

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

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### Facing Toward the Goal.

Whether he win or lose, the true Progressive of whatever party, will keep his face steadfastly set to the goal of national righteousness.



### National Economic League.

Economic leagues are apt to become mere paper organizations under the management of small coteries and quite unrepresentative of the membership, which, from one motive or another not always germane to the declared purposes of the organization, supplies the funds. Better such defective organizations than none at all? True. But the National Economic League (6 Beacon St., Boston) has made an innovation which seems well calculated to vitalize the organization. It has introduced preferential voting throughout its membership for the purpose of making up its programs. In preparation for the program for 1912-13, for example, a first ballot has been taken, with the result of submitting 61 subjects in order of preference, and a second ballot on the highest 12 is now under way.



"The Tariff" stands second on the first ballot, with 25 votes to its credit; "Efficiency in the Administration of Justice," with 266 votes being first. Other subjects among the highest twelve are the Monetary System, Child Labor, Governmental Control of Industrial Corporations, and

the Short Ballot. The last is twelfth in the order of choice, having received 169 votes. The relations of capital and labor and the liquor question had 167 each, the merchant marine 165, eugenics 162, election of United States Senators by popular vote and the taxation of land values 155 each, Initiative and Referendum 137, Socialism 120, recall of judges and decisions 113, public ownership of public utilities 102, equal suffrage 100, the unearned increment 94, the preferential ballot 68, proportional representation 61, and gold production and prices 45.



This League gives fair promise of becoming a good democratic substitute for the surfeit of economic leagues that have sprung up under the control of coteries. An economic league, national in scope and membership, with geographical and topical branches according to necessity or convenience, and controlled by referendums such as that under which this League operates, would be infinitely more useful at the present stage of economic progress than all the other economic leagues put together—useful though most of them have been in their day, and some of them are yet.



#### Justice for Sale.

A painfully significant report from Richmond, Virginia, appeared in the news dispatches of last week. It related to the case of Floyd Allen and Claude Allen, both under sentence of death for border-ruffian murder in a court house. Of the guilt of these men there may be no doubt, and the question of capital punishment may be put aside for all the purposes we have now in mind, as may all considerations of mercy. The point to which we wish attention directed appears in these words in the press dispatch: "Floyd Allen's wife issued a public appeal for money to aid the effort to save the men from death"! Whether that money was needed to secure a commutation of sentence, or to carry the case to the highest courts, the dispatch does not make clear. If for the former purpose, it would probably be useless; yet the very appeal for it implies that money is regarded as legitimately needful and as not always ineffective. More probably, however, the money is wanted to enable the condemned men to secure a hearing of their case in the upper courts—in other words, to prevent a miscarriage of justice.



Now, observe that the question is not a Virginia question. There is probably no State in

the Union in which some such appeal is not necessary to secure full attention from the courts in cases of convicts without much money. Neither is the question at this point a Floyd Allen question, nor even a question of guilt or innocence in a particular case. It is a question of the barter and sale of justice. If one convict may carry his case to the highest courts regardless of apparent guilt and merely because he is rich enough to pay the expense, but another, regardless of apparent guilt, cannot carry his case there because he is not rich enough to pay the expense, *then justice is for sale*. When a person is accused of crime, every facility of legal machinery designed to convict the guilty and to acquit the innocent should be at his service as freely as the same machinery is at the service of the prosecution. The primary object of judicial machinery is not to punish any one, be he innocent or guilty. *Its principal object is to protect the innocent*. That is why we have grand juries, that is why we have trials. And is an accused person's innocence less important to the community if he has a defense fund than if he has not?



#### Killing Criminals, But Making Crime.

Many folks, mostly fools, denounce Lincoln Steffens for his part in the McNamara case at Los Angeles; but wise men and women—not to say Christian men and women—will at least listen to what he says about it. The same question, essentially, arises in connection with the recent capital conviction of Becker, the lieutenant of police in New York. "Becker is to be the sacrifice for the sins of society," said Mr. Steffens in a Cincinnati interview. He went on: "Becker may be electrocuted and sooner or later another Becker will spring up. In other words, we will kill the man and do nothing to correct the conditions that are responsible for him. The conditions that made Becker were exposed in New York 20 years ago. We imprisoned the McNamaras and are doing nothing to change the conditions that made the McNamaras. The acts of Becker and the McNamaras are perfectly natural phenomena." Perfectly natural phenomena! Of course they are. And every one capable of thinking who does not think, or thinking can speak his thoughts and keeps them to himself, is personally responsible for the conditions that make the Becker and McNamara phenomena. No, we do not mean that there must be stricter enforcement of criminal laws. That's the fool way. It is the laws that make the conditions which produce such phenomena that must command attention. Do you profit

by those crime-creating laws, and do you therefore stand by them, either with a loud voice or in silence? How much better then are you than the Beckers, who also are grafters? Are you not worse than the McNamaras, who, criminals though they be, are at any rate not sordidly criminal?



### Negro Capability.

"Nigger haters" who excuse their ill-will with absurd "scientific" on the inferiority of the Negro, should read of the career of Tom Walker. It is interestingly told in "The World's Work" for October—Tom Walker of Gloucester County, Virginia. This region, reduced by the Civil War from reputable disorder to disorder of ill-repute, has been in great measure redeemed under the leadership of a "squat, thick-lipped and kinky-haired" Negro who has qualified himself in the face of difficulties that few white men ever triumph over. This Negro is Tom Walker. He drove whisky out of the county when the leading white men said that "every man in the county, white and black," would vote wet. He farmed scientifically, taught school effectively, took care of a lawyer's office so as to study law by the way, studied law—all this at the same time and over a period of years,—and won his admission to the bar against intense professional prejudice, but by the permission and with the cordial admiration of the prejudiced lawyers themselves. He was elected to the board of supervisors "by the votes of Southern-born white Democrats, Walker himself being a Republican;" and so effectively did he serve that a reduction of the county tax rate from 40 to 27 cents is conceded to his efforts during his first term. With it all, he led his own race in Gloucester county from idleness, improvidence and crime, to industry, thrift and orderly living.



Yet there is one dark spot in the story, relieved only by the fact that it is not the Negro's fault. Here is the way the story runs at one point: "There is now scarcely a Negro cabin to be found in all Gloucester, save where one used as a storehouse or barn stands in noteworthy contrast to the modern home which supplanted it. *Land values rose steadily from an average of \$10 an acre to \$25 and \$30.*" We do not mean that the rise in land values is the dark spot in that story. This is in itself a bright spot. Increase of land values with improving civilization is in the natural order. It is one of the great facts that go to show that Nature has provided for all a fund which grows with social growth, and there-

by offers just opportunity for common participation in common progress. The increase in those Gloucester land values is stronger testimony to the efficiency of Tom Walker's leadership than any man's testimony or any magazine's assurance. But right there, nevertheless, lurks the black spot in this otherwise splendid tribute to Negro competency. Those higher land values find their way, not into the common treasury of Gloucester county where in justice they belong, but to the owners of Gloucester county land,—and to them, not as users, but as *owners* of the land. This is robbery of all for the enrichment of a few. No reference to custom, no appeal to the doctrine of vested interests, no quibbling confusion of conventional law with the moral law, can make it anything less than robbery. Though the beneficiaries themselves be not robbers—no more are they robbers than were individual slaveowners under the robbing slave system,—yet the thing itself is robbery, just as the slave system was. And be it never so legal, robbery makes a black spot in the best of stories.



### ANALYSIS OF THE THREE PLATFORMS.

A comparison of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive platforms shows that, although each platform is considered as embodying certain distinctive principles, yet, in their ultimate analysis, the differences in many cases are only apparent.

On some questions the three parties maintain *exactly* identical positions; on others, *apparently* identical; on some, only one or two of the parties define their positions; on several questions they are *diametrically opposed*.



The things on which the attitudes of the parties are identical, and which they desire to accomplish are as follows:

(1) Prevent Mississippi floods. (2) Improve inland waterways. (3) Revive the merchant marine. (4) Secure safety at sea. (5) Compensate injured workmen. (6) Avoid delay in legal procedure. (7) Secure public health.

The three parties agree that the nation should perform at least a part of the work necessary to prevent the floods of the Mississippi River, which destroy both life and property.

They favor a systematic policy for the improvement of rivers and harbors.

The Democrats and the Republicans believe in

the revival of the merchant marine. The natural implications of their platform show that the same is true of the Progressives, although they do not speak directly on this question.

The old parties favor the enactment of laws protecting seamen from involuntary servitude, and desire that greater precautions be taken to secure life and property at sea. The new party is generally in favor of safety for all persons.

The three parties favor the enactment of a law which will enable an employe to receive compensation for injuries sustained without being compelled to experience the uncertainties of litigation.

They favor, also, such laws as will abolish the prevalent tendencies of useless delays and costly appeals in legal procedure.

They favor the adoption of systems that will be productive in extending the interests of public health.



The things on which the attitude of all the parties is *apparently* identical, and which they desire to accomplish, are as follows:

(1) Utilize Alaska coal. (2) Maintain efficient navy. (3) Limit campaign contributions. (4) Extend the civil service merit system. (5) Build post roads. (6) Reclaim swamp and arid lands. (7) Establish rural credit.

The three parties desire to utilize the large coal deposits of Alaska, but under such conditions as will prevent monopolies from acquiring control. The Democrats offer no definite plan to avoid such danger. The Republicans and Progressives favor the retention of title in the United States.

All desire to maintain an adequate navy, but differ somewhat as to the best method of doing it. The Democrats favor the creation of a Council to determine a naval program. The Republicans desire to build additional ships. The Progressives urge the building of two battleships each year until naval forces are limited by international agreement.

All favor the publicity of campaign contributions. The Democrats desire to prohibit corporations from contributing to campaign funds and individuals from contributing above a reasonable amount. The Progressives demand publicity before as well as after primaries and elections.

All favor the extension and enforcement of the civil service law. The old parties urge that the benefits of the Employers' Liability Law be secured for all civil service employes. The Republicans and Progressives favor continuous service during good behavior and the equitable re-

tirement of superannuated members.

All favor the extension of the Postal Department. The Democrats urge the construction and improvement of post roads. The Republicans and Progressives favor the establishment of a parcels post, with rates graduated in proportion to the length of carriage.

All favor reclamation, the Republicans emphasizing a combination of swamp drainage and channel improvement while the Democrats wish to extend the time of repayment of reclamation projects by the land owners. The Progressives suggest reclamation within the Mississippi basin incident to the control and improvement of that river.

All favor the development of agricultural credit. The old parties suggest an investigation of agricultural societies in other countries, with the view of establishing a system for the purpose of lending money to farmers. In this connection, the Democrats favor the enactment of legislation which will permit national banks to lend funds on real estate security.



The things mentioned in the Republican and Progressive platforms only, and on which their positions are similar, are as follows:

(1) International Court of Justice. (2) Federal trade commission. (3) Woman and child labor. (4) Immigration.

Both these parties desire to come into closer contact with other nations, and believe that international disputes should be referred to an international court for settlement.

They favor the creation of a Federal administrative commission to regulate corporations engaged in interstate commerce and to enforce and administer the laws governing such commerce.

They desire to regulate the conditions under which women and children may be employed. The Progressives desire to prohibit child labor, to provide an eight-hour day and a living wage for women.

Both advocate legislation to destroy the evils of undesirable immigration. The Progressives urge action to assimilate and educate worthy immigrants.



The things mentioned in the Democratic and Progressive platforms only, and on which their positions are similar, are as follows:

(1) Panama Canal. (2) Alaskan government. (3) Railway regulation. (4) Department of Labor. (5) Pensions. (6) Useless offices. (7) Income tax. (8) Direct election of U. S. Senators. (9) Presidential primaries.

Both these parties urge that American ships engaged in coastwise trade be allowed to pass through the Panama Canal exempt from tolls. They wish to forbid the use of the Canal to those ships which are owned by railroads competing with the Canal.

Both desire to give the people of Alaska the rights of a Territorial form of government.

Both recommend the valuation of the property of railroad companies engaged in interstate business, and favor effective means for the supervision of those companies and the regulation of their rates. The Democrats believe that this should apply, also, to express, telephone and telegraph companies.

Both desire to create a Department of Labor in the President's cabinet, which shall have general jurisdiction in influencing the conditions of labor. The Democrats desire to include in this Department such duties as will promote the interests of mines and mining.

Both favor a liberal pension policy.

Both recommend that the number of useless offices supported by the government be reduced.

Both favor the ratification of the pending Constitutional amendments which give the government power to tax incomes and provide for the direct election of United States Senators.

They indorse Presidential primaries.



The Democratic platform alone, mentions and opposes gambling in agricultural products.



The questions considered only in the Progressive platform are as follows:

(1) Easier amendment of Constitution. (2) Equal suffrage. (3) Inheritance tax. (4) Legislative publicity. (5) Business development. (6) Industrial justice. (7) Supervision of investments.

They favor a more simple method of amending the Federal Constitution. They pledge themselves to secure equal suffrage to men and women. They advocate the enactment of a Federal graduated inheritance tax law which will return to the States a part of the amount collected. They urge that lobbyists be compelled to register; that votes in committee be recorded; and that committee hearings be made public. They recommend that the Federal government and business men cooperate in an effort to increase both the efficiency and amount of business. They demand that one day out of every seven be a day of rest; that an eight-hour day be instituted in all industries operating continuously day and night; that their fami-

lies be supported out of the earnings of prisoners; that wage scales and the conditions of labor generally be made public. They favor such legislation as will protect small investors and guard them against the agencies of fraud.



The platforms express no direct opposition on the questions thus far considered. There are, however, some questions on which the parties are divided, as follows:

(1) Single Presidential term. (2) Recall of judges and decisions. (3) Philippines. (4) Conservation. (5) Banking. (6) Trusts. (7) Tariff.

The Democrats favor a single Presidential term.

The other parties are silent on this question. But the fact that each has presented a candidate who has already been President, clearly shows that they are not in sympathy with such a proposal.

The Republicans and Progressives maintain directly contrary positions on the recall of judges and decisions. The former believe that unquestioned integrity of the courts is essential to an orderly government; the latter believe that the people, by a popular vote, should determine whether they desire to retain a judge in office, and whether to retain a court precedent as a part of the law.

The Democrats are opposed to any policy which will reduce the Philippines to a colonial condition, and favor their independence as soon as they are able to govern themselves. The Republicans, on the other hand, believe that the United States should protect and educate the people on those islands, rather than throw them upon their own resources. The Progressives do not mention the Philippines in their platform.

The three parties favor the policy of conservation, desire to prevent monopoly control, and advocate a system for the use of natural resources to benefit all the people. The Democrats, however, severely criticize the forestry service of the present Administration for withdrawing from settlement much land on which there is no tree growth. The Progressives favor the retention of title to all natural resources, except agricultural lands, in the United States government, and believe that the public should be compensated for the water power rights which it grants.

The Republicans favor the revision of banking arrangements to meet the required conditions of today. The Democrats oppose a central bank, and they criticize the practice of the Republican administration for not depositing government funds under competitive bidding. Both the Democrats and Progressives strongly condemn the

Aldrich bill, passed during Republican administration. The Progressives desire to prohibit the issuing of notes through private agencies.

The old parties believe in the enactment of legislation supplemental to the anti-trust law which will define and punish attempts in restraint of trade as criminal. The Democrats denounce the Republican administration for compromising with the Standard Oil and Tobacco companies. They favor the dissolution of trusts and the prevention of private monopoly; the Republicans favor methods that will control them. In the regulation of interstate commerce the Democrats are opposed to the substitution of Federal for State remedies, believing that each should be kept distinct and placed upon an equal basis with the other. The Republicans, however, favor Federal remedies. The Progressives agree with the Republicans, both as regards regulation rather than dissolution, and as regards Federal rather than State control.

The parties are in direct opposition on the tariff question. The Democrats maintain that a protective tariff is unconstitutional, the nation having power to tax for revenue purposes only. The Republicans argue that a protective tariff should be considered just as constitutional as are bank, corporation, income and inheritance taxes. The Democrats favor a reduction of the tariff on the necessaries of life, for the purpose of directly benefiting the consumer. The Republicans favor a protective tariff for the purpose of indirectly benefiting the consumer. The Democrats believe that products competing with trust-controlled articles, and those sold more cheaply in foreign markets than in the United States, should be put on the free list. The Republicans admit that some import duties are too high, but believe that the report of an expert commission is essential to a proper adjustment. The Progressives agree with the Republicans for tariff revision and for the establishment of an expert commission. The Republicans favor an adequate protection of American industries, while the Progressives believe in a protective tariff equalizing the competitive conditions of the United States with those of other countries.



Closely connected with the tariff question is that of the high cost of living. The parties differ as to what causes it, but all desire to abolish the evils from which it results.

The Republicans favor a scientific inquiry into the causes and, after thus learning them, immediate demands of their platform to remedy artificial diate action to change those things that are re-

sponsible for it. The Progressives advocate the causes; to remove other causes they favor, as do the Republicans, an expert inquiry.

The Democrats believe that the high cost of living is caused by the tariff, and favor a material reduction on the necessaries of life.

HARLEY W. NEHF.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE SINGLETAX CAMPAIGN IN OREGON.

Portland, Ore. October 29.

We have startled the Beast in his den.

There have been four debates between W. S. U'Ren and Charles H. Shields. In all of them U'Ren frankly told where he got his money, and how the Joseph Fels Fund was raised. In a most adroit and quiet manner he demanded that Shields tell who supplied his funds, and how they were spent.

At the Bungalow Theater over 800 people rose in their seats and seconded the motion vigorously. But Shields refused to tell. He refused to tell in Hood River the next night; and in Salem last night he refused 1,500 people the information. Fact is, he dare not tell, for two of his principal backers are well known millionaire real estate speculators and tax dodgers.

The debates have made many converts for us, and none for the opponents. I never saw a man so cleanly exposed and mortified as when Shields was asked to tell the audience "Who pays you?"

Our wagon goes up and down the main streets bearing the sign, "Death Knell of Big Land Monopoly in Oregon, 364 X Yes; Graduated Single Tax 364 X Yes."

In front of the wagon is a great bronze ship bell that the driver strikes with a wooden hammer at intervals of perhaps a minute. It sounds for blocks, and the opponents cuss it and discuss it in groups.

At noon we hold street meetings. J. W. Bengough draws pictures; I shout through a big megaphone all sorts of short wordings to draw a crowd. Then we have a big map of Oregon, 7 feet deep, with the land grants marked in colors on it, and from it we preach some great sermons. It is very exhausting work. H. D. Wagnon, our candidate for assessor, has broken down his voice, but the crowds he has spoken to have been enormous. Some times 700 or 1,000 will gather in a few minutes.

Of course the other side is rustling. Cards and literature and lies piled on lies. They may beat us this time, and they may not; but they will know they have been in a fight, and that there is another battle coming on the same battle ground. If we win, then the very earth will be shaken by renewed battle, for the Beast is not going to stay whipped, and neither are we.

If the weather were good we would be all dead with public speaking; but fortunately it rains—real Oregon showers—and we get a little rest. We are distributing thousands of ballots marked as we would like to have them voted.

Bengough is a remarkable artist and splendid talker. F. E. Coulter is a whirlwind of energy and

eloquence. At first we lacked the personal touch and outside organization in this campaign, but some of it is being put in now, all right.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, November 5, 1912.

### The Presidential Election.

The Presidential election throughout the United States on the 5th was carried by the Democratic Party, with Woodrow Wilson as its Presidential and Thomas R. Marshall as its Vice-Presidential candidate. [See current volume, pages 1019, 1033, 1039, 1043.]

As The Public goes to press early on the 6th, the available reports indicate the following Electoral vote:

#### For Wilson and Marshall (Democratic).

Alabama	12
Arizona	3
Arkansas	9
Colorado	6
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
Florida	6
Georgia	14
Indiana	15
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	10
Maine	6
Maryland	8
Massachusetts	18
Minnesota	12
Mississippi	10
Missouri	18
Montana	4
Nebraska	8
Nevada	3
New Jersey	14
New Mexico	3
New York	45
North Carolina	12
North Dakota	5
Ohio	24
Oklahoma	10
Oregon	5
South Carolina	9
Tennessee	12
Texas	20
Virginia	12
West Virginia	8
Wisconsin	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>377</b>

<b>For Roosevelt and Johnson (Progressive).</b>	
Michigan	15
South Dakota	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>

<b>For Taft and Sherman (Republican).</b>	
Utah	4
Vermont	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>

<b>Doubtful.</b>	
California	13
Idaho	4
Illinois	29
Iowa	13
Kansas	10
New Hampshire	4
Pennsylvania	38
Rhode Island	5
Washington	7
Wyoming	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>126</b>

<b>Total Electoral vote</b>	<b>531</b>
Wilson and Marshall	377
Roosevelt and Johnson	20
Taft and Sherman	8
Doubtful	126
<b>Total</b>	<b>531</b>
<b>Necessary to elect</b>	<b>266</b>

Among Congressional candidates probably elected are Henry George, Jr., in New York; George L. Record, in New Jersey; Stanley E. Bowdle and Robert Crosser, in Ohio; R. E. Dowdell, in South Dakota; David J. Lewis, in Maryland; Edward Keating, in Colorado; and Frank Buchanan, C. H. Tavenner, H. T. Rainey, Martin D. Foster and J. M. Graham, in Illinois. Edward F. Dunne was elected Governor of Illinois and Wm. Sulzer Governor of New York by overwhelming majorities.

### Pre-Election Prognostications.

In its final report on the Presidential "straw" vote preceding the election of this week, the Chicago Record-Herald of the 3rd, one of the seven newspapers that had united to take this vote, said: Woodrow Wilson will be elected President next Tuesday, if the straw ballots foretell the results at the polls. For second place, Taft and Roosevelt are running a desperate race. The present indications yielded by the national political canvass conducted by the Record-Herald and six other leading metropolitan newspapers are that the three rivals will maintain to the end the same order of running they displayed five weeks ago—Wilson first, Roosevelt second, Taft third.

[See current volume, page 1020.]

The probable standing of the three candidates in the Electoral College was summed up by the Record-Herald's report as follows:

For Wilson, 34 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin.....	381
For Roosevelt, 2 States: California and Washington .....	20
For Taft, 3 States: Utah, Rhode Island, Wyoming .....	12
Doubtful, 9 States: Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Dakota, Vermont.....	118



Senator Dixon's pre-election estimate in behalf of Roosevelt, as reported in the Chicago Tribune of the 3rd, was as follows:

"The nation will be astounded at the enormous vote for Roosevelt and Johnson next Tuesday," said Senator Dixon. "The election returns of four years ago count for nothing in the present contest. All indications point to a Roosevelt landslide. No one longer questions that either Col. Roosevelt or Mr. Wilson will be elected President. Taft will certainly be a bad third in the race, with Debs pushing him closely for third place in Connecticut, Illinois and Indiana."

The States claimed for the Progressives by the Chicago Tribune of the same date were:

Colorado, California, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin .....	297
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In behalf of Taft, as reported in the same issue of the Chicago Tribune, the following claims were made:

Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming .....	316
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**Closing Hours of the Presidential Campaign.**

On the 30th Mr. Roosevelt spoke to an enormously large and enthusiastic audience at Madison Square Garden, New York City, and again on the 1st. [See current volume, page 1019.]

Mr. Wilson spoke on the 31st, also in Madison Square Garden and also to an enormous audience. His last pre-election message to the people was in the form of an address made public over the whole country on the 2nd. In the course of it he said:

We stand face to face with a great decision, a decision which will affect the whole course of our national life and our individual fortunes throughout the next generation. . . . The next four years will determine how we are to solve the question of the tariff, the question of the trusts, the question of the reformation of our whole banking and currency system, the conservation of our natural resources and of the health and vigor of our people, the development of our means of transportation, the right application of our scientific knowledge to the work and healthful prosperity of our whole population, whether in the fields or in the factories or in the mines, the firm establishment of a foreign policy based upon justice and good will rather than upon mere commercial exploitation and the selfish interests of a narrow circle of financiers extending their enterprises to the ends of the earth, and the extension of the assistance of the government to those many programs of uplift and betterment to which some of the best minds of our age have turned with wise hope and ardor. There is much to be done, and it must be done in the right spirit and in the right way, or it will deepen our troubles, not relieve them. . . . The tariff question handled very prudently, so that no honest toil may be interrupted, no honorable or useful enterprise disturbed, must be dealt with by slow stages of well considered change—change whose object shall be to restore and broaden opportunity, and destroy nothing but special privilege and unwholesome control. . . . The trust question must be dealt with in the same way with this distinct and single program, to destroy monopoly and to leave business intact, to give those who conduct enterprise no advantage except that which comes by efficiency, energy and sagacity, those only fountains of honorable wealth, every man rewarded according to his insight and enterprise and service, his mastery in an open field. Currency and banking questions must be discussed and settled in the interest of those who use credit, produce the crops, manufacture the goods, and quicken the commerce of the nation, rather than in the interest of the banker and the promoter and the captain of finance, who if set off by themselves in the management of such things, too easily lose sight even of their own intimate and inseparable relation to the general needs and interests of the rank and file. Forests must be renewed, and mines and water courses must be husbanded and preserved, as if we were trustees for all generations, not merely for our own, for the sake of communities and nations and not merely for the immediate use of those who hasten to enlarge their enterprises and think only of their own profits. . . . We must consider our foreign policy upon the same high principle. We have become a powerful member of the great family of nations. . . . We must devote the power of the government to the service of the race and think at every turn of men and women and children, of the moral life and physical force and spiritual bet-



terment of those, all of those for whom we profess to have set government up. . . . A great people is turning its face to the light, not desiring a revolution, but loving the right and determined to set it up, wisely, temperately, honorably, with prudence and patient debate, not in irritation or in haste, but like men, not like children.



#### Presidential Campaign Funds.

The pre-election financial statement of the Socialist party, filed at Washington on the 30th, showed \$42,735 collected for the campaign and \$29,048 expended. [See current volume, page 1043].



#### Death of the Vice-President.

James Schoolcraft Sherman, Vice-President of the United States and Republican candidate for re-election, died at his home in Utica on the 30th at the age of 57. His funeral took place on the 2d, President Taft and other Federal officials being in attendance officially. Mr. Sherman was Mayor of Utica in 1884, and was elected to Congress in 1887 and every term thereafter (except for 1891-93) until he became Vice-President. To this office he was elected over the present Senator Kern in 1908.



No candidate was named to succeed Mr. Sherman on the Republican ticket at the election of the current week. Legally it was not necessary, inasmuch as the Vice-President, like the President, is to be chosen by the Electoral College elected on the 5th and not by direct popular vote. [See current volume, page 607.]



#### Singletax Issues in Oregon.

The tax-reform campaign in Oregon culminated in debates between Charles Shields, secretary of the Oregon Equal Taxation League (organized to oppose the Singletax movement), and W. S. U'Ren. At Portland on the 24th, in the Bungalow Theater, for the first debate, the subject being the proposed graduated Singletax amendment and the Multnomah county land tax measure, there was a crowded audience. Of this debate the Oregon Daily Journal says:

It was a good humored audience, and although interest was intense, the speakers were interrupted very little. Each was applauded with impartiality wherever a good point was made or a personal thrust was essayed. The nearest thing to a real demonstration occurred twice during the evening when the audience vociferously demanded of Shields that he make public the names of the men who are putting up the cash for his anti-Singletax campaign. Mr. Shields gave them no satisfaction in this regard. "My books are open to inspection. Let Mr. U'Ren tell you," he shouted the first time. At the con-

clusion of the discussion the cry of the crowd for more information became insistent, and Shields read a statement to the effect that his organization had spent a total of \$17,461.10 up to 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. "Why don't you tell us who is backing you?" shouted the crowd. "I don't want to take up any of the time given me for debate," parried Shields. For a few minutes Shields was unable to make himself heard above the loudly voiced demands for a definite reply. Finally, in desperation, he shouted: "The money came from the wealthy men of Portland." He declined to make any further statement in this regard. The call on Shields followed his declaration that U'Ren did not "dare" tell who was backing him. U'Ren accepted the challenge, and stated that his firm was paid \$3,000 annually by the Fels Fund Commission to enable him to carry on the campaign. He said the Commission had expended approximately \$40,000 in the campaign thus far, and that 2,950 citizens of Oregon had also contributed money to aid in the fight for the measures looking toward Singletax in Oregon. "All the money has been spent in Oregon for legitimate expenses," added U'Ren. "I have asked Brother Shields who paid him. He never told me, nor has he told you. I also have asked him how much he was paid, and he never told me. But one thing is certain: My friend Shields of Seattle is being paid by someone, who either expects to save or gain through his efforts. I can see no objection to any man receiving pay, even when he works for the public good, provided we know who pays him, and how much he is paid." This sally was met with prolonged applause and shouts of "Hear, hear!"

The remainder of the Journal's long report is devoted to the substance of the speeches of the two debaters. [See current volume, pages 799, 819, 941, 943, 986, 990, 991, 1009, 1035.]



#### The Singletax Campaign in Missouri.

Joseph Fels virtually closed the Singletax campaign of 1912 in Missouri. He came over to the United States from London a month earlier than usual, because he was anxious to take a personal part in this contest. Landing from the Mauretania at New York on the 18th, he reached St. Louis the following Wednesday, and spent five days in that city. During this time he addressed various meetings, including the City Club and the Jewish Alliance. "My conclusions as to St. Louis," he writes on the 4th, "are that the ground has been very well cultivated among the working classes and in working class neighborhoods, but that the great middle class, the merchants, the manufacturers, etc., have not been sufficiently aroused. The entire money collections from this class of people wouldn't amount to as much as could be got together in a single evening in an enthusiastic industrial meeting." But he adds: "I am bound to say that at St. Louis, in consideration of the facilities given us by the rank and file of the people to be most benefited by the un-taxing of industry and business and the taxing

of land values, our workers have succeeded in working up the population to a gratifying degree; likewise in Kansas City, where almost all of the work seems to have been engineered as a labor of love by people not blessed with much of this world's goods." Mr. Fels continues:

In Kansas City and the surrounding country an enormous amount of propaganda has been carried on by voluntary help, speakers coming in freely from other States, one of these being Robert Cumming of Illinois, and another that remarkable man J. R. Hermann, who came all the way from Colorado to speak the truth as he sees it to a largely misled section of the State of Missouri, and especially to those people whose eyes have been almost entirely shut up by misrepresentation—the farming fraternity. Hermann's life was more than once threatened; and eggs, not necessarily fresh-laid eggs, but eggs, were liberally distributed at his meetings when he was trying to deliver his message of economic freedom and equal opportunity. My next camping ground was St. Joseph, where I had been invited to address a meeting in Tootle's Theater. The house was comfortably filled. Then I picked my way to Omaha, Nebraska, where I had been invited to address meetings and incidentally to renew acquaintance with those Singletax men whom I had met before. I am inclined to believe that in Nebraska they will get the Initiative and Referendum tomorrow, and that within two years a live election on the Singletax will be held and a considerable measure of it be got. From Omaha I went to Kirksville, Missouri, to address my first bucolic meeting. Certainly 80 per cent of the farmers I consulted, and especially those I talked to at the meetings, were "down on" Amendment No. 6 to the Missouri Constitution to be voted on tomorrow, and many of these gentlemen plainly intimated that the same kind of eggs that were being thrown in other parts of the State at those trying to convert the farmers, were in considerable stock in and about Kirksville. My summing up of the whole situation is that Amendment No. 6 will be lost in Missouri; but that an astonishing vote in its favor will be registered in all of the Missouri cities. The vote in two or three counties will yield a majority for the Amendment, but the major part of the State, peopled by Missouri farmers, will decline to approve. The farmers of Missouri will know better two years from now.

[See current volume, pages 893, 966, 972, 991, 1009, 1018, 1035.]



#### The Balkan War.

With unexampled rapidity and almost unvarying success the allied Balkan states have in a three weeks' war driven back the Turkish armies in a rout to Constantinople and forced the Turkish government to sue for peace on almost any terms. [See current volume, page 1043.]



The Greek squadron in the Aegean Sea announced on the 31st that the islands of Thasos and Sobros had been occupied and the Greek flag

raised. A Turkish warship was sunk by a Greek torpedo boat in the port of Saloniki on the night of the 31st. A Greek army had met with victory in its advance to attack Saloniki, and by the 3rd another Greek division brought by water was also converging on Saloniki. By the 3rd the Greeks had also captured the town of Prevesa in Epirus on the west coast.



The Montenegrins have completely invested Scutari and Tarabosch and continue their bombardment of both places.



The Servians were reported on the 31st to hold 22 towns in Macedonia, and to be pressing toward Saloniki in co-operation with Greek and Bulgarian forces.



The spectacular event of the war, however, has been a four days' battle on the plains of ancient Thrace, lying in the southeast part of European Turkey with the Aegean Sea and the sea of Marmora to their south, with the invested city of Adrianople on the north, and the capital city of Constantinople as an objective point at the extreme southeast. The Turkish army beaten at Kirk-Kilisseh, as reported last week, and without food supplies, fell back to the last army of defense before Constantinople, which was under the direct command of Nazim Pasha, Minister of War and Commander in Chief. The victorious Bulgarians, under General Savoff, lost no time in pressing after the fleeing troops. From the 28th to the 31st, for 4 days and a large part of 4 nights—for the moon has been only just past the full and the nights were bright, according to the reports—a terrific conflict was waged. The estimated strength of the two combatants was about 150,000 Bulgarians against about 250,000 Turks. By the end of the second day Lule Burgas, an important point in the Turkish second line of defense, was taken. By the 31st 200,000 Turks were in full retreat in disorganized mobs on Constantinople, only 50 miles distant; 40,000 Turkish soldiers had fallen and 75 per cent of their artillery had been captured. The correspondent of the London Daily Chronicle calls it "the most complete military disaster since Mukden, the greatest debacle since Sedan;" and the same correspondent compares the retreat to that of Napoleon's army from Moscow. The capture of Adrianople, still invested, has lost its importance, since it can no longer serve as a defensive outpost. An official bulletin was issued by the government at Constantinople on the 3rd, admitting defeat at the hands of the Bulgarians on the plains of Thrace.



Kiamil Pasha, president of the council of State

of the Ottoman Empire, assumed the office of Grand Vizier on the 29th, in succession to Ghazi Moukhtar who had resigned. By the 2nd Constantinople was in fever of excitement and anxiety and crime had broken loose. Excesses of Moslem fanaticism on the part of the poor and ignorant and from a maddened and defeated soldiery constantly arriving, created a most serious menace to foreigners. In compliance with requests made by the ambassadors of the Powers the Turkish government has granted them permission to send one warship each through the Dardanelles to protect those of their own nationalities in the city. By the 3rd the Turkish government had applied to the Powers for mediation, with a view to the cessation of hostilities and for the negotiation of peace, proposing—

First—That the Powers offer, and if need be enforce, an armistice on the belligerents.

Second—That the Powers profit by the armistice to invite the belligerents to make known their peace terms, and, if necessary, harmonize the conflicting terms of the belligerents.

The French Premier, Mr. Poincaré, refused to act upon these proposals, declaring that France was unable to accept the suggestion for an armistice without furnishing the Balkan allies guarantees relative to the conditions of peace. An armistice, he said, would check the advance of the allies at the height of their victories, and give the Turks time to reorganize and strengthen their armies. England and Russia are reported to endorse this position. Mr. Poincaré made the following counter proposal:

1—Recognition by the Powers of political and administrative changes in the territory occupied by the troops of the allies.

2—Retention of the Sultan's sovereignty at Constantinople and the region round the capital.

3—The summoning of a European conference in which the Balkan nations shall participate.

It is said that the Balkan allies will refuse to listen to anything in the way of intervention until their victorious armies are at the gates of Constantinople, and will insist that Turkey make her appeal direct to them without interference from the Powers.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The last of the San Francisco graft indictments, that for bribery against Louis Glass, vice-president of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, was dismissed on the 1st. [See vol. xiv, p. 255.]

—Benjamin Fay Mills will begin this year's Fellowship service on the 10th at 11 a. m. in the Whitney Opera House, Chicago. His address is entitled: "If You Were President!" [See current volume, page 387.]

—The Conservative candidates, General Mario Menocal for President and Enrique José Varona for

Vice President, at the Cuba elections on the 1st, were elected by slender but decisive majorities. [See current volume, page 1045.]

—The Italian Court of Appeals confirmed on the 31st decisions of the lower courts to the effect that women must not practice law in Italy. The case was brought by Miss Labriola, a Socialist, the first woman lawyer in Italy and one who has practiced with success.

—Public drinking cups in railroad cars, vessels and other conveyances operated in interstate traffic and in depots and waiting-rooms of common carriers, have been prohibited by the United States public health service—a branch of the treasury department, in an order promulgated on the 30th.

—The Woman's Journal makes the following enumeration as the present suffrage status: Free countries—New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway and Burma. Free States—California, Washington, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado. Campaign States voting on suffrage this week—Michigan, Kansas, Wisconsin, Oregon and Arizona.

—The Rev. John Gregson died at Brookline, Mass., on the 30th, at the age of 70. A highly respected clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church, Mr. Gregson was also well known for many years as an active advocate of the economic doctrines of Henry George. At the first Singletax conference held at Cooper Union in 1890, he was one of the prominent delegates.

—The recently formed New Zealand Government introduced a bill in the House of Representatives on October 4 to change the Constitution of the Legislative Council, members of which are now appointed by the Governor. It is proposed that the Council shall be elected by the direct vote of the people, under the Proportional Representation system. [See current volume, page 779.]

—The annual meeting of the Single Tax Association of Toronto was held on the 25th. Among those who spoke were James MacGregor of New York, and W. A. Douglass, T. E. Rawson, A. C. Thompson and R. J. Berkinshaw of Toronto. J. J. Carroll was re-elected president. In honor of his 70th birthday and in recognition of his long service as a Singletaxer, W. A. Douglass was given a substantial present.

—At the Nicaragua elections on the 2nd there was only one ticket in the field for the two highest offices, that of the Conservative party, upon which the provisional President, Adolfo Diaz, and the provisional Vice President, Fernando Solorzano, were elected to the positions they had been holding on the vote of the National Assembly of October of last year. The new Assembly is solidly Conservative. [See current volume, page 1023.]

—Increasing disorder in Santo Domingo, with reported advance of insurgents and danger to American lives and property at Puerto Plata, caused the American government to order on the 30th the cruiser Baltimore and the tender Yankton to Dominican waters. An accident to the engines of the Baltimore, forcing it to put in at the Norfolk navy-yard on the 4th, is retarding the expedition. The State department gave on the 30th as the reason for the undertaking: "The inability of Brigadier General McIntyre, chief of the bureau of insular affairs, and

William T. S. Doyle, chief of the Latin-American division of the State department, to effect a settlement with the rebels, thereby restoring peace and unobstructed financial sway by the United States over the customs houses of Santo Domingo." [See current volume, page 1021.]

—By a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court on the 26th, thousands of Chicago saloons are legalized. This decision sustains the validity of the so-called "Harkin" ordinance insofar as it limits the number of saloons to one for every 500 inhabitants, and nullifies it insofar as it provides for assigning and renewing licenses. Under the latter part of the decision the "property interest" of breweries in about 3,000 licenses is destroyed. [See vol. viii, p. 779.]

—Police-lieutenant Charles Becker was sentenced at New York on the 30th by Justice Goff to die in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison during the week of December 9th. He is now confined, garbed as a convict, in the "death house" at that prison as "No. 62499" along with ten other convicts who await the death penalty. As he entered the prison he said: "I come here an innocent man. I never had a chance. I was railroaded. But the fight has only begun. I expect a reversal of the verdict and a new trial." [See current volume, page 1045.]

—The Department of State of the United States had been officially notified on the 31st of the ratification of the income-tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States by 32 States. The number still lacking to make this amendment effective is 4. The States rejecting the amendment are Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Utah; those yet to report action are Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wyoming. [See vol. xiv, p. 682; current volume, pages 639, 729.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### That Missouri Single Tax Amendment Being Voted on This Week.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marlon Reedy), Oct. 31.—Under the so-called single tax amendment, its opponents say, the rich man's home and the poor man's home are taxed the same. The rich man's house and the poor man's house are to be untaxed the same. Neither will pay tax. Ah, but the rich man and the poor man will pay the same tax on their land. If their land value is the same, they will pay the same tax. But if their land value is the same, then the poor man is rich or the rich man is poor, and they rightly pay the same, on the same level. The rich man will not pay on his cash in bank, his stocks and bonds and mortgages. He doesn't pay now—at least never more than enough to save his face with his fellow-citizens. He rids himself of most of his cash, securities and mortgages for the day on which he makes oath to his possessions. But tax land values and you get all the stocks, bonds, mortgages, etc. They are based on land values in various forms—railway and other franchises, mines, terminals, docks, water-power sites, timber areas.

The land value tax is the tax that will get all the property of this sort that escapes now. Ah, but some men's land decreases in value: shouldn't they be compensated if they are taxed on increased value? No. If I lose money on a land deal I don't lose it to the community, but to some other speculator. If my land increases in value I get the land value from the community. Ah, but isn't there unearned increment in houses? Not at all. It will always cost to reproduce a house just what it cost originally. There's just so much labor in a house. If you hear a house has increased in value, look and listen again and you'll find it's the land that has increased in value. The single tax would not oppress the poor. Nor would it oppress the rich. It would tax each for what the community gives him of value. It would tax neither on what he gives the community in any form of service. It would not raise rents, but it would raise wages. The land value tax would not discourage land improvement, building, etc. A landowner now may make money by just letting his land lie idle. A landowner under single tax would have to improve his land or let it go. You never find a leased lot vacant. If you find a vacant lot it is an owned lot. Under single tax there's no profit from land except in use. This promotes improvement. Profit in land without use retards improvement. The so-called single tax amendment is not inimical to business, to capital, to labor. In point of fact, so long as all the unearned increment, all the rent of land is not taken for the community, the amendment will cause a real estate boom rather than stagnation. It will promote building and make activity in all the trades. It will bring millions of taxed money from other States to this, to be put into untaxed production here. Everybody will profit by the amendment—even those who pay more taxes will profit by increased business activities.



### Self-Government in Cuba.

(Chicago) Record-Herald, October 30.—Last week there was rioting in Havana over politics, in which some forty persons were shot. The rioters were suppressed, order was quickly restored by the police and the government's military forces, and the whole affair may be put down as due to intensity of feeling between partisans. It did not justify intervention by the United States to supervise the election, which some interests desired. Intervention again will not be justifiable except on a clear showing of Cuba's inability to govern itself. A nation must learn self-government through self-effort.



### The Next Excitement.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marlon Reedy), Oct. 31.—By this time next week all us editors will be busy with our cabinet-making. That is even more exciting than showing who will be or can't be elected President.



John Bull: "I trust it was not simply my free trade principles that made you love me?"

Japan: "Dearest, let us not pry too curiously into the sources of our sacred affection."—London Punch.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### BRYAN.

(To Susan Look Avery.)

For The Public.

You marked him at the dawning of his fame,  
 And gave him your allegiance, as a man  
 Fearless and wise and just, whose thought outran  
 His time's slow pace; one with great hopes aflame,  
 To whom Democracy was no mere name  
 For set or faction, but a noble plan  
 Of life for all through all, in Freedom's van  
 Still moving upward toward a common aim.

Today the man that long ago you knew  
 Is known to all; a nation's grateful hosts  
 Grant him at last the homage long his due;  
 Now is his triumph,—and your triumph too.

No longer shall men doubt a cause that boasts  
 Leader and follower such as he and you.

W. R. BROWNE.



### BRYAN ON PROTECTIONISM.

Extracts from the Speech of William J. Bryan at  
 Dallas, Texas, September 14, 1909. From  
 the Commoner of September 24, 1909.

I began the study of public questions with the tariff question, and years ago reached the conclusion that the protective principle is indefensible from every standpoint.

It is wrong in principle, wrong in policy, and its influence must always and everywhere be harmful.

As unrestricted trade is the natural condition, the advocate of protection must be prepared to establish three propositions before he can maintain his position.

1. He must prove that the principle of protection is right;
  2. That the policy is wise; and
  3. That the protection asked for is necessary.
- What protectionist has ever attempted to establish any one of these propositions?



We contend that the principle is wrong.

A protective tariff is an indirect bounty. In the case of a bounty the government collects the money and turns it over to the favored individual or corporation. In the case of a protective tariff the government imposes a duty upon the imported article, and the theory is that this duty, being added to the price of the imported article, so increases the cost of the imported article that the manufacturer can collect from the consumer an amount equal to the tariff in excess of the amount

that he could collect if there were no tariff. The protective tariff and the bounty do not differ in principle, but merely in form. We contend that the government has no right to collect money from all the people for the benefit of a few of the people.

In what is known as the Topeka (Kan.) case, the United States Supreme Court held that the city of Topeka could not tax the people of that city to aid a manufacturing plant, located in or near that city, and the court in rendering the opinion, said: (I quote from memory.) "To lay with one hand the power of the government upon the property of the citizen and with the other to give it to private individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less robbery because done under forms of law, and called taxation."

If the city of Topeka, acting for a majority of its citizens, could not tax the people to aid an industry located in the city, upon what principle can the people of one part of a State be taxed to aid an industry located in another part of the State? Upon what principle can the people of one State be taxed to aid an industry located in another State? Upon what principle can the people of one section of the country be taxed to aid the people who live in another section?

If the doctrine laid down in the Topeka case is sound, then the sheep owners of western Texas have no right to tax the cotton growers of the rest of the State.

If the doctrine laid down in the Topeka case is sound, upon what principle can the owners of timber lands and sawmills collect a tax upon the builders of homes throughout the land?

If we concede the right of the government to tax all of the people, for the benefit of those who may secure the favor of the government, there is no ground upon which we can plant ourselves in our fight for a tariff for revenue only; and I may add, if the protective principle is wrong, then how can we logically demand that it shall be invoked in behalf of certain sections or certain classes, merely because it has been wrongfully invoked in behalf of other sections or other classes?



But even if we could defend the right of the government to tax the many for the benefit of the few, we would find difficulty in defending the policy, because of the evils to which it leads in practice. The moment we concede the right of a man to use the government as an asset in his business, we must expect him to become active in the control of the government.

The protective system has been productive of more corruption in government than any other agency. The manufacturers have supplied the sinews of war for those candidates who are willing

to agree in advance to reimburse the manufacturers out of the pockets of the people.

An alarming fact is that advocacy of protection as a principle and toleration toward its applied doctrine, tends not only to a corruption of politics and acts injuriously to the people who permit it, but is also a menace to public morals, in that it teaches that a man's vote should be determined by the amount of money he is likely to receive from legislation rather than by his desire to contribute to the common good.

Years ago a prominent Republican coined a phrase that has since been in common use, viz: "Frying the fat out of the manufacturers."

If the manufacturers have fat which may be fried for campaign purposes, and large lumbermen and sheep owners are to be dealt with upon the same basis, where is the system to end? How can we denounce the bribe-taker, who sells his vote for 50 cents or \$5, if we condone the conduct of the rich, whose personal profits run into the hundreds, the thousands or even into the millions?

Men have been sent to Congress and kept in Congress by the campaign funds furnished by the protected interests.

In the last Presidential campaign our national committee collected about \$600,000, and more people contributed to it than ever contributed to a campaign fund before, and yet probably not more than 5 per cent. of the Democratic voters sent in contributions to the national fund. A single corporation like the steel trust could afford to contribute more than \$600,000 to any party that would promise to protect its products. Its net earnings have amounted to over \$150,000,000 in a single year. It could give ten times as much to a campaign fund as we collected from the entire Democratic party last year, and yet make the money back over and over in a single year out of the favoritism which protection bestows; and it will not help matters any to add the producers of raw material to the manufacturers as a corrupting influence.

The benefits of the tariff on lumber do not go to any large percentage of the people, but mainly to the owners of timber lands and sawmills. The Weyerhaeuser company, for instance, owns immense tracts of timber lands and many sawmills.

While I cannot speak in detail of the lumber interests in Texas, I am sure I am within the truth when I say that there are twenty-five voters in Texas who are injured by the tax on lumber for every voter who derives a pecuniary benefit from the lumber tariff. The profits which the large lumber owners and lumber companies derive from the tariff on lumber is so great that they could easily finance a national campaign, if by so doing they could retain a tariff on lumber.

In my tariff speech at Des Moines last year I quoted from a speech made by Senator Pettigrew and reported in the Congressional Record,

in which he commented on a statement made in the Northwest Lumberman, giving the profit that would be derived on lumber by a group of men who assembled in one of the committee rooms of Congress to protest against free lumber. One of the group declared that a tariff of \$1 per thousand feet on lumber would amount to six million dollars to the men in the room.

As long as men and corporations find it profitable to go into partnership with the government, in the use of the taxing power we shall have corruption in politics.



The third objection to a protective tariff is that its advocates do not attempt to show that it is necessary, even from their own standpoint. The Republican platform asked for a protective tariff equal to the difference in the cost of production plus a reasonable profit to the manufacturers, and if a protective tariff is to be defended at all, that is the logical basis upon which to defend it.

What Democrat can defend a protective tariff, even on raw material, on any other ground, or to any greater extent?

And yet what protectionist has attempted to show that we need a tariff?

The testimony taken before the committees at Washington last winter did not cover this point, although this was the very question presented by the Republican platform. The Republicans who asked protection for the manufacturing interests did not attempt to show that those interests needed the protection asked for, and those who demanded the tariff on raw material did not attempt to show that the producers of raw material needed a tariff.

When a man starts out to defend a protective tariff he abandons logic and argument, and contents himself with demands and threats; he assumes that the principle of protection is right; he presumes that the policy is wise, and he takes it for granted that the rate which he asks for is necessary.

The man who contends for incidental protection soon becomes as unreasonable as the man who asks for direct protection. Incidental protection is protection that was not intended—a protection that came without planning; the moment you begin to plan for protection it ceases to be incidental and becomes direct and intended protection, and to defend it one must resort to the same arguments that are used to defend the protective system in general.

While it is true that the immediate effect of an existing tariff is the same, whether it was intended for protection or intended for revenue, yet in the construction of a tariff law it makes a great deal of difference whether those who make the law are looking for revenue or looking for protection. In making a revenue tariff you so adjust the tariff

as to collect a revenue, and you stop when you get enough; in constructing a protective tariff you may so adjust the rates as to impose a heavy burden upon the people and yet collect but little revenue, and you never know when to stop.

Take the tariff on iron ore as an illustration; the steel trust wanted a tariff on iron ore. We have this upon the authority of Senator Smith of Maryland, who said on the floor of the Senate that he had it from a Representative of the steel trust. Some of our Democrats voted for a tariff on iron ore, on the theory that it was a revenue tariff, and they estimated that a duty of 25 cents per ton would bring in a revenue of \$250,000, but if the steel trust adds the tariff to the price of the ore which it sells or to the price of the finished product which it makes from the ore which it converts into steel it will collect a tax of some \$10,000,000 from the people, because of the duty on iron ore. If this be true will any one defend the tariff on iron ore as a revenue tariff? And the same might be said of a tariff on oil. The amount of oil imported would be very small, but a tariff on oil would permit an enormous tax to be levied upon the American people.

Other illustrations might be used, but these will show how important it is that a tariff law should be made by those who oppose the principle of protection, rather than by those who favor the principle of protection.



### WOODROW WILSON.

From Funk & Wagnalls' Standard Encyclopedia,  
Volume xxv, Page 341.

WILSON, Woodrow (1856), was born in Staunton, Va., the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, and was graduated from Princeton 1879. He then studied law at the University of Virginia, practiced at Atlanta, Ga. (1882-83), and went to Johns Hopkins University, where he specialized in history, jurisprudence and political science.

Soon after he began his career as an educator as professor of history and political economy at Bryn Mawr College. From 1888 to 1890 he was professor of the same subjects at Wesleyan University, and from 1890 to 1902 he was professor of jurisprudence and politics at Princeton. In 1902 he was elected first lay president of the last named university. During his term as president, which ended 1910, his powers of organization were clearly seen, and he extended the influence of his university as a great intellectual institution.

In 1910 his high personal qualities and his undisputed position as a master of the methods of government, secured him election as Democratic governor of New Jersey. This scholar in politics has turned out to be a great man of action, and a politician who is prepared to fight for the ideals of the Democratic party. His term of office has

already been distinguished by several fearless and even drastic departures in public policy. He opposed the working of the political machine in the selection of candidates, has forced through a Democratic Assembly and a Republican Senate a direct primary and election law, a Workingman's Compensation Act, a Corrupt Practices Act, a Public Utilities Bill, and a Direct Election Law.

In regard to wider affairs, he believes in the Oregon initiative and referendum, objects to the recall of judges, supports the Sherman act and the larger policy it implies and sees the need of a tariff revision.

He is Democratic leader of the advanced radicalism of the nation, and at present (March, 1912) appears the man of his party most likely to be chosen at the coming convention as candidate for the presidency. Already he has attracted all eyes towards him, even some belonging to the Insurgent and Progressive Republicans, and his power is great in the Middle West.

His works, as an historian and writer of political sciences, are authoritative. They include *A Study in American Politics* (1885), *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (1889), *Division and Reunion, 1829-1909* (1909), *George Washington* (1896), *History of the American People* (5 Vols., 1902), *Constitutional Government in the United States* (1908), and *Civic Problems* (1909).



### THE SOLDIER OF FREEDOM.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Daily News  
and Leader of September 28, 1912.

A certain sort of Liberal, who largely dominated the last great Liberal century, seems to have disappeared entirely from our politics. . . . But whether or no the man be worthy of regret, he is certainly worthy of record. For he did most of the dirty work of cleansing Europe of a quite diseased and festering feudalism; and he can be judged with as much composure and magnanimity as a Jacobite. For he seems to have vanished utterly.

I mean the soldier of freedom, the Radical Militant; the more romantic kind of Republican who wished his country or himself to be a knight-errant of the new equality. The whole prose and poetry of nineteenth century England was filled with his spirit; ever since Byron left hanging on the altar of Hellas a sword as splendid and more stainless than his lyre. The whole politics and public oratory of nineteenth-century England had echoes of him up to the time when Ruskin rolled his richest thunders against the desertion of insulted Denmark. Swinburne is full of him. Mrs. Browning is full of him. Rossetti is full of him; and so was George Meredith in "Vittoria" and "Sandra Belloni." Nor was it a mere atmosphere or spirit; this doctrine of military intervention in the cause



of liberty all over the world was taught by such writers in quite explicit phrases. Mrs. Browning wrote, in terms so clear as to be even a little commonplace:

Happy are all free nations too strong to be dispossessed,  
But happiest those among them that dare to be strong for the rest.

Rossetti, in a celebrated sonnet on the refusal of military aid between nations, said that by this and by this only he was certain

That the world falls asunder, being old.

Swinburne was so fierce a Jacobin as to become a sort of Jingo, and threatened the White Czar with the fire and flood which overwhelmed that great Armada that presumed "to dare an English Queen." I may remark that all the quotations given here are probably wrong. I quote from memory both by temper and on principle. That is what literature is for; it ought to be a part of a man.

Now I am not blind to the limitations of this old adventurous sort of Republican. Of some things I hold sacred he was far more intolerant than are the Pacifist Liberals of today. He never understood how deep the religious root had struck amid the populace, as in Ireland or in Russia. The friends of Garibaldi were not quite so irreproachable, nor his foes quite so inexcusable, as such recluses as Elizabeth Barrett represented. There was some real blackguardism mixed up with the real brotherhood, some plainly impossible anarchy mixed up with the righteous indignation, as anybody can see in the poems of Byron or Swinburne. And certainly the rational society they sought has not proved all they fancied it, especially for the poor. Now that "republican" means in so many places what it means in America—a *bourgeois* league for the shooting down of the strikers—some of the things Shelley and Swinburne said about kings and priests might very well be retorted on their successors. A reactionary might not unreasonably fling back at the Republic the taunting question the Republican poet flung at the Church. He might ask, "Well, if it comes to that:

"Hast thou filled full men's starved out souls,  
Hast thou brought freedom on the earth,  
Or is there less oppression done  
In this wild world beneath the sun?"

In all this I disagree with the Soldier of Freedom. But I admire him. I think he was a very fine fellow. Nay, I think he was a hard-headed and sensible fellow, in so far that, granted that he wished to intervene in foreign atrocities, he provided himself with weapons with which to do so. And though he and I and every other Liberal would like to see a just treaty between the nations, I should dislike any peace that forbade us to fight for Bolivia against America, or Poland against

Russia, precisely as he hated the peace of the Holy Alliance.

The time seems to have come for misquoting a little more poetry, and I will end with this, which the reader may think entirely irrelevant, in which case the reader will be horribly deceived. It is all I can remember of the truest words (I think the only really true words) that Swinburne ever wrote; perhaps true of the future; certainly true of the present. It is from the speech of England in the chorus of the nations crying out to their mother, the spirit of European justice and liberty:

I am she that was and was not of thy chosen,  
Free and not free.  
I fed thy streams till mine own streams were frozen;  
Yet I am she.  
By the star that Milton's soul for Shelley lighted,  
Whose rays ensphere us,  
By the beacon-bright Republic far off sighted,  
O, Mother, hear us!



### THE WALKER.

Arturo Giovannitti in the *International Socialist Review*.

I hear footsteps over my head all night.  
They come and go. Again they come and again they go all night.  
They come one eternity in four paces and they go one eternity in four paces, and between the coming and the going there is Silence and Night and the Infinite.  
For infinite are the nine feet of a prison cell, and endless is the march of him who walks between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate, thinking things that cannot be chained and cannot be locked, but that wander far away in the sunlit world, in their wild pilgrimage after destined goals.  
Throughout the restless night I hear the footsteps over my head.  
Who walks? I do not know. It is the phantom of the jail, the sleepless brain, a man, the man, the Walker.  
One—two—three—four; four paces and the wall.  
One—two—three—four; four paces and the iron gate.  
He has measured the space, he has measured it accurately, scrupulously, minutely, so many feet, so many inches, so many fractions of an inch for each of the four paces.  
One—two—three—four. Each step sounds heavy and hollow over my head, and the echo of each step sounds hollow within my head as I count them in suspense and in fear that once, perhaps, in the endless walk, there may be five steps instead of four between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate.  
But he has measured the space so accurately, so scrupulously, so minutely, that nothing breaks the grave rhythm of the slow phantastic march.  
Yet fearsome and terrible are all the footsteps of men upon the earth, for they either descend or climb.



They descend from little mounds and high peaks and lofty altitudes, through wide roads and narrow paths, down noble marble stairs and creaky stairs of wood, and some go down to the street, and some go down to the cellar, and some down to the pits of shame and infamy, and still some to the glory of an unfathomable abyss where there is nothing but the staring white stony eyeballs of Destiny.

And again other footsteps climb. They climb to life and to love, to fame, to power, to vanity, to truth, to glory, and to the gallows; to everything but Freedom and the Ideal.

And they all climb the same roads and the same stairs others go down; for never, since man began to think how to overcome and overpass man, have other roads and other stairs been found.

They descend and they climb, the fearful footsteps of men, and some drag, some speed, some trot, some run; the footsteps are quiet, slow, noisy, brisk, quick, feverish, mad, and most awful is their cadence to hear for the one who stands still.

But of all the footsteps of men that either descend or climb, no footsteps are as fearsome and terrible as those that go straight on the dead level of a prison floor from a yellow stone wall to a red iron gate.

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## BOOKS

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### "THE SUPER-RACE."

**The Super Race.** An American Problem. By Scott Nearing, Ph. D. B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth Ave., The Art of Life Series. 50 cents net.

Professor Nearing's book differs from other works on race culture in two rather important particulars: it is well written, and it recognizes that environment and education are as necessary as eugenics to the furtherance of that better grade of human stock which the author christens the Super-race. The demerit of the book, on the other hand, and this time its quality is shared by practically every other book on eugenics, is its trustful optimism.

Mr. Nearing has read all the authorities on eugenics and apparently his politeness and reverence for science have led him to swallow their statements whole. He actually thinks that Positive Eugenics is a practicable programme. "What prospective parent," he asks his readers, "does not fondly imagine that his children will be at least near-great? Yet how many individuals, in their choice of a mate, set out with the deliberate intention of securing a life-partner whose qualities, when combined with his own, must produce greatness?" Like Mr. Nearing, the writer cannot answer and is reduced to wondering "How many?" but he sincerely hopes that if ever answer was vouchsafed from any oracle that answer would be "None."

It would seem unnecessary to labor the point, but the idea that the bond of love is not a personal matter, not a union of sympathetic spirits—regardless of whether they both be mathematicians or both painters—but a breeding proposition only, is an idea negated by every instinct of the human heart. Only a sophisticated academician who has wandered far from Life in her first intention could so confuse his values. That Nature does not approve of any such thing is shown by the indubitable fact that she always plunges the man and woman whom she would mate into a temporary insanity—witness the poetry of people in love. Having thus put their troublesome intellects out of the way, her mysterious plans are not interfered with by any clumsy eugenic matchmaking of men.

Of course, Nature not being a personal or observing power, needs the help of the eyes of men, and so when men see that two people are victims of a few—and they are only a few—really transmissible and general diseases such as feeble-mindedness, then they can prevent mating, in the interests of society. But as has been shown by Professor Hobbouse of London, such interference is not necessary in the case, for example, of tuberculosis, which can be taken care of very adequately by the gradual improvement of the environment. Or, if the case be epilepsy, then the eugenist should not forget that epileptic strains produce more than their share of geniuses, and so he should not be too ready dogmatically to interfere.

Mr. Nearing's discussions of the environment and of education are stimulating and suggestive, but throughout them he constantly returns to his eugenic note with a touching faith. His optimism is occasionally rather excessive. "War, however, has practically ceased," he tells us. Has it? Improvements in the art, at least, still seem to find a very ready market, and certain of our industrial situations look as if something very like civil war may some day be precipitated if the scientists and social observers can think of nothing better than eugenics as the path of humanity's emancipation from its present narrow cell of injustice, unspirituality, greed and want.

LLEWELLYN JONES.



### THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR.

**One of the Multitude.** By George Acorn, with introduction by Arthur C. Benson. New York. Dodd, Mead & Company. Price, \$1.25.

Perhaps "One of the Multitude" is hardly a title to apply to the very exceptional youth who tells his own story of life in the London slums with a simplicity that is like a photographic copy of the characters and scenes presented.

George Acorn, with his honest ambitions and soaring aspirations, could hardly claim heredity from the low, vulgar, brutal father and mother

who strove to hold the boy down to their own debasing level. His whole story is a testimony to the power of human nature to rise above the most hopeless environment of poverty and ignorance, if the desire is persistently cultivated.

As Mr. Benson says in his introduction:

The book, in spite of its sad and sordid experiences, leaves us hopeful and encouraged . . . with a firm belief that the enigma is solving itself, and that the surest sign of this is the fact that such a life as is here described can pick its way without stain through the mire, and successfully claim its share in the best and richest inheritance of men—the inheritance of light and beauty and truth.

A. L. M.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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- Gutter-Babies. By Dorothea Slade. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.
- Fire Prevention. By Edward F. Croker. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.
- Man or Machine—Which? By Al Priddy. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1912. Price, 75 cents; postage, 8 cents.
- Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist. By Alexander Berkman. Published by Mother Earth Publishing Assn., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50.
- Natural Money: The Peaceful Solution. By John Raymond Cummings. Published by the Bankers Publishing Co., New York. 1912.
- The Work of the Bond House. By Lawrence Chamberlain. Published by Moody's Magazine. Book Department, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.35 net.
- Marriage, Considered from Legal and Ecclesiastical Viewpoints. By Lewis Stockton. Published by the Huebner-Bleistein Patents Co., Buffalo, N. Y. 1912.
- Himself: Talks with Men Concerning Themselves. By E. B. Lowry and Richard J. Lambert. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1912. Price, \$1.00.
- Assessor's Manual: A Guide to the Assessment of Taxes under the New Jersey Revised Tax Act of 1903. By Thomas B. Usher. Published by Soney & Sage, Newark, N. J. 1911.
- Citizens Made and Remade: An Interpretation of the Significance and Influence of George Junior Republics. By William R. George and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.
- Preliminary Report of the Factory Investigating Commission of the State of New York. Transmitted to the Legislature, March 1, 1912. Volume I: Creation of Commission and Scope of Investigation with a Summary of Work Done, including General and Special Reports on Fire Hazard in Factories, Factory Inspection, Occupational Diseases and Manufacturing in Tenements. Volumes II and III: Minutes of Public Hearings. Published by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Room 1332, 22 E. 17th St., New York City.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Stenographers Organizing.

Helen Marot in *Life and Labor* (Chicago) for October reports progress in the organization of stenographers, a task in which the Women's Trade Union League is active. There are now stenographers' unions in seven cities. The New York Union "has created a minimum wage of \$12 per week, 7 hours for a day's work and two weeks' vacation with pay." In Chicago, through the co-operation of the Women's Trade Union League, "a down-town office has been established as an employment department free to members." "A Thousand Members by January 1," is the slogan of this Chicago Association.

A. L. G.



### The Somers System News.

Published by the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Cleveland, "The Somers System News" is a quarterly trade journal of the kind known as "house papers"—that is, papers openly representing a private business interest. It is designed, however, "to promote equity in tax assessments of real property." Ten American cities are named in this first issue as having "been assessed by the Somers System with equitable results"—all other cities having "inequitable valuations." The Somers System of land value appraisal was favorably noticed by *The Public* more than ten years ago. It seemed at that time to be a necessary prerequisite to any very useful effort at land value taxation. Since then it has given substantial proof of its utility for assessment purposes, and without evoking any substantial criticisms. Tom L. Johnson was the first to give it a fair trial. He did this in his first administration as Mayor of Cleveland. Through his introduction its fame spread, and its utility appears now to be established. A very complete and lucid explanation of the system, illustrated with practical diagrams, is given in this issue of *The Somers System News* at page 9, preceded by a discussion of its merits at page 3.



### The World's Work.

An article entitled "Beef" in *The World's Work* for October gives two reasons for the high price of porterhouse. (Neither of which, by the way, will in the least hurt the Beef Trust's feelings.) First: "There are not as many cattle as there were and there are more people demanding beef. And long before there are enough cattle being raised to supply the demand for beef there will be millions more people in the cities demanding beef. You will probably not live long enough to buy porterhouse steak for less than 32 cents a pound." And second, stated briefly: The consumers do not proportion their demand for choice and common cuts of beef as nature proportioned the animal. Therefore steak is very expensive; soup meat very cheap. There is in this same magazine an inspiring record of one man's achievement. Tom Walker, born a slave just when the Civil War was ruining his section of old Virginia, has redeemed

this whole Gloucester county "from sloth and crime" to "industry and enlightenment." From the day when as an illiterate fifteen-year-old boy, he applied at Hampton Institute for an education, he has worked unceasingly for the social betterment of his native place. From school, farm and platform he has constantly urged his fellow Negroes to learn to read

and write, to farm instead of fish, to save their money for buying land instead of spending it for drink. Today education, temperance and prosperity are spread over this county and are taking root in others nearby. The Southern white Democrats have helped their colored Republican friend, even electing him to office—"an illuminating chapter," remarks the chron-

New Words to an old Tune.

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Words by A. G. B.  
Allegro.

Music, Emmett's original DIXIE'S LAND.  
From Century Magazine, Oct. 1895.

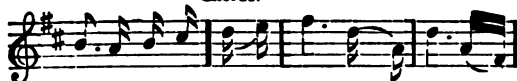


1. We'll make this now a
2. We poor-er grow, while
3. Our L. V. T. will un
4. Dear lord, you'll go with-



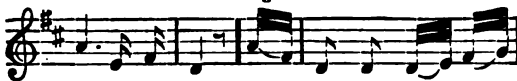
land of free-dom—Chance for all, an  
hard-er work-ing—Rich-er lord, by  
load the work-er—Well do up my  
out your mut-ton—Sheep have learnt to

Chorus.



food to feed 'em!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
tax-es shirk-ing!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
lord, the shirk-er!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
touch the but-ton!—Pay the tax, with therent—the

Song.

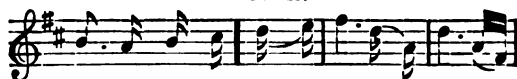


rent of the land!—No lord shall eat or  
rent of the land!—O! earth, to us, our  
rent of the land!—An see him hump like  
rent of the land!—Oh, won't we all jus'



tax our la-bor—Men hunt work, or  
Fath-er lent it—Fools we are, of  
wheel-ing grav-el—Hard times, then, get  
live in clo-ver—Slav-ry dead!—an

Chorus.



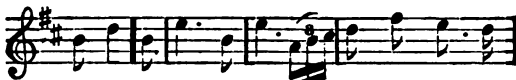
chil-dren hun-ger!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
lord, to rent it!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
up an trav-el!—Pay the tax, with therent—the  
dead all o-ver!—Pay the tax, with therent—the

Song. (Walk around).



rent of the land!—We know the way to  
rent of the land!—Fine, lev-el road to  
rent of the land!—No oth-er road to  
rent of the land!—Our Hen-ry's way to

Chorus.



free-dom!—Fall in! Fall in! Fall in- to line, to



free our land!—To live a life in free-dom! Fall



in! Fall in! We're on the road to free-dom! Fall



in! Fall in! We're on the road to free-dom!

DANCE.



The above song and music is published by A. G. Beecher & Co., Warren, Pa. It is printed on fine paper, with wide margins, on a sheet of four pages. On the fourth page is printed the "Aims of the Single Taxers," as told in 1887 in the Syracuse platform and the words of Henry George. Price, postpaid, 25 cents per dozen copies. Orders for copies in quantities are solicited to help the publishing (with other Single Tax leaflets) of a cheap edition to be supplied postpaid at 25 cents per 250 copies.

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A. L. G.

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MRS. RAYMOND ROBBINS, President  
EMMA STEGHAGEN, Secretary

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seedless to matter the Guvment is growin'. I'm writing to you in hopes you will send me some of the seeds."—Saturday Evening Post.



Chap about to wed was nervous;  
To the young best man he cried:  
"Tell me, is it kisstomary  
For the groom to cuss the bride?"  
—Woman's Home Companion.

First Deaf Mute: "He wasn't so very angry, was he?"

Second Deaf Mute: "He was so wild that the words he used almost blistered his fingers."—Pittsburg Leader.



The aeroplane, making a twelve-hour journey from London to Hong Kong, had encountered difficulties among the stars. Something apparently was wrong with the engine, for the customary comet-

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