no doubt the general rule.

Quoting further from the same work in statutory construction, the Court continued:

"But an interpretation of a statute which must lead to consequences which are mischievous and absurd is inadmissible, if the statute is susceptible to another interpretation by which such consequences can be avoided."

The Court thereupon decided that under Article VII, Section 2 of the Constitution, first above quoted, no property could be exempt from taxation except that of the United States, the State of Washington, and the counties, cities and other municipal corporations.

The decision was, at the time, regarded as political. At any rate, it had disastrous effects upon the political fortunes of the Democratic-Populist fusionists. The poorer class of people, who had listed personal property and improvements carelessly, relying upon the exemptions, were in some cases forced to pay as much as \$50 in extra taxes. And the Fusion forces, being generally in power, were bitterly blamed.

The personnel of the State Supreme Court is now entirely changed, and is regarded as somewhat higher than that of the Court which rendered the decision in the case above referred to. The majority of that Court, however, were entirely sincere. They did not understand the philosophy of taxation. Public sentiment was against the exemption of personal property and improvements on real property from

taxation; as was shown by the vote in 1908 on the so-called Singletax amendments allowing local option in taxation. And the more wealthy and substantial class was against everything emanating from the "Pop" legislature. The Court undoubtedly felt, and had a right to think, that its decision was popular.

But times have changed. In *State ex rel Wolfe vs. Parmenter*, 50 Washington 177, a recent case, our Supreme Court has rendered a decision which shows some progress in taxation-thought on the part of that body. The subject of the suit decided in this case is the taxation of credits, and in a somewhat lengthy opinion the Court says:

The great and principal subject treated in the section (Section 2 of Article 7 of the Constitution) is that of uniformity and equality of taxation. It overshadows everything else and whatever else is mentioned in the section is merely incidental to the main subject. . . . It may be stated in this connection as a matter of common knowledge, that one of the most fruitful sources of inequality in taxation is the attempt to tax credits. Laws for that purpose can never be effectively enforced. Efforts to conceal the existence of the credits are so successful that a few honest persons pay the taxes and the large majority of the holders do not. Moreover in practical experience the tax is not really paid by the holder of the credit but is paid by his debtor. . . . It was no doubt believed that all the wealth can be once taxed without the taxation of credits, and that with the Constitutional requirements as to taxation thus satisfied, uniformity and equality can be better effected and abuses above mentioned largely corrected.

The line of argument used above is quite as applicable to personal property and improvements on real estate as it is to credits. Relying upon the reasoning of this case I should think that if a law were passed exempting all improvements on real property and all personal property, instead of \$500 worth of personal property and \$500 worth of improvements on real property, as in the law of 1897 declared unconstitutional, such a law might be declared Constitutional by our present State Supreme Court.

Public sentiment, actually and properly a mighty influence with our Supreme Courts, is very different now from what it was in 1898. The most prominent and successful of our State and city politicians are now counted amongst the Singletaxers. The business men and the manufacturers now are wont to applaud Singletax sentiment wherever expressed. In one of our largest counties, W. H. Kaufman was a year ago elected by an overwhelming majority as County Assessor upon an open and radical Singletax platform. It is no longer "either a distinction or a disgrace" to be a follower of Henry George. Three years ago we planned a directory of Singletaxers in the State of Washington. Now the work has been abandoned, as we feel that the State directory is all we need, such has been the growth of Singletax sentiment in the past three years.

The city of Everett toward the close of last year and by popular vote adopted a Singletax charter amendment. Friends of Singletax will attempt to get this amendment before the Supreme Court, with the belief that there is a chance that the principle of the exemption of personal property or improvements upon real property may be sustained; or, failing that, that new light may be shed upon the attitude of the

Supreme Court toward this most vital question of taxation.

C. L. CLEMANS.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, January 23, 1912.

### Progress in the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

Pursuant to the authority conferred upon him by the Convention, its president, Herbert S. Bigelow, promptly appointed a committee on rules and one on employes, he being a member ex-officio of the former and its chairman. The other members are reported as thoroughly representative. They are E. L. Lampson (floor leader of the reactionaries), E. W. Doty (floor leader of the progressives), John W. Winn, Samuel A. Hoskins, Stanley Shaffer and Fred G. Leete. This committee reported a set of rules somewhat modified from a draft prepared by Mr. Doty. One of its features relates to lobbying. It requires an open registration without which no person not a delegate can gain admission to committee rooms or appear before the Convention or any part of it. At the election of vice-president of the Convention on the 17th, E. W. Doty was defeated by S. D. Fess, president of Antioch College and a leader of the "dry" faction as against the "wet," but a progressive. On first ballot Doty had 47, Fess 31 and Anderson 36. Most of Anderson's vote went to Fess on second ballot, making the vote 52 for Doty and 61 for Fess—a majority of 2 for the latter. Constitutional provisions on several burning questions were submitted by members on the 17th. Among them was an Initiative, Referendum and Recall amendment submitted by Robert Crosser, author of the municipal initiative and referendum law now in force in Ohio. It provides for State-wide legislative referendums on a petition of 50,000, State-wide legislative initiatives on a petition of 60,000, and Constitutional amendments on a petition of 80,000. Intending to make a diversion over the Singletax the reactionary leader, Lampson, offered a clause providing that no law shall be enacted taxing land or land values by a different rule from that applied to improvements and personal property. As this would prohibit all classifications of property for purposes of taxation, thereby interfering with the plans of the Ohio State Board of Commerce for exempting bonds, it is reported—we quote from the Cincinnati Enquirer of January 18—that "it can be stated with authority that this proposal will be modified by Mr. Lampson, whose only object was

to strike at the Henry George cultus." On the 18th President Bigelow announced standing committees, the chairmen of some of the principal ones being as follows: Initiative and Referendum, Crosser; liquor traffic, Bowdle; taxation, Doty; municipal government, Harris of Hamilton; educational, Fess; equal suffrage, Kilpatrick; judiciary, Peck; labor, Stilwell. Judge Lindsey of Denver spoke before the convention on the 18th. [See current volume, pages 49, 52, 57.]



### Municipal Ownership in Cleveland.

Mayor Baker has begun proceedings for extending the ownership and operation of the electric lighting system in Cleveland which the late Mayor Johnson established. Mayor Johnson secured the nucleus of this system through the annexation of suburbs which owned and operated. Subsequently a \$2,000,000 bonding proposal for extension was adopted by the people of Cleveland on referendum, and on the 11th Mayor Baker opened negotiations with the lighting company which now monopolizes the private system. In his letter, as reported by the Plain Dealer of the 12th, Mayor Baker—

sets forth that the people of Cleveland have ordered the municipalization of the electric current industry and that there are two ways by which this can be done—either by purchase on just terms of the private occupant of the field, or the installation of competing plants. Mr. Baker says the long history of the traction war has shown that the people desire to avoid wasteful competition and to deal justly with the owners of private property. He therefore invites the company to sell its plant to the city, stating, however, that he proposes to continue the rapid development of the municipal plant, feeling certain that if the company feels disposed to negotiate he does not doubt a determination of the amount to be paid could be speedily reached. The price agreed upon would be submitted to the people for their approval.

The letter explicitly states that the city would desire to purchase only such property as would be useful to the city. Other property the city would not desire, and he proposes that the city name an arbitrator, the company one, and that F. H. Goff be selected as the third member of a board to determine what property the city ought to purchase and the price to be paid for it.

The reply from Samuel Scovill in behalf of the company, is regarded by Mayor Baker as closing the door to a peaceful settlement. Its terms are so frankly characteristic of the attitude of public service monopolies that we reproduce it in full as a type which should be of interest in every city. As reported by the Plain Dealer of the 13th, Mr. Scovill's reply to Mayor Baker was as follows:

Your letter of the 11th inst. received. The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. and its predecessors have for more than twenty-five years past been making continuous and large investments in its property



with a view of having a permanent investment with a fair earning capacity secured to it by the furnishing of its service to its patrons at reasonable prices. The company has consistently refused to sell at various times. Proposals from a buyer never receive consideration until the seller is assured of the power and ability of the purchaser to buy. The company has every confidence in the continued stability of its investment, expecting to make in the future, as in the past, a reasonable return thereon. I will take pleasure in submitting this correspondence to the directors of the company at their next meeting.

[See vol. x, page 778, and vol. xii, page 1025.]



#### Singletax Campaign in Seattle.

Under the direction of a campaign committee of the Seattle Tax Reform League—consisting of G. E. Tilton, G. A. Pidduck, Mary A. D. Brennan, Lucy R. Case and Thorwald Siegfried, the latter as secretary—a vigorous campaign has begun in Seattle for the adoption on referendum at the city election of March 5 next, of the Erickson amendment to the city charter. This amendment, submitted by the City Council, would add the following Article to the charter:

Section 1. The assessment, levy and collection of taxes on property for all corporate or municipal purposes of the City of Seattle shall be uniform in respect to persons and property therein; provided, that from and after the first day of July, 1912, no tax for corporate or municipal purposes in the City of Seattle shall be levied or imposed on any improvements on, in or under any lands in the City of Seattle, nor on any form of personal property except leasehold interests in land; but, from and after the first day of July, 1912, all taxes within said city for corporate or municipal purposes shall be levied on and collected from the assessed value of leasehold interests in land, public service corporation franchises, and on and from the assessed values of all lands and all other natural resources in said city, except such lands as are used only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious, or charitable purposes already exempt from taxation by law; provided, that nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the imposing of licenses on certain occupations within the City of Seattle in the exercise of the police power or affect any charter provision or ordinance regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Section 2. No tax or fee for corporate or municipal purposes shall be imposed in the City of Seattle upon any trade, labor, business, person, industry, or profession under the pretext of a license or the exercise of the police power except where the imposition of such tax or fee is for the avowed purpose of limiting and discouraging the pursuit or object so taxed; and all ordinances imposing such taxes shall state clearly that the purpose is to limit and discourage the pursuit or object so taxed.

In promotion of their campaign the committee named above solicits outside help in the form of "short letters from prominent public men" who

have faith in this reform, "addressed to the people of Seattle," and funds for effectively pushing the seven weeks' contest before them. Local papers are full of the subject, with letters and editorials both for and against. "Seattle," writes the secretary of the committee, "has in more ways than one stimulated thought and action throughout the country and we hope to make it take a lead on behalf of the exemption of improvements and personalty from taxation two months hence."



#### George F. Cotterill of Seattle.

At the direct primaries for the same election at which the Singletax is to be voted on in Seattle, George F. Cotterill, for many years a leading Singletaxer of the State of Washington, is to be one of the three or four candidates for Mayor. The others are Thomas A. Parish and Mayor Gill. The two highest at the primaries will be the candidates at the election. Mr. Cotterill, though born in England, has lived in the State of Washington 27 out of the 46 years of his life. By profession he is a civil engineer and this is his vocation; but he is also what Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard calls a "civic engineer." He has been twice defeated for Mayor of Seattle as a party Democrat, before the city's elections were made non-partisan by the Commission form of government; but even as a Democrat he was elected State Senator in a strong Republican district and as such served efficiently in the legislature.



#### Joseph Fels in Canada.

Joseph Fels is devoting himself to Singletax work in Canada. His activities there appear to be especially notable. On the 14th he occupied the pulpit of a Methodist church in the morning and that of a Unitarian church in the evening. One of the largest meetings in the history of the Empire Club greeted him on the 16th. On that day also, as reported by the Toronto Globe of the 17th—

he held a two hours' conference with about thirty business men, including builders, architects, real estate brokers, and contractors, in the Builders' Exchange, at which he explained to them the principles of Singletax. Afterwards Mr. Fels interviewed other business men, and secured the promises of about twenty men and firms who expressed themselves as willing to put up an amount of the tax on their business for one year to contribute to a fund to do away with that tax. These men and firms paid taxes on their business ranging from about \$30 to \$500 annually. One or two large wholesale houses paying taxes of approximately \$5,000 to \$7,000 also declared their willingness to fall in line on condition that fifteen or twenty other large firms would do the same. Mr. Fels will contribute an amount equal to the whole amount raised. Speaking of the meeting

held in the Builders' Exchange, Mr. Fels said to The Globe that this was the first meeting of this class of business men he had ever known which had been held to discuss the placing of taxation on land values alone. Under ordinary conditions these men were opposed to what he proposed, but while he would not say that he had convinced those at the meeting, he believed that the majority of them would ultimately come over, and favor the taking of the tax away from businesses and placing it where it belonged. In taking a ride around the city yesterday afternoon Mr. Fels was struck with the fact that one-third of the superficial area within the city limits was now vacant and had never been built upon. "When I was in British Columbia," said Mr. Fels to The Globe, "I saw Premier McBride, and I asked him what he thought of taxation of land values alone. He said he himself did not believe in it, but he realized that it would have to come eventually." Mr. Fels has a busy week ahead of him, and will visit seven Canadian cities in as many days. In each of these cities he proposes to try to start such a movement as he has started in Toronto. This morning he goes to Stratford, where he will address the Board of Trade. Thursday he will speak to the Canadian Club in London. Friday he returns to Toronto and will address the Empire Club, and in the evening he will speak at a public meeting in Peterboro'. Monday the Ottawa Board of Trade will hear him. Tuesday he will speak at Montreal, and Wednesday in Quebec.



### The United States Warns Cuba.

In a note presented by Arthur M. Beaupre, American minister at Havana, to President Gomez on the 16th, the United States threatened a third armed intervention in Cuba. The note ran as follows:

The situation in Cuba causes grave concern to the United States. That the laws intended to safeguard free republican government shall be enforced and not defied is obviously essential to the maintenance of law, order and stability indispensable to the status of the Republic of Cuba. The President of the United States therefore looks to the President and government of Cuba to prevent the threatened situation, which would compel the United States much against its desire to consider what measures it must take in pursuance of the obligations of its relations to Cuba.

The note was called out, according to the dispatches, by a situation developing from an agitation started last fall by the Veterans' association of Cuba, especially led by General Nunez, who was supposed to be working for the Presidency of the Republic, in succession to Gomez. The veterans began by demanding the dismissal from the civil service of all men who had been identified in any way with the Spanish régime during the early days of the fight for Cuban independence. This despite the fact that for nearly fourteen years such men had been holding various offices in the government service without protest from any quarter. They also demanded that members of the Veterans' association be more freely appointed

to government places. President Gomez declared that he would not dismiss efficient men to please the Veterans, but in response to insistence he made some concessions. The Veterans thereupon made further demands and defied President and law. The effect of the American note, which does not seem to have been unwelcome to President Gomez, has been in the direction of unifying all factions, and of halting the Veterans' plans. With the nullification of their program the hopes of General Nunez apparently vanish. An agreement between the government and the Veterans' association was signed on the 20th, by which the Veterans bind themselves to relinquish their opposition to office holders accused of former hostility to Cuban independence. [See vol. xiv, page 584.]



### Ecuadorean War Over.

The short civil war in the South American republic of Ecuador, following the death of President Estrada on December 22, has apparently come to a close. Upon the death of Estrada two provisional governments created themselves—one organized by the Liberals at the capital city of Quito, with General Plaza as provisional President, and General Julio Andrade in command of troops; and the other organized in the seaport city of Guayaquil, with General Montero at its head, and Generals Flavio Alfaro and Eloy Alfaro in command of troops. In a desperate battle to the northeast of Guayaquil on the 18th, in which over 1,000 men were killed and wounded, the Quito faction was victorious, and on the 22nd the Montero troops at Guayaquil capitulated to the Plaza troops from Quito. [See current volume, page 63.]



### The German Elections.

Second elections for the Reichstag were held in 77 districts of Germany on the 20th and in 80 on the 22d, with the result (some districts yet to vote) of giving the political parties in the Reichstag the following relative strength thus far, as reported in dispatches of the 22d, and in comparison with the Reichstag recently dissolved:

	Previous Reichstag.	Next Reichstag.
Socialists .....	52	99
Centerists .....	109	91
Conservatives .....	68	43
Liberals .....	54	37
Radicals .....	50	35
All others .....	42	57

Second elections will be held on the 25th for the remaining seats. [See current volume, page 61.]



### Singletax Work in Switzerland.

The Tax Reform Association of Bern and the neighboring town of Thun, Switzerland, was

formed on November 16, 1911, with Dr. Ed. Lauterburg of Thun as President and F. Trefzer as Vice-President. In an address to the young Liberals of Bern a few nights previously, Dr. Lauterburg had named "as one of the real causes of the high cost of living" "the rise in the value of land, and private speculation therein," and had announced as remedy the progressive land tax. From this land tax he foresees the following results:

(1.) The large landowners would be induced to give up their surplus land.

(2.) The landless could more easily obtain land; upon the cheaper land cheaper products could be grown and cheaper and better dwellings be built.

(3.) Interest on mortgages would be lower.

(4.) The capital hitherto tied up in land would be offered to industry on cheaper terms.

(5.) Consequently the employers could raise wages and would be obliged to do so, else the laborer would work with home machinery on his own land or would cultivate his own land.

(6.) Following upon the increased land taxes, the taxes on incomes—which burden industry and especially one class of citizens, the wage-earners—could be diminished and at last abolished. The man who owned no land, or only a little, or mortgaged, land, need pay little or no taxes.

(7.) Purchasing power would increase, and this would work advantage to husbandry, trade and commerce.

The new Association for Tax Reform asserts as its working principle that "every man has the same right to the use of the earth's surface, the source of all material good," and "seeks to realize this right by bringing about legislation which shall withdraw the land—originally the property of all the people—from private speculation and make it again accessible to the whole people." It therefore demands that "ground rent, the unearned income from land monopoly, shall be appropriated no longer by private individuals but by the community and the state." The Association therefore asks, first, a valuation of all Swiss land at its true market price exclusive of improvements, and second, the gradually increasing taxation of ground rent along with abolition of the taxes on the products of labor.



#### Persia Being Assimilated.

The province of Azerbaijan in the northwest of Persia, bordering on Turkish territory, is rapidly passing into the occupation of Russian troops, according to dispatches of the 19th. A Russian court martial at Tabriz has been busy sentencing Persian Constitutionalist to death or exile. Several Constitutionalist have been sent from Resht to the Russian penal colonies in Siberia. Andrasian, the principal Persian Armenian in Tabriz, has been hanged on the charge of complicity in the recent fighting. Appeals from the Armenian archbishop of Ispahan and from various influential bodies against this execution, have been ignored.

The late American Treasurer-General of Persia, W. Morgan Shuster, made a statement at Vienna on the 20th, while on his way from Teheran to Paris, in which he declared:

The net result of the British and Russian action in Persia renders a nation which was making progress toward peace and order and was building up its finances for the establishment of a constitutional government, a land of chaos and anarchy, without prestige among its own people, and, in addition, has meant the sacrifice of hundreds of innocent lives. . . .

The Russian and British legations are the real governing forces in Persia. They are acting through a directory of seven Persians in order to avoid international responsibility, but morally they are responsible for the destruction of Persian nationality, when it gave promise of establishing a stable constitutional government.

The seven men who nominally are governing Persia are without character or reputation. They do not command the slightest respect of their countrymen and would not exist a day without the protection of the Russian and British legations.

Russian forces and influences are steadily advancing southward and unless there is a break in the present trend of events the realization of Russia's dream of a warm water port is a matter of only a few years. Great Britain will then be confronted with a living Russo-Indian frontier problem. . . .

The most regrettable feature of Persia's dismemberment is the fact that it might have been entirely prevented had Great Britain frankly objected, at the beginning, to Russia's flagrant violation of the Anglo-Russian agreement, commencing with her claim last summer of the right to veto appointments of Persian officials, and culminating in the dispatch of her army into Persia on the false pretext that a Persian official had printed a pamphlet criticising Russia's previous actions in Persia.



#### China.

The expected abdication of the little Emperor, an edict for which was said to be all ready for promulgation on the 17th, has not come off—the more warlike of the Manchu princes having prevailed in the Imperial councils. In the expectation of an abdication the following circular appeal for recognition was sent out on the 19th by the provisional Republican government at Nanking, to the governments at Washington, Tokio, London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg:

The Manchu government having entered into negotiations with the Republic of China for the purpose of abdicating its entire sovereign rights, powers and privileges, we fervently pray for recognition in order to avoid a disastrous interregnum.

WANG CHUNG WEI.  
Foreign Minister.

On the same day the following demands were telegraphed by the Republican government to the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, at Peking:

1. The abdication of the throne and the surrender of the sovereign powers are demanded.

2. No Manchu may participate in the provisional government of China.

3. The capital of the provisional government cannot be established at Peking.

4. Premier Yuan Shi Kai cannot participate in the provisional government of China until the Republic has been recognized by the foreign powers and the country has been restored to peace and harmony.

The action was due to Premier Yuan Shi Kai's demand that Dr. Sun Yat Sen resign the presidency, permitting Yuan Shi Kai to exercise sovereign powers until the national convention which is to be called to decide on the form of government of China shall have reached a conclusion. On the 22nd President Sun Yat Sen made a statement for the Republicans in which he announced that—

Similar terms will never be offered again to the Manchus unless these are accepted. To disarm and send back to bondage the whole people of this country it is now too late. We never will submit to the dictation of the Manchus or of Yuan Shi-Kai. The republican movement is now represented by fifteen Provinces. Three hundred and fifty million people in China are heart and soul with the Republic and are implacably opposed to Manchu rule. The three remaining Provinces, Ho-Nan, Shan-Tung and Chi-Li, are certainly our adherents. The Chinese troops in the Imperial army who are now supposed to be loyal to Yuan Shi-Kai are really Republicans and will join us at the proper time. We control all the treaty ports except Tien-Tsin and Nu-Chwang, which are ice bound. The Republic, in fact, is protecting the vast majority of foreigners and foreign property. Why then should not the foreign Powers promptly recognize the Republic? This question is already being asked by the people of China, while the dread of foreign intervention, which is invited by certain persons in Peking, hangs like a pall over the country and over natives and foreigners alike. The foreign powers, especially the United States, have always spoken of their friendship for China. We pledge good will and the observance of all treaties made by and with the Manchus. We will discharge every obligation of the open door in China.

[See current volume, page 62.]



The tremendous political convulsion through which China has been passing has left in obscurity news in regard to its terrible economic condition. Owing to the devastating floods in the Yang-tse Valley and in the Province of Hunan last summer, and also to failures of crops, with the exception of one year only, since 1906, in the great Hwai region, there are said to be at the present time 3,750,000 of the Chinese starving to death. An appeal is being made through the Red Cross for aid from America. [See vol. xiv, page 957.]



#### The New Zealand Elections.

News about non-sensational matters in Aus-

tralia is slow in reaching this country, and the returns from the Parliamentary elections of December 7th are only now at hand. These are necessarily incomplete. In only 42 out of the 75 constituencies did any candidate get a majority over all. Consequently there must be second elections in 33 constituencies between the two highest candidates at the first elections. The Opposition has thus far gained 4 seats at the expense of the party in power in the last Parliament—the Liberals. What may be the effect of the second elections can only be conjectured, but the reported indications are that the Liberal majority of the last Parliament will have vanished in the next one, and that neither the old Liberals nor the old Opposition will have a working majority. In that event the opportunity of the Hon. George Fowlds will occur. Although not elected at the first election in his constituency, his election was expected at the second; and as in resigning from the Cabinet last September in order to have greater freedom to advocate land values taxation, he announced that whenever a truly democratic party arose, strong enough to form a ministry, it would have his whole-souled support, a collapse of both Liberals and Opposition would not unlikely result in his call to higher service. [See vol. xiv, pages 1100, 1294.]



#### Land Tenure in Northern Nigeria.

News from the civilizations of interior Africa travels slowly, but in time it spreads. By "The Land and Native Rights Proclamation" of the British government, which went into effect in Northern Nigeria more than a year ago, January 1, 1911, the land tenure policy of that country was established in accordance with the recommendations of the Colonial Office Committee of which Josiah C. Wedgwood,\* M. P., the British Single-taxer, was an active member. A full account of that committee and its work will be found in volume xiii of *The Public* at pages 580 to 583. According to the *London Times*, as quoted by *London Land Values* of December, 1911, this policy is—

not a measure of land nationalization, because land nationalization means state control of the land and all that is done upon it. What this measure does is to provide for the communalizing of the communal value of the land, leaving the occupier full control over the use of land and full benefit for his private enterprise upon it, with payment of rent to the community to which the land belongs, instead of to a landlord. The individual's right to all that is due to individual work and expenditure, but not to the communal value, is secured. No freehold can creep in and no monopoly profit can be made out of the land. The "holding up" of land for speculative purposes is, in effect, penalized, while the man who is industrious is not made to pay more as the outcome

\*See *The Public*, volume xiii, pp. 580, 653.

of his enterprise. At the same time the basis is laid for a land revenue which, with the years, will be the chief source of income of the government—the healthiest form of income, perhaps, for any government.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Henry Labouchere, editor of London Truth, died in Florence, Italy, on the 16th at the age of 81.

—Samuel Alschuler has announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Illinois.

—The fifth annual meeting of the District Judges at Kansas will be held at Topeka on the 29th at 9:30 a. m.

—Senator Cummins of Iowa announced his candidacy on the 20th for the Republican nomination for President. (See vol. xiv, page 362.)

—Robert M. La Follette was indorsed for the Presidential nomination by the North Dakota Progressive Republican league on the 16th.

—John Z. White is to speak at Milwaukee on the 1st, 2d and 3d of February; at Pittsburgh on the 5th; at Grand Rapids and Big Rapids (Mich.) on the 7th, and at Manistee on the 10th.

—A bill to amend the Constitution of Virginia by extending voting rights to women was on the 22d ordered by the committee on privileges and elections of the legislature to be reported adversely.

—The Brotherhood Welfare Association (J. Eads How of St. Louis, Chairman) will hold a national convention at Cincinnati from January 31 to February 3, of unskilled, migratory and casual workers. [See vol. xiv, page 934.]

—A Constitutional amendment for woman's suffrage was introduced on the 16th by Representative Berger of Wisconsin in the lower house of Congress. A petition is now being circulated by the Socialist party in support of the proposed amendment.

—With the signatures of a number of W. J. Bryan's personal and political friends attached thereto, a petition was sent on the 19th to the Secretary of State of Nebraska, placing Woodrow Wilson's name on the Nebraska preferential ballot for the Presidency.

—Dr. Harry E. Webster, who recently pleaded guilty at Oregon, Ill., to murder in the first degree, was on the 22d, by arrangement between the prosecuting officer, his own attorneys and the presiding judge, sentenced to life imprisonment instead of capital execution.

—Professor Frances Squire Potter will tell taxpaying women, at a meeting of the "No Vote No Tax League," at the Hotel La Salle, Chicago, on the 28th at 3 p. m., why, "as loyal and patriotic Americans, they should refuse to pay their personal taxes until women are given a voice in government."

—A law admitting women to public office on the same conditions as men was voted in the Norway Storting on the 18th. Exceptions are made in regard to cabinet positions and in the ecclesiastic,

military, diplomatic, and consular service. The Storting is the parliament of Norway. [See vol. xiii, page 469.]

—On the eastward way in his transcontinental lecture tour for the Henry George Lecture Association (Frederick H. Monroe, 538 South Dearborn St., Chicago), Charles Frederick Adams will speak at Salt Lake City, February 2, 3 and 4; at Grand Junction, February 5; at Denver, February 7, 8 and 9; and at Colorado Springs, February 10, 11, 12 and 13.

—The speech from the throne at the opening of the Swedish Riksdag on the 16th contained the announcement that a bill is to be introduced enfranchising women and making them eligible at the elections of the Riksdag on the same conditions as men—24 years of age and not under any legal disability. The Riksdag is the lower house of the Diet, which is the parliament of Sweden.

—By a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the 22d, railroads are required to carry intoxicating liquors into the prohibition territory of States other than those from which shipments were made, it being settled by earlier decisions of this court that those commodities are legitimate objects of Inter-State commerce and that they are not subject to local legislation until delivered to consignees.

—A General Conference on the Minimum Wage will be held under the auspices of the Chicago Woman's Club in the Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan avenue, on Monday evening, January 29, and on Tuesday morning, January 30. Among the speakers will be Mrs. Glendower Evans of Massachusetts, Rev. John A. Ryan of St. Paul, Mr. Elliott S. Norton and Professor John R. Commons. Both sessions will be open to the public.

—A "Book Party" will be given by the Women's City Club of Chicago at its rooms, 31 West Lake St., on Saturday afternoon, the 27th, for the replacement, as far as may be, of the library of the Women's Trade Union League which was entirely destroyed when the Open Board of Trade was burned out on December 19. The Club announces that "friends with books are welcome; friends without books are welcome." [See vol. xiv, page 1313.]

—At the convention of the United States Mine Workers of America on the 18th at Indianapolis a Socialist proposal for government ownership of all industries was adopted; but by 515 to 155 the convention adopted a substitute for a resolution committing the organization to the Socialist party as "the political party of the laboring class." The substitute declares that "it would be well if workers would unite on the political as well as the industrial field."

—The Italo-Turkish war continues, with skirmishes on land in the neighborhood of the cities of Tripoli and Derna, and a bombardment by an Italian warship of the town of Khan Yunus on the coast of Syria. Irritation has been created with France by the seizure of two French steamers, the Carthage and the Manouba, by Italian warships on what the French regard as flimsy pretexts in regard to contraband of war—the Carthage carrying an aeroplane, and the Manouba 29 Turkish nurses of the

Red Crescent Society. [See current volume, page 63.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

### A Touchstone of Democracy.

The California Outlook (ind.), January 13.—Oscar Underwood, who leads the Democrats of the House, and is by some regarded as a possible candidate for the Presidency, has announced his opposition to the initiative and referendum and the cause therefor. People are good judges of men but poor judges of measures, he says. They can be trusted to elect good representatives, but not to pass on laws. . . . Mr. Underwood calls himself a Democrat but his Democracy is evidently not of the kind that has the honor to be spelled with a lower-case d.



### Woodrow Wilson's Ingratitude.

Belleville (Ill.) News Democrat (Dem.), January 18.—Woodrow Wilson refused to be two-faced. . . . He does not want to be hooked up with George Harvey in order that he may not incur any obligations towards him. He is in the other battle-line. He is leading the opposing forces. His conduct is much to the credit of Wilson. It wipes the last vestige of the question mark from his character for sincerity. There is no longer any doubt about the genuineness of his conversion. Henry Watterson says that he has waked up to discover that Wilson is a school-master, and not a statesman. Oh, for more such school-masters! . . . Wilson has set a noble precedent. A man cannot accept the support of the plutocracy and do his duty by the people. Show me with whom thou goest and I will tell thee who thou art.



The South Bend (Ind.) New Era (dem. Dem.) Jan. 20.—The loss on the part of Governor Wilson of such support as Col. Harvey and his like have to offer will bring to the aid of his candidacy men whose political principles have nothing to do with quotation of stocks on Wall street. These losses are real gains. Since his conversion from nominal Democracy to fundamental democracy, the New Jersey Governor finds himself much in the same position as the new convert to Christianity whom the recorder of Holy Writ quotes as saying: "The things I once loved I now hate and the things I once hated I now love."



The Bloomington (Ill.) Bulletin (ind. Dem.), Jan. 18.—The story of Col. Watterson telling how the New Jersey Governor firmly refused to have his policy shaped by Harper's Weekly, and thereby incurred the enmity of those two reactionary colonels Harvey and Watterson, has greatly strengthened the Wilson candidacy with people who look to the Democracy of 1912 for honest and not make-believe reform. . . . It is noticeable that the dismal forebodings because of the defection of Harvey and Watterson from Wilson, all come from Republican papers or reactionary Democrats.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald (dem. Dem.), Jan. 19.—In frankly indicating to Col. Harvey that as between the school of Democracy for which he stands—the Bourbon school—and the Democracy for which Mr. Bryan and his followers stand, his preference is for the latter, Gov. Wilson gives evidence anew of his full sympathy with progressive democracy.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### LIFE.

##### For The Public.

O Earth-life, my Soul has been thankful  
That it found a place in thy realm,  
Though idly adrift on thy ocean  
With its pilot asleep at the helm.

It harkened to inner conviction  
That the world-wise are fain to resist,  
And followed the trail of thy beauty  
Through the gray of the gathering mist.

It thrilled to the booming of breakers  
That deepened the hush of the strand,  
And the swell of the forest organ  
Overswept by invisible hand.

It lived in the dream of the poet,  
Where lingered the glory and zest  
Of all it had fitfully fathomed  
And of all that should answer its quest.

O Earth-life, my Soul is still thankful  
For the breath of thy upland air,  
Ere ever its vision had opened  
On the round of thy sordid care—

Where, crouched like a beggar, waits Justice,  
Whose sway should encircle the land,  
With wanton luxury's pittance  
Doled by Charity's jeweled hand;

Where the lordling's senses are blinded  
By the glitter of stolen gain,  
To the helpless wrongs of his victim  
Ere he stumbled and fell in his pain;

Where the deeds that darkened the old time  
Are brazenly wrought in the new,  
Where the agents of evil are many,  
And the helpers and martyrs but few.

O Earth-life, my Soul is no traitor,  
Though it turn from thy welter and strife  
To thy ever beckoning upland,  
As a coward may run for his life—

Yet ever will hopefully hearken  
For the tale of a turn in the tide,  
And the "all is well" of a future,  
From its watch-tower cheerily cried.

Thus our earth-life prison is broadened  
By mysteries wrapping it round,  
Too dense for our mortal searchlight,  
Too deep for its plummet to sound.

D. H. INGHAM.

## TRUE LITTLE TALES OF MINOR REFORMERS.

### 4. The Islander's Wheat-Sack.

For The Public.

Once the young school-teacher started off on an exploring trip "all by his lonely." He took a little flat-bottomed boat with a center-board that he had built, and he went rowing and sailing up the San Joaquin river, fishing somewhat, and hunting within reason, and botanizing, and counting the stars at night, and meeting dozens of very interesting river-people. Sometimes he slept in the boat, and sometimes he camped on the bank, and now and then the nice people who had farmhouses along the river carried him off, and sent him back in the morning with milk and butter and eggs and fresh bread and home-made cake.

Finally the school-teacher went off into the great slough country, among many little half-reclaimed islands. People had told him that it was a forlorn region, but he found it very beautiful. There at last he had a rememberable experience with an earnest and struggling reformer.

There was a cabin on the bank of an island. A few oak trees were near. A small field extended across from slough to slough. A long-bearded man sat in the doorway mending a rake. Some children were building a raft out of driftwood. A woman was hanging clothes on the line. Everything was so near and clear under the springtime skies.

"Nice weather," said the young school-teacher, "and a lovely island you have. Just the size for one farm."

"Tie up," returned the man. "Set a while, an' pass the time o' day. We sees most no people out here."

So the school-teacher "tied up," and helped the five youngsters finish and launch their raft, with all sorts of improvements. Then he sat on the bank, telling them stories about Cuchulin and other legendary heroes. The children listened hungrily to every word; the youngest put up her face to be kissed. Never had he met with such quiet, pale children in all his out-door wanderings. "I suppose it's hot summers and malaria," he thought to himself.

The man finished mending his rake, put it down, and came to the water's edge.

"The children air lonesome like," he remarked. "We useter live near a town. But did ye ever set eyes on sich fine healthy young ones? You stay an' have dinner, an' you'll see why." He called out to his wife: "Sairy, this nice young man's bin tellin' yarns ter the children, an' now you just put on another bowl, an' we'll show him how to live right." She made no reply, but a flush spread over her face, as she went into the cabin.

It was noon, and in a few minutes they were called. The wan and sober-faced woman had

placed bowls and spoons on the plain pine table and had filled the bowls with unground wheat from a sack in the corner of the cabin. She gave them cups of water, and then, taking her bowl of wheat, she sat down by the stove.

The children ate their wheat without displaying much interest in the matter. The pale little girl climbed into the school-teacher's lap, and slipped her hand into his.

"It's mighty good an' nourishin'," said the man, refilling his bowl from the sack. "Say, stranger," he continued, "people called me a crank when we lived on our farm near Lodi. But see how well an' strong we be, an' what white teeth we've got; all the elements of life are in wheat. It doesn't need to be cooked, nor made into bread, unless people are right down sick in bed an' must hev medicine. There's seven of us here, an' we live happy on the wheat we grow on less 'n an acre of ground. We hoe it in, and cut it with a scythe."

"Well," said the school-teacher, with great kindness and perfect respect. "You are the most dead-in-earnest man I've found this year. How did you come to take this up?"

The man's whole nature stirred at the friendly tone.

"It's this way," he replied. "My wife taught school before we were married, an' I had a farm, an' we lived a while like other people—like beasts of the field. Then I got to thinkin' an' experimentin', an' I read a book about uncooked food, an' at last I worked it out myself towards wheat. Then we rented our farm to one of the neighbors an' come here four years ago. The money he pays us goes into bank, an' bimeby we'll travel an show people how healthy we be, an' lecture, an' try to convert people to sensible eatin'."

"I can see that all this was very difficult for both you and your wife," said the school-teacher.

"It was tough on Sairy; she didn't take kindly ter it at first. We were about ten years movin' up from cooked meats ter plain hard wheat. We tried fruits an' vegetables, an' corn, an' even rye, before we settled down on what is the absolutely perfect food. Mebbe it would have to be uncooked rice in some countries."

The wife now spoke up, with a slow effort, looking with troubled affection upon her husband and children. "Yes! Wheat is very nice, and it is excellent for all of us, except that I think our little girl Lily sometimes needs more variety. But it certainly would be a great blessing if people could generally adopt this idea. So much money would be saved, and the country would support so much greater a population."

The school-teacher, who had finished his bowlful of wheat, but gently declined another, felt troubled as he looked at the mother and children. The man went on with his story.

"An' one day last year some fellows came out huntin', an' got no game, an' lost their lunch, an'

wanted dinner here. But they wouldn't touch my wheat, an' they talked silly. Then they went off ter the county seat an' got out papers sayin' I was crazy, an' was starvin' my folks. They tuk me in, an' my wife staid here, an' prayed for me. The judge asked me lots of questions. Then he said I was sound as a dollar on every subject 'cept wheat, an' as that was my religion I had a perfect right to my views."

The school-teacher thought deeply. Suddenly he questioned the man sweetly and yet earnestly: "And was that all the judge said to you?"

"Well, no," the man replied. "He tuk me off an' tells me that prob'ly wheat was good for me, but that women an' children needed more variety in their food, an' sometimes warm things. I told him that was not onpossible. An' I come home, arter the papers writ me up, an' put my picture in, an' I found that my wife had been poundin' up some wheat an' cookin' it, jest as medicine for the children, 'cause they had colds. I didn't mind it much for a few days, because women folks can't be martyrs to their faith."

The school-teacher thought of the mighty army of saintly women in all the ages who have gone to the fire, the sword, the wild beasts, the thirsty mob, for that which they believed. He looked at the pale and sober-faced wife, and suddenly he held out his hands to her: "I want to tell you that you are a noble woman, doing your best under difficulties." Meanwhile the man went ahead with his third bowl of wheat, and the children went out to their raft.

After a while the school-teacher took the poor eager-eyed wheat-reformer off by himself, and spent the afternoon in listening to him and persuading him that all reforms, especially such great ones, moved very slowly, hair by hair; and that women and children, as the wise judge said, often required more variety, and might even (medicinally) need it hot. The art of friendly and affectionate persuasion when used for worthwhile ends is one of the finest of all arts, and it was a happy school-teacher who came back to the cabin about sunset, with the man's concession to mortal weakness. Thereupon, inviting wife and children to his little boat, he spread out the contents of his locker; he made tea for the woman over his spirit lamp, and gave her nearly a pound of (medicinal) tea; he filled her and the children up with milk, bread and butter, cakes, cheese, and—audacity beyond speech—cold ham. Then he sat on the bank and talked long and earnestly with the woman, telling her what he had said to her husband. Then he kissed little Lily, and whispered that he would come back some day (which he truly did). Lastly, he hoisted sail and went out of the slough, waving his hat to the reformer who stood tall and dark against the afterglow, on the end of the island.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

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## BOOKS

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### THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson. With an Introduction by John T. Morse, Jr., and with Illustrations. Three volumes. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. Price \$10.00 net.

These three handsomely printed, bound and illustrated volumes are contributions of great value to historical, political and biographical literature. John T. Morse, Jr., a historical scholar and a biographical author of authority hardly exaggerates their importance in calling them, in the somewhat elaborate introduction which he has furnished for them, "invaluable." He rightly remarks, too, that "the true function of a diary is to talk to us about individuals—not to instruct us as to events." This function the diary of Mr. Welles performs admirably—not humorously or chattily but entertainingly and interestingly in the best sense, and with an intensesness and seriousness which carries conviction in many cases even when one's predilections and prior impressions were different from his. At least that has been my experience with these books.

Mr. Welles was during eight years a Cabinet minister. No other such period in the country's history was so full of danger, stress and change; no other, not even the formative period, more important in the development of a national character and polity. Its statesmen and politicians—and since it was a time of war, its soldiers and sailors—will always be, so long as the history of the United States is read, among the most interesting characters in that history. And Mr. Welles describes them in this confidential diary, written while he was in daily contact with them and in contact with them in a position affording him the best of opportunities to note their qualities, to judge their motives, and to appraise their acts. Such a record could not fail to be interesting whatever the personal qualifications as an accurate judge of character or events the writer might have or lack. But in the case of this diary the judge was eminently qualified for his work—sane, observant, shrewd, unsentimental and self-controlled. In a comparatively recent biography of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Welles is dismissed in the sketch of Lincoln's first Cabinet appointees as "a rather watery character." The gross inapplicability of this characterization is not excused by the fact that this diary had not then been published, for the Diary only emphasizes what men who were well informed of the history of the Civil War knew before, that the Navy Department was the one department of the government which can be said to have been uniformly "honestly and fearlessly" administered. Mr. Welles, in closing



his diary, with entire justice applies these characterizations to the manner of the discharge of his tremendous duties. Mr. Morse in his introduction, I think with equal justice, says that posterity will add thereto "honorably and efficiently."

Sagacious in choosing subordinates and commanders, resolute in resisting the influence of wealth or of social and political power in the conduct of the Department's work, of unwavering justice in recognizing and rewarding merit, but not without tact and judgment in the treatment of those who, inefficient in one position, might be made useful in another, Mr. Welles, by his management of the Navy Department, earned a right to a large share not only of the credit of practically creating a navy, but also of the glories of the naval battles of Hampton Roads, of New Orleans and Mobile Bay, and of the really controlling cause of the Confederacy's defeat,—the maintenance of a strict blockade under dangerous and difficult conditions.

Mr. Welles was of Puritan stock, a New England Yankee very distinctively and characteristically, with the Puritan conscience, the Puritan stubbornness of mind and the independence, firmness and integrity which go with the best specimens of the type. Even the sanest and most judicially minded of this kind of men are apt, once having become fixed in opinions, to entertain likes and especially perhaps dislikes which can hardly be distinguished from prejudices. Mr. Welles was no exception. He was an anti-Nebraska-bill Democrat who came into the new Republican party solely because that party was formed to oppose the extension of slavery into the Territories. On the questions of centralization as opposed to State rights, on questions of finance and currency, on the subject of our foreign relations and of all those matters of policy which originally divided the Whig and Democratic parties he remained a convinced Democrat until his death, and there was never absent from his mind in the political aspects of his public life this distinction between himself and most of the colleagues with whom he was co-operating. Again and again when referring to those colleagues and his differences with them, in this diary in which he was setting down his inmost thoughts and convictions, he repeats in different phrases but to the same effect, the idea he once expresses thus tersely: "It is the old story—they are Whigs, I am a Democrat." Not only had he been all his adult life up to the organization of the Republican party, a publicist and journalist Democrat in the partisan sense, but he had been a democrat in the wider sense,—not perhaps a democrat as that term is construed by the advanced radical of today who would tolerate no political distinctions between races, colors or religions,—but a democrat sufficiently fixed in his ideas to oppose all special privileges to favored classes, to fear the entrenched power of wealth and place-

holding, to believe in equal political rights and opportunities before the law for all who once became citizens, and to hold in contempt the fanciful and romantic notions about birth and breeding which he insisted were at the root of a false sentiment among Southerners which led to their clinging to the institution of slavery and eventually to their rebellion against the national government.

But it is tracing through this diary the influence of his principles in the partisan Democratic sense on his own course in the Cabinets of Lincoln and Johnson and their influence also to a great extent on the course and actions of the Johnson administration, that chiefly interests me and I feel sure will many of its readers. From first to last Welles distrusted and disliked Seward, although Seward and he were the only men of Lincoln's Cabinet who remained throughout the Johnson administration the advisers of Mr. Johnson. But Mr. Seward was a Whig and an opportunist in political matters, a trimmer and an intriguer and a compromiser. Mr. Welles was none of these things. He was a nationalist although not a centralizer. He did not believe in the right of secession, and not believing in the right he denied the possibility. This idea tinctured his whole view of the proper policies to be pursued both in Lincoln's and in Johnson's time. In his opinion the men who were in arms against the United States were individually insurgents and rebels. They had no justification in the void and illegal action of their State legislatures, and could make no valid excuses for their conduct because of it. Belligerent rights were to be accorded to them only so far as the actual necessities of "civilized warfare" (if there be such a thing) imperatively required it; and meanwhile foreign governments should be notified by the United States of this position, and their action in according belligerent rights to simple rebels vigorously resented so far as the immediate national safety would permit. As a military measure, emancipation was expedient and just; but once the insurgents had laid down their arms and there were no rebels in the field, complete amnesty to the rank and file and permission to "indestructible States" immediately to resume their place in the councils of an "indivisible Union" were the only logical and sound policies for the government to pursue towards its misguided citizens.

With the idea that the result of the war in the emancipation of the Negro must be safeguarded against the undeniable attempts by the ruling race of the South to frustrate it, he had but scant sympathy. Not that he himself sympathized with the "Black Codes" of the South or desired to see the Negro unjustly treated, but like Douglas before the war, so Welles after the war refused to put the moral issue before the political one.

As the States were still States, and had the right to self-government and to regulate their own suffrage laws and their own social arrangements, it

must be left to the softening and civilizing effects of time and renewed friendly intercourse to make the Southerners see the better way. Welles opposed therefore the military government of the States lately in rebellion, and the imposition of any terms on the resumption of representation by those States in the House and Senate and opposed the submission and adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. It was the logical and natural position for one with his views to take if he would not recognize that the country was "confronting a condition and not a theory." But as I have said Mr. Welles was never an opportunist. In matters which seemed to him of principle he was as uncompromising as a Scotch Covenanter. President Johnson's policy concerning reconstruction, if it were not in its essential features the product of Mr. Welles's counsel and advice, was at least firmly upheld and confirmed by it. So much the Diary leaves in no doubt. Carl Schurz in his Autobiography has given the best defense that I know of of the other side of the deplorable controversy between Congress and the President from 1865 to 1868. His summing up of the whole matter is that the war, all Constitutional theories aside, had imposed a duty of honor as well as of policy on the government. "The Union," he says, "could not consent either in point of honor or of sound policy to the restoration of the late rebel States to the functions of self government and to full participation in the National Government as long as that restoration was reasonably certain to put the freedom of the emancipated slaves or the security of the Southern Union men or the rights of the public creditors into serious jeopardy. It could not be absolved from its duty of honor as well as of policy by any Constitutional theory. It found itself in an extra-Constitutional situation, a situation of moral duress. It had to perform its manifest duty, even if it could be done only by extra-Constitutional means." And Mr. Schurz justified at the time, and justified later when writing his memoirs, the giving of suffrage *en bloc* to the freedmen on the ground that it was the only practicable method of protecting their liberty.

Mr. Schurz deemed it probable that Mr. Seward was responsible for Johnson's views of reconstruction. This has been the general opinion, but it is sure to be changed as the Diary of Mr. Welles becomes widely known. But while Mr. Welles thought Mr. Johnson's policy sound and Constitutional, and insisted that it was the continuation and reflection of Mr. Lincoln's (for whom Mr. Welles always held the most loyal affection and admiration), and although he personally liked and respected Johnson, he deplored the President's mistakes in the manner and method of appealing to the country and his lack of dignity in conducting his fight with Congress.

This did not prevent him, however, from too

sweeping condemnation of all the President's opponents. In the stress and bitterness of the conflict he confounded the motives of men like Schurz, Trumbull and Fessenden with those of the politicians and place holders who unfortunately constituted the majority of the leading "exclusionists and radicals" as he calls them, and who, as Mr. Morse in his introduction says, were "talking of the Negro, but thinking only of votes and of the retention of political office."

I have no space here to discuss the opinions of men and measures which Mr. Welles from day to day, often in pungent and picturesque phrase confided to this confidential diary. I can only assure the readers of *The Public* that these books contain a wonderful picture of things "behind the curtain" during the drama which interested every man in the momentous years in which they were written. Some reputations will suffer and some be distinctly improved by their publication. They are, as I began this notice by saying, of distinct value to the seeker for historical truth.

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

The need of a "Rational Almanac." By Moses B. Cotsworth. (Box 211, Victoria, B. C.) From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Volume II, Section III. 1909.

Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1911. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1912.

The Social Center Movement. Address by Josiah Strong, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 302. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

Lead Poisoning in Industries. Bulletin Number 95—July, 1911, of the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Social Center: A Means of Common Understanding. Address by Woodrow Wilson, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 306. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

Prevention and Reporting of Industrial Injuries. American Labor Legislation Review, Volume I, Number 4. Published by the American Association for Labor Legislation, 1 Madison Ave., New York. Price, \$1.00.

An Open Letter to the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the Causes of Strikes and Bank Failures. By Arthur Kitson. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Bedford St., Strand, W. C., London. Price, sixpence.

Lessons Learned in Rochester with Reference to Civic and Social Center Development. Address by George M. Forbes, October, 1911. Bulletin, General Series, Number 301. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1911. Price, 5 cents.

A Report to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Cambridge [Massachusetts] upon a Comprehensive Plan for the Development and Improvement of the Streets and the Disposal of Refuse, June 26, 1911. Printed for the Department under the direction of the City Clerk.

## PERIODICALS

### In the Arms of the Steel Trust.

The Survey of January 6 offers a symposium study of the city of Birmingham, Alabama, type of The New South and example of a great municipal opportunity lost. Exceedingly rich in natural resources, iron ore, coal, limestone—all the makings of steel—the city in its mere forty years of life has grown to be one of the great industrial centers of the South. Yet, begun and built after our older cities had learned many lessons of town-planning and town-keeping, Birmingham is today municipally unkempt and poor. Greatly lacking in public improvements, in civic enterprise, in modern homes and worthy citizenship, she lies among her beautiful hills, a murky pattern of an industrially exploited town. The Survey writers point dutifully to signs of regeneration. But the reader learns that here is the home of Morgan's panic pill, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and the reader's prognosis is bad.

A. L. G.



### Statehood for Porto Rico.

"Pica-Pica," a weekly paper published at San Juan, Porto Rico, by Luis Brau, prints in its issue of January 6 a protest signed "Amargo" (Bitter) against the recommendation of Secretary of War Stimson that Congress change the laws governing that island. It is argued that he is not correctly informed as to the exact condition of affairs nor of the sentiment of the people there relative to their control by this country. The present laws inflict many hardships but allow some measure of home rule in way of electing judges, control of sanitation and civil service. They would lose these advantages under the proposed new law. The Secretary of War declares there is no appreciable sentiment in the United States or in Porto Rico that the final status of the island should be that of a Federal state, but that there is an almost universal sentiment on the part of Porto Ricans that they be given American citizenship, and this because of their firm loyalty to the United States. These statements the writer declares are erroneous. Statehood for the island is urged by both the Republican and Unionist parties, hoping as a Federal State they will gain greater independence. There is no feeling of loyalty among the Porto Ricans for the United States; they merely recognize their weakness and ask for citizenship that it may at least have some standing in the eyes of the world, for at present they are practically without a country.

C. L. LOGAN.



### The Spanish Singletaxer.

The first number of Impuesto Unico (The Singletaxer) has been received. It is a well printed, sixteen page paper, published at the Imprinta Rondena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain. The annual subscription is \$1.25; single copy, 10 cents, Spanish money. This Spanish Singletaxer begins with a "manifesto" introduction as follows: "The movement for social justice by the system formulated and

advocated by the immortal economist, Henry George, is advancing so rapidly throughout the world that it appears to us that the time has arrived for our nation to arouse itself from its traditional lethargy, and enter the lists for the defeat of privilege and the establishment of economic equality. Knowing that this cannot be done by the formation of parties, nor by revolutions, but only by active and persistent propaganda of these ideas until they become of general knowledge, then by popular demand for their adoption by legislative bodies, we make a public appeal to all those who, seeing the vice and misery resulting from the iniquitous distribution of wealth through privilege, feel the possibility of a more elevated social state, and desire to strive for its attainment." Extracts from "The Condition of Labor," by Henry George, on "the rights of all to the use of the earth," are quoted, and have been adopted as the creed of the Spanish League for the Singletax. The constitution and objects of the league are fully outlined in other articles. There is a translation from "Land Values" of London, an address on the study of "Progress and Poverty," by Mr. Wm. Cassels of Glasgow, and there are several other interesting articles on singletax subjects. News articles on the advance of the movement throughout the world are well worked up. The paper will compare favorably with any other singletax periodical.

C. L. LOGAN.



### The French Single Tax Review.

Owing to the difficulty of receiving mail while travelling, the sixth and seventh numbers of La Revue de L'Impot Unique, comprising the December and January installments, did not reach the writer until he arrived in Paris early in January, when he had the privilege of meeting M. and Mme. Darien, whose felicitous collaboration gives their review the wide outlook which readers of The Public have learned to value. A series of articles, contributed by Mme. Darien and beginning in the December issue, sets forth the importance of the land question in the struggle for the emancipation of woman. Coming at a time when the woman suffrage campaign is approaching an active stage in France, her arguments can scarcely fail to bear fruit. Olive Schreiner perceived that "behind the phenomenon of female parasitism has always lain another and yet larger phenomenon," which has been preceded "by the subjugation of large bodies of other human creatures, either as slaves, subject races or classes." "Free trade in labor and equality of training, intellectual and physical," she declared, "is essential if the organic aptitudes of a sex or class are to be determined." And she demanded that natural conditions should determine the labors of each individual, instead of artificial restrictions. The underlying principle, which she failed clearly to perceive, is revealed by the articles in question. In the spirit of the editor of the Liberator, who assured the defenders of slavery that he would be "as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice," M. Darien expresses a whole-souled abhorrence of the present industrial slavery which is no less real for being subtle and indirect. His characterization of Single Tax periodicals in England and America may be applied with equal force to his own publication. "Always di-

rected with the greatest care, often with uncommon power and ability, filled with profound thoughts and constantly presenting new horizons to their readers, they are above all remarkable for the power of their dialectic and for the irrefutable logic upon which all their arguments are based." Signs are not wanting of an increasing discontent with a government more deeply involved each day in the difficulties engendered by false economic conceptions. Even the casual traveller through "la belle France" is struck by the misery caused by merciless taxation, the outward barriers of trade being reinforced at the gates of every town by the mediaeval octroi system. Malthus himself could not accuse the country which stands aghast at its diminishing population of suffering from excess of numbers, and yet poverty is everywhere visible. The opening of the new year has been signalized by disorders which spring naturally from poverty and governmental demoralization. The daily press is loaded with accounts of violence actuated by misery, and of recurring accidents on the state railways. At such a juncture, when "times are ripe and rotten ripe for change," who can estimate the value of the propaganda courageously undertaken by *La Revue de L'Impot Unique*? The announcement in the December number that public meetings would be held twice a month in Paris is followed in the January issue by encouraging reports of good attendance and lively interest in the discussion.

F. W. GARRISON.

William Marion Reedy, commenting upon the French Single Tax Review, with the same high opinion of the magazine as The Public's reviewers have expressed, says in *The Mirror* (St. Louis) of January 6: "Henry George himself was the greatest master of clear statement who ever wrote upon economic subjects, at least in our English speech. But even his clarity seems heightened by putting his ideas into French, which is so devoid of ambiguity and so well adapted to the logical development of philosophical conceptions. Georges Darien is familiar with the writings of the Physiocrats of the eighteenth century, and he is always glad to point out to his countrymen that the great American, Henry George, was in the line of descent, intellectually, from De Quesnay, Turgot, Mirabeau and Du Pont de Nemours. Those men were on the right track before the outbreak of the tremendous Revolution of 1789, and the five succeeding years, convulsed France and enthroned violence for such a long and a terrible period. M. Darien like many other distinguished students of history and politics, believes that the French Revolution actually retarded the progress of enlightening the minds of men and, so to speak, put reason out of court for nearly a century. The Physiocrats appreciated the importance of the land question and were approaching a practical solution of it when the Revolution drove men into courses of fury and madness which, with the reaction they produced, almost ruined France and seriously injured the whole fabric of civilization. M. Darien makes no attempt to deprive Henry George of any of the credit he so richly deserves. On the contrary, the Frenchman is an enthusiastic disciple of the American, but M. Darien understands the

value of attaching any propaganda to a national tradition, or to a school of literature which once flourished in the country in which the propaganda is being introduced. So he wisely seeks to create interest in the single tax by showing that it is a logical development of the ideas of the Physiocrats and that De Quesnay and Turgot were the forerunners of Henry George."



Editor: "See here! You didn't send us in a single word on the burning of the city of Wangdoodle, one of the biggest stories of the war."

War Correspondent: "Of course I didn't. Didn't I set it myself in order to attract the attention of the other correspondents so I could beat them to the telegraph office and give you the 'scoop' on that skirmish by the Tzegang River!"—Puck.



A sightseeing visitor recently went aboard a tramp steamer in the harbor. Noting that the deck-hands were Chinese, she approached one of them and said: "You no speak English?" The Chinaman looked bored and answered nothing. The woman continued: "Me go your country soon. Me learn speak Chinese."

## NOTICE OF MEETINGS

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

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB meets on the 26th at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Bldg.

Speaker, MR. H. L. T. TIDEMAN

Subject: "PROGRESS; WHO GETS THE BENEFIT"  
EVERYONE IS WELCOME

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.

Youngstown, Ohio. A meeting of Single Taxers and other progressives will be held at 15 So. Hazel St., Sunday, January 28, at 2:00 p. m. You will be welcome.

## File The Public

A special Filing Binder for The Public costs only 75c.

Start your file with the issue of January 5.

The Public, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

teach little Chinese boy and girl. You savvy missionary?"

The Chinaman looked at her a minute and answered: "Madam, if you are not more successful in mastering our language than you appear to have been with your own, I fear that your attempt to enlighten our race will prove anything but satisfactory. Good afternoon."

The Chinaman sought the other side of the ship and the woman sought oblivion. She had been addressing a Yale graduate who was working his passage back to China.—San Francisco Argonaut.



At a political meeting a very enthusiastic German made a speech beginning like this:

"My dear fellow citizens and fellow Shermans, I don't want to say nothings about nobody, but look at dem Irish in de Tenth vard; vot have dey got? Paved streets! Und vot have we got? Mut! Mut! Now, my fellow citizens and fellow Shermans, vot I wish to say is dis: Coom, let us put our heads to-

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gedder und make a block pavement."—The House-keeper.



A Chicago physician suggests that reciting poetry is a cure for insomnia.

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The Chinese were resenting one of the early attempts to take a national census.

"It's some Roosevelt chap trying to take a straw vote!" they exclaimed.

With stones and much weird profanity they drove the enumerators out of their houses.—Chicago Tribune.



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