

The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1912.

No. 728

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

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1906, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Colombia and the Monroe Doctrine.

If it be true that the Monroe doctrine is threatened by an alliance between Germany and Colombia, as Washington dispatches of the 10th intimate, whom shall we blame? Hardly can we blame Germany, an Empire which with large commercial interests in South America and great military ambitions at her own capital, seeks a governmental foothold on the American continent as naturally as water seeks its level. Shall we blame Colombia, then, if that Republic enters into an alliance with Germany which involves a cession to the great European empire of blood and iron of Colombian harbors on the Atlantic coast, even within "striking distance" of the Panama Canal?

We might indeed have blamed Colombia for this before the Panama incident. Until then Colombia and the United States were united in a treaty which, in view of the Monroe doctrine, bound the latter to protect the former from European invasion, and conversely, in virtue of the same doctrine, bound Colombia to make no territorial concessions to any European power. But when the United States repudiated its obligations under that treaty by its ruthlessly lawless conduct with reference to the Panama secession, it not only released Colombia from her implied obligation to respect the Monroe doctrine, but it imposed upon her the necessity of disregarding it in self-

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defense. This release and this necessity are emphasized by the persistent refusal of the United States to arbitrate the Panama question with reference to that treaty with Colombia.



If difficulties arise between the United States and Germany over the cession of territory to Germany by Colombia, the fault is clearly with the administration of President Roosevelt for riding rough shod over the Colombia-American treaty, and with the administration of President Taft for refusing Colombia's urgent and repeated requests for arbitration. Very well may Colombia feel that a Monroe doctrine which thus exposes her to *American aggression*, might wisely be modified by guarantees of *German protection*. Reasonably may her statesmen argue that if these harbor concessions had been made to Germany before the secession of Panama from her federation of States, Mr. Roosevelt would not in a twinkling have recognized Panama as a sovereign nation, or if he had Mr. Taft would not have refused arbitration of the act as a breach of the Colombian treaty.



Foreign Potentates in American Politics.

Those Catholic ecclesiastics who persistently try to plunge their Church into American politics, as a church, may begin now to see some of the signs of danger to which we have repeatedly called attention.* Perhaps they themselves won't see these signs even now; but the signs may be seen and heeded by American Catholics who have no sympathy with this ecclesiastical aggression and yet would be involved in any catastrophe that might result from it. The particular sign to which we allude is the reported organization of the "Guardians of Liberty," with General Miles as "a leading light."



This organization is said to aim at preventing the election of Roman Catholics to public office. Now the exclusion from public office or citizenship of any person for religious reasons is intolerable to the spirit of democracy. There is no reason why Roman Catholics should not be citizens and public officials, no reason why they should not participate in all political activities. Indeed there would be no reason of citizenship why they should not bring even religious questions into politics, provided they were actuated by their own motives of citizenship and not by obedience to

authoritative instructions from a foreign ruler. This latter is the real point at issue.



We do not say that any American Catholic is governed in his politics by instructions from Rome. We know many Catholics who distinctly are not. We understand that the imputation is denied by or for all Catholics. But there is that in the history of the Catholic hierarchy in the past, there is that in its current history in Europe, and there is that in the conduct of some of its ecclesiastics in the United States, which affords reason for just fears that American Catholics are subject to foreign control, not only in their religion but in their politics. Even now the Socialist administration in Milwaukee is under attack from Catholic pulpits in circumstances which create an impression of the exercise of ecclesiastical authority.



Many Catholics in Milwaukee are opposing this crusade, more or less openly; but the fact itself lends color to those suspicions and fears of the "Guardians of Liberty" which they express in these terms: "We maintain it to be inconsistent with and destructive of free government to appoint or elect to political or military office any person who openly or secretly concedes superior authority to any foreign political or ecclesiastical power whatsoever." The fears which that clause expresses—and they are by no means upon a small scale in the public opinion of this country—could be allayed readily and effectually by Catholics themselves. If those of them, both clerical and lay, who hold themselves in freedom from Roman dictation in American politics, would promptly and publicly denounce the utterances of ecclesiastics who speak authoritatively as such in political affairs, there would soon be no such plausible reason for "Guardians of Liberty" as it must be conceded that there is now.



The Seattle Election.

With the election of one of their own group for Mayor of Seattle and the polling of over 12,000 votes for the incorporation of their most ultra preliminary demands into the city charter, the Singletaxers of Seattle have nothing to mourn over. On the mayoralty their candidate was opposed by the candidate of disreputable interests that make money out of vice, supported naturally enough by reputable interests that make money out of the economic conditions upon which money-making vice flourishes; and, although by a narrow

*See *Publics* of October 6, 1911, page 1017; November 3, 1911, page 1115, and November 24, 1911, page 1186.

margin, their candidate won. On the singletax amendment, they drew the full fire of the enemy. Every daily newspaper but one was against them, every disreputable business interest was against them, every investor in vacant lots angling for a prize at the expense of the common interest was against them, and education on the subject had not gone far enough to enable the average citizen of unselfish instincts to understand. Under these circumstances a vote of 12,000 for the Singletax in 40,000 cast on the question, is a guarantee for the early future. Those were intelligent votes. The voters who cast them knew what they wanted and why. And now, with the arguments of the opposition laid bare in the cleanest cut and most vigorous contest over the Singletax ever had anywhere, Singletax progress in Seattle is hardly more than a matter of keeping at it. With the excitement of the campaign over, and a people aroused to the thinking point, those hostile arguments that served so well in the heat of the fight will look naked and forlorn in the calmness of the coming months. That an election should be carried frankly and brazenly in the interest of obstruction to improvement, in the interest of squatters on vacant lots, in the interest of a little group of rich monopolists of the most desirable locations in Seattle, and as frankly and brazenly against the interests of improvers and workers, is in itself the best kind of indication that the result was abnormal. But a chestnut burr was put under the saddle of the land capitalists by the Singletaxers of Seattle last week that will soon unhorse them.



The Judicial Recall and Mr. Roosevelt.

Nothing in the mechanism of government could be simpler than the judicial Recall. The question it raises is not whether we shall have a Recall especially for judges. It is whether or not, if we have a Recall at all, we shall exempt judges from its operation. The Recall for judges elected by the people, stands or falls upon the merits of the general Recall as a method of securing to the people constant control over all the officials they elect.



If there are sound objections to the popular Recall for administrative and legislative officers elected by the people, then there are sound objections to the popular Recall for judges elected by the people. But if it is reasonable to reserve to the people the power to recall elected executives for corruption, incompetency, despotic conduct in office or other defiance of the popular will, or if it

is reasonable to reserve to the people the power to recall elected legislators for corruption, incompetency, treachery to pledges, or other misrepresentation of their constituents, then it is reasonable to reserve to the people the power to recall elected judges who prove to be corrupt, incompetent, despotic or otherwise false to the duties of the judicial office.



Every attempt to make an exception in favor of judges may be traced to one or the other of two sources. It is either rooted in a survival of the influence of the "divine right" superstition, which now bolsters the bench as once it bolstered the throne, or else it is strategy on the part of persons who oppose all applications of the Recall but dare not meet the issue directly with reference to executives and legislators. The question is in reality the exceedingly simple one of Recall or no Recall, of Recall *with* exemption of bad judges, or Recall *without* exemptions. As someone has well defined the principle of popular Recall, it leaves to the people themselves the power to shorten at their own discretion the term of any office which they have the power at their own discretion to fill.



With so simple an issue before him and with his Napoleonian temperament, it is not strange that Mr. Roosevelt in advocating the Recall should undertake to improve upon it. Without his own hall-mark of ingenuity, nothing seems to him to be sterling. According to his Boston speech* he would not recall judges, but their decisions—God bless us! Here indeed would be a trial of lawsuits at the polls, something which no intelligent advocate of the Recall expects or desires. It is an "improvement," this of Mr. Roosevelt's, which plays so straight into the hand of objectors to judicial applications of the Recall that one must wonder if Senator Lodge or Senator Root didn't have "a finger in the pie." Nobody with any sense wishes to have the facts in lawsuits tried at the polls, nor technical questions of law. To avoid that necessity is the one reason for having courts at all. Their function is to settle disputes for the people—to settle them by ending them with as near an approximation to substantial justice as possible. Back of Mr. Roosevelt's proposal, however, lies the thought that in settling disputes, the courts interpret Constitutions and thereby make precedents which operate as laws, judge-made laws—not alone in a given dispute but throughout the whole domain of government.

*See current volume, page 201.

To nullify such decisions by popular vote is what Mr. Roosevelt appears to have in mind in proposing his ridiculous "recall of judicial derisions"—his "recall of legalism to justice" as he quaintly puts it—as a substitute for allowing the regular Recall to apply to judges.



The evil to which Mr. Roosevelt alludes is indeed a serious one. Popular government is menaced by the judicial power of making law. But Mr. Roosevelt's amazing plan, which would be clumsy if it were necessary, would be neither necessary nor excusable with the popular Initiative in operation. Surely this is plain. If judges so construed a Constitutional provision as to make it unacceptable to the people, or to tie them up in the leading strings of dead men, the people could by the Initiative amend the Constitution. And they could do this without disturbing judges in whose ability and good faith they might really confide, or unsettling private contracts made on the basis of objectionable precedents. Doubtless this is what would be done under the Initiative, Referendum and Recall—with the latter "unimproved" by Mr. Roosevelt. If, after such amendment, the judges pettifogged, with the evident purpose of nullifying the amendment, doubtless the Recall would then be invoked. It ought to be invoked in such cases. But it would seldom otherwise be successfully invoked against judges.



The Initiative, Referendum and Recall would not be used idiotically. They would be used sanely. All experience thus far testifies to this. Even without special experience, it might safely be inferred. The people as a whole are no such fools as a few of them like to think all the others are. They would be fools, however, if they fell into any such pit as the substitution of a popular "recall of judicial decisions" for a popular Recall for all elective officials. For thereby they would make law suits instead of judges subjects of trial at the polls, where the latter but not the former ought to be tried; and while providing an unnecessary and clumsy remedy for unjust "legalism," they would make no efficient remedy for judicial usurpation, judicial despotism, judicial incompetency and judicial corruption.



Death of Joseph Keane.

Joseph T. Keane, whose death at Santa Monica was reported last week, will be recalled by hun-

dreds of Chicago radicals of various kinds, and by their guests from other States and other lands, as the "Joseph" whose supervisory social service at the "Washington" furnished forth daily the table at which they daily met to wrangle while they ate. And wider than that was Mr. Keane's circle of friends in Chicago. His interest in politics, his sensitiveness to the currents of political opinion, and his honesty of purpose and thorough-going loyalty, cemented many friendships for him among leading citizens. At the time of his death, when 52 years of age, he was president of King's restaurant company, of which Oscar Smedberg is the manager. His wife and a child of six are the family he leaves.



Death of "D. K. L."

Every reader of The Public for three years past will recall the excellent contributions which have appeared in its columns, some as Editorial Correspondence and some as signed editorials, over the initials "D. K. L." Many a reader has asked with friendly interest who the writer was; and well they might, for his contributions were among the most useful and most acceptable that have come to us. Perhaps there was never a very good reason for concealing "D. K. L.'s" identity, but all such reasons as there may have been, disappear with the death of David K. Larimer.



Mr. Larimer, who died suddenly of Bright's disease at Sioux City on the 8th, was telegraph editor of the Sioux City Tribune. He came into that connection after a long and varied newspaper experience. Beginning on the Spokesman-Review of his native city, Spokane, he served on the Portland Oregonian, on the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, on the Salt Lake City Tribune, and on the Omaha Bee, before going in August, 1909, to the Sioux City Tribune, where for a man of his rigorous non-partisan democracy he found delightful editorial companionship. Not long before his employment on the Omaha Bee, Mr. Larimer grasped the doctrines of Henry George, and it was early in his employment there that he introduced himself to The Public with an expression of a wish to give work for the promotion of Henry George democracy, since he could not give money.



After that, from time to time, when there was something to be said which he felt it incumbent upon him to try to say and in the line of The Public's policy to publish, his welcome contributions

came. They were always informative, acute, lucid, interesting and genuine; and more than once, entirely apart from his contributions that it published, *The Public* has been indebted to Mr. Larimer for facts, hints and suggestions which have entered satisfactorily into its decisions on questions of editorial policy. Though a mere boy in years, for he died at 36, and a friend whose face we have never seen, David K. Larimer is one whose death touches us more than most deaths have, with a tenderly affectionate realization of his fidelity to the truths that came within his vision and the readiness and ability with which he sprang to their service.



THE DAMNING CLAUSE IN ANY THIRD-TERM CREED.

An English writer has commented with surprise and admiration on the capability which the typical American has shown of rising to the occasion when placed in a position of political importance. This writer cited McKinley as an illustration. There are instances of lesser note in the nation, in each State, and in each community. I recall at this moment the case of a mayor in one of our larger cities. There was nothing in his previous career to warrant a prediction of successful administration. He was a man without much education, just a commonplace semi-political citizen, nominated by the organization, it would seem quite by accident, and elected in a spiritless campaign. And yet this man made, even by the confession of opponents, a splendid official. He was more than faithful to the prescribed duties of his position. He was an aggressive leader in all matters of civic improvement.

The point is that we have plenty of citizens in this Republic capable of filling any political position, from President down. George Washington thought so in his day. He did not think that George Washington was necessary to keep the country from collapsing. All the Presidents of the United States have been capable men, and some of the least celebrated have been the most useful. Let us remember that we are not seeking for rulers but for intelligent public servants. If our democracy cannot find and supply these in amply sufficient numbers, then we had better confess failure and go back a couple of centuries. It is all right in a monarchy for the king or his minister to say, I alone can save the state. But such an utterance is an insult or a joke in a democracy, if it is a democracy.

So, coming to the present situation in our po-

litical affairs, we object to the solemn-sounding words of certain men in high position that Mr. Roosevelt is the one man who can fill at this time for the good of the nation the position of President. We have no objection to Governor this or Senator that saying that Mr. Roosevelt is the one man who can save the Republican party from defeat. That is all right. That is a party matter. But to say openly, or even to suggest or imply, that Mr. Roosevelt, or any other man, is necessary to save this nation is a slanderous utterance against the nation. This is the damning clause in any third-term creed. The very advocacy of a third-term candidacy in the face of a splendid tradition is the confession of weakness, incapacity and failure, unworthy of American citizenship, and the mere suggestion of the necessity of such action is utterly and pitifully destructive to the ideals of democracy. The men who are advocating a third, and maybe a fourth, and so forth, term for Mr. Roosevelt are blind to the fact that, in trying to cure certain grievances which they see, they are flying to the chiefest of evils in a popular form of government. This chiefest of evils, which Washington foresaw and others since have foreseen, is the insidious idea of some emergency in which resort must be had to what has been known in history as "the strong man," or "the man on horseback," or to what the American people themselves have called Mr. Roosevelt, "the man with the big stick." It seems strange that those who are now supporting Mr. Roosevelt do not see this danger of weakening the ideals, and the still young tradition, of our republican government. It seems strange that the very men who are professing themselves champions of the people should be rushing into a course which is the negation of democracy. These men would pay too high a price for what they want. We cannot give up the tradition against the third term. This tradition is worth more to us than any reform that can be conceived in the brain of any of the seven Governors.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SINGLETAX CAMPAIGNING IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, March 7.

It was a great battle, that of day before yesterday in Seattle. Not for the Singletax, for this it was only a preliminary skirmish; but for civic decency and manhood and womanhood. And in the election of George F. Cotterill for Mayor, manhood and womanhood won.

**95 PER
CENT**

of Seattle Homes

Will Pay

LESS

TAXES

UNDER AMENDMENT

NO. 2

**Landgrabbers Drove the Milwaukee Terminals and
Berlin Machine Works from Seattle
IDLE LAND MAKES IDLE MEN**



"HOW DO YOU LIKE IT?"

We lost the Singletax skirmish; but we had a magnificent campaign of education, the best I have ever been in.

You may get some notion of it from the specimen campaign document on our side which I send you.

Such documents were abundant and in great variety; and many of those on the other side, of which also there were plenty, were educative for us. One that the opposition made much of, represented a poor man sitting disconsolately on a stone in a vacant lot he was holding down, mourning over the prize of exemption from taxes on improvements that the Singletax would give to his next neighbor, a purse-heavy citizen leaning against a fine four-story house on his improved lot. What do you think of that for an educational cartoon when the smoke of battle clears away?

The actual vote for and against the Singletax amendment is no indication of the real sentiment in Seattle on the Singletax.

Thousands of votes were cast against it by people who did not yet understand it and whose fears were aroused by the newspapers. An incident will illustrate: A young man who was distributing advisory ballots for the Singletax, met a woman who asked him for one. She said she did not understand it. He explained it, and she said that on account of what the newspapers published she had already voted against it. She was sorry, but she would go home and ask her daughter, who had not yet voted, to vote for it; and she thought she could get one or two other women who had not voted, to whom she would explain it, to vote for it also.

One woman who heard my talk Monday night at

the public market place dropped into Singletax headquarters election day and said she wanted to vote right on that question and couldn't find out what was right. That woman's statement is a key to the mind of thousands of people in Seattle. She complained that those against the Singletax say one thing, those for it a different thing, and asked, "How can I tell which is true?"



During the last ten days of the campaign, we went down to the water front between eleven o'clock and two, and then again in the evenings, and talked on the streets to the working men. We explained to those men the question of unemployment, and pointed out the possibilities of the Erickson amendment in that direction, and I could see myself how we changed the current of those men's thoughts from the election of Gill, as a hope for changed conditions, to the adoption of the Singletax.

We not only distributed circulars, but we called attention to the fact that the Milwaukee Railway, which wanted to build its terminals in Seattle, was forced to go to Tacoma because the little handful of men owning terminal sites demanded twenty times as much for a site as the Milwaukee Road had to pay for the same in Tacoma; and the same thing in the case of the Berlin Iron Works which wanted to come here, but went to Portland instead. There was no question about the facts in these cases, as the Port Commission had made an official statement to the people of Seattle during the campaign.

We had other strong illustrations, of which this is a sample. A man named Huntley said at one of our meetings: "The people of Seattle don't want business. I know it. My father and I had enough money to build a nut-bolt-and-screw factory, and we thought we had enough money to buy a site. We went to the little handful of men in Seattle who own all the factory sites, and tried to buy one. They charged more for the site than we had expected to pay altogether for site, factory and machinery. Of course we did not build. Seattle is still without the factory, though there is a demand for those goods. Instead, we did with our money what everybody else in Seattle is doing. We put it into cold storage—invested it in a vacant lot." As he and I walked along to the car that evening, he pointed out that lot, which he had bought for \$360 and sold shortly afterwards for \$4,500. "I know that I held that man up and made him give me \$4,500 for the privilege of putting a house on that site," he said, "but that is the kind of business that Seattle calls investment and enterprise." I think I told that story fifty times during the campaign, and I know my hearers understood me when I followed it up with the explanation that under the Erickson amendment people who are holding up building sites would have to pay taxes on that privilege.

There was another strong point—the fact that 47 landlords own the 85 business lots on Second avenue, where practically all the retail business of Seattle is done, and that these 47 landlords received last year \$1,600,000 in ground rents for those 85 lots. When we pointed out to the people that that \$1,600,000, which was paid by the community of Seattle for the privilege of doing business on Second ave-

nue, would have paid the whole electric light bill (public and private), the water bill (public and private), and the garbage collection bill of Seattle, and that under Singletax it would have been available for those purposes, instead of going into the pockets of 47 landlords as now, the people having to tax themselves over again to pay for those services, it made a profound impression on all who heard; and I never failed to call their attention to the fact that that \$1,600,000 would have gone far to relieve unemployment in Seattle if it could have been used to build public buildings and improve streets and to raise wages by giving employment to men who are now underbidding for jobs.

We found out that one of those 47 landlords paid for the printing of the 30,000 circulars that were distributed against the Singletax.

Seattle offers much other material for concrete illustrations. We had a set of large wall charts in color which contained illustrations from Miss Parker's "Western Woman Voter," and found them very effective. They not only caught and held attention, but they answered the falsehoods which were circulated in the newspapers and printed on circulars to the effect that the Erickson amendment would increase taxes on the homes and lower them on Second avenue property.

There are seven vacant lots in Seattle out of every nine lots. It is unfortunate that so many people in Seattle have money invested in these vacant lots, because the cry went up from the "antis" at the beginning of the campaign that Singletax would confiscate vacant lots. It frightened the people. It would be better for Seattle if all her vacant property were held by absentee landlords, instead of so much of it being held by her own good citizens.



The line-up between the Gill open-town interests and Singletax hostiles was marked. After one of my meetings a high school teacher went home with me and spent the evening telling her experiences in her house-to-house canvass of the women for Cotterill. This teacher is a young woman who was never in any campaign before. Her brief canvassing has opened her eyes to the connection between the economic condition of the people and Gilliam. She was astounded to hear both men and women who appear to be average good self-respecting people declare that they were going to vote for Gill because they believed it meant better times. They were evidently suffering sorely from the hard times in Seattle consequent on the collapse of the real estate boom here.

The strength of the Gill campaign did not lie in the fact that it stood for viciousness. To the unthinking, it held out a hope for better times; and so desperate have the people here become, that they turn to anything that offers such a hope. That is why I believe it is not claiming too much to say that the Singletax campaign diverted enough Gill votes of that kind toward Cotterill to elect him.

Two Knights of Columbus tell me that good church people of my own persuasion went almost solidly against Cotterill and with Gill. One of them told me that the ushers in the cathedral had a luncheon a few days before the primary, at which there were two

reverend gentlemen of the cathedral and twenty-three ushers. They took a straw vote, and there was 1 vote for Cotterill, 3 for Parish and 21 for Gill.

If we could have had our campaign apart from the mayoralty campaign, and have had time and resources, we could have won. But scores of our Singletax people had to go into the Cotterill campaign and work like nailers, for the Cotterill campaign was the important one and Cotterill is a Singletaxer and a good one. The cause of the Recall and Woman Suffrage would have received a terrible blow if Gill had been elected. Women who felt the stigma that would attach to woman suffrage, worked like beavers to defeat him. You can see how it took our best workers and how we had to keep the Singletax and the Cotterill campaigns separate. And to cap all, Oliver T. Erickson was in the hospital through most of the campaign.



The well-meaning churchmen of whom my Knights of Columbus friends told me, objected as strenuously to the Singletax as they favored Gill. Their objection was that it was Socialism. Alas the irony of fate! The official Socialists, on their advisory ballot recommending measures to be voted for and against, classified the Singletax amendments as "immaterial!"

Doctrinaire Socialists here bitterly opposed them. It frequently happened during the campaign that after we had talked at a street meeting, a Socialist would bound up as soon as we had left, and make the most reckless attack on the whole Singletax theory.

I received a letter from Mayor Stitt Wilson of Berkeley during the campaign, in which he said he was glad I was in this land-value tax campaign—that it was the next great step in the social revolution, and he shortly expected to take up the question of taxing land values in California. When I read that letter to a meeting of Socialists to which I had been invited to speak, some of them jeered at Mr. Wilson, and said he was not a Socialist at all; and Bruce Rogers, editor of the Socialist paper, said that the sooner Wilson was thrown out of the Socialist party and put where he belonged, with the capitalists, the better it would be for Socialism. At the Quiz Congress held before the primaries, the Socialist candidate for Mayor, Mr. Wells, when asked if he was in favor of the Erickson amendment, said he didn't know what it was, he hadn't read it at all.

However, there were Socialists who seemed better disposed, and we believe that a great many of them voted for the Erickson amendment. But on the whole the influence of socialistic officialdom was against it.



There were a great many meetings held by the women. It may be said that practically every Woman's Club in Seattle discussed this amendment. Besides the women who did not yet understand the question, there were women against us who did understand it. The wife of one of the most prominent of those 47 owners of Second avenue had her automobile out election day for Gill. And Mrs.

George A. Smith, who held meetings against the Singletax, was in charge of the women's campaign for Gill. It was she, by the way, who asked in the newspapers who was financing me, and got her answer through the same channels, that I was financing myself and receiving no compensation for my work from anyone.



All this is very ragged writing, but I haven't time to fix it up. Let me go on with what occurs to me about the value of the campaign regardless of immediate results. It was well worth while. Its educational value cannot be estimated. I have never seen people more aroused and interested. It caused Singletax to be discussed everywhere. The public library sent to Singletax headquarters for material; said they couldn't meet the demand for reading matter on the Singletax. The book stores all ran out of "Progress and Poverty" and other works of Henry George. Everywhere one went, on street cars, or in stores, or on street corners, Singletax was being discussed, and always earnestly. The campaign here has only begun.

We are all tired. I spoke six times some days, three times at noon and three at night, and sometimes at an afternoon meeting in between, and passed literature besides while others were speaking. Monday and Tuesday I passed out thousands of sample ballots besides making eight speeches in those two days. My feet were so swollen and sore and tired and my hands and arms and throat, that I went home and fell into bed Tuesday night at 8 o'clock when the polls closed, and I have not got rested yet.

But the Cotterill election is such a magnificent victory, we do not care for anything else.

MARGARET A. HALEY.



SEATTLE AND OVER THE BORDER.

Victoria, B. C., March 7.

The Singletax fight in Seattle was made on fundamental lines and with great earnestness. Many of the best workers, however, had their energies absorbed in the Cotterill fight, and the election of Cotterill is itself a victory. Not only is he a Singletaxer, but a militant one; and his election was in spite of the combined opposition of Big Vice and Big Business. Over and over again Big Business organs urged his defeat on the ground of his being a Singletaxer.

In this connection I wish to put in a word about Margaret Haley. This little woman's energy, ability, pertinacity and eloquence were remarkable, encouraging, delightful. Had the Singletaxers been able to secure half a dozen Margaret Haleys there would have been a victory that would have made the country sit up and take notice.

I believe that the women and small home owners were scared by the talk of confiscation. The women had not had time to look in economics much, and their fears were great because of a virtual confiscation perpetrated upon small property owners several years ago in a great re-grading and levying scheme.

I have been in Vancouver and am now in Victoria, taking advantage of the close of the Seattle campaign and the nearness of both cities to visit them before returning to Portland. The talk in Seattle of either city going back to the old way of taxing improvements is laughed at here. I have talked with men in no way related to the Singletax, nor in favor of it, and they all said that there is no possibility of going back, and no move to do so.

Newspaper men in Vancouver assured me that no such thing was contemplated. The same here in Victoria.



The development and growth of Victoria since adopting the exemption of improvements is amazing. The city seems to have awakened from a long sleep. From the window of the Times office I can see four modern buildings going up, with new ones completed at every turn of the eye. A new skyline has arisen in Victoria since improvements were exempt. This new Times building itself is a product of the exemption. Victoria has nothing here in the way of railroads or new industrial developments of magnitude not here before the change, but things are a-hum with industry and life. This town of 30,000 expects to put up buildings for 1912 of \$8,000,000 in value.

In Vancouver they confidently predict 24 millions as against 17½ millions last year, and some told me 30 millions. With the opening of the spring the rush for buildings is enormous. The trouble in Vancouver arose mainly because of an unprecedented rush of idle labor from the south. Many of the men came from the United States, driven out by the harsh command of the police. Vancouver was advertised as booming, and they came and were fed. The new Mayor was a reactionary, who thought to stop the tongues of the Socialists with a club, and applied it. The mistake was realized by him, and now the men meet and talk to their hearts' content. The result of the opening up of new camps in the timber, railroads and building has reduced the idle people to the normal.

The new labor temple in Vancouver was built, in my opinion, partly as a result of the exemption of improvements. A dilapidated old church stood on the ground. The labor men bitterly pointed out to me that they were made to pay as much taxes on that old church as a man with a good building near by. So they borrowed \$100,000 at 5½ per cent and built a magnificent structure. Some of them innocently assured me, however, that the Singletax had nothing to do with it!



I found that money at reasonable rates was easily obtained in Vancouver at the banks for *improvements of a stable nature*. They said in Seattle that the application of the Singletax had driven capital away from Vancouver.

One very striking thing in Vancouver is the compactly built city. No empty lots except where the old buildings have been torn away to make room for new ones to be built. I found one billboarded lot in the heart of the city, and asked a man why it stood there in that shape. "Oh, that belongs to

the Hudson Bay people, and they will run up a ten-story steel building on it right away. Materials ordered, contract let. Costs them just as much to hold it idle as to use it." "Can they rent it?" I asked. "They have already rented it," was the reply. "See that big building over there?" "Yes." "Well, that is the new Burns building, 18 stories; won't be finished for three months. Every room rented in it now. People will move in as soon as they are allowed to get in."



The passage by the last Parliament of British Columbia of a bill exempting improvements from taxation in unorganized districts is very significant, yet it seems to have been overlooked by Singletax news gatherers.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.



TAX REFORM IN ONTARIO.

Toronto, March 4.

A few weeks ago the Labor party waited on Sir James Whitney, Provincial premier, to ask for certain amendments in the law. Among these was a request for local option in taxation so as to allow a lower rate on improvements and then to place a higher rate on land values.

When this request was made, Sir James informed the delegation that this demand is made by only a very insignificant number of citizens. His reply aroused the Labor men, and they determined to organize a deputation which in numbers and influence would prove the Premier to be mistaken.



Accordingly on the 2d inst. a deputation of upwards of 200 representatives from municipal councils, labor unions, tax reform associations and other bodies waited on the Government. The delegation was introduced by Mr. Stewart T. Lyon, editor of the Globe, our largest paper in Ontario. In the audience were not merely the leaders in the Labor party but also many of our leading citizens, among whom were Professor Farmer (of McMaster University), Mr. McKay (manager of the Globe), Mr. W. J. Southam (proprietor of the Ottawa Citizen), Mr. Allan Studholm (member of Parliament for the city of Hamilton) and Mr. Gregg (architect).

Mr. Hopewell of Ottawa, the first to address the Premier, urged that the municipalities be granted home rule in taxation, and pointed out with force and clearness that there are two distinct values, one caused by the individual, the other by the presence of the community. "A man," said he, "may own land here and live on the other side of the world, yet his land grows in value just as surely as if he were here. This is no new principle that we request, for the municipalities have had for many years the power of granting exemptions from taxation to manufacturers, subject to the approval of the people."

The representatives of the City Council of Toronto—Controller Church and Controller Hocken—followed. The former brought with him the report on the subject of the taxation of land values com-

piled a few years ago by the British government, and urged that a committee be appointed to investigate and report on this subject. Controller Hocken stated that the members of the Council were agreed in the belief that in assessing for taxation there should be a distinction between the value of buildings and the value of land. He called attention to the enormous increase in the value of the land of this city during the last few years, and they all felt that more of this value should reach the public treasury, instead of the coffers of the speculators.

The two representatives of the Labor party spoke effectively. One encouraging feature of their deputation was its general character and the interest manifested in this subject. First came the president of the Hamilton Trade & Labor Council, who pointed out how beneficial it would be to the laboring classes if the land were put to its best use. The next speaker, James Simpson, perhaps the ablest speaker in the ranks of Labor and for years one of the foremost Socialists, pointed to several instances of the rapid advance in the value of the land until it is producing all the evil effects of overcrowding. "Let us have local option in taxation," he remarked, "then men will have to investigate; and this will be one of the best educational forces in the community." In addition he pointed out several instances of enormous profits made by speculators. "When men get wealth thus, without producing wealth, where does it come from? Must it not come out of the workers? Must it not reduce wages?"



In reply to all this Sir James reiterated what he has so often stated before, that very few of the people take any interest in this question. But he said nothing of measures of the utmost importance that Parliament has enacted without any request from the people.

While some of our friends felt discouraged at the result of this interview, I must confess that to me it was very encouraging. It showed a vast change in public sentiment: politicians, now actively assisting, who stood aside a few years ago; Tories attacking their own leader; Councils unanimately sending representatives to the Government to ask for a change in taxation which, I can remember, was not many years ago, lampooned as the visions of a few featherheaded agitators.

W. A. DOUGLASS.



She mends his clothes and cooks his meals,
From her child has learned its prayers;
She gives him courage when he feels
The heavy burden of his cares.

She makes his little income serve
To keep their home a cheerful place;
When fear deprives him of his nerve
He finds that hope still lights her face.

He soon would fall, without her aid,
To keep their little bark afloat,
But he is very much afraid
To have her trusted with a vote.
—S. E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

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, March 12, 1912.

South Pole Reached.

Several expeditions aimed for the South Pole have been recently in Antarctic waters. A Japanese expedition left Japan November 28, 1910, but abandoned the quest in April, 1911, for lack of proper equipment. A British expedition under the leadership of Captain Robert F. Scott sailed from London June 1, 1910. Captain Scott announced December, 1911, as the date for their hoped for attainment of the South Pole. In February, 1909, it was reported that Captain Roald Amundsen, discoverer of the Northwest Passage, had been financed by a subsidy from the Norwegian Storting for an expedition for the exploration of the North Polar basin. In October, 1910, it was suddenly reported that Captain Amundsen, who was at Madeira on the *Fram*, instead of proceeding north was on his way to the Antarctic. [See vol. ix, p. 753; vol. xii, pp. 157, 372; vol. xiii, pp. 543, 949, 1163; vol. xiv, pp. 301, 418.]



On the 7th of the present month, Leon Amundsen, brother of the explorer, received at Christiania, Norway, the following cablegram from Hobart, Tasmania:

Pole attained fourteenth-seventeenth December, 1911. All well.

ROALD AMUNDSEN.

The form of date was understood to signify that Amundsen staid at the Pole from the 14th to the 17th of December. Later cables confirm Captain Amundsen's claim of discovery. He had no knowledge as to whether Captain Scott may not also have attained the same goal, either before or after him. The South Pole is located on land, as previously surmised. Captain Amundsen named the plateau region of the Pole after King Haakon of Norway, and a range of mountains of the region after Queen Maud of Norway. He was accompanied to the Pole by four members of his expedition.



The British Miners' Strike.

After separate conferences with committees on both sides of the miners' strike, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, on the 8th invited each to send representatives to a joint conference for a free

discussion of the whole situation. He is reported to have been informed by the strikers' representatives, that they would not recommend such a conference to their national council unless it were understood in advance that the principle of a minimum wage must be accepted and would be excluded from discussion, but on the 11th the dispatches told that they had accepted the proposal for joint conference. In the dispatches that day it was reported also that all British coal mines were closed by the strike, that 1,000,000 British miners were on strike and 1,000,000 other British workmen out of employment for lack of fuel, and that a great strike of coal miners had begun in Germany. [See current volume, page 223.]



The Mill-Strike in Lawrence.

Friendly deportation of woolen-mill strikers' children from Lawrence, Mass., has been renewed. A large number arrived in Philadelphia on the 7th. [See current volume, page 224.]



For the relief of those children upon their arrival in Philadelphia, Joseph Fels sent a check to the treasurer of the local committee, Mrs. Ida Secor, with the following explanation, as reported in the Philadelphia North American of the 10th:

In sending this I wish it distinctly understood that it is not a philanthropic gift to the sufferers. It is a part payment of a debt due these children from all who are upholding existing social wrong. Since I am not one of these, this check must be considered a gift to those whose dishonored obligation it is, to a slight degree, liquidating. Strict justice requires that if we cannot at once abolish legalized wrong then when immediate relief is needed for victims of legalized robbery, the upholders of the iniquity should be made to pay the bill. But unfortunately that is not possible. There is no way by which we can compel donations from upholders of landlordism, of private appropriation of public earnings, of tariff robbery, of private control of public highways and of other special privileges. We are helpless to enforce payment, even from the American Woolen Company, although it can be proved that this corporation has robbed these poor children by embezzling a fund intrusted to it for their benefit by the American people. The people have levied a burdensome tariff tax on themselves and turned the proceeds over in trust to the American Woolen Company to be used in paying high wages to employes. The people were induced to do this by the representations of the American Woolen Company and similar concerns, that this trust would be faithfully carried out. But the corporation has used the money instead for excessive dividends. Similar acts of legal embezzlement are being committed by other protected employers. Upholders of robbery make the false claim that there is no way by which the worker may be assured just treatment. They claim to know no cure for

poverty and offer this voluntary ignorance as an excuse for continuing it. The excuse is not valid. Thirty-two years ago Henry George showed in "Progress and Poverty" how poverty can be abolished. His arguments have never been disproved in spite of numberless attempts to do so. The amount of the inclosed check I have charged in my ledger against the American Woolen Company and other supporters of legalized robbery. I advance it in part payment of a debt they owe, without consulting them, because their child creditors are in distress through their reluctance to settle. I doubt whether they will recognize the obligation, in spite of its manifest justice, since it is not legally enforceable. Consequently, if it must be considered a charitable gift, let it be fully understood that the real recipients of this charity are not the poor children from Lawrence, but the stockholders of the American Woolen Company and other upholders of existing wrongs.



President Taft's Arbitration Treaties.

President Taft's treaties with Great Britain and France, for the arbitration of differences involving possibilities of war, were ratified by the Senate on the 7th, but not until after amendments which are reported as calculated to make the treaties ineffective. [See current volume, page 35.]



As negotiated and sent to the Senate these treaties required (1) the submission of disputes between the United States and the other Powers (Great Britain or France, as the case might be) to a commission composed of an equal number of citizens of each country; (2) this commission not to decide but to recommend, its recommendations disposing of the dispute if adopted by both Powers; (3) except that if the dispute be justiciable, or upon a unanimous decision of the joint commission or of all but one member, that it is justiciable, it shall be arbitrated. To the binding agreement of clause 3 to arbitrate questions which the joint commission might thus decide to be justiciable, the Senate committee on foreign relations, under the influence especially of Senators Lodge and Root, objected on the ground that it trenched upon the future freedom of the Senate. They therefore recommended an amendment limiting the treaties in that respect, by a proviso with reference to that clause; and for this amendment ex-President Roosevelt had been strenuous.



When the question of ratifying the treaties came to vote in the Senate on the 7th, a motion to eliminate "clause three of article three" the third clause as enumerated above was carried by 42 to 40. As a tie vote would have defeated the motion, its adoption was accomplished by Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, Senator Dixon, who voted (unexpectedly to his colleagues) in

favor of eliminating the clause. His vote made the Lodge-Root amendment unimportant and it was not inserted. But other amendments were adopted. By these it is provided that arbitration under the treaties shall not apply to questions affecting the admission of aliens to the United States, the admission of aliens to schools in the several States, the territorial integrity of the States or the United States, the alleged indebtedness or moneyed obligation of any State, nor any question involving the Monroe doctrine or other purely governmental policy. Thus amended the treaties were ratified by a vote of 76 to 3.



The Roosevelt-Taft Campaign.

An active and by no means friendly campaign for the Presidency has begun between President Taft and ex-president Roosevelt personally. President Taft left Washington last week for a speaking campaign in the West. He spent the 8th in touring eastern and northern Ohio, closing the day with a speech at a large meeting in Toledo. In his Toledo speech, Mr. Taft took up Mr. Roosevelt's policy of "recall of judicial decisions," saying:

This is a remarkable suggestion and one which is so contrary to anything in government heretofore proposed that it is hard to give to it the serious consideration which it deserves because of its advocates and of the conditions under which it is advanced. What this recall of decisions will amount to if applied to Constitutional questions is that there will be a suspension of the Constitution to enable a temporary majority of the electorate to enforce a popular but invalid act. . . . A most serious objection to the recall of decisions is that it destroys all probability of consistency in Constitutional interpretation. The majority which sustains one law is not the majority which comes to consider another, and the obligation of consistency of popular decision is one which would sit most lightly on each recurring electorate, and the operation of the system would result in suspension or application of Constitutional guarantees according to popular whim. We would have then a system of suspending the Constitution to meet special instances. But the main argument used to sustain such a popular review of judicial decisions is that if the people are competent to establish a Constitution they are competent to interpret it, and that this recall of decision is nothing but the exercise of the power of interpretation. This is clearly a fallacious argument. The approval of general principles in a Constitution on one hand and the interpretation of a statute and consideration of its probable operation in a particular case and its possible infringement of a general principle on the other hand are very different things. The one is simple, the latter complex; and the latter, when submitted to a popular vote is much more likely to be turned into an issue of general approval or disapproval of the act on its merits for the special purpose of its enactment than upon its violation of the Constitution. Moreover, a popular majority does not

adopt a Constitution, or any principle of it, or amend its terms, until after it has been adopted by a Constitutional convention or a legislature, and the final adoption is, and ought to be, surrounded with such checks and delays as to secure deliberation. . . . Would we not, in giving such powerful effect to the momentary impulse of a majority of an electorate, prepare the way for the possible exercise of the greatest tyranny? Finally, I ask what is the necessity for such a crude, revolutionary, fitful and unstable way of reversing judicial constructions of the Constitution? Why, if the construction is wrong, can it not be righted by Constitutional amendment? An answer made to this is that the same judges would construe the amendment and defeat the popular will as in the first instance. This assumes dishonesty and a gross violation of their oaths of duty on the part of the judges, a hypothesis utterly untenable. . . . Such a proposal as this is utterly without merit or utility, and, instead of being progressive, is reactionary; instead of being in the interest of all the people and of the stability of popular government, is sowing the seeds of confusion and tyranny.

Mr. Taft's speeches in Chicago, where he came on the 9th, are along the same lines of cleavage between himself and Mr. Roosevelt; and on the 9th Mr. Roosevelt announced that he also would take the stump. [See current volume, pages 201, 219.]



Edward F. Dunne's Platform.

As the progressive candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Illinois at the direct primaries in April, Edward F. Dunne, formerly Mayor of Chicago, published his platform on the 10th. Its principal declarations are as follows:

- (1) Abolition of the State Board of Equalization, its functions to be performed by a commission of experts appointed by the Governor and approved by the Senate, who shall sit the year around in open session and preserve minutes and records of its daily proceedings.
- (2) A direct primary law applicable to United States Senators and Presidential electors.
- (3) A corrupt practices act limiting the amount of a candidate's election expenses and requiring the publication of the same before and after election.
- (4) Legislation providing for an amendment to the State Constitution permitting the enactment of laws providing for the Initiative and Referendum.
- (5) Consolidation of the park boards of Chicago into one body under city control.

[See current volume, page 111.]



The Ohio Constitutional Convention.

Woman suffrage in Ohio is to be an issue before the people of that State at the ratification election, the Constitutional Convention having on the 7th adopted the woman suffrage amendment by a vote of 76 to 33. As there are 119 delegates, this is a majority of 17 over all. The amendment will be submitted to the people as a separate proposition. [See current volume, page 227.]

A liquor license clause adopted by the convention on the 6th by a vote of 91 to 18, to be submitted separately to popular vote, provides for— retention of all present temperance laws and preservation of all dry territory; elimination of the brewery-owned saloon; a limit of one saloon to each 500 of population; the saloon keepers must be citizens of the United States and of good character; home rule for cities and townships on statutory regulations, and licenses automatically revoked on second conviction for violating regulatory laws.



The full form of Initiative and Referendum agreed upon by a majority of the delegates, the Crosser bill modified in detail with Mr. Crosser's co-operation, provides in substance that—

legislative power is vested in the legislature "but the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws [legislative Initiative] and amendments to the Constitution [Constitutional Initiative], and to adopt or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserve the power, at their own option, to adopt or reject any law, item, section or part thereof passed by the legislature [Referendum]." A legislative Initiative petition signed by 8 per cent of the voters must be submitted at the next regular election occurring 90 days after filing; a Constitutional Initiative petition signed by 12 per cent of the voters must be submitted at the next regular election occurring 90 days after filing. Either legislative or Constitutional Initiative petitions signed by only 4 per cent of the voters must be enacted or rejected by the legislature within 60 days; if enacted they must be approved by the people on Referendum; if rejected or ignored by the legislature they go to the people for enactment or rejection, along with any different or competing proposal which the legislature may submit. Both legislative and Constitutional Initiatives, when approved by a majority of the people voting on them, are thereupon in force; and if conflicting provisions receive a majority at the same election the one receiving the highest number of votes is the law. A Referendum petition signed by 6 per cent of the voters must be submitted to the people with reference to any act of the legislature if filed within 90 days after adjournment. No act of the legislature can take effect until 90 days after adjournment (unless it is emergent), nor until approved by the people if a Referendum petition be filed within that time. Emergency measures are limited to tax levies for current expenses, and the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety; and in order to make these emergent they must be enacted by a three-fourths yeas and nay vote of each House; one section of the bill must declare it to be emergent with a statement of the facts making it so, which section separately must be passed by a yeas and nay vote.

Like powers of legislative Initiative and Referendum for local purposes are reserved to the voters of each village, city, county, township, school district and other political subdivision of the State. Among the general provisions proposed are the following:

One-half of the total number of counties of the State are each required to furnish the signatures of voters equal in number to one-half of the designated percentage of the voters of such county to all Initiative and Referendum petitions of State-wide scope. An official pamphlet containing proposed laws or Constitutional amendments, and arguments (not exceeding 300 words each) for and against, must be distributed in advance of Initiative or Referendum elections "to each of the voters of the State as far as reasonably possible." All the proposed sections are self-executing without legislation, but legislation may be enacted to facilitate their operation provided it in no way limits or restricts them.

Out of the 119 members of the Constitutional Convention 66 have agreed to support the measure outlined above. [See current volume, page 227.]



Municipal Election in Seattle.

At the election in Seattle on the 5th, George F. Cotterill was elected Mayor by a majority of 748, the vote reported being 31,287 for ex-Mayor Hiram C. Gill and 32,035 for ex-Senator Cotterill. Although the Mayor-elect is a well-known and active Singletaxer, he was largely supported by others than Singletaxers. His identification with the temperance movement brought him support from Prohibitionists; he was also supported by "good government" voters, their own candidate having been defeated at the direct primary; and while some Socialists followed the instructions of leaders among them to refrain from voting for Mayor, their candidate having been defeated at the primary, it is evident that Mr. Cotterill drew a strong Socialist vote. The Mayor-elect stands for a "closed town" with reference to vice, for the municipal street railway already authorized, and for public ownership of wharves and harbor facilities.



A large vote was polled for the Socialist candidates who at the primaries had won a place on the ballot. Dr. E. J. Brown, Socialist candidate for corporation counsel, got 27,157 to 35,196 for James E. Bradford. George W. Scott, Socialist candidate for treasurer, got 25,192 to 36,265 for Ed. L. Terry; C. L. Jacobs, Socialist candidate for the Council, got 14,882 votes, and David Burgess, Socialist candidate for Council, got 26,577. These votes were not due to Socialist voters alone, the voting at the direct primary which eliminates all but the two highest having shown a much smaller Socialist vote than the lowest here. For Mayor the Socialist vote was less than 11,000 at the primary.



Although a pronounced Singletaxer was elected Mayor of Seattle on the 5th, the Singletax amendments to the city charter were defeated. Mr. Cotterill got many votes from non-Singletaxers, and

doubtless lost some from Singletaxers. He was not making a Singletax campaign. His small majority was therefore an almost certain indication of defeat for the amendments. When the vote on these had been counted, the result was announced as follows:

Griffith amendment (progressive exemption of improvements and increase of land value taxation):

Against	31,450
For	8,032

Adverse majority.....	23,418
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Erickson amendment (immediate abolition of all municipal taxation except upon land values):

Against	27,820
For	12,191

Adverse majority.....	15,629
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An interesting report upon the campaign and its result will be found in Editorial Correspondence over the signature of Margaret A. Haley of Chicago. [Also see current volume, page 225.]



Another Singletax Campaign in Seattle.

Immediately after the defeat of the Singletax amendment to the city charter of Seattle by 27,820 to 12,191 on the 5th, the active workers for the amendment organized for submitting the same amendment at the councilmanic election next year. The name of the organization is The Singletax Club. Councilman Oliver T. Erickson is president; Thorwald Siegfried is secretary, and Mary O'Meara is treasurer. The identical amendment of this year is to be proposed next year, and a comprehensive personal canvass of the polling list is to begin at once.



The Singletax in Vancouver.

Owing to the defeat of Mr. Taylor for reelection as Mayor of Vancouver, it was widely reported a few weeks ago that the Singletax, which gave world-wide distinction to his administrations, had been repudiated. There has never been any reason for such an inference, and the inference is now discredited by the action of the City Council. On motion of Alderman Ramsey, and without a dissenting vote, although Tories control the Council, that body adopted a by-law or ordinance on the 4th which exempts real estate improvements from taxation for 1912. To understand the limitations of this action, it must be remembered that the fiscal method in Vancouver is unlike that in the United States, under which the sources of taxation once decided upon continue until altered. In Vancouver the sources as well as the expenditures of public revenues are decided upon anew each year. What the Vancouver Council has done, therefore, is to reenact the Singletax. Explaining it, the Vancouver World (ex-Mayor Taylor's paper) says:

This means that the progressive policy inaugurated in 1910 and the plank to cover which figured so prominently in former-Mayor Taylor's platform on both the occasions when he was elected, will be continued. Consequently, as far as city taxes are concerned, Vancouver retains the position of being one of the few metropolitan cities of the American continent to derive its general revenue entirely from a tax on land, and continues to be "a city set upon a hill—whose light cannot be hid," as a well known politico-economic writer declared last year.

[See current volume, page 127.]



In Memory of Altgeld.

At Orchestra Hall, Chicago, on the 10th, the tenth anniversary of the death of John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois from 1892 to 1896, was observed by a large audience assembled under the auspices of the Altgeld Memorial Association at a meeting arranged and managed by Governor Altgeld's friend, Joseph S. Martin, who organized and managed all the preceding memorial meetings. Daniel Cruice presided; Father Cox made the invocation; the singing was by the Sinai Congregation choir; addresses were made by ex-State Senator Samuel Alschuler, ex-Mayor Edward F. Dunne, Herbert S. Bigelow (president of the Ohio Constitutional Convention), and William Jennings Bryan. [See vol. ix., pp. 1154, 1163, 1177, 1183, 1191; vol. x., 97; vol. xiii., pp. 853, 857; and current volume, pages 206, 219.]



The Mexican Insurrection.

The vanguard of the insurrectos in Mexico left Chihuahua on the 8th, headed southward as a beginning to General Pascual Orozco's threatened campaign against the City of Mexico. The Madero government is sending troops northwest to Torreón to meet the insurrectos. Shaken by the growing strength of opposition, the government has obtained confidence from a monster demonstration in favor of peace and in support of the constituted government held in the City of Mexico on the 10th. [See current volume, page 228.]



The United States war department is strengthening its forces on the Mexican frontier, sent there for the enforcement of the neutrality laws. [See current volume, page 159.]



China Reorganizing.

Looting and rioting on the part of the unpaid soldiery of north China, lately of Imperial affiliation, continues, and is only partly controlled by Yuan Shi Kai's government. Also a revolt of 8,000 soldiers at one point in south China—Canton—is reported, on what ground is not stated.

Though foreigners are seldom molested the foreign nations protect their legations carefully, and police certain sections of the railways. More American troops are being hurried from Manila to Peking on call of Minister Calhoun. [See current volume, page 227.]



Yuan Shi Kai was formally inaugurated provisional President of the Republic of China on the 10th, at Peking, in the presence of a great gathering of delegates, envoys, military and naval officers, and other prominent personages. Yuan, who was in military uniform, read a declaration promising faithfully to develop the Republic, observe the constitutional laws, and retire when the National Assembly appointed a permanent President. Most of those who assembled were attired either in uniform or European dress. The Constitution of the Republic was finally approved by the National Assembly, sitting at Nanking, on the 11th. By the Constitution the supreme power is placed in the hands of the National Assembly. A notable feature is that all the acts of the President require the approval of the Assembly, and this body also has complete control of the cabinet. The Assembly elects the President and Vice-President, and may pass any law over the Executive's veto at its pleasure. It was reported on the 11th that Dr. Sun Yat Sen will turn over the great seal of the Presidential office to Tang Shao Yi, Yuan's personal representative, and elected Premier by the Assembly on the 11th, as soon as the details of launching the Constitutional government can be accomplished. Pending this, Dr. Sun continues to hold office as actual acting President. A cable dispatch to the Chicago Tribune dated the 9th says that President Yuan Shi Kai will urge his cabinet "to impose a land or singletax in order to raise money for the government. The President believes this plan of taxation will be the best for the country."

NEWS NOTES

—In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the settling of Florida, an exposition under the direction of the State and national governments will be held at St. Augustine in April, 1913.

—Turkey has given definiteness to her threat to close the Dardanelles on account of the Italian war for the acquisition of Tripoli, by notifying the Powers that the Dardanelles will for the present be closed at night to all navigation. [See current volume, pages 206, 228.]

—What is described as "the first representative exhibition of diversified clay products ever held," began at Chicago in the Coliseum on the 7th. It is explained that hitherto the only large display was held in London in connection with the regular building materials exposition, but that it exhibited none

of the specialized forms of clay products, and was moreover only one feature of a much more general exhibition.

—Clarence S. Darrow's counsel having been furnished the informal notes of missing testimony before the grand jury, and the Los Angeles court having ruled that this is sufficient under the law, Mr. Darrow's trial has been set for May 14th. [See current volume, page 207.]

—The Presidential preference primary bill before the Massachusetts legislature passed the Senate on the 6th by a vote of 17 to 5 without discussion. It provides for direct election of district delegates to national conventions and for popular preferential voting on Presidential candidates.

—In the lower house of the Michigan legislature on the 6th, Governor Osborne's bill for Presidential primaries in April was set aside with a bill for such primaries in June; but on the 7th this action was reversed and a preferential primaries bill for the first Monday of April was adopted. The latter bill binds delegates to national conventions to support the primary nominee of their respective parties for President. [See current volume, page 206.]

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for February, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 228]:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	121,892,703.79
Total	\$271,892,703.79
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1911	238,200,599.23
Decrease	\$ 16,307,895.44

—More fighting in Ecuador was reported on the 6th. The Conservatives, headed by General Julio Andrade, had attempted to "rush" the government and gain control of the Republic at the capital city, Quito; but they were repulsed and Andrade was killed. The same reports stated that General Leonidas Plaza, leader of the victorious faction in the January fighting, had refused the provisional Presidency, and that Dr. Francisco Andrade Marin, president of the Chamber of Deputies, had temporarily assumed the position and was attempting to form a government. [See current volume, page 109.]

—A labor conference at Kansas City is announced for April 15, at which from 40 to 50 railway systems west of Chicago are expected to be represented, for the purpose of organizing a federation of shop employes to include all men employed in the mechanical departments of the railroads. This movement is explained as having been caused by the fact that as soon as strikes of shopmen were called on the Illinois Central and the Harriman lines, the other railroads went to the assistance of those which were crippled. One of the leaders is reported as saying that "the next time a railroad strike is called it will be a good one, and hit all the roads at once." [See current volume, page 159.]

—The suppression of a revolution in Hayti back in 1908, in the days of Nord Alexis, was followed by an unusual military execution when on the 15th of March of that year a group of men, accused of political conspiracy, were shot to death. General

Jules Colcou, military leader for President Alexis, was held responsible for the executions, and has been held to trial for them this winter, with the result that on the 9th he was condemned to death by a jury in the criminal court. His accomplices were acquitted. Among General Colcou's victims were three of his own brothers whom he had himself betrayed to the President only the day before. Twenty-seven deaths on the fatal morning were laid to his charge, but he was tried for only ten. [See vol. x, p. 1213; vol. xiv, p. 1004.]

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government for February, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 229]:

Receipts	\$435,411,467.12
Disbursements	456,767,606.29
	\$ 21,356,139.17
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	786,313.99
	\$ 20,569,825.18
Ordinary deficit	
Panama Canal (surplus from bonds).....	9,337,519.37
	\$ 11,232,305.81
Public debt deficit.....	7,051,916.53
	\$ 18,284,222.34
Grand deficit	

PRESS OPINIONS

"He so Modes' He Almos' Shy."

(London) Punch.—In view of Colonel Roosevelt's shy disposition and hatred of publicity, his decision to accept the nomination for President in the interest of his country does him credit.



The Lawrence Strike.

The Boston Common (ind.), March 2.—The powers of government have certainly been handled stupidly at Lawrence. First was the absurd arrest of Ettor—absurd, no matter what he said; for its effect was the opposite to that expected by the authorities. Instead of discouraging and disintegrating the strikers, it solidified them. Then came Col. Sweetser's pompous proclamation that children of strikers must not be sent away without parental consent. This was sound enough doctrine, but its assertion was no more a militia Colonel's business in a community not under martial law than it was the business of the humblest citizen, and his gratuitous assumption of authority, therefore, needlessly increased popular distrust of the militia and, among many, skepticism of the good faith of government. To crown all came the wicked lawlessness of the police under Marshal Sullivan in forcibly preventing the exodus of children when consented to by their parents and in manhandling and arresting mothers who would not quietly acquiesce in this usurpation. Weyler in Cuba probably never did a more heartless thing. The creation of insurrectos by these blundering tory processes may amaze the Standpatters when the next votes are counted. Does Massachusetts stand for anarchy in uniforms?



What Seattle Voted For.

The Toledo News-Bee (ind.), March 9.—In 1866 John H. Nagel took up 160 acres of free land in what is now the heart of Seattle. In 1874 Nagel became insane and was sent to the State asylum, where he remained, a charge on the public, until 1897, when he died. A trustee for his estate had been appointed by the court when he became insane, who sold parcels of land from time to time, to pay the taxes on the balance. The remainder in 1898 was worth fully \$300,000. Now it is evident that this

value was not created by John H. Nagel, who was in an insane asylum, and that it was created by the people of Seattle. It is also evident that when this \$300,000 was given to Nagel's non-resident heirs, who did nothing to earn it, that it was taken from the people who did create it. Every man, woman and child in Seattle was poorer because of this being taken from them, "For if anyone gets without earning, others must earn without getting." Some people doubt the claim that land values are created by the growth of the city and are not due to the efforts of those who now appropriate them. The case of John Nagel seems to argue for the land-tax proposition.



China's Transition Period.

(New York) Nation, Mar. 7.—The disorders at Peking and Tien-tsin, though laden with serious consequences if allowed to go unchecked, do not necessarily constitute a deep-seated crisis. The soldiers have apparently grown tired of waiting for their pay. The same situation, in milder form, arose among the republican troops in the South only the other day, and it is to be presumed that if the financial stringency at Peking and elsewhere were relieved by a large foreign loan, there would be no great difficulty in bringing the mutiny to an end. Such explanations as that Yuan Shi Kai instigated the mutiny in order to prepare the way for a dictatorship are fantastic. Should Yuan desert the republican cause he would have to reckon with the armies of the South, and the present situation certainly does not argue a condition of discipline among Yuan's soldiers that would enable him to make head against the well-led republican armies of that region. The present looting and assassination are to be regarded as part of the price that China must pay before her transition from the old to the new can be completed.



Freedom of Utterance.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), January 22.—There is nothing that will break down any system of free government and degrade society within the reach of tyranny so certainly as a want of respect for freedom of utterance. Whether this freedom is of the press, the forum, the pulpit, of individual speech, or that very high expression, the arts, it should be more jealously guarded than any other liberty we possess. And it has been noted that in America there is a tendency to impose public opinion upon the individual, to grudge the right to think and speak out against general prejudice or conviction, a tendency which no real American but must fear and oppose. . . . Censorship and restrictive legislation as experience has shown, do not accomplish what they are contrived for. And even if they were not as futile as they have been shown to be, Americans ought by this time to realize that freedom of thought and expression is more precious, more vitally necessary to civilization, than the suppression of any individual views, however erroneous they may seem to be. All this is platitude. But Americans often show a surprising ignorance of the fundamental principles of our American system and very poor appreciation of the lessons of our race history.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LAST VICTORY.

George E. Bowen in Chicago Evening Post of March 11.

From Pole to Pole, discovery has run,
As once it trailed the courses of the sun.
From Pole to Pole, ambition's conquest waves
Triumphant banners o'er heroic graves,
And this small world that mocked adventure's quest
Has met supremacy—and failed the test.
Nor ice, nor fire, nor any other state
Could finally oppose the march of fate—
The march invincible, that calmly dares
The Terror crouching in its sunless lairs.

So leads the dauntless spirit of the brave,
For human use earth's hidden wastes to save,
Where other Poles await the laggard claim
Of need, above mere geographic fame:
The social Poles, in anti-social slums,
Where no relief of life's black horror comes;
The cruel Poles of ignorance and hate,
Where souls in torment for their savior wait;
The selfish Poles of heartlessness, as cold
As Arctic records to our dread have told.

Not he who first invades the starving fear
Of alien life a world's applause shall hear,
But one who breaks life's last enslaving chain
Shall need no praise of other men to gain.



THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

For The Public.

In the coming age of equity, when commerce and industry shall be freed at last from legalized piracy and every species of marauder and parasite, perhaps the floor of the Stock Exchange will be the battleground most difficult to reproduce by any but a vivid historical imagination.

In our own time then, when Privilege is making its last stubborn stand in that huge "protected" gambling-hall, it may not be unserviceable to the future to try to describe the all but incredible fury and madness, of what even the beneficiaries of its pillage vaguely realize is Exploitation's Field of Waterloo.

The inarticulate roar of voices that assails the visitor at the gallery door of the Exchange is fiercer than that of a stormy sea in cavernous hollows of cliffs, and prevails over the noise of the streets just left behind as the clashing tumult of a factory over the twittering of birds at the windows.

The stentorian wranglers in this bloodless warfare on the floor below wear somber uniforms of black or gray, but no legions in glittering armor, or squadrons in gilt and scarlet, ever hurled

themselves into their combats with more desperate frenzy.

These antagonists gesticulate in one another's faces with the passion of beings in a nightmare, their arms whirling like flails or as if swinging hammers upon hot iron, and at climaxes of the excitement they dash one another about as violently as those seeking escape from a burning building.

The grimaces on the distorted faces uncover gleams of teeth here and there in the brawling human wolf-packs; eyes seem starting from their sockets, and veins from their channels along the straining throats, while faces and necks are suffused bursting-red from the pressure of the laboring lungs.

Here one of the commercial gladiators buffets another so sharply on the chest as nearly to send him reeling, in calling his attention to a third who is willing to buy or sell at a certain price.

Here a seller thrusts a tense arm through the melee, with index finger querying where his voice could not be heard, then suddenly draws his hand back toward his face while he shakes his head in vehement refusal.

Where another seller extends his arm horizontally in offering at a certain figure, an impetuous buyer seizes his forearm to attract his notice as a starving man might clutch a shank of meat from a stall.

Here again a white hand whose owner cannot be distinguished is protruded above the throng like a mis-shapen lily growing from heaving furrows, with lean, rapacious fingers vibrating some occult offer or bid in the savage barter.

Now a broker who had been wandering aimlessly between the vortices of combat hears some significant name or number cleave its way from the mid-tumult, and instantly his aspect alters almost from human to that of a beast scenting prey, as with eyes riveted, head and shoulders thrust forward, and every muscle strung taut, he dashes into the thick of the nearest riot.

And yet splendid postures of unconscious strength and grace can be discerned also, among the more brutally striving forms, such as this eager buyer's, with one hand high uplifted, fingers straining as if to grasp some laurel of victory, and body poised on one leg while the other rests with a racer's lightness on the extended ankle behind—an athletic model for the Marathon triumph's herald with his "Chairete!"

The signs of acceptance of offers are so slight that a novice can only rarely discern them—some lifting of the eyebrows, or trifling nod of the head, or perhaps an abrupt upward gesture of a hand with a pencil, before this descends to enter the stenographic record in a notebook.

To and fro between the bellowing groups and the batteries of telephones that stare coldly with round metal eyes of their twin bells on all this

feral bedlam, dodge quick-eyed messenger boys, carrying pages torn from notebooks by brokers in the conflict with instructions for their offices.

The floor indeed is strewn with an unmelting snowstorm of such scraps of paper, and remnants of "tape" from the tickers, that relentlessly issue the cryptic news of the day's transactions from between their chattering teeth of type.

And now as the visitor's almost shattered ears become slightly accustomed to the appalling din, they can distinguish from time to time a few more penetrating voices that for an instant dominate even this immense body of sound.

These vary from veritable screams of derision or glee to barking calls like a seal's or hyena's, and more rarely a booming, complaining roar of a hungry lion in a menagerie.

As three o'clock, the closing hour, approaches, the presiding officer of the Exchange on his judge's throne by the wall stoops frequently to look at his chronometer, and two boys bearing great brass gongs and hammers take positions at the middle of the floor, and watch him closely for a signal.

When he finally lifts his hand, the boys begin smiting the huge disks, but even their portentous clangor can be only faintly heard for the first minute against the blare of the human maelstrom.

But at last the battling groups begin to thin out and their tumult abates, while the flogged gongs victoriously continue their crashing through the emptying room, as a fittingly barbaric finale to the day's orgy of predatory greed.

ELIOT WHITE.



LIFE.

For The Public.

One died at forty, full of years,
For he had learned, through long days spent,
The lore of love, of pain and tears,
And much had mastered ere he went.
And one at eighty laid him down,
But small the harvest, brief the span—
His world—the four walls of the town;
The other's—all the World of Man.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

BOOKS

THE DEMOCRACY OF PROFESSOR HOBHOUSE.

Social Evolution and Political Theory. By Leonard T. Hobhouse. Published by the Columbia University Press. Lemcke & Buechner, Agents. New York. \$1.50 net.

It will be a great day for social reform in America when the man in the street gets over his distrust of the university professor. It seems to

be a prevalent superstition that when a man dons cap and gown as the insignia of his profession he, in some mysterious way, doffs his human sanity and becomes other than a normal human being. As a matter of fact the holders of professorial chairs in the universities of this country and England are, as a class, the most radical intelligent and intelligently radical people we have. That they do not always speak out is partly because we will not listen to them, and partly because the administrative sides of our colleges are sometimes dominated by a spirit the opposite to that just indicated.

The above reflection is confirmed and reinforced by Professor Hobhouse's volume of lectures delivered last year under the Beers Foundation at Columbia University, and the statement of it is a fair introduction to the personality and viewpoint of one of England's foremost sociologists. Mr. Hobhouse is intelligently radical in the sense in which the word radical implies reformer, and unlike many present volunteer reformers he is willing to do his work on a democratic basis. This may be horribly disappointing to some people who are ardent reformers but who wish to begin their beneficent overhauling by chloroforming the common man, recasting the institution of the ballot box, and forbidding marriage to all who cannot satisfy an autocratic committee of eugenic control.

Mr. Hobhouse devotes his lectures to a theoretical defense, and a practical exemplification drawn from English social reform movements, of the following proposition: "That the conception of social progress as a deliberate movement toward the reorganization of society in accordance with ethical ideas is not vitiated by any contradiction. It is free from any internal disharmony. Its possibility rests upon the facts of evolution, of the higher tendencies of which it is indeed the outcome. It embodies a rational philosophy, it gives scope and meaning to the best impulses of human nature, and a new hope to the suffering among mankind."

The only serious objection made to such a program as this is the old Spencerian idea of its being dangerous to interfere with nature's processes of elimination of the unfit. Today a certain reform proposal has been grafted on that Spencerian superstition, the idea of "eugenics." Say the "eugenists," "If we can eliminate the weak stocks, the stronger ones will replenish the nation, and the slums will disappear for want of inhabitants. On the other hand, they claim that if we do the other thing, that is, ease up the environment by social endeavor, the weaker stock will take advantage of the better conditions to multiply with greater relative rapidity and submerge the better classes of the population.

Disregarding the slimness of the foundations

upon which the "eugenists" raise so imposing a theoretical structure, Mr. Hobhouse gently convicts them of a few illogicalities in the application of their (hypothetically sound) principles. What qualities do they wish to transmit? Certain specific virtues, say they? But in relation to what sort of an environment are those qualities virtues? Is liability to tuberculosis a weakness to be stamped out? Then when the tubercle bacillus itself is stamped out by proper civic sanitation what net good will have been gained by killing off a human strain that might have had untold possibilities? And are not social reform measures justified in their improvement of the social environment, a matter which is quite independent of race improvement? Then as to the cry of physical deterioration, Mr. Hobhouse flatly denies that—except in certain very narrow limits—it is anything but a myth. And he supports his denial with some acute marshallings of fact that seem definitively to dispose of the spectre.

Mr. Hobhouse concedes that the marriage of feeble minded people or of people in similar conditions, which amount not to a single weakness in the organism but to a general degeneracy, should be forbidden. But these people he repeats are by their condition wards of the state, and he sees nothing inconsistent with liberty and democracy in their state tutelage being extended to the prevention of reproduction.

Any such social ideals as Mr. Hobhouse holds forth are supposed, of necessity, to interfere with the liberty of the individual. In his last lecture then, the author is concerned with the problem of liberty within the organized state, and he proceeds to show that this misunderstood word does not mean caprice, does not mean anarchical lack of clearly defined pathways of conduct, but that true liberty is a social product made up of restraints. The laws of a free people, in so far as they are the expression of needs which all the people feel and have threshed out in honorable debate, are, he argues, simply an expression of that people's will where the will is common to all of them; and in the author's view, in passing such legislation they are simply using the state and law as an engine for the registering of their free choice, sacrificing no essential liberty in doing so, for without such means of common expression and common action they would indeed be slaves.

All democrats have watched with almost breathless interest the developments of democracy in England during the last few years. Like the cloud no greater than a man's hand, those developments began long ago, and now they begin to fill the sky. Will they fill it and water the earth with beneficent rains, or are they destined to pass? To answer that question by intelligence rather than by faith necessitates a knowledge of the philosophy of what we observe. Such a philosophy of modern democracy has been given us by Profes-

sor Hobhouse, and it is essentially a philosophy of inspiration and a call to arms.

LEWELLYN JONES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Man's Birthright*. By Ritter Brown. Published by Desmond Fitzgerald, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*The Labor Movement in France. A Study in Revolutionary Syndicalism*. By Louis Levine. With an introduction by Franklin H. Giddings. Whole Number 116, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, paper \$1.50.

PERIODICALS

The Lake Seamen's Strike.

Victor Olander's important testimony about shipping on the Great Lakes, given before the Congressional committee on the investigation of the Steel Trust, is printed in full in *The Coast Seamen's Journal* (San Francisco) of March 6.

A. L. G.



Injurious Friends.

The second installment of Mr. H. G. Wells's article on Socialism, which appeared in the February Harper, was emphatically disappointing. The first installment held us in suspense, in the hope of something definite which was to follow. But nothing definite followed. There is much talk of the Normal Social State and of the Great State, with capitals, but of definite program nothing which one can lay hands on. A preacher once said that the one thing which made him think the church a divine institution was that it survives its preachers. The fact that Socialism survives so many of its expounders is evidence of amazing vitality.

J. H. D.



The West Coast Magazine.

Edmond Norton writes on the Singletax for the February and March numbers of *The West Coast Magazine* (Los Angeles). "Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you," 'Equal Rights to all and special privileges to none'; the Singletax: these are synonymous. Here we have the great Eleventh Commandment of the Master of Nazareth—the sum total of all 'the Law and all the prophets'—we have its Jeffersonian formulation into a politico-social maxim of 'Equal rights to all,' and its scientific practical application in the Singletax of Henry George."

A. L. G.



The Burden of the Feeble-Minded.

There are by a most conservative estimate 182,000 feeble-minded persons in the United States, one for every 500 individuals. Feeble-mindedness is

hereditary and feeble-minded men and women are the parents of more than their proportion of children! No law in any State compels or even efficiently advises segregation for these mental defectives, and no State furnishes adequate and proper institutions to receive them, some none at all. Kept in their homes, the feeble-minded children live untaught and absorb the energies of their families. Later they crowd almshouses, reformatories and prisons, where only responsible beings belong, and where they themselves are wretched, when many of them might be both happy and partly self-supporting. Two institutions, Letchworth Village, near the Hudson, and the Templeton Farm Colony in Massachusetts, are experiments so far successful in caring permanently for these dependents. They have discovered a way—these institutions for sub-normal people—to keep all happy and make many useful,—a way which many a normal human being longs for in vain,—the varied outdoor work of the farm. The Survey has again done society a valuable service in offering this symposium by twelve men and women who can speak with authority about this neglected and growing evil. This number of *The Survey* (March 2) announces also a most distinguished addition to its staff. Jane Addams has become an associate editor on a volunteer basis, and has already promised for the near future six articles on important subjects.

A. L. G.



Politics and the Cost of Living.

If anyone wishes to read a suggestive and thoughtful essay on the relation between business and history, he should not fail to read the article on "Politics and Prosperity," which appeared in the February Atlantic, by Mr. Alexander D. Noyes. Too little have classical historians dealt with this relation. Who thinks of the French Revolution in connection with drought and harvest failure, or of the "Long Parliament" in connection with the cost of living? But it is rather with the year 1911 that Mr. Noyes has dealt. He has shown a most striking and ingenious parallel between conditions in 1848 and those in 1911, and appeals to the experiences following the former year in answer to the three questions which he asks: "Did business automatically improve, and the political situation with it? Was politics simply shaken off as an influence on finance? Or did the business world discover, after all, that there was more good than bad in the political upheaval of the day?" Mr. Noyes's answer to these questions, as indeed his whole article, is a useful contribution to our thoughts on business, on politics, and on history. "Possibly," he concludes, "when what is now controversy has become settled history, even the most conservative and old-fashioned of us will understand why, in the normal course of human progress, it was necessary that in 1911 the House of Lords should be shorn of its hereditary veto power; that the continental proletariat should revolt against increasing taxes, extravagant armaments, and excessive cost of living; that decrepit monarchical systems should be swept away; and that the United States government should demand the dissolution of industrial combinations, which in the wild 'promotion period' of the past ten

years had acquired absolute or potentially absolute dictatorial power over American industry."

J. H. D.



Every labor-saving device, whether a mechanical contrivance or an improvement in any of the processes of production or distribution of wealth, increases ground rent; for it enables us to produce more wealth from or on the land in use. The question is whether the world is to discount to the privileged few, for all time to come, the vast improvements in organized society that are taking place.—[Of unknown authorship.]



A law case was proceeding in old Mexico, and a mining expert was on the stand as a witness.

"Where were you born, sir?" inquired the lawyer.

"In England, sir."

"How many times have you crossed the Atlantic?"

"Twenty times."

The lawyer jumped up and addressed the judge:

"Your honor, I impeach the veracity of this witness. He says he was born in England and has crossed the Atlantic twenty times. It would be impossible for him to have crossed the Atlantic that number of times and be on this side now. There is perjury here, your honor. His visits to this side would make odd numbers, and his visits to the other side even numbers, and yet he is here and has the audacity to swear he has crossed the Atlantic twenty times. I impeach him, your honor."

"How do you explain this, sir?" asked the judge sternly.

"Why," said the witness, "the last time I came to this country I came by way of the Pacific Ocean." —Saturday Evening Post.



Lincoln once told a distinguished New Yorker that he was thinking of taking Seward, Chase and Cameron, all of whom had opposed him, into his Cabinet. The New Yorker said, "They will eat you up." The President-elect replied, with great solemn-

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.

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Mr. Mills is a constructive thinker and powerful orator of international reputation, and this lecture will mark an epoch in the lives of some of the hearers. All welcome to the best seats, free.

RIVER FOREST, ILLINOIS

Louis F. Post will speak here, March 21st, on the subject of "Good and Bad Trusts."

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Charles Frederick Adams of New York will lecture here, under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association (Frederick H. Monroe, President, 538 Dearborn St., Chicago), on the 21st of March.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

Charles Frederick Adams of New York will lecture here, under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association (Frederick H. Monroe, President, 538 Dearborn St., Chicago), on the 22nd and 23rd of March.

SUPERIOR, NEBRASKA

Charles Frederick Adams of New York will lecture here, under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association (Frederick H. Monroe, President, 538 Dearborn St., Chicago), on the 15th of March.

Are You Going to Florida?

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

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ity, "No, I think they will eat each other up."—
Woman's Journal.



The unsophisticated visitor looked at the tall buildings.

"Call 'em skyscrapers, do you?" he said.

"Yes; that's the name they usually go by," the old resident answered.

Then he looked at the pall of smoke overhead.

"Don't seem to do a very good job o' scrapin'," he grumbled.

—Chicago Tribune.



"Miss Fanny, is that a langwidge that man's talking?" "Yes, Rose; he is a German, and he is studying English." "Why, Miss Fanny, ye don't have to study English; ye jes' opens your mouth and talks!"

—Woman's Journal.

What Has Become

of the dirt?

That's the first question you ask when you rinse out the clothes after they've been soaped with Fels-Naptha and soaked in cool or lukewarm water.

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