

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Presidential Election.

At last we are upon the threshold of what may possibly prove to be the most historic of all our Presidential elections since the one at which the Republican party was born. On the other hand, this election may go into the scrap pile of political history, along with those distinguished by the forgotten Liberal Republican protest of 1872, the Greenback diversion later on, the still later Populist upheaval, the Ben Butler affair of the middle eighties, and the Hearst fiasco of 1908. All will depend upon the fortunes next week of the Roosevelt movement—whether it has produced a new political party, or is only a passing expression of a restless man's ambition and audacity.



So far as can be calmly judged on the eve of election, the Roosevelt party, as a party, is ephemeral. Its vote, which may or may not be large, will be disappointingly small if political psychology holds good. For reasonable is the inference that all Roosevelt voters are exclamatory, proud of their revolt from old parties and correspondingly boastful; and an exclusively exclamatory vote is certain to be smaller than it promises. But even if the vote for Roosevelt be not disappointing, this alone will afford no assurance that his party is the strong progressive movement that its genuinely progressive adherents fondly think of it as being. The strength of his party is not to be inferred from the

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vote for himself. It is to be inferred from the Progressive Party vote on other offices than that for which he is its candidate. This may by sheer possibility be as large as Roosevelt's. If it is so, or but approximately so, the new-party significance will be great. But to the extent that there is a difference between the vote for Roosevelt electors and the vote for other candidates, to that extent will the basis be wider or narrower for considering the Progressive Party a real party, or only a temporary tail to Mr. Roosevelt's political kite.



Of the merits of the Roosevelt candidacy irrespective of its spectacular personalism, there is by no means as much of a favorable nature to be said as the social service enthusiasts who have been sucked into the Roosevelt current think. The special reforms its platform advocates afford no special reason for supporting his candidacy. So far as a "vote of principle" for those reforms is concerned, it would be just as pronounced and quite as effective if given to Mr. Debs instead of to Mr. Roosevelt. This is of course no reason for voting for Debs, but it illustrates the weakness of most of the "social justice" arguments in behalf of Roosevelt. The error in all that kind of argument is the assumption that political campaigns turn upon catalogues of grievances or of reforms. The Greenback Party, the Populist Party, the Prohibition Party have exemplified this error significantly in American politics. To be sure, all platforms are customarily loaded with like catalogues. But this is done on the theory of catching a few votes here, or avoiding casual opposition there. The under current in all political campaigns is with reference, not to miscellaneous reforms, however good, but to political tendencies. Before the Civil War it was not so much the details of regulating slavery that gave their power to political currents, as the question of slavery itself. In the days of Greenbackism and Populism it was not so much the particular economic reforms that were politically vital, as the tendency of those early movements to break down the defensive walls of plutocracy. In the Bryan campaign of 1896, when the Democratic Party entered upon its regenerating experience, it was not the silver and gold question, but a question of tendencies, that made the contest worth while. Bryan personified the progressive tendency, Hanna and McKinley the reactionary. A somewhat similar situation confronts the people today, although the Republican Party is now involved and shibboleths have altered.



And the vital tendencies in this campaign, what

are they? They oscillate about the deeper meanings of the question of Protection or Free-trade. So far as this comprehensive issue takes shape in minute reforms with reference to what Mr. Roosevelt calls "social justice," the proposals of Mr. Roosevelt and his party are of the Protective character. That is, their tendency is not to throw off the shackles that Plutocracy has fastened upon Industry; it is to pad them within for comfort and to gild them without for beauty. As Brandeis says: "The new party, with its program of a few specific and desirable measures which would mitigate some of the evils of the existing industrial conditions, is purposing only to take a certain paternal care of the American workingman, who, if given a fair field, could, in the main, take care of himself." So far as the issue of Protection or Free-trade takes shape with reference to the one great national question of social justice, excessive custom-house taxation, Mr. Roosevelt and his party take a positive stand for Protection. Nor is this on any ground of temporary necessity, as in the case of excluding Southern Negroes, or of ruling progressive but at present inexpedient declarations out of the platform. They stand for Protection as a *sound political and moral principle*, as one of the chief stones of the corner in their political temple. The only difference between them and Mr. Taft in this respect is that they would give everybody the benefit of custom-house Protection. That is something which Mr. Taft wouldn't concede as a difference. And it is in fact in no way different from what plutocrats have always claimed for Protection. The position of Mr. Roosevelt is hardly satirized by Kiser when he writes: "I'd have a tariff that would make the cost of livin' small, and keep up prices everywhere, with benefits for all." On this great national phase of social justice Mr. Roosevelt and his party stand in principle where the Republican Party has always stood, where Mr. Taft stands today, where Mr. Roosevelt and his party stand with reference to other phases of the social justice question. They stand in principle for that species of social "justice" which would protect the industrious poor with benevolences supplied out of what is first protected away from them. In its essence this is not social justice at all, but plutocratic paternalism. And this is the tendency of both the Progressive Party of Roosevelt and of the party from which it "bolts," the Republican Party of Taft.



The tendency of the Wilson candidacy is, on the other hand, clearly away from Protection as matter of principle; and as matter of immediate action, as far away from Protection in practice as indus-

trial complications supported by Constitutional buttresses and public opinion will presently permit. A vote for Wilson is a vote against the principle of Privilege. How far in the direction of abolishing Privilege Mr. Wilson *can* go if elected, will depend very much upon the popular backing he has. The larger his vote the greater his power to overcome the obstacles that plutocrats and spoilsmen will thrust in his way. How far he *will* go, the opportunity being afforded, will depend upon himself. No one can make predictions for him more than for any other man, except upon the basis of his record in politics. But the record is all in his favor. As a candidate for Governor and now for President, Mr. Wilson has personally been more defiant than any other Presidential candidate at this election has been in any campaign time, of the bosses, financial or political, who could have served him and would have served him had he dealt tenderly with them. As Governor of New Jersey he has officially done more that goes to prove the genuineness of his declarations against Privilege, than Mr. Taft has done in four years at the White House or Mr. Roosevelt did in all his seven years there.



#### La Follette on Roosevelt.\*

Mr. Roosevelt's worthiness for leadership in the Progressive movement could not be better known or understood by anyone than by Senator La Follette. Senator La Follette stood alone among Republican leaders in the Senate in the heat of the Progressive fight, when President Roosevelt, who might have helped mightily, helped not at all, but hindered; and Senator La Follette deserves public confidence in his veracity and in his loyalty to principle. But Senator La Follette does not testify to Roosevelt's worthiness. On the contrary he declares him unworthy. And he proves his case.



In the latest of the historical articles which Senator La Follette is publishing in La Follette's magazine, a continuation of those he recently published in the American Magazine, he charges that Roosevelt's candidacy was induced, by the Special Interests in order to "capture, or to divide and checkmate the Progressive movement." To reasonable observers of political affairs during the past ten years, this charge needs no direct corroboration. The circumstantial evidence in support of it would convict of murder, if murder were the offense. It is overwhelming. But La Follette does not trust to circumstantial evidence alone. He testifies.

\*See Publics of August 2, page 722; and October 4, page 939.

Regarding some of the more recent facts in the matter, Senator La Follette goes on to say of Roosevelt:

Until he came into the open as a candidate five months before the [regular Republican] convention, there had been a strong and rapidly growing Progressive movement within the Republican party. It was based on clearly defined principles and stood forth as the representative of modern political thought on fundamental democracy. It had assumed national proportions and was united. Into this movement, when it gave promise of national success, Roosevelt projected his ambition to be President a third time.

Mr. Roosevelt's facility for finding new folks to fool as fast as those he is through with have found him out, must have some psychological reason. Probably a hint of it appears in the old anecdote of the boy whose father objected to his going to dancing school. "But father," urged the boy, "didn't you and mother go to dancing school when you were young?" To the father's explanation that they did, but had seen the folly of it, the boy replied: "Well, father, I want to see the folly of it, too."



#### More Important Politics.

Who is elected President is of secondary importance to the questions of taxation to be voted on next week in Missouri and Oregon. It would be beyond all reason to expect the progressive side on these questions to win its first battle over the tremendous political power of the Interests, which are arrayed against it. But serious political battles, with real political and financial enemies, are being fought; and out of the result next Tuesday, be that result what it may, will come new energy and better opportunity for the next battle.



#### The Tax Amendment in Missouri.

Describing at page 1010, the tax amendment to be voted on in Missouri next Tuesday, we caused a mistaken impression by saying that "in 1920 and thereafter land values would bear," under that Amendment if adopted, "the whole tax burden." The error was due in part to a misapprehension of ours as to the text of the Amendment. We had mistaken the draft as reported at page 1030 of The Public for October 6, 1911, for the revised form as finally filed. The form as filed, being the Amendment on which the vote of next Tuesday is to be taken, is as follows:

Section 1. All property now subject to taxation shall be classified for purposes of taxation and for exemption from taxation, as follows:

**Class One** shall include all personal property. All

bonds and public securities of the State, and of the political subdivisions and municipalities thereof, now or hereafter issued, shall be exempt from all taxes, State and local, from and after the adoption of this amendment; and all other personal property shall be exempt from all taxes, State and local, in the year 1914 and thereafter; provided that nothing in this amendment shall be construed as limiting or denying the power of the State to tax any form of franchise, privilege or inheritance.

**Class Two** shall include all improvements in or on lands, except improvements in or on lands now exempt from taxation by law. In the years 1914 and 1915, all property in **Class Two** shall be exempt from all taxes, State and local, to the extent of one-fourth of the assessed value of such property; in the years 1916 and 1917, to the extent of two-fourths; in the years 1918 and 1919 to the extent of three-fourths, and in the year 1920 and thereafter all property in **Class Two** shall be exempt from all taxes, State and local; provided, however, that in the year 1914 and thereafter, the improvements to the extent of \$3,000 in assessed value on the homestead of every householder or head of a family, shall be exempt from all taxes, State and local.

**Class Three** shall include all lands in the State, independent of the improvements thereon or therein, except lands now exempt from taxation by law, and shall also include all franchises for public service utilities, and no property in **Class Three** shall ever be exempt from taxation by law, and shall also include all franchises for public service utilities, and no property in **Class Three** shall ever be exempt from taxation.

Section 2. All property subject to taxation in this State shall be assessed for taxes at its true and actual value.

Section 3. No poll tax shall be levied or collected in Missouri, nor shall any tax whatsoever be levied or imposed on any person, firm, merchant, manufacturer, trade, labor, business, occupation or profession under the form or pretext of a license for revenue after December 31, 1913, but nothing herein shall be construed as affecting the licensing of any business, occupation, profession, place or thing in the interest of the public peace, health or safety; and nothing herein contained shall be construed as changing the present laws governing the regulation of the manufacture and sale of fermented, vinous and spirituous liquors.

Section 4. The existing Constitutional limitations upon the rates of taxation for State, County, School and Municipal purposes shall have no force and effect after January 1, 1914.

Section 5. The General Assembly shall provide the legislation necessary to secure full and effective compliance with the purposes and intent of this amendment. Nothing in this amendment shall be construed to limit the initiative and referendum power reserved by the people.

From the above full text of the pending Amendment it will be seen that *nothing in the Amendment is to be "construed as limiting or denying the power of the State to tax any form of franchise, privilege or inheritance,"* and that the property named as in *the non-exempt class includes*

not only "all lands in the State, independent of the improvements thereon or therein," except those now exempt by law, but also "*all franchises for public service utilities.*" Land values in the ordinary sense would not bear the whole burden of taxation after 1920 in consequence of this Amendment.



### Congressional Candidates.

When the next Congress convenes, it will be well for the public interests if these names appear upon the roll:

Henry George, Jr. (Democrat), of the 21st district of New York.

Carl J. Buell (Democrat), at large for Minnesota.

Warren Worth Bailey (Democrat), of the 19th district of Pennsylvania.

Edward Frensdorf (Democrat), at large for Michigan.

John C. Vaughan (Democrat), of the 2nd district of Illinois.

Arthur W. Fulton (Progressive Republican), of the 6th district of Illinois.

Frank Buchanan (Democrat), of the 7th district of Illinois.

Henry T. Rainey (Democrat), of the 20th district of Illinois.

James M. Graham (Democrat), of the 21st district of Illinois.

Victor L. Berger (Socialist), of the 5th district of Wisconsin.

Martin D. Foster (Democrat), of the 23rd district of Illinois.

Charles M. Thomson (Progressive Party), of the 10th district of Illinois.

Clyde H. Tavenner (Democrat), of the 14th district of Illinois.

Charles G. Heifner (Democrat), of the Seattle district in Washington.

George L. Record (Progressive Party), of New Jersey.

David J. Lewis (Democrat), of Maryland.

Edward Keating (Democrat), of Colorado.

William Kent (Independent), of California.



### Sulzer in New York.

Strenuous efforts to elect Mr. Straus, the Roosevelt candidate for Governor of New York, are being made, and in this connection the race question, for by birth Mr. Straus is a Jew, has been raised in his favor. Not a very desirable method of campaigning, that; for a race question is a race question whichever way you use it. But it turns out that Mr. Straus's relation to the Jews of New York is somewhat as Bob Ingersoll's was to Presbyterians. This may be good or not in itself, but it is not a good card politically, when the race question is up in the household. In the same connection it transpires that Mr. Sulzer in his long career in Congress, and pursuant to his policy of

drawing no race nor class lines, has by long service won the confidence of his Jewish constituents. However all this may be, the reports that Mr. Sulzer's campaign gives high promise of his election are a welcome assurance of much needed democratic progress in the Democratic party of New York. Mr. Sulzer has the will and the skill; in case of his election as Governor, it only remains to see whether he will have the courage, to make regenerate his party in New York. We are glad to testify our own confidence in his use of this opportunity when it comes to him. His apprenticeship in New York politics has been long and trying; his opportunity for independent statesmanship appears to be at hand.



#### Ferris and Helme in Michigan.

Another opportunity occurs to the progressive voters of Michigan, regardless of party, to place in the gubernatorial chair of that State an able and uncompromising democrat of the fundamental variety. We refer to Woodbridge H. Ferris. As the Democratic candidate for that office in 1904, he polled a phenomenally large vote, for he commanded the confidence of thousands across party lines. In this respect he has grown stronger and the occasion is more propitious. Republican though the State still is in its general party complexion, partisanship is at such a discount now that political intelligence may have a chance to express itself. With Mr. Ferris as candidate for Governor, goes J. W. Helme as candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Helme also is a democratic Democrat. Their election next week would be hailed by the politically re-born, as good news from Michigan.



#### For Governor of Illinois.

The contest for Governor of Illinois is between Edward F. Dunne and Governor Deneen. The most enthusiastic prophets for Roosevelt for first place in Illinois are exclaiming that the Roosevelt candidate for Governor, Mr. Funk, has no chance whatever of election, and Mr. Roosevelt's Big-Business followers in Illinois are out in the open for Governor Deneen. Some of them are so much more solicitous for Deneen than for Roosevelt that they are smoothly sliding over to Taft, lest by supporting Roosevelt they may help defeat Deneen. The test is on; the acid bites. Big Business knows its official friends, and Edward F. Dunne is not one of them. He proved his "inefficiency" for *their kind of work* when he was Mayor of Chicago. It would be an excellent thing to give him a chance to prove it as Governor of Illinois.

#### A Tricky Tax Proposal in Illinois.

On the advisory or "little ballot" to be voted in Illinois next Tuesday will be found a tax amendment to the Constitution. Ostensibly it is a progressive amendment. In fact it is reactionary. Its effect, were this amendment actually made, would be to favor Chicago security dealers with tax exemptions while tying up exemptions of every other kind of property. It is a tricky amendment, and the right way to vote on it is to vote against it. Let no legislature receive popular advice to adopt such an insincere proposal. When the legislature gives the Initiative and Referendum to the people of Illinois in response to the favorable vote of the people under this identical "little ballot" law, an equitable tax amendment can be submitted. A favorable vote on this tricky one would give any "jackpot" legislature a further excuse for again postponing action on the "I. and R." amendment.



#### Tammany in California.

One of the curious historical reasons for the wide-spread secret influence of Tammany is the extent to which the pioneer politicians of such States as California were originally young New Yorkers trained in Tammany's close organization. Broderick knew and admired Tammany; and all over California, in counties and cities, ever since the early fifties, the Tammany traditions of close discipline and "anything for success" have deeply influenced public affairs. Too often in the inner circles of the Californian Democracy the whisper that such a man "got his training with Tammany" has been all-powerful. The younger Democracy of the State is now breaking away from this deadly notion that Tammany is something admirable and wonderful. But it has lasted so long, and is so deeply rooted that it is hard to destroy. It was really Tammany methods in California that James King of William, and a long line of sturdy fighters for the past sixty years, have come up against. On the other hand, William R. Hearst and Theodore Bell are today the survivors and exponents of those Tammany political methods which so long ruled California and especially San Francisco, and which at the present time care nothing at all for the Presidency, but will sacrifice everything to control the next California legislature. The baneful influence of men like Burns, Rainey, Crimmins, Buckley, Ruef, and of the "Big Business leaders" for whom these men were mere lieutenants, is still very strong in California; it is in truth the Tammany ideal of public life, and the chances are that it will give progressive Cali-

fornians much to think about in the next few years.



### An Electoral Curiosity.

The agitation for disfranchisement of citizens for not voting, ought to be catalogued as a curiosity. Isn't disfranchising a man for disfranchising himself a little like hanging a man for committing suicide?



### Conservation.

Some spellbinders make the welkin ring with what they don't know about "conservation." A favorite "stunt" of theirs is to pronounce the "conservation of *natural* resources" as less important than the "conservation of *human* resources." Since human resources cannot be conserved if natural resources are not conserved, what's the use of such talk? As well say at once that the planet out of which man must get his food is less important to man than food.



## THE STRENGTH AND THE WEAKNESS OF PROTECTION.

There seems to be a fixed and abiding belief on the part of many people that a protective tariff builds up a country, raises wages, and elevates the standard of living. Nay, they go so far as to say that the nation enjoys prosperity, or suffers adversity, just to the degree that the Republican party gains or loses power.

It matters not that wages in this country were high before that party was born; or that the country was prosperous prior to the enactment of the high tariff. It cuts no figure that the conditions of labor are hard in other countries enjoying Protective tariffs, or that wages are higher in Free-trade England than in Protection France and Germany. Nor does it matter that the great panic of 1873 occurred while the Republican party was in control of the government, and the financial disaster of 1907 found the same party in power. Despite the fact that of the three panics that have occurred in this country since the advent of the high tariff, two have been under Republican and one under Democratic auspices, men—and men, too, who are intelligent upon other matters—gravely charge hard times to Democratic Free-trade, and good times to Republican Protection.

Wherein lies the vitality of the protective tariff? What is it that, in spite of its crudities, its absurdities, and its injustices, keeps it before the people as a successful political issue?

Are not the Free-traders themselves to blame in some measure for their lack of success in attacking Protectionism? Have they not by their faintheartedness and their lack of self-conviction led the Protectionist to interpret the strength of his own position by the mildness of the assault?

In a word, has not the discussion been confined too much to schedules and percentages? Has it not too much ignored rights and equities?

The Protectionist is bold and impetuous. He bluntly declares thus and so, and offers as proof the condition of the country.

His opponent meets the charge with a compilation of statistics that few read and fewer understand.

The average man is not gifted in the niceties of logic. He reasons broadly, and he feels deeply. Ask him to vote on election day, and he will consider his own convenience. But call upon him to bear arms against a common foe, and he will lay down his life for his country. Does not this indicate that the line of attack should be through an appeal to the altruistic, rather than to the egoistic nature?



It is well to demonstrate the material advantages of freedom of trade, for there can be no objection to a man's enjoying the fruits of his own rectitude; yet, since the demonstration must be made in the face of ignorance and prejudice, it may well be doubted if it would not be easier to reach the understanding by an immediate appeal to the conscience.

Men might have argued and disputed for centuries upon the economic advantages of free labor over slave labor, and the slave would have remained in servitude. It was the appeal to man's conscience, to his inherent sense of justice, that swept away chattel slavery.

And is there not a moral phase to the tariff question? Does it not involve a consideration of natural rights? And will it not be found in the last analysis that a restraint of trade is an abridgment of liberty?



The modern world has come definitely to recognize man's right to his own person. This embraces something more than a mere material possession. It involves the right to do whatever he pleases, so long as he infringes not the same right of his fellows.

Economically considered, this means that man shall not only possess his own body, but all that he may create. The fruits of his hands are his to keep, to sell, or to give away. To take from him

the fruits of his labor is to deprive him of a natural and inalienable right. This is the very essence of liberty. It is this that man has fought for during the past ages, and now prizes as his most precious possession.

But modern society has become very complex.

Man is now surrounded by such intricate laws and customs that it is not always easy to see their true relations, nor to realize their real effect. Thus it has come about that designing persons have been able to make inroads upon individual liberty in such a way that the victims are not aware that their rights have been invaded. To right the wrong, therefore, it is necessary to appeal to the sense of justice.



And where can be found a clearer case than that of a Protective tariff?

Its very purpose is to keep out cheaper goods from abroad, and by so doing to enable the home producer to charge a higher price. This means, in simple terms, that a man who has raised wheat, and who could get a coat abroad for ten bushels, must pay fifteen bushels for a coat made in this country. Is not that depriving the wheat grower of five bushels against his will, and without any return? The government may take part of his wheat in payment of service rendered him; that raises another issue. But by what right does it take from him these five bushels, and give them to a coat maker?

The fact that it is done avowedly for the good of the wheatgrower begs the question. The master could claim that he held the slave for his own good; that he clothed, fed and housed him, and set him in the way of civilization. Any tyrant, indeed, could claim that he was protecting his subjects from evils they would otherwise bring upon themselves.

The essential part of liberty lies in the fact that each man shall determine for himself what is for his own good.

Should a number of citizens think it better to buy at home than abroad, it is their right to practice that belief. They may form themselves into a society pledged to use only home-made goods. But they have no right, no matter what their number, to compel others to join them.

So long as one man wishes to exchange the fruits of his labor with a foreigner, it is his right to do so.



The state's invasion of private affairs has not only deranged business, but it has corrupted the conscience of the people, and endangered free in-

stitutions. The highest civic duty today is to abolish Privilege; and the Protective tariff is the first that lies in the way.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.



## HISTORICAL PARALLELS IN POLITICS.

Peculiar interest attaches to the present campaign because of the historical parallels which it has pressed upon us.



Wilson's speech to the Chicago press association in September, as also an earlier one at Springfield, Massachusetts, suggests again and again Lincoln's great speech of October 4, 1854, in which he says of the Southern people: "They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them they would not introduce it. . . . I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself."\*

Wilson says in very much the same tone and in the same clear and eloquent language, that the great masters of industry who have done so much to undermine the institutions of their country must be handled with the utmost caution and judgment, but with unrelenting firmness, lest the remedy which we apply at this belated day result in injury to us all and in the entrenching of the very evil powers which we would destroy.

Upon reading those Wilson addresses, one turns involuntarily to Lincoln's speeches for the parallel.

Others, less kindly disposed toward the Governor of New Jersey than some of the rest of us have been, may be quoted as saying, after Wilson's Lincoln day speech in Chicago last winter: "Somehow the man reminds me of Lincoln, both in his language and in his intellectual method; his candidacy is too good a thing for our methods, we can not expect such a man to receive the nomination from either of our conventions." This was said by a famous historical scholar and writer who has always, but once, voted the Republican ticket but who is now a Wilson man.



When Roosevelt broke with the Republican Party, many of us thought at once of the Van Buren secession from the old Democratic Party in 1848. This secession defeated Lewis Cass and helped the anti-slavery Democrats of the North to break away from their life-long political moorings; and it was a forerunner of the enthusiastic Fremont campaign. Roosevelt has destroyed the

\*Miss Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. I, page 283.

chances of Mr. Taft, who had not, however, like Cass with Van Buren, played him false on a previous occasion and caused him to fail of a nomination which he thought he carried in his "vest pocket." In 1844, Cass and his Northwestern Democrats, it will be remembered, entered into a "deal" with certain Southern leaders to defeat Van Buren, who had a large majority of the delegates to the Democratic national convention which nominated Polk.



But a more interesting parallel appears when we compare Roosevelt with Douglas, whose scheme of settling the slavery problem in the Territories was one which evaded the issue, and promised a peaceful solution which could not be a solution at all, and which therefore naturally drew to Douglas both ardent pro-slavery men like Henry A. Wise, Governor of Virginia, and anti-slavery men like Horace Greeley.

Roosevelt's trust solution attracts ardent monopolists of the Perkins type, and fine-spirited humanitarians like Miss Jane Addams.

Douglas, however, brought about the final overthrow of the great party of slavery, and made certain the election of Lincoln, whose work, aided by the foolhardy moves of the pro-slavery men, resulted in the downfall of the power which at that time was as great a menace to democracy as is that of the trusts today.



At Milwaukee, Roosevelt said in the last paragraph of his speech: "I have said nothing that I could not substantiate and nothing I ought not to have said—nothing that, looking back I wouldn't say again. I am all right."

This ought to be a great consolation to him; few of the rest of us could say as much—none, I fear, if we thought we faced death.

The only similar instance I can find in history is that of Philip II, when he said to his confessor a few days before his death:\* "If I have ever committed an act of injustice, it was unwittingly, or because I was deceived in the circumstances. In all my life, I have never consciously wronged any man."

The confessor of the great Catholic prince said that Philip found much pleasure in contemplating his career of perfect rectitude.

These unconscious testimonials of great men tell us more about their real characters and purposes than the most elaborate speeches and programs.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

\*Mortley's History of the United Netherlands, Vol. III, 474.

## THE SILENCE OF GREAT CONCLUSIONS.

Mahomet, the camel-driver came in from the night and the desert to say things very quietly to his family, in his tent, which began a new religion and moved great armies, in the end, from Arabia to the borders of Italy and France.

Loyola, an Iberian of the old Basque provinces—a vastly quiet man, a wonderful worker, and a most interesting man, perhaps by racial stock a son of lost Atlantis,—Loyola created his great Order of Jesuits in the same astonishing and all-powerful spirit of mute consecration.

Now, whenever any man of worth is impressed with a great need, a great thought, a great emotion, he locks it fast, he holds it in, he becomes in the language of the politicians "difficult to place." When one finds that many persons are passing through this experience, and are locking up their conclusions, one may be certain that things will ultimately happen.

All over this country the one most curious element politically is the extent to which the currents are out of sight. There are new forces; there is a new sort of quiet resolve to get results; there is a vast, slow ground swell. Thus it happens that none of the politicians in any of the parties can get a line on the way that the plain people are going to vote this year. But those of us who move among the plain people, work with them, belong to them, and understand the way in which they struggle towards great conclusions (which they cannot put into words, but which they can vote for now and then)—are sure of one thing, that more men than ever before are humbly trying this year to think in terms of social science.

Men are asking themselves, "How shall one so vote as to best help his fellows everywhere?" Against this earnestness the ordinary campaign arguments fall very flat; spell-binders cannot work their old charms; party lines are no longer authoritative. Under such circumstances the mystery and the power of the secret ballot are intensified beyond measure. This is one of the epochal years in which the plain voters are going to surprise a great many people.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



"The sthraw vote seems to show—" Mr. Hennessy began.

"Ye can't take annythin' so sthrong as American pollyticks through a sthraw vote," said Mr. Dooley.—F. P. Dunne in Chicago Tribune of Oct. 27.



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## CONDENSED EDITORIALS

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### THE INSANE ASSAULT UPON ROOSEVELT.

From William J. Bryan's Indianapolis Speech of October 16, 1912, as Reproduced in The Commoner of October 25.

The suggestion that the assailant was led to make the attack because of newspaper criticism, is a far-fetched one.

I have been a careful reader of the papers since last June, and I am quite sure that the Taft papers have been no more bitter in their assaults upon Mr. Roosevelt than the Roosevelt papers have been in their assaults upon Mr. Taft; and neither side has attacked the other with more virulence than both have attacked the Democrats in campaigns past.

I can show you as bitter things said against me by both the friends of Mr. Taft and the friends of Mr. Roosevelt as the friends of either have said against the other. The papers say many things that they ought not to say, but I know of no party that is guiltless in this matter.

A nation sits anxiously by the ex-President's bedside, hoping that the wound is not a serious one, but Mr. Roosevelt's supporters must not use this attack to protect themselves and their position from just criticism.



### PROFESSION VERSUS PERFORMANCE.

By Senator La Follette in La Follette's Weekly of October 26, 1912.

In weighing the course which it was my duty to take when Roosevelt became an open and aggressive candidate, claiming the leadership of the Republican Progressive movement, I reviewed the record of his official life.

He had given utterance to many strong progressive declarations. Taken by themselves, they would persuade the most ardent progressive. At times this side of the man had led me to be hopeful that he might support our movement, and with his prestige as a former President, if he would but hold fast, give us greatly added strength.

But to commit the progressive cause to his control, to stake all on his remaining steadfast, to "follow, follow, follow, wherever he would lead,"—quoting the refrain of those so-called Progressives who did follow him unquestioningly—compelled me, whenever this momentous question came up in a serious way, and before taking the final step, to go back along the course over which this man had come and see whether he had left a straight or a crooked trail.

Important events blazed that trail, which established its general course and direction. More than that—which was the vital thing now—it pointed the way he would certainly go in the future.

There was his record on the coal land bill.

His sponsorship for the Hepburn bill, which was in fact little more than a sham.

His shiftiness on the value of railroad property as a basis for rate regulation.

His aversion to the anti-trust law and his combination and trust policy which, despite his verbal assaults on trusts, steadily strengthened and encouraged the growth of monopoly.

His strong support of the Aldrich-Cannon standpat tariff program.

His confidential relations with Morgan, Perkins, Frick, Harriman, and those associated with them in the interlocking directorates controlling the Big Business of the country.

And his uniform policy of opposition to the progressive movement in Wisconsin and other States.

Each of these, by itself, would shatter, for the time being, confidence in Roosevelt's integrity of purpose.

But it would be followed by such vigorous and apparently sincere denunciation of the evils of Privilege, as again to make one believe in and trust him.

But when reviewed in their relation, one with another, in this great crisis in the life of the progressive movement, I could not conscientiously accept him as a leader of the progressive movement.



### LEGISLATURES UNDER HATS.

Woodrow Wilson in a Speech at Hartford, Conn., as Reported in the New York Times of Sept. 26, 1912.

In the great State of Oregon on the Pacific Coast they have the Initiative and the Referendum, and there is a certain gentleman named Mr. U'Ren who is at the center of a group of men who busy themselves in suggesting certain legislative reforms to be carried out upon the Initiative of the people themselves, and these gentlemen, by commending these measures to the general public, have transformed the government of the State of Oregon.

But the point I was about to make was this: When I last visited the State of Oregon I reached the City of Portland in that great State on a morning when there happened to be, in the leading newspaper of the city, an editorial to this effect: That there were two legislatures in Oregon—I think it was said with a sneer—one was at Salem, the capital of the State, and the other went around under Mr. U'Ren's hat.

I digested this statement, and when I came to speak in the evening I ventured upon this remark: "Now, I do not wish anybody to understand me as advocating the concentration of power in any man or in any group of men, but I simply wish to say that if I had my choice between a legislature that went around under the hat of somebody in particular whom I could identify and find, and a legislature that went around under God knows whose hat, I would choose the legislature that goes around under the hat of the recognizable individual. For I know and could tell those people that until very recent months nobody knew who wore the hat of the legislature of New Jersey, and that because the wearer of the hat was not disclosed, was not recognizable, could not be mentioned by name, the people of New Jersey had, for half a generation, been cheated after every election out of every reform upon which they had insisted.

## BACK TO THE LAND UNDER NEW LAND LAWS.

William Roysdon in the Champaign (Ill.) Daily Gazette.

Being interested with others in finding out why rich farm lands show less population than ten years ago, I thought the right person to ask was the one that had left the farm; so I asked the retired farmer why he had left the farm. He said he didn't want his children to wear themselves out on the farm the same as he had done. The old farmer has overlooked the fact that a tool that has worn out has accomplished all that it could do, while the tool that rusts out has accomplished nothing. Then I asked the renter who was loading his goods in the car to go West why he was leaving this rich farming country. He said he had been working a farm that hadn't cost the present landlord a cent but was informed the land was worth \$200 per acre and the rent must pay 5 per cent on the amount. In addition to giving the landlord 5 per cent on his \$200 land, he must do a certain amount of work on the farm without expense to the landlord. He said if he paid cash rent the chattel mortgage shark generally got a whack at him and if he paid grain rent he was looked upon with suspicion and as the landlord was constantly adding more land to his farm and becoming more arbitrary in his dealings with his tenants, he thought he would take a chance in the West, even if he lost. So it is evident that the large land owner is to some extent responsible for the decrease in population in this rich farming country. The history of Ireland proves this. The remedy will probably be found by changing our land laws and inheritance law. The law that permits a man to do business after he is dead doesn't smell good to me.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### AN ASSESSMENT SUGGESTION.

Baltimore, October 7, 1912.

One of your correspondents, Charles K. Hale, observes\* that as any application of Singletax approaches perfection (the taking of total rental values in taxes), a new basis of assessment will have to be found. Why can't the basis of assessment be computed by capitalizing the tax, say, on a 6 per cent basis, the way ground rents are capitalized in Baltimore?

To illustrate: A \$60 ground rent sells usually for \$1,000—a basis of 6 per cent. Suppose next year a tax of \$30 were imposed, reducing the \$60 to \$30 net. This would reduce the capitalized value to \$500. Yet there would be no necessity for changing the basis of assessment to \$500. Nothing more would be necessary than to consider the net rent of \$30 and the tax of \$30 together as "rent" or "tax" and let the assessment remain at \$1,000. The tax and the rental are really twins. When you put money in title deeds you simply buy a taxing power.

The possibilities of inequality by our present assessment method of capitalizing rental is much

greater than by the plan I suggest. For instance: I own a lot for which I paid \$2,500. It was assessed for \$400 for six years after I bought it. In the meantime somebody else was paying my taxes. Now if the ground rent alone had been considered, and a percentage taken, this inequality would not be so probable.

Some of our counties here have two bases of assessment, the one for county purposes higher than for State purposes. This is productive of the greatest inequality. Baltimore returns for State purposes 80 per cent, some of the counties as low as 40 per cent.

This condition is prevalent everywhere. It was the cause of Lawson Purdy's suggestion that the State take a percentage of the money raised for local expenditures in each county, ignoring their basis of assessment entirely.

With nothing but land or ground rent values to consider, the problem of assessment would be materially simplified.

JOHN SALMON.



## THE RECENT VISIT OF MR. FELS TO NORWAY.\*

Chicago.

This year for the first time Mr. Fels went to Norway, where his presence and invigorating addresses at Christiania to large audiences, in the "Politechnical Society" on June 18th, and "Folkets Hus" (People's House) on June 20th, electrified those who heard him.

This momentous visit was not only desirable but very important. For in Norway the Singletax cause had strangely lagged, although it was a Norwegian, the much lamented Ullmann†, who a quarter of a century ago first introduced the Georgan philosophy into all the Scandinavian countries, and although the cause has made immense strides in Denmark and Sweden.

The predominating reason for this undoubted backwardness of the Georgan movement in Norway will, upon investigation, most probably be found in the nation's long political unrest—an unrest natural to the separation of Norway from Sweden, and natural, too, when a thoroughly democratic nation must make politic choice between republic and monarchy.

Now, however, when the old Viking spirit seems to have taken hold of the social and economic problems, this splendid race of sturdy, independent people may yet, to the honor and welfare of their country, forge to the front in the Georgan movement. This the prominence of the men lining up in support of the cause seems to insure. Among these supporters, besides N. Lieng, the editor of "Retfaerd," are found Arne Garborg, the famous poet; V. Valentinsen, member of the Storting (congress); S. Wielgolaski, Superior Court Attorney; Captain Trygve Kramer; O. Solnordal, lawyer; Kr. Kolkinn, importer; Prof. S. Michelet; and among school principals, teachers, civil engineers, literary men, etc., are found I. E. Miller, Larsen Berg, I. L. Elieson, Kr. Thorp Hansen, Thore Myrvang, P. M. Lauritzen and Ferd. Lyng.

C. M. KOEDT.

\*See Public of September 13, 1912, page 873.

†See Public of June 9, 1911, page 544.

\*See The Public of October 4, page 945.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, October 29, 1912.

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### The War in the Balkan Peninsula.

The war between the allied Balkan States and Turkey, over the question of freeing Macedonia and Albania from Turkish rule, has proceeded with a swiftness which has surprised the rest of Europe. [See current volume, page 1022.]



The Greeks, last of the allies to declare war, have made use of their fleet and have occupied Kastro, capital of the Island of Lemnos, in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, opposite to the entrance of the Dardanelles, and have hoisted the Greek flag. On the mainland, working northward, they have captured Sarfidje and other towns, and have won a decisive victory over the Turks in the Saramporo Pass, after a severe battle lasting all day and half the night in the moonlight. They claim to have inflicted very heavy losses upon the Turks. Greek officials have been appointed in all the Macedonian towns occupied.



The energetic little army of Montenegro, first in the field, and working southward, began the bombardment of the important Albanian town of Scutari on the 27th.



The Servians, coming down against their Turkish foes midway between Montenegro and Bulgaria and co-operating with troops from Montenegro, by the 23d had captured Novipazar in the far north of the Turkish sovereignty, at the end of the central railway line, not without considerable loss to themselves. After a desperate three days' battle at Kumanova, Servian and Bulgarian troops on the 26th took Uskup, one of the largest cities in northwest Turkey, and on the same railway line. The Turkish army defeated at Kumanova was ultimately captured, and large equipment of guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the Servians. A hundred villages of the region have surrendered to the Servians.



Greatest success of all won by the allies has been the advance of the Bulgarians to the ancient capital and important modern city of Adrianople, situated on the eastern railway line, and less than 150 miles in a straight line from Constantino-

ple. Kirk-Kilisseh, to the east of Adrianople, was taken by the Bulgarians by the 25th. By the 27th the Bulgarians had taken Eski-Baba, between Adrianople and Constantinople, and by the 29th Adrianople appeared to be suffering bombardment. The Turks defeated at Kirk-Kilisseh, instead of proceeding to the relief of Adrianople, took the road south to connect with the railway to Constantinople. By the 29th they had met with the army serving for the second line of defense for the protection of Constantinople, and the united forces were reported to have been trapped by the victorious Bulgarians, with escape to Constantinople cut off.



### Collapse of New Revolution in Mexico.

The sudden Diaz revolution of last week in Mexico collapsed in the city of Vera Cruz, the scene of its birth, on the 23rd, when General Felix Diaz and his small command fell into the hands of General Beltran, some reports say with little or no fighting. In any case none of the many foreign residents of Vera Cruz seem to have been injured. General Diaz and his chief officers were immediately tried by court martial, and on the 27th the leader and three of his officers were condemned to death; three officers received sentences each of ten years, and two more two years each; nine other officers and civilians were allowed to go free. General Davila, who presided over the court martial, refused to acknowledge the orders of the district judge to suspend the proceedings in the case of General Diaz and Major Zerate. General Beltran, military commander of the zone, has, however, accepted a writ of habeas corpus and has suspended the executions, leaving the prisoners temporarily at the disposition of the district court. Popular feeling is strong against carrying out the death sentences. [See current volume, page 1021.]



### Presidential Campaign Funds.

The financial statements filed at Washington by three of the political parties, as reported on the 26th, were as follows with reference to Presidential campaign accounts:

	Contributions.	Expenditures.
Republican .....	\$591,032.20	\$558,311.25
Democratic .....	678,364.00	562,618.21
Progressive .....	304,244.00	292,341.00



### Charter-Making in Los Angeles.

A new Charter for Los Angeles has been completed by the Board of Freeholders—all but the Administrative Code, which is to be to the Charter somewhat as legislation is to a constitution. The Code cannot be officially formulated until the Charter has been adopted; and the Charter must be first adopted by the people of

Los Angeles and then by the State legislature. Submission of the Charter to the people will be made at some date not yet reported prior to December 7th, and not improbably prior to November 27th. By the requirements of the Charter, as soon as the legislature shall have approved it the Board of Freeholders must prepare the Administrative Code and submit it to the city Council not later than April 5th. Thereupon the Council must submit it to the people of Los Angeles at the next primary election, to occur on the first Tuesday of May. But the provisions of the Code proposed for submission are not subject to the will of the Freeholders. Initiative petitions, if any are offered, must be submitted at the same time; and the ordinances proposed, whether by the Freeholders or by Initiative, must be submitted, not as one ordinance or code collectively, but in groups or separately. The Administrative Code will not be amendable by the Council after adoption by the people, nor in any other way than by Initiative. It will be in effect a part of the Charter, since it will prescribe the particular machinery for executing the general provisions of the Charter. As the Charter leaves open the method of electing officials, advocates of Proportional Representation\* intend making a campaign for the embodiment of their system in the Administrative Code. The work of drafting the Charter and of making the preliminary draft of the Code has been done chiefly by Lewis R. Works, Leslie R. Hewitt, John W. Shenk, W. B. Mathews, Meyer Lissner and Charles Wellborn, under the advice of other Freeholders and an advisory committee, and with the tireless help of John J. Hamilton, the secretary of the Board.



#### Another Post-mortem Victory for Tom L. Johnson.

A decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio on the 22nd sustains Tom L. Johnson's fight against the land-grabbing policy of the Pennsylvania Railroad in Cleveland. It will be remembered that at the time of Johnson's first election as Mayor of Cleveland there was an injunction against the completion of this grab by the then Mayor. The Council had already authorized it and their ordinance only awaited his signature. This injunction expired so soon after Johnson's election that the signing of the ordinance by his predecessor was regarded as a certainty, it being usual then for a Mayor-elect not to enter upon the duties of his office until several days after election. Ascertaining that this was a custom only, and that he might take office at once, Johnson qualified immediately, and taking possession of the office hardly an hour before the injunction expired, he vetoed the ordinance. The case has been in the Ohio courts ever since, Mayor Baker having inherited it officially and pushed it to a successful conclusion. As re-

\*See Public of September 20, page 903.

ported by the Cleveland Press of October 23, the decision ousts the Pennsylvania Railroad from Lake-front property lying between W. Ninth St. and the Cuyahoga river, and "gives the people of Cleveland a grip on the harbor situation which probably will result eventually in entire control." [See The Public of April 13, 1901 (vol. iv), page 2; current volume, page 998.]



#### Joseph Fels Fund and Singletax Conference.

The fourth annual meeting of the Joseph Fels Fund of America is officially announced to be held at Boston, Mass., on the 29th and 30th of November and the 1st of December. Coincident and co-operative with this meeting, the Commissioners of the Fund invite the assembling of a third unofficial Singletax conference of the United States. [See vol. xiv, pp. 1209, 1215, 1261; current volume, pages 76, 176.]



Following is the substance of the official call:

To Singletaxers: The third annual unofficial conference of Singletaxers in conjunction with the meeting of the Fels Fund Commission will be held at Boston on November 29th and 30th, and December 1st. Meetings at the Twentieth Century Club rooms; headquarters at the Bellevue Hotel.

This meeting will be the most important of any that have yet been held.

The fact that the Singletax, or some needed preliminary reform, will be an issue in a number of States at the elections on November 5th, the results of which will by that time be known, will make it necessary for this Conference to discuss many matters of importance. Reports will be received from the leaders in all the places where the fight is of special interest to our movement. Notable among these are W. S. U'Ren and Dr. W. G. Eggleston for Oregon, and Dr. William P. Hill, William Marion Reedy, Wm. A. Black and John Z. White for Missouri. Representation from California is also expected. Account will be taken of progress made, and plans for future work will be considered.

This announcement will, we believe, prompt those who were present at last year's Conference to make every effort to be present this year. We wish, however, this year to see new faces. Every Singletaxer, whether or not a contributor to the Fels Fund, is cordially invited to be present and to participate.

The Fels Fund Commission aims to spend wisely the money entrusted to it and is therefore desirous of having the suggestions, advice and criticism of all Singletaxers. But aside from their importance as councils of war, these gatherings are helpful to the cause through encouragement and inspiration imparted by the personal meeting of workers from widely separated places.

Public sessions will be held mornings, afternoons and evenings, according to the will of those present.

A public dinner will be one feature of the Conference. This will probably be on Saturday, November 30th. The details are yet to be arranged, but the price per plate will not exceed \$1. It would

aid materially in completing arrangements for the Conference if we might know approximately how many are expecting to attend the Conference and how many to be at the dinner. Early information on both points is requested.

Names and addresses of persons to whom a copy of this call might be usefully sent are solicited. Send them to the chairman of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio, without delay.

The call is signed by Charles H. Ingersoll, A. B. du Pont, Lincoln Steffens, J. H. Ralston, Frederic C. Howe, George A. Briggs and Daniel Kiefer, constituting the Commission, the last named being its Chairman.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Revolution in Ecuador is revived. [See current volume, page 851.]

—The federation of the British West Indian colonies is under consideration.

—James S. Sherman, Vice President of the United States, was reported in dispatches from Utica, N. Y., on the 28th as in a dying condition. [See current volume, page 607.]

—Katmai volcano, which caused great damage on the Alaskan peninsula and adjacent islands last June, is believed to be again in violent eruption. [See current volume, page 567.]

—The Panama Canal will be ready for its first ship passage on October 23, 1913, according to announcement from Washington on the 23rd. [See current volume, page 900.]

—Premier Berntsen introduced in the Danish parliament on the 23d a franchise reform bill whereby women will be allowed to vote and be eligible for seats in the lower house on the same terms as men. [See current volume, page 757.]

—Charles Becker, lieutenant of police in New York, was convicted of murder in the first degree, on the 22nd, by a jury before Recorder Goff. The charge of which he stands convicted is instigating the murder of Herman Rosenthal, a gambler who was exposing police graft. [See current volume, page 794.]

—The general elections in Norway were reported on the 22nd as going strongly against the Ministry. Out of 123 seats the returns for 95 were then complete. In the case of 47 of these the results were indecisive, requiring another election. Of the others only fourteen seats were won by the ministry. The Radicals had captured twenty-nine and the Socialists five.

—France and Spain are reported to have come to an agreement on the subject of Morocco. Under the treaty which it is expected will be signed next week, Morocco will be divided into two "zones of influence" on behalf of the two European nations. The town of Tangier and a zone around it will be international territory, according to a desire expressed by Great Britain. Tetuan, holy city of Morocco, will be the Spanish capital. The French high

commissioner will be at Fez. The treaty provides for close co-operation of the armed forces of France and Spain. [See current volume, page 804.]

—Theodore Roosevelt began a civil suit for damages and instituted criminal proceedings on the 25th in Michigan against George A. Newett, editor of the Ishpeming Iron Ore, for libel. The libelous words, as reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 26th, appeared in the Iron Ore of October 12th, as follows: "Roosevelt lies and curses in a most disgusting way; he gets drunk, too, and that frequently, and all his intimates know about it."

—Contrary to expectations the local authorities at Little Falls announced on the 22nd that they intended to continue the prosecution of Mayor Lunn of Schenectady. One of his associates—Rev. R. A. Bakeman—sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 for violation of city ordinance in addressing a strikers' meeting—has refused to pay the fine, and on the 22nd was committed to the county jail at Herkimer. [See current volume, page 1021.]

—Some accident to the only son of the Czar of Russia, a lad of eight years of age, has occurred, and apparently the boy has been seriously if not very dangerously injured. All sorts of causes for the injury have been assigned, including attacks upon his person by knife and bullet on the part of revolutionists, but no story is properly authenticated. The suicide of Admiral Chagin and the attempted suicide of a woman friend of the Admiral, a few days after the condition of the Czarewitch had become public, have been connected with the happening, some of the many narratives placing the scene of the accident on the royal yacht Standart, and assigning to the Admiral a degree of responsibility for the safety of the heir to "all the Russias." [See vol. xiv, p. 1004.]

—Banishment to Siberia will soon be a thing of the past if the bill now being prepared by the Russian minister of justice, according to press dispatches, becomes law. The bill will abolish penal servitude in Siberia, and will substitute the same punishment in the penitentiaries of European Russia, without compulsory settlement of the convicts after serving their sentences, which is to be superseded by police supervision. Since the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, Sachalin has been unavailable as a penal settlement. The number of convicts in Siberia has been increasing, and there have been bitter protests from the respectable free population of that country. The authorities have recognized the fact that the dumping of convicts in Siberia is seriously hampering the development of that country, and that there must be an alteration of the system.

—Excitement in Cuba over the Presidential elections to come off this week has been running high. Riots occurred in Havana on the 24th, and two persons were killed. The issues of the election are said to be personal rather than questions of principle. General Mario Menocal is the Conservative candidate, and Alfredo Zayas, the present Vice-President, is the Liberal candidate for President, President Gomez having agreed at his first election that he would not be a candidate for a second term. According to Sumner Curtis, writing in the Chicago

Record-Herald, the Cuban registration system, as arranged by Mr. Taft when, as Secretary of War, he straightened Cuba out, is "a permanent registration, with only such changes as are required to be made every four years because of deaths, removals and the coming of age of new voters. The system is regarded by many as superior to any in the United States." [See current volume, page 900.]

—A movement of Chicago teachers against a legislative bill of certain Chicago business associations for attaching vocational schools to the public school system of Illinois, crystallized on the 23rd in a teachers' organization for opposing the bill. The bill provides for a special superintendent of schools for the vocational, both industrial and commercial, departments. It also embraces the project of an entirely separate appropriation for the vocational school work, and another board of education. [See vol. xiii, pp. 972, 1106, 1142.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Wilson and Protection.

The (Boston) Free Trade Broadside, October.—When Woodrow Wilson was a student at Princeton, the most coveted undergraduate achievement was the winning of the Lynde Prize for extemporaneous debating. Preliminary contests were held among the members of each debating club, and then the selected teams competed. Wilson was recognized as the best debater in college, and was expected to win the prize. On the evening of the preliminary contest, the contestants were told the subject; this time it was to be "Protection vs. Free Trade." Then the debaters took sides by lot. Wilson put his hand into the hat and drew out a slip that required him to argue in favor of "Protection." He tore up the slip and returned to his seat. Nothing under heaven, he swore, would induce him to advance arguments for a thing in which he did not believe. He did not believe in "protection." So the Lynde Prize went to somebody else.



### The Safe Candidate for President.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), October 24.—"Taft-Safe-Taft" run the signs in the street cars, but I don't believe in signs. Now the one thing certain about Taft is that he is not safe. He is the victim of that excess of the judicial temperament which is as incalculable in its transmutation into action as the excess of the artistic temperament in Colonel Roosevelt. Taft's only gift is nullity—the faculty of being nowhere. Taft is as inconsistent as Roosevelt. . . . His administration has been a chaos. He was renominated only in desperation against the recurrence of Roosevelt. Taft emphatically is not safe. The third party had never come into being if he were safe. Taft lacks decision, lacks judgment of men, lacks tact, lacks initiative. . . . Taft does not trust the people. That is bad. But worse remains behind. He does not trust himself. He grapples nothing boldly. He is as uncertain as the wind, as weak as water. His hebetudinosity of mind sickles o'er with the pale cast of

thought, the native hue, rather faint at best, of resolution. Taft is another Hamlet, mentally fat and scant o' breath, a decent Falstaff who would to God his name was not so terrible to the enemy as it is. That Colonel Roosevelt is not safe "goes without saying." He is for anything and everything that may get votes. He is for control of the trusts—by the trusts. He is for State Socialism with himself as head of the State, and the Constitution, whatever he wills it to be, according to expediency as regards himself. Colonel Roosevelt has no judicial temperament. He is a law unto himself. His program involves a multitude of contradictions. His alliances are with forces identified with powers he professes the intention of regulating. His unsafeness is proved by his nihil obstat on Morgan's capture of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. He set aside the law for the Morgan interests "that are so friendly to us." The safe man for President is Woodrow Wilson. He says what he will do if chosen. We know he will do as he says, because he 'did so as Governor of New Jersey. He does not promise too much. He is not, he says, a machine to grind out remedies for all our ills. What he promises to do is to destroy the governmental favoritism to the few in the tariff. He will try to destroy monopoly by attacking laws that build up monopoly. Moreover, he sees that the tariff is not the only bar to the restoration of fair competition in business. He sees that monopoly rests back of the tariff on private control of natural resources without compensation of adequate sort to the owners of those resources—the people. He believes that the monopolist law-breakers should go to prison. He does not purpose war on business as business, but only on business that violates the law, on business that is founded upon injustice. . . . He would take off the legal shackles on competition, remove the private tax levied by Protection on all production and by freeing production increase wealth and lower the cost of living. Woodrow Wilson believes in economic freedom to the extent at least of taking the government power out of partnership with certain favored interests. . . . That Woodrow Wilson is safe, the revival of business attests. If he were not so regarded, capital would be timid. Even the good crops would not restore confidence if Woodrow Wilson were a man deemed to be at issue with himself like William Howard Taft, or a man obsessed with himself like Theodore Roosevelt. The "schoolmaster" has schooled himself. His rivals have not. His mind works in consonance with order. He has principles where one opponent has doubts. He has restraints upon himself where the other is a gusty, blustery improvisatore. His policies have form and substance. They are not incoherent because of doubt, nor anarchic because of the super-certitude of an ego that deems its will the law above the law. Woodrow Wilson is safe because he is not like Taft, afraid of himself, and because he is, not like Roosevelt, infatuated with himself. He doesn't claim credit for the fecundity of earth, like Taft, nor does he deem himself a gift of God, like Theodore. He is safe because he is a democrat opposed to a plutocrat and an autocrat. And he will try to bring to realization an early dream of the fathers that this shall be in the fullest meaning of the phrase, "a government of laws and not of men."

**Mrs. Roosevelt.**

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marlon Reedy), October 24.—By what singular gift does Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt manage, whenever she does come by force of circumstances into the limelight, to escape being made the subject and object of slushy newspaper twaddle? She does not appear to be in the least afraid of the glare of publicity when occasion calls for her to step, however briefly, out of her private capacity. She accepts her place, and does her work, but without a particle of an eye for "the situation." She came to Chicago to her wounded husband and took charge with an efficiency and easeful mastery that came with admirably cooling effect upon a condition which threatened to become hectic, if not hysterical. Yet she tempted no scribbler to make copy of her for the avid millions. She was "all there," as the saying is, and her coming exercised a highly palpable influence upon the picture. Everybody felt it at once—even in the newspaper dispatches. There it was, so big, I suppose, that it defied writing about. And so and such this lady has been always since her husband has occupied his conspicuous place in public life. She is almost as withdrawn as he is protruded upon the public gaze; and yet we feel somehow that she is so not because she is a nonentity, but because she fits so perfectly in the scenes in which she plays her part, that she is so superbly harmonious in her functioning that she is inconspicuous to a public only capable of apprehending flamboyancies and the gaucheries of those who get notice because they seek it. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt is a remarkable woman in her supreme ability to escape remark.

**Land.**

Collier's Weekly, October 26.—Before the community reaches a final settlement of the monopoly problem, it will have to include a radical change in methods of taxation, and this will include a great change in the view of public and private rights in land and in what lies in the earth. Any unearned increment, whatever its nature, fails to suit the modern conscience, and ultimately it is likely to go.

**Singletax Demonstrations.**

The Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 4.—For many years the foes of the tax on land values found in the farmer a willing and a useful ally. He had been taught, and he was ready to believe, that the Singletax was aimed directly against his class, and that in practical operation it would remove from the banker, the manufacturer, the merchant, the owner of rentable property and securities, an equitable share of the burden of taxation, and place it, in addition to that already there, upon his own shoulders. It is not going too far to say that lack of correct knowledge in the agricultural districts regarding the Henry George system is, to a very large degree, responsible for the slowness of its adoption in all parts of the world. The experience of the farmers of the young and enterprising province of Alberta, western Canada, will go far, however, toward removing the prejudices against the land tax that still exist among rural landowners. It has been demon-

strated there that the tax on land values is a benefit to the farmer. His tax is reduced rather than increased. . . . There is no inducement in Alberta any longer to hold land merely for speculative purposes. It must be improved or become as great a drain upon the resources of the owner as it was formerly a drag upon the resources of the community. The Alberta farmers have had demonstrated to their entire satisfaction the wisdom and justice and practicability of the Singletax, and they are becoming more and more attached to it and enthusiastic in advocating its adoption throughout the Dominion.

**Larger Lessons of the Campaign-Fund Scandal.**

The Boston Common (ind.), August 31.—If the money of privilege-seeking interests is not to finance our politics, the public must foot the bills directly. This means the free use of public school and other public buildings containing assembly halls for purposes of political and other civic discussion; the publication by the State of election bulletins carrying to every voter necessary information about candidacies, platforms and measures; and the assumption by the public of other necessary campaign costs, with stringent penalties for private expenditure except as the law may authorize and audit. It would be well, also, if the voting should be done in the school houses, as is now done, with economy, in a few cities. It would help to emphasize the intimate connection between successful democracy and free public instruction. The public newspaper is likewise needed, to guarantee that private interest shall not choke the news channels.

**Equality of Opportunity.**

The Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 24.—It makes little difference, as a matter of fact, whether the non-resident realty owner of New York, or of any other part of the country, maintains his establishment abroad or in some other part of the United States; and it makes very little difference whether the owner of New York realty in New York or in any other city of the country is a non-resident or a stay-at-home. What makes a difference is that the American system of taxation permits and encourages accumulations of tremendous fortunes by those who are doing absolutely nothing to earn them beyond clinging to their holdings. New York land is not the only land that is making millionaires and multimillionaires automatically. The enhancement of values in all the cities, due to the intelligence and energy and enterprise of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands and millions of workers, calls for as much attention as the enhancement of values on Manhattan island. The mass everywhere is working for the few; the few are being enriched without effort and without especial merit. It would be as nonsensical, however, to blame the beneficiaries as the victims of this system. It is the system itself that demands reprehension and calls for reform, and to be effective the latter must apparently come through equitable taxation. In a sense much larger than is generally recognized now, equal taxation means equality of opportunity and a square deal for all.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Edwin Davies Schoonmaker in *The American Magazine*.

I neither praise nor blame thee, aged Scot,  
In whose wide lap the shifting times have poured  
The heavy burden of that golden hoard  
That shines far off and shall not be forgot.

I only see thee carving far and wide  
Thy name on many marbles through the land,  
Or flashing splendid from the jeweler's hand  
Where medaled heroes show thy face with pride.

Croesus had not such royal halls as thou,  
Nor Timon half as many friends as crowd  
Thy porches when thy largesses are loud.  
Learning and Peace are stars upon thy brow.

And still thy roaring mills their tribute bring  
As unto Caesar, and thy charities  
Have borne thy swelling fame beyond the seas,  
Where thou in many realms art all but king.

Yet when night lays her silence on thine ears  
And thou art at thy window all alone,  
Pondering thy place, dost thou not hear the groan  
Of them that bear thy burden through the years?



### FALL RIVER AND NEWPORT: A TARIFF CONTRAST.

Extracts from Speech of Congressman E. W. Townsend, in the United States House of Representatives, March 29, 1912.

Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose during the time I am permitted to address the House to submit some facts—results of my own investigation—going to prove that as the rate of tariff protection increases so does the death rate of those whose wages depend upon tariff-protected industries increase. . . .

On the question of the average weekly wage, which has so definite and pitiful a relation to the death rate, I was able to obtain more detailed information in Fall River. There I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of as fine an American citizen as I have ever met, Thomas Chew, superintendent of the Boys' Club of Fall River. He was a mill hand in Lancashire, England when he reached the advanced age of 8 years, came to this country when he was 12 years old, and went to work in the mills of Fall River at a time when many English and Irish expert weavers were coming to this country. He had ambition and educated himself; he had the heart and soul of a philanthropist and a great pity for the children of the mill workers. He knew, what every investigator of such living conditions learns, that

if you can save a boy from evil ways until he is 14 years of age you have done a great work for him toward saving him from ever falling into evil ways. . . .

I took up with Mr. Chew this question of the average weekly earnings of the 35,000 or 40,000 mill hands in Fall River because I wanted to get from the best available authority information as accurate as might be; not what a pay roll of a single week or month would show, but what these people earn on an average during 52 weeks in the year—that being the number of weeks in a year they are obliged to live if they can. As a result of our calculations, I find that the Fall River mill workers average during the year a weekly wage of \$6.25. The mills that pay these wages have been granted by Republican Congresses the privilege of collecting from the American people a bonus of 90 per cent on the goods they manufacture. (Applause on the Democratic side.) This privilege was granted of course, in order that those receiving it might pay wages to their work people so high that a comfortable and self-respecting condition of living should be enjoyed by those work people.

I shall feel amply rewarded for the time and labor I expended if my humble contribution to knowledge regarding the workingmen's benefits from a high tariff—if my contribution, I say, shall hasten the death of that most malicious fable—that a high protective tariff benefits the workingman. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

Before I present some interesting figures as to child mortality in Fall River, let me quote briefly from the writings of Samuel Hopkins Adams, an investigator of the highest standing of municipal health condition. He quotes from official vital statistics, which show that Fall River has the second worse death rate of its class in the United States, in spite of its most favorable natural condition, and says:

Fall River is a healthful locality, well situated on sharp hills rising from a lovely bay. It is cleansed by the pervasive and consistent disinfection of salt breezes. It suffers no bitter extremes of heat or cold. At its very gates lies a good water supply, which, wisely, is guarded against contamination. Drainage is fair, though, unfortunately, not universal. There has been no sudden pressure of population to encourage and excuse the building of the evil type of tenement. Air and light are everywhere available. Broad areas of farming country near at hand furnish a milk supply which is at least of fair quality, as milk goes nowadays. Why, then, since Fall River is a healthful city, is it not also a healthy city?

The answer to that is, in my opinion, that even in that healthful city the wages of the 40,000 people working in its mills, turning out the many millions of dollars worth of goods, helping to make enormous dividends which are added to by a Republican tariff tax of 90 per cent, the answer is, I



say, that those 40,000 mill workers get so small a portion of the mills' profits for their wages that they simply can not live in conditions where health is possible.

The mortality figures of these workers in Fall River are startling. I think I have already said that in that most favorably situated city, with no towering tenements, no congested areas, out of every 100 deaths, 50 are of children under 5 years of age, and of those 39 are of children under 1 year of age. . . . Taking the most favorable report it is seen that in 1909 in Fall River, including stillbirths, 1,036 children under 1 year of age died. As the result of his investigation, Mr. Chew tabulated thus:

Stillbirths .....	250
From preventable diseases.....	501
Nonpreventable diseases.....	285
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1,036</b>

Then he goes into the causes of deaths of children under 1 year of age, and he is not ashamed to use those tabooed words, malnutrition and marasmus, meaning starvation, and he finds from that cause that there were in Fall River in that year 141 deaths of children under 1 year of age. And their mothers were working for \$6.25 a week, manufacturing goods upon which a Republican tariff bonus of 90 per cent is charged against every person in the United States who wears a garment of cotton. And then, there were 250 stillbirths—250 little bodies starved to death before they were born, and the tariff only 90 per cent. Why, good God! the Republicans are only half right. If the privileged beneficiaries of a Republican tariff cannot afford to pay wages high enough to prevent this slaughter of infants, let us double the tax, make it high enough, at least, so that babies may not be starved to death before they come into the world. . . .



Not far from Fall River is the home of a summer colony famous all over the world for the magnificence of its palaces, the extravagance of its people, the varied and whimsical methods of their entertainment, the gorgeousness of their lawn fetes and their water carnivals, the splendor of their entertainment of foreign people of title, the stately sweep of their lawns, and the perfection of their gardens. The same water which partly surrounds Fall River laps the beaches and bluffs of Newport. But in Newport in July, August and September these palaces, some of them, are occupied by men and women whose colossal fortunes have been given to them by the operation of this Republican tariff subsidy. Their children you will find there in July, August and September, cared for by nurses, by governesses, by tutors, enjoying every pleasure, every entertainment that wit or fancy can devise and prodigality provide to make

their little lives happy and healthy. They are taken there in private yachts; they are cared for like little princes and princesses, protected from chill or from the summer heat, nourished, petted and amused. All of this during those three dreadful months, whose record of infant deaths in the town of Fall River make ghastly red the splashes on this chart.

I am not inventing this shameful story; it is taken from the official records of a city. . . . I am not endeavoring to incite class hatred. I merely wish, if I can, to make my fellow Members of the House of Representatives ask themselves if all is well with a fiscal policy responsible for this hideous red record on one shore of the waters of that beautiful sound, and responsible at the same time for the conditions of wealth, of luxury, of idleness, at a near-by part of those historic waters. . . . The salvage of human life must be taken as one fair measure of a community's conscience, its sense of right and wrong, of charity. What, then, must be our judgment of the rich in a community who are indifferent even to the salvage of the lives of those who can not save themselves—the little ones, the children! Let 90 per cent of helpless infants die if only those who need no aid are helped by tariff subsidies at a 90 per cent rate. What do they care about the death rate so long as the tariff rate is maintained by votes of a Republican Senate or the veto of a Republican President?



## THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS

Rose Trumbull in *The Independent*.

"O Mother, see the mill lights in the darkness glow!"

"I see but candles for my dead  
At foot and head."

"Nay, see how wrought by childish hands, world-fabrics grow!"

"I see my babes, decrepit, bowed—  
They weave a shroud."

"Yet see their golden wage: the purse of wealth is deep."

"The tide of barter at its flood  
Gives bread for blood!"

"O Mother, with thy visions dark, dost thou not weep?"

"For slaughtered babes upon such biers  
There are no tears."



## THE GOSPEL OF DEMOCRACY.

Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 27, 1912.

Here lies, it seems to me, the primary mission of the Christian church, and the first duty of the Christian man in the midst of our social and industrial strife—namely: to realize the democracy

of the kingdom of God and the brotherhood of all men in Christ Jesus.

There are other things to be done.

For example, there are economic, industrial, and political reforms that must be carried out. The present economic condition is manifestly unjust and intolerable; the wealth produced by the sweat of the brow and the sweat of the brain of the toilers is largely absorbed by a lot of social parasites, the idle holders of privilege. It is also the prey of the predatory activity of our robber barons of Wall street. These parasites and highwaymen skim off the rich cream of our common production and leave the rest of us, the real producers, nothing but the blue milk. And the consequence is all our involuntary poverty, with its unspeakable suffering and misery, and its damning effects on life and character.

Society itself is largely responsible for most of our crime and our sin. Here lies one deep-seated cause for our social unrest and discontent, and things will never be settled until they are settled right, and we must see to it that they are settled right.

The Christian church and the Christian man must stand stoutly for economic and industrial justice and equity, for a square deal, for a fair division of wealth, and, above all, for equality of opportunity for every son of man. It is an essential part of our religion to take interest, vital interest, and an active, efficient part in every righteous movement toward that end.

But just what ought the Christian church to do in these matters?

As Christians, whether as a church or as individual disciples of Christ, we are primarily concerned not with policies of social reform but with principles of social justice and righteousness; not with methods of economic or industrial procedure, but with the motives of brotherly love. Therefore the paramount social duty that confronts the Christian church and the Christian man is the enlargement of sympathies and the realization of fellowship among all men; the kindling of brotherly love and the spreading of it as by contagion throughout humanity.

We may go on multiplying our charities and beneficences until they are like the sand on the seashore—innumerable—and they will not heal one wound in the body politic; they will not bridge one of those chasms which so widely divide men from their fellowmen on every side; they will not reconcile one bitterness or enmity which now inflames our too common strife.

Mere charity and beneficence without brotherly love, especially patronizing and supercilious beneficence, always antagonize. These debauch the conscience of the church as much as bribes do the conscience of legislatures.

If a man only give liberally the church does not often stop to ask, "How did you make the money

you spend so freely?" And if such charity and beneficence come from wealth gotten by dishonest means they infuriate the popular mind. Even at their best, they sap the manhood and destroy the self-respect of those upon whom they are bestowed.

And the world is mortal weary of charity, but it is hungry—starving—for downright, genuine brotherly love; the love that expresses itself first in common justice and fairness, and then in honest, heartfelt sympathy, mutual understanding, and fellowship. That is the only thing that can furnish the basis and inspiration for the solution of our modern social problems.

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## BOOKS

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### AN AID TO THOUGHT.

Second Notice.

**Taxation of Land Values; As It Affects Land Owners and Others.** By John Orr, M. A. Preface by Mary Fels. London: P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster. 1912.\*

Mrs. Fels writes an introduction to Orr's "Taxation of Land Values" and concludes with this charming little metaphor: "A vine dresser today hoeing his vineyard on the banks of the Arno, throws out a stone that obstructs his work. Yet the vineyard has been cultivated since the days of Caesar, and one might think that all such stones had been removed long ago—not so, neither here nor in vineyards of any sort."

Mr. Orr makes a "White Paper" (as Queensland calls its government reports) the text for a much needed sermon to show that the taxation of land values has been of advantage to "architects, builders, estate agents, and men in similar professions." As Thorold Rogers says, "Every improvement in the condition of the soil, every highway, bridge or railroad raises rent." The landowner sleeps but thrives.

Until the most of the land value is taken in taxes land owners will be the richer for it financially: when the whole value is taken they will not want to be any richer than they are. In support of some such contention, the author cites the British system of assessing Indian agricultural lands twice a year. The book is worth study for its careful examination of this claim.

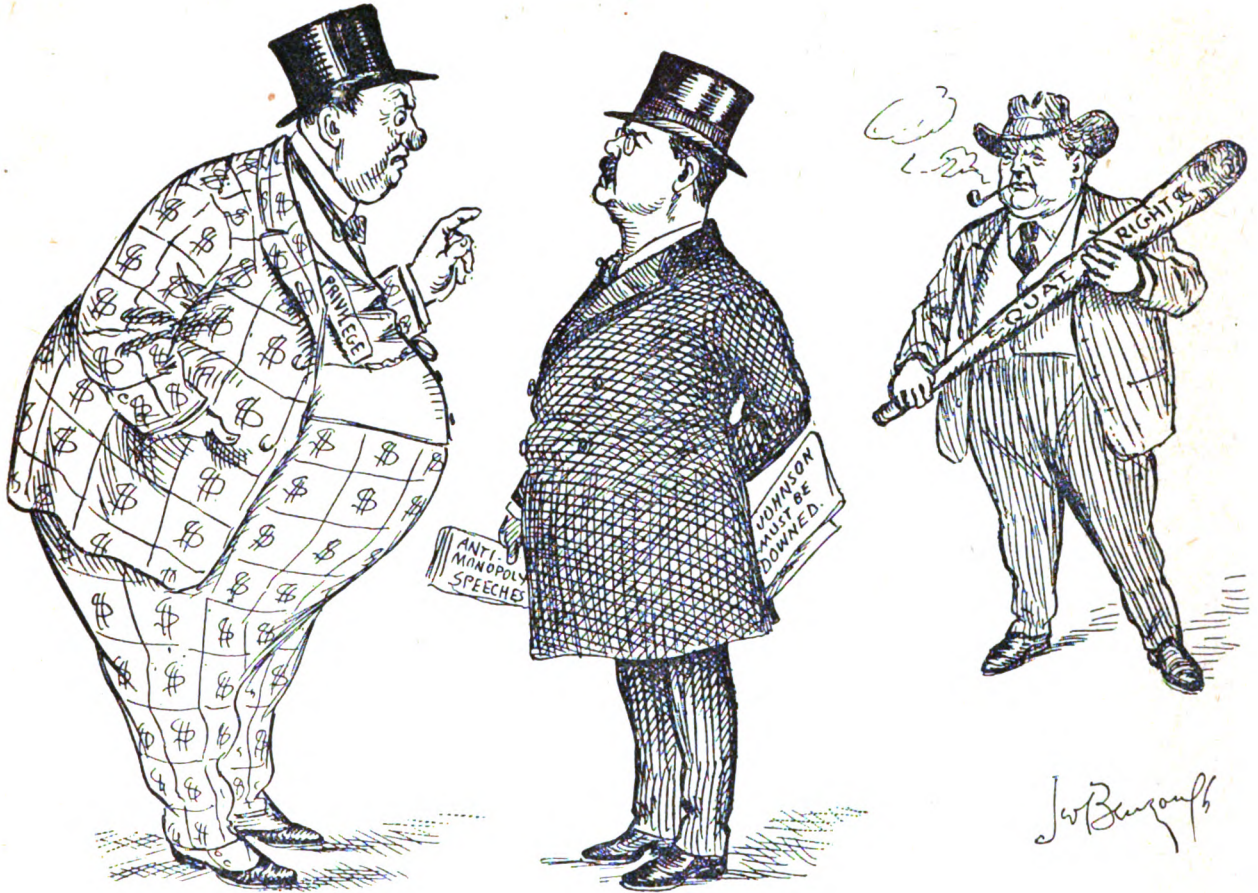
Mr. Orr gives a new twist to the rotten "ability to pay" theory by saying that this ability of each man should be measured by the community's earnings that he gets. "There is no more just and inexorable measure of men's ability than the value of land."

The booklet concludes with an argument that the true rental value of land includes all rates,

\*See Public of October 4, page 953.

The Same Old Theodoro.

Under the title of "All the Difference," this cartoon by J. W. Bengough who is now campaigning for land value taxation in Oregon, was published in The Public of November 2, 1907, at the time when Theodore Roosevelt was using his official influence as President of the United States to defeat Tom L. Johnson for re-election as Mayor of Cleveland.



Roosevelt: "But why should you hate and fear Johnson more than me? I'm fighting you, just as he is!"  
 Privilege: "Ah, but, confound him, he really means it, you see!"

taxes, and assessments, so that the question "Would the single tax be enough?" might be answered by saying that it would be the sum of all present taxes plus what the land-owner takes. This is most important and should be further discussed and elaborated.

BOLTON HALL.

PERIODICALS

Judge McGee on the Singletax.

Levi McGee, with practiced hand, writes a brief explanation of the Singletax for the October number of "The Flaming Sword" (Rapid City, South Dakota). Such essays, simple, correct and non-controversial, are needed in the full bloom, no less than in the budding, or a great reform movement. Old reform-

ers do well to remember that to the youth every reform is young.

A. L. G.



The French Singletax Review.

The leading article in "La Revue de L'Impot Unique" for October deals with coöperation and quotes at length the arguments of Henry George to show how the present land system would make it impossible for coöperation to achieve the general improvement at which it aims. On October 4th the French Singletax League held a meeting in Paris which was addressed by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., whose letter to the "Manchester Guardian" setting forth the objections to land nationalization, is reproduced in the current issue of the Review. An article on Albert Maximilien Toubeau (with an excellent portrait) adds a link to the history of the Singletax movement. Toubeau, a Belgian, born in 1836, was

deeply impressed with the need of establishing a national land system in order to abolish poverty. His independent thought having led him towards the conclusions which were reached by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," he became an enthusiastic advocate of the Singletax and was active in forming the agricultural congress which was held in Paris during the Exposition of 1889, and in which George took part. Toubeau's effective labors in the common cause were cut short by his untimely death in 1890 at the age of 53 years. A review of an essay by Ernest Mansuy,\* a French accountant, reveals another mind at work in France on the stimulating theme of economic justice. To his trained mind the fiscal confusion into which governments plunge, results from their not seeking a fundamental basis for taxation. "They do not hesitate to embark on the most diverse and incoherent systems. Sometimes they accept more or less dubious evidences of wealth which they take at random as a base for their exactions; sometimes they employ the time-honored method of the highwayman and ransom travelers and merchants by means of national and local tariffs which they have the audacity and the ineptitude to propose as an improvement on the natural conditions of commerce and industry. At other times, by taxing alcohol, tobacco, etc., they attempt to lessen our temptations; and there are those who advocate taxes which shall induce bachelors to marry and married men to have children!" Such is the ridiculous outcome of the belief that governments can create justice and truth by edict. Visionaries and self-seekers are encouraged to hope for the attainment of this end by adding another page to the statute book. "The solution of social problems does not call for the transcendent genius of statesmen and professional reformers. It depends simply upon the initiative of citizens, using the elementary common sense which is the possession of all."

F. W. GARRISON.

### Will Maupin's "Midwest."

With its issue of October 25th that bright and genuinely democratic periodical of Lincoln, Nebraska, "Will Maupin's Weekly," merges in "Midwest" (Lincoln, Nebraska), a monthly magazine of standard size and representative of the State of Nebraska. Mr. Maupin explains that he had "Midwest" in mind when he started his weekly, and that the weekly was begun merely as a forerunner of the larger and more expensive publication, the time for launching which he believes to be now ripe.

### Culture in Eclipse.

E. Benjamin Andrews in the October number of the International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia) deploras the present "Decline of Culture": "There is a falling off in men's desire to procure and promote the things of the mind, less thought than once of ideals, less enthusiasm for the true, the beautiful, and the good, less submission to these. . . . In this age so rich in invention everything breeds uniformity. . . . The ponderous paving rollers of industrial-

ism, bureaucracy, and fashion pass over society, crushing out originality and flattening individuals into specimens. . . . Everywhere specializing breeds pettiness. . . . There is wide remission of enthusiasm for humanity. Few think it articulately; fewer avow it; but very many are in fact now cherishing a notion quite akin to that of slavery's advocates before the Civil War, that God has organized society aristocratically, the multitude being ordained to live ignorant, poor, in servitude to the elect."

For this grievous degeneration, Dr. Andrews gives four co-operating causes: (1) "The country's astounding growth in wealth" joined with "the disappearance of free arable." (2) "The spread of communistic socialism"—which admittedly "is going to mean out-and-out equality of income among all the adult members of society, from hod-carriers and stone-breakers up to the rarest artists, jurists, authors and professional men." (3) "Bad theory and practice in education." "Ethical training is neglected," "the cry for shorter courses that young people may begin work earlier in life" is "pestilential," and the mere imparting of information has displaced the "instruction that sets on fire, consumes and recreates the pupil." (4) "Depressing views of the world, life, and man"—with which the Darwinian biological hedonism has much to do. The author's analysis is thought-provoking, and—just "provoking." Little, plain questions intrude on the simple reader's mind, and go tantalizingly unanswered.

Were the many rich and the few poor, where would be the popularity of the communist's "equal distribution of wealth"? Were school and youth relieved from poverty, and Business bereft of Privilege, would there arise this cry for a short and "practical" education? Were human lives less cheap, could racial life seem purposeless?

A. L. G.

"Senator," said the new reporter, "may I ask what you think of the political situation?"

The distinguished statesman reflected a moment. "I presume," he said, "you do not wish me to ex-

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\*See *Public* of October 11, page 979, for review of this essay.

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