

The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1912.

No. 764.

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

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

EDITORIAL

Special Session of Congress.

His first step encourages greater confidence than ever in the loyal purpose and good judgment of the President-elect.



All democratic Democrats, all democratic Republicans, all democratic Progressives and all democratic Socialists who recall Mr. Cleveland's tragic error, will rejoice at Mr. Wilson's announcement of his purpose to convoke a special session of the new Congress in April. Upon the cleavage which then appears, and the policy regarding it which the new President takes, will probably depend the course of national politics thenceforward.



Governor Dunne's Administration.

Whatever else he may do, the Governor-elect of Illinois will probably find at least three things necessary in the public interest, and therefore indispensable to the success of his administration.



One is to stand by his declaration already made, that the Initiative and Referendum amendment, in good form, shall be submitted to the people. For another thing, and to the end that he be not jockeyed by the reactionary elements of his party in the legislature, it will be wise for him to refuse to discuss questions of patronage until that amendment passes both Houses and is in due form for

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popular vote. In the third place, unless he keeps his mind open on the question of vocational education, on the question of the Lakes-to-Gulf deep water way, and on the question of taxation, he may find himself involved in humiliating embarrassments.



Plutocratic "reformers" are trying to separate vocational from cultural education. A complexity of grafting interests is involved in the Lakes-to-Gulf controversy. The "tax reform," in behalf of which a favorable vote was trickily got at the recent election, is a La Salle-street reform, designed to release stock gamblers from personal property taxation while taxing tangible personal and real estate improvements higher. When these three subjects shall have been thoroughly canvassed before the new Governor and carefully considered by him, and not earlier, will the time be ripe for him to commit himself safely with reference to any of the three.



Governor Sulzer's Administration.

The Governor-elect of New York is a democratic Democrat. He has made a good record as such in a long Congressional career. He has more than one mark to his credit as such in the New York legislature. But never before has he had so free an opportunity to build his record up to a splendid climax.



Not only is his position as Governor so far above the reach of the Interests and the Bosses that they can do nothing to obstruct what he undertakes, but the political weather has set in from a direction which makes it impossible for them to punish him personally or to baffle his public spirited purposes. He is a free officeholder more completely than any Governor of New York has been in a generation.



Intense or unpopular radicalism is not demanded of Governor Sulzer by thoughtful persons. But unless he utilizes his extraordinary political freedom to give as full reign to his Democratic democracy as the advanced and advancing state of public opinion now permits, he will disappoint scores of thousands, both in his own State and out of it, who look confidently to him to place that State well forward in the march toward fundamental democracy.

Socialism versus Progressivism.

At least one remarkably able and brilliant speech was made at the City Club last week with reference to the lessons of the election. It was by John C. Kennedy, the Socialist Party candidate for Governor of Illinois, who polled 75,000 votes at the recent election. To praise his speech is not to agree with it at every angle, but no one who heard it will deny its plausibility as a summing up of election lessons.



Mr. Kennedy treated the regular Republican Party as dead—as dead as the Whig Party was when the Republican Party came into the arena. For the Democratic Party he foreshadowed early disintegration and collapse. With both those moribund organizations then out of the way, he pointed to the Progressive Party as the only combatant left the Socialist Party to meet—the former clinging to capitalism and making it as tolerable as possible, the latter assailing capitalism root and branch.



Whether or not Mr. Kennedy is right in his prophecy as to particular political parties, his general view is not much awry. The Socialist Party does aim at destroying capitalism root and branch, the good of it that belongs to *free contract* as opposed to monopoly, and the bad of it that belongs to *monopoly* as opposed to free contract. The Progressive Party does as yet aim at preserving capitalism with only its rough edges smoothed and polished. But there still remains a third possibility. With law-created monopolies—from tariff privileges to land monopoly—rooted out of capitalism, all that the Socialist Party aims at would at once be peaceably possible through voluntary economic readjustments, and all that the Progressive Party deplores would disappear. Out of the Democratic break-up that is almost inevitable—the very break-up that Mr. Kennedy predicted—might come the political force which, uniting with kindred elements in all the other parties, could realize Mr. Kennedy's prediction, somewhat different in detail to be sure, but in substance much the same as he pictured it forth.



Thomas Wybrants Lodge.

In the early days of The Public its democratic character drew to it one whose friendship has been unwavering for the fifteen years of its life and ends only with the end of his own. Thomas Wybrants Lodge, of Hahatonka, down in Missouri,

was a lovable character, to whom democracy was a religion and the teachings of Henry George one of its scriptures. Born in Killea Rectory, Ireland, in 1833, he was educated at Dublin University, married Margaret S. Thomson at Pittsfield, Illinois, in 1868, and, settling in Camden County, Missouri, in 1871, lived there until his death from old age in October of the present year. His name on The Public's list continuously all these years was one of its cherished landmarks and his occasional letters of encouragement among its cheering episodes.



THE INITIATIVE AND THE SINGLE-TAX.

There are few places so backward or persons so dull as not at this day to understand the essentials of the Initiative. It is a method of legislation by the people themselves, free from veto by Governor or legislature or any other representative power, and obstructed by no necessity for securing other permission for a popular vote than that of a percentage of the voters concerned. For this reason the Initiative stands out conspicuously as the climax of People's Power.

Not that legislative bodies or other forms of representation would be abolished by the Initiative. Legislation by representatives would be as necessary as ever, and more truly representative.

The effect of the Initiative upon representative bodies would be to take from them the tremendous power which they have usurped, and to restore to them the functions of representation from which they have fallen away. They would be people's *committees* in most things, instead of people's *bosses* in all things.



This restoration of power to the people has made friends for the Initiative among most advocates of radical changes in government.

Wisely so.

For whether or not such changes shall be made or be prevented, the people themselves ought to decide. They ought not on the one hand to be plunged by their representatives into changes they do not want, nor on the other to be obstructed by their representatives in securing changes they do want.

Wisely so for a further reason.

Under representative authority of the plenary sort, general stimulation of public opinion is extremely difficult if not wholly impossible. Legislators themselves may grow in civic intelligence

through the clash of opinion which centers at a capitol during sessions. Consequently, when radical proposals come before legislative bodies with virtually plenary powers, some stimulation of thought may be secured. But it is almost confined to legislators. Even they experience it under circumstances quite likely to prevent free consideration. "Influences" at the capitol, or fear of prejudice among the people at home, may give their thinking a "crooked" course. But however it be with legislators, the people as a whole get little or no political education on public questions that are decided by legislatures, and that is not good for popular government. If their intelligence is to reach its best or even its better possibilities, the people themselves must have direct responsibility for decisions on changes in public policy.

For a double reason, therefore, does the Initiative commend itself to advocates of radical changes in public policy. It makes, for one thing, a direct appeal to the people possible; and incidentally, for the other thing, it promotes public intelligence regarding public policies.



For those reasons, as well as its essential democracy, democratic Singletaxers have ceaselessly and in many places successfully promoted the Initiative and Referendum movement. Its story in any State cannot be fully written without disclosing Singletax persons and influences as the principal motive power. Though some Singletaxers have opposed it, they were few in number and of little influence outside of circles with anti-democratic or other reactionary tendencies.

Most persons who respond to Henry George's profoundly democratic message are advocates of the Initiative and Referendum as the highest known method of democratic government—the Referendum as a people's veto, the Initiative as a people's command. For these it is not easy to look upon a defeat of the Singletax by the Initiative, as in Missouri and Oregon, with complete satisfaction. Accustomed to recognizing the central truth of democracy which is at the core of their simple fiscal reform with its unattractive name, and prone as democrats to believe that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," many of them had no doubt wrought themselves up to expectations of victory for the Singletax immediately upon its submission to the people of those States. Their disappointment at the defeat must consequently be very keen.

But there is no substantial reason for disappointment. All may see this who will remember

that the Initiative, a democratic method of government, is not designed to secure the adoption of the Singletax, or any other particular policy, against public opinion. They may see it still more plainly if they remember that it is designed not only to secure democratic government but also to educate all the people in particular democratic policies, including the Singletax.

Practically, the educational function may be the most important of all the functions of the Initiative. Is not general training in the responsibilities of democracy one of the essentials of democratic government? Can any other be more vital? With general civic intelligence, democratic government is in all things assured; without that intelligence, no democracy can long survive. And popular intelligence in civic affairs is impossible without popular education and training such as only the Initiative affords.

In a popular clash of opinions over concrete questions of policy, to be decided directly by themselves, men learn to think right. Thinking right, they incline to vote right.



The defeat of the Singletax in Seattle last spring, and in Oregon and Missouri and virtually in California this fall, does not prove that the Singletax is wrong or the Initiative useless, nor that the voice of the people is not the voice of God. What it does prove is that the people, essentially conservative (as is becoming if their voice is to be the voice of God), will make no radical change in public policy until they understand it. They await enlightenment. And enlightenment is not one of God's free gifts. It must be labored for. If political in character, it must be labored for in struggles which can be evoked only by exciting public interest and thereby bringing on public discussion.

Those adverse votes were not all hostile. Many of them, perhaps by far the larger proportion, were expressive only of indifference or doubt. A majority of the voters open to conviction, had not been convinced. But a vast minority had been convinced, and that minority is a gigantic nucleus for future majorities.

The people of those States have been at a school where this large minority have learned more of the Singletax in a few months than they could learn in many years through non-responsible propaganda.



If the Singletax is false doctrine, it will be completely discredited and dissipated by further Ini-

tiative contests; but if it is true doctrine, every fresh clash of public opinion over it will carry Singletax education farther and deeper.

The city of Everett, in Washington State, is an instructive example at this moment and in this country. By a close vote the people of Everett had ordered the placing of the Singletax in their proposed charter. The charter commission excluded it from the charter but submitted it at the charter election separately. The charter was adopted by the people, but the Singletax was defeated. Here the parallel with Oregon's adoption of county home rule in taxation in 1910 and its repeal in 1912, is almost perfect. In neither case was public intelligence correctly expressed in the first contest; and in both cases the earlier action was revoked. The people were not finally *deciding* under the Initiative; they were *thinking* with the aid of the Initiative.

To such good effect did the people of Everett think, that at the recent election, after another educational campaign and in a vote almost as large as that for President of the United States, they adopted the Singletax and under its name of "Singletax," by a majority in every ward and by a total vote of two for it to only one against it.

This result may not be accomplished in Oregon and Missouri so soon; the voting population is larger. It may never be accomplished there. But from the experience at Everett a lesson is certainly to be drawn. It is a lesson of prime importance for the enlightenment of the Singletax Advisory Conference which the Joseph Fels Fund Commission have invited to meet with it at Boston on the 29th and 30th of this month and the 1st of next.



So far from being discredited with Singletaxers, the Initiative in Oregon and Missouri and Washington and California has proved its value to the Singletax cause. Let that Singletaxer deride it who does not believe in democracy, and then defend his Singletax faith if he can. Let that Singletaxer repudiate it, who has lost his faith either in the truths of the Singletax or in the special efficacy of the Initiative for public education in Singletax truths. But let all Singletaxers who believe in democracy, who believe in the Singletax because it is the core of democracy (political and industrial), who believe that extensive and intensive popular education in the Singletax is a prerequisite to its firm establishment, who believe that the people are on the whole righteous-minded and yet slow to make uncertain changes, who be-

lieve that they can be enlightened in the mass most speedily and convincingly by that clash of opinion which the Initiative creates—let these consider whether the Initiative in Missouri, California, Oregon and Washington has not proved of great and incalculable value to their cause. Let them remember the past, not for its disappointments but for its lessons.



The great virtue of the Initiative to Singletaxers is this, that whenever the people really want the Singletax they can get it despite legislative hostility or trickery; and that meanwhile it affords the best means of popular education on the subject, an education which incidentally trains all voters in the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Under the American theory, government depends for its democracy and consequent stability upon the springing up of new policies *from the people themselves*. This is the modern theory everywhere. Experience teaches that policies handed down from above, unless they spring primarily out of popular feeling, are of little value.

That being so, Singletaxers cannot expect as good results from representatives entrenched in power and tied up to predatory interests, as from the people themselves. For though great masses of the people be indifferent to righteousness when their own individual interests are at stake, their interests as a whole are sufficiently conflicting to leave the balance of power at the last with the righteous remnant.

When the people are wrong, it is usually because they are fooled. Many will agree to this and sigh. Many will supplement their sighs with "what's-the-uses" in cargo-lots as to the Initiative. But regarding the people in that respect, let Lincoln's wise words admonish all Singletaxers of the importance of the Initiative to their cause: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all of them some of the time; but you cannot fool all the people all the time."



THE NEW YORK TAX REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Upon the adoption by the people of Ohio of their Constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum in that State, we spoke editorially of the event as a decisive defeat for Allen Ripley Foote,* the noted lobbyist for monopoly interests; and in that connection we

used this language regarding his intimacy with the New York Tax Reform Association: "Meanwhile he had got into close relations with the Tax Reform Association of New York—a body originated principally to secure home rule in taxation for cities and counties, *but which has drifted into opposition to that policy.*"

Two letters in criticism of the particular statement which for purposes of distinction we now italicize, were promptly received from George L. Rusby, of Nutley, N. J., whose desire it is that we publish them. Inasmuch as they cannot be published without editorial comment, lest a mistaken impression be created as to our present attitude toward the criticized statement and its context, and as there has been no denial of any of the more important parts of the editorial in question, we should have been disposed to let the matter rest where that editorial left it. But our critic's judgment and integrity of purpose deservedly command high respect, and we accede to his wishes.

I.

Mr. Rusby's first letter, bearing the date of September 18, 1912, is as follows:

I was surprised to read your statement in "The Public" of September 13, 1912, at page 867, that the New York Tax Reform Association has drifted into opposition to the policy of home rule in taxation for cities and counties. Without waiting to discuss your statement with Mr. Pleydell, who represents the above Association, I hasten to assure you of facts that would seem to show your statement to be without foundation.

Not only has Mr. Pleydell, in all of my discussions with him on this subject endorsed the principle involved, but in my work here in New Jersey, in trying to secure legislation that would permit home rule in taxation for municipalities, he has given me valuable encouragement and assistance. I think I am in very good position to know his attitude on the question, and believe that the only thing in his attitude that could be construed as a basis for your statement is that he has modified his views as to the most practical methods, both in securing the necessary legislation and in the application of the principle itself.

For instance, he has modified his views to this extent—in which modification I thoroughly agree with him—that the municipality should be given power to exempt from taxation any desired class of property that is now taxed, but that it should not be given the power to introduce the taxation of new classes of property.

Mr. Rusby's second letter, dated September 23, 1912, is as follows:

Since writing and dispatching my letter of the 18th inst. (which action was taken entirely on my own responsibility), wishing to make sure that I had not therein misrepresented Mr. Pleydell, I sent him a copy, requesting him to let me know whether

*See current volume, pages 866, 867.

I had correctly stated his position. I think it well to hand you hereunder a full copy of his reply to my inquiry:

29 Broadway, New York, Sept. 23, 1912.

My Dear Rusby:

I have yours of September 19, enclosing a copy of your letter to Mr. Post, in regard to his recent attack upon the Tax Reform Association. I appreciate your kindness in writing this letter to Mr. Post, whose attack was unwarranted, and in some respects, untrue. In the matter of home rule you have stated my attitude fairly well, except that perhaps I am a little less favorable toward the proposition generally than might be inferred from your letter, for the very practical reason that local assessment methods are now so bad that it seems advisable to retain as much outside pressure as possible in order to bring them up to a full valuation. However, this is a detail and there is no foundation for Mr. Post's sweeping statement that the Tax Reform Association has come out in opposition to the principle. The Association has simply found that for the State of New York at present the line of least resistance is through general laws.

(Signed) A. C. PLEYDELL.

Before me is a copy of the proceedings of the fifth annual conference of the National Tax Association on State and Local Taxation, held at Richmond in September, 1911. At pages 288 to 294 you will find that Mr. Pleydell took the leading part in a successful effort to prevent the conference from going on record against the principle of local option. The summing up of his argument, page 294, leaves, it seems to me, no possible doubt as to his attitude toward the principle involved. Far be it from me to interfere with the personal relations of individuals,—I have no time for that; but there is something more important involved here, and that is why I am going out of my way (1) to assure you from my personal experience of Mr. Pleydell's ready assistance in promoting the principle of home rule in New Jersey; (2) of his recent public attitude in regard to the same, as shown at the Richmond conference; (3) to assure you of his present attitude as set forth in his letter to me above quoted. And knowing you as I do, I believe that you will be glad to receive these assurances and that, in justice to yourself, to The Public, to Mr. Pleydell, to the New York Tax Reform Association, and to the cause the interests of which will be affected by the recent statement in The Public, you will welcome information that, it seems to me, furnishes you with an opportunity to withdraw the same.

In response to Mr. Rusby's suggestion for a withdrawal as outlined above, we explained to him that we could not make one because it would be misrepresentative of the facts. Yet we were averse to seeming to close our columns to a refutation from a trustworthy source of any statement of fact in The Public. So we told him of our willingness, if he desired it, to publish his letters, though with an editorial reply, provided we were first assured by him of Mr. Pleydell's consent to the publication in The Public of the letter quoted in his letter of September 23rd. To this suggestion Mr. Rusby replied as follows, under date of October 22nd:

I have communicated with Mr. Pleydell and have

his assurance that he has no objection to my quoting his letter (dated September 23, 1912) to me, in any correspondence of my own that I may see fit to have published. He has not seen the correspondence referred to, nor do I think it desirable to submit the same to him before publication; I prefer to present the subject on my own responsibility and from my own individual point of view.



The exact point in controversy is whether or not the New York Tax Reform Association has "drifted into opposition" to the policy of "home rule in taxation for cities and counties." It is not whether it has "come out in opposition to the principle." The latter statement is only the form which the Secretary of the Association gives to the plainly different statement that Mr. Rusby quoted to him correctly from The Public. The New York Tax Reform Association has not "come out in opposition to the principle" of home rule in taxation; but it has "drifted into opposition" to that policy.

II.

For an appreciation of this controversy some knowledge of the history of the New York Tax Reform Association may be necessary. The story is of interest in itself, quite apart from any controversy over the incidental statement in our editorial which is criticized.



The New York Tax Reform Association was a Singletax evolution from the Presidential campaign of 1888.

In that campaign Singletaxers had tried, under the executive management of William T. Croasdale and with the co-operation of Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman and others of their way of thinking, to organize a Singletax movement. Their plan was to secure the signatures of persons supporting Mr. Cleveland for President on the ground that his tariff policy was in the direction of Freetrade and that they were Freetraders because they were Singletaxers. The resulting enrollment, about 11,000, was large for the time. Yet it seemed small to its promoters. Their expectations having been raised to a high pitch in the effort to swell the number of signers, discouragement followed upon the heels of disappointment. The disappointment itself was accentuated by Mr. Cleveland's defeat.

In those gloomy circumstances a consultation was held in one of the rooms of the building where Henry George's Standard was then published—on Union Square, New York. At this

consultation, some time in November, 1888, there were present Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, William T. Croasdale, William McCabe, and possibly half a dozen others. The consultation developed two different but parallel lines of activity. One, advocated by Mr. Croasdale, was a permanent enrollment of Singletaxers. Subsequently set on foot under Mr. Croasdale's management, this eventuated in the Singletax petition to Congress and the Singletax Conferences of 1890 and 1893, of which we have already told in these columns.* Out of the other proposal, made by Mr. Shearman, the New York Tax Reform Association developed about two years and a half later.

Mr. Shearman's proposal was for securing progressive Singletax legislation through co-operation with non-Singletaxers. He argued that Singletaxers should take a leaf out of the tactics book of temperance reformers, by planning a campaign, for local option in taxation. Believing sentiment in New York City to be already ripe for abolishing taxes on personal property, but realizing that lack of power to act upon the matter locally stood in the way, he thought that an effort to get such power for cities and counties would be supported by influential persons and interests, and that in this way a door might open for Singletax progress.

This proposal for New York was in substance the same as that which was adopted in Oregon two years ago and repealed this year. Of course Mr. Shearman made no reference to the Initiative, under which the Oregon Singletaxers have operated. This device for direct legislation and incidental popular education on public questions, was then unknown in our country outside of unfamiliar books. But he did suggest that power be obtained for cities and counties to determine for themselves, in some way or other, whether to tax or to exempt personalty, improvements, or land, or any two of those three kinds of property; and this is the power which Oregon Singletaxers have had and lost. Both in the getting and in the losing of it, they were opposed by the influence of the New York Tax Reform Association.



Following the consultation of 1888 noted above, Mr. Shearman, aided by other Singletaxers, undertook to secure local option legislation in New York. It was discouraging work. The interests against it were vigorous, those in its favor timid. But at the legislative session of 1891, a bill for the purpose was reported favorably by the House committee on taxation. Though vehemently op-

posed in the House by some members, that report was earnestly supported by others, chief among them being the present Governor-elect, William Sulzer. By default of another member, to whom the bill had been entrusted by Mr. Shearman and his associates, the favorable committee report lost its preference on the calendar late in the session and therefore the bill failed of a vote.

Meanwhile, plans were on foot among Singletaxers in New York City to organize along the lines of Mr. Shearman's home rule proposal. Mr. Shearman himself was back of these plans, and among those who assisted industriously was Lawrence Dunham, now manager of one of the branches of the Corn Exchange Bank.

While the home rule measure was before the legislature in 1891, Mr. Dunham sought the co-operation of John Claffin, then understood to be among the influential citizens of New York who looked upon the Singletax without absolute disfavor. Together with one of his associate committeemen, Mr. Dunham outlined to Mr. Claffin the general plan for an organization to promote home rule in taxation, asking him to become its president; but Mr. Claffin, though he took the matter into sympathetic consideration, finally excused himself. Similar efforts were made to enlist other leading citizens. These also were unsuccessful.

The advisability of having the Manhattan Single Tax Club call a meeting of delegates from various associations, as it had done with eminent success in connection with the Australian ballot reform, was then considered. Before anything definite in this direction had been undertaken, however, Bolton Hall prepared to launch an organization which promised to meet the wishes of all concerned.

Mr. Hall, also a Singletaxer then as now, had been co-operating with Mr. Shearman's associates in support of the home rule bill and for some kind of effective organization to promote home rule in taxation with a view to opening a way toward the Singletax in New York City. Finding insuperable the difficulty of securing a president among conservatives, yet believing that many of them would unite as contributors to the home rule project, he took upon himself, very much to the satisfaction of all, the responsibility of effecting an organization. The outcome was the present New York Tax Reform Association.

Early in April, 1891, Mr. Hall had formulated a declaration of principles for that organization. At his request this declaration was submitted to Mr. Shearman, who approved the project and with some alterations the declaration also. Mr.

*See The Public of September 1, 1911.

Shearman suggested, however, the addition of the following clause to the declaration:

It is probable that no legislature will dare to enact a good system of local taxation until the people of the State are, to some extent, educated in correct principles of public taxation, and farmers especially are enlightened as to the bad effects of all taxation of personal property.

This suggestion was not because Mr. Shearman had altered his mind as to the desirability of home rule in taxation. It was because his experience with the New York legislature had led him to believe that popular enlightenment on the subject must precede any hope of securing favorable legislative action. The home rule project was in fact persistently pressed by the Tax Reform Association from its inception.

For minute details of the history of the organization, its records are, of course, the only proper recourse. The larger details, however, may be stated here. It was organized in 1891. Its membership consisted of voluntary contributors to its exchequer, and included some of the leading business men of New York. Its first notable secretary was Robert Baker, a Singletaxer and afterwards a member of Congress, its next being Lawson Purdy, also a Singletaxer and now President of the Tax Department of New York. Its third was Arthur C. Pleydell, a Singletaxer who had come from Philadelphia to be Mr. Purdy's assistant, and whose letter is embodied in Mr. Rusby's at the beginning of this article.



At first, the New York Tax Reform Association—organized by Singletaxers, always managed by Singletax executives, and supported by business men whose attitude toward the Singletax ranged from thorough-going approval to indifference, or possibly to hostility—had for its immediate objective the abolition of personal property taxation in New York City, and to this end the securing of local option in taxation.

Other highly desirable legislation came within its province in promotion of its objective, including separation of land values from improvement and personalty values in taxation assessments. This system of separation was probably unused outside of California and Massachusetts until New York State adopted it as a home rule measure for New York City. It was secured by the New York Tax Reform Association under the administration of Lawson Purdy as secretary.

In addition to all other work, however, the New York Tax Reform Association continued for fifteen years after its organization to promote

the local option policy in which it originated and for the promotion of which it was organized. At any rate, it did not during that period completely drift away from that policy. On the contrary, it made frequent efforts to secure local option legislation in New York.

In 1894, under the administration of Robert Baker as secretary, it secured for its local option bill a favorable majority on a test vote in the House—54 to 52. But the bill was recommitted through a partisan appeal from the speaker of the House to his Republican colleagues. In 1900, under Mr. Purdy's administration, this Association obtained the unanimous endorsement of the New York Chamber of Commerce for the policy of local option in taxation, and efforts were made by the Association to secure action by the legislature in harmony with that endorsement. Not only did those efforts fail to secure legislative results, but, owing to the non-educative character of legislative proceedings, they failed also to assist at all in educating the people of the State in what Mr. Shearman had characterized as correct principles of taxation. The people didn't know what was going on. That they did not, was, of course, no fault of the New York Tax Reform Association. But it is suggestive of the educational value of those Initiative rights against which, in Ohio and Oregon, the New York Tax Reform Association, under its present management, has also set its face.

When Mr. Purdy withdrew from the secretaryship of this Tax Reform Association to take the presidency of the Tax Department of New York City under appointment by Mayor McClellan, and Mr. Pleydell succeeded him in the secretaryship, Bolton Hall, as vice-president, announced the fact and in doing so made this official statement regarding the original purpose of the Association:

Those communities that are wise enough to realize the gross injustice of attempting to tax all property at a uniform rate should have the privilege of modifying the system to suit their local needs. The Local Option Bill, introduced by this Association some years ago, is a practical method for accomplishing this result, and, now that the direct State tax has been abolished, we see no reason why such a law should not be enacted.

That was in 1906.

If the New York Tax Reform Association has since been active in pressing its local option bill in New York, or in promoting home rule in taxation in other ways or in other places, none of its activities in those respects appear to have been conspicuous.

From that original policy the Association would

clearly seem to have drifted *away*, even if thus far there be no evidence of its having drifted into *opposition*.



Some years after Robert Baker ceased to be its executive Secretary, the New York Tax Reform Association came into close relations with Allen Ripley Foote.* His relations with it began to be intimate soon after 1906, if not indeed a considerable time before. Nor was that intimacy merely personal or casual, as Mr. Rusby seems to suppose. It was advisory, confidential and influential. And as this intimacy grew, so does the Association appear to have drifted, at first away from, and then into opposition to, home rule in taxation. There is nothing very remarkable about it. The result was probable, unless the executive officials of the Association were wiser in their generation than Mr. Foote in his. That they were otherwise, is evident from many things, not the least among which are their assurances to some Singletaxers, of his being a straight-out Singletaxer of their own kind—one "believing," as a victim of such assurances puts it, "in education" for the Singletax, "rather than in direct or indirect political action." Mr. Foote has been in fact for years an acute, ubiquitous and virulent enemy of the Singletax—more so, perhaps, than any other person who has opposed the Singletax movement in this country. And, what is more to the point, no little part of his effectiveness as such has been due to his influential intimacy with the New York Tax Reform Association.

III.

Recurring now to Mr. Rusby's letter, we make no question that the Secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association has endorsed the principle of home rule in taxation in reference to Mr. Rusby's work in New Jersey and has assisted in it. Mr. Rusby's word for all that is enough. But it does not follow that the New York Tax Reform Association, or Mr. Pleydell, has refrained from opposing taxation home rule elsewhere. The fact is that the influence of this Association has been exerted against the local option policy in Oregon, and that its responsible management have taken much satisfaction in giving aid and comfort to the enemies of that policy and the enemies of the Singletax in that State. Further into this, however, we need not go at present. So far as the Secretary of that body is concerned—and it is

*For an outline of Mr. Foote's career as a political agent of monopoly interests, see *The Public* of February 24, 1911, page 176.

upon the Secretary's own views that Mr. Rusby depends for his criticism of our editorial statement regarding the Association—the Secretary can be quoted as himself supporting our statement.

Two years ago, when preparations were under way to secure county option in taxation in Oregon for the purpose of bringing the Singletax before the people in the respective counties of that State, he wrote:

I am not very enthusiastic about "home rule" in taxation under all conditions—it is only an expedient—and there are cases where it can be employed to advantage—but for the most part I think our best changes will come through general laws.

And in the very letter from this Secretary which Mr. Rusby quotes as a basis for suggesting a withdrawal of our statement, there is sufficient evidence that, insofar as he may represent that Association, what *The Public* said—not what he erroneously ascribes to it, but what it said, namely, that the New York Tax Reform Association has *drifted into opposition* to the policy of home rule in taxation for cities and counties—is true. "I am a little less favorable toward the proposition generally," he writes to Mr. Rusby, "than might be inferred from your letter, for the very practical reason that local assessment methods are now so bad that it seems advisable to retain as much outside pressure as possible in order to bring them up to a full valuation." Outside pressure regarding assessments is hardly consistent with local option in taxation for local purposes.



In view of the history of the New York Tax Reform Association from its organization by Singletaxers for securing local option in taxation as a step toward the Singletax, to its drifting away from that policy after taking into its confidence one of the most noted political agents of monopoly, and so on to its hostile attitude toward the fight for home rule and the Singletax in Oregon, we are obliged to regard Mr. Rusby's assurances as inadequate. Much as we respect them as far as they rest upon his own knowledge, and gladly as we welcome them for consideration, we do not believe that justice to *The Public* or its editor, nor to the New York Tax Reform Association, nor to the Singletax cause to which Mr. Rusby seems to allude as being affected, calls for a withdrawal of our original statement.

On the contrary, we believe that justice to all concerned demands the reiteration of that statement. The New York Tax Reform Association was "originated principally to secure home rule

in taxation for cities and counties"; Mr. Foote *did* get "into close relations with the New York Tax Reform Association"; the New York Tax Reform Association "*has* drifted into opposition" to its original policy of home rule in taxation.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WORD FROM OREGON.

When the majority of the people understand a question they vote intelligently and for their best interests. The "composite citizen," as Senator Bourne calls the people en masse, is a reliable citizen even if he does "see ghosts" sometimes.



Oregon's composite citizen has decided that he doesn't wish to decorate the Initiative and Referendum with hobbles and handcuffs.

The legislature of 1911 thought the composite citizen might be deceived by a so-called "majority rule" amendment into doing that; so it offered, without any request that was ever made public, an amendment to fix the Initiative by providing that a Constitutional amendment cannot be adopted except by a majority of all the votes cast at the election. That is, the legislature presented an amendment meaning this: If the whole number of votes cast at an election is 140,000, then a Constitutional amendment must receive at least 70,001 votes in order to be adopted, even if no more than 400 ballots are actually marked against it.

But that amendment applied only to Constitutional amendments, and Big Business wants that brand of "majority rule" for laws that are voted on; so some of its agents initiated a "majority rule" amendment to apply to laws as well as to amendments. The voters rejected both those amendments.



Big Business had two pet bills on the ballot—one to prohibit boycotting or picketing, and another to prohibit street speaking in any town of 5,000 or more inhabitants without a written permit from the mayor. Those pets were slaughtered by the voters.



After six unsuccessful attempts to get the ballot, the women of Oregon now have it, and there are many indications, even so soon after the election, that the women of this State intend to get acquainted with political questions.



While the Graduated Tax and the County Exemption amendments have been voted down by very large majorities, no Oregon Singletaxer is discouraged.

There is no reason for discouragement. The official vote is not yet known, but we do know that a very large minority can be depended on in the next campaign, and in succeeding campaigns until Oregon finally adopts the Singletax.

How did it happen?

It's as simple as one of Sherlock Holmes' deductions. The majority of the Oregon majority was stampeded in the last two or three weeks of the campaign by quarter-page, half-page and full-page advertisements in the newspapers and by hundreds of thousands of printed cards and circulars, making statements that were as far from the truth as a tariff commission's report. We were smothered by bald and crude but shrewd lies from men who had a large pocketbook interest in stampeding the voters.

Why didn't we "educate" the voters? The power of suggestion is great. A child is easily influenced by the suggestion that in a dark room something is waiting to grab and injure it. In past elections voters have been stampeded by the assertion that a Democratic President means "panic" and ruin. It is useless to ask why voters are not educated out of superstitions.

Into the ears of those who have but little land value, or none at all, the agents of special privilege shouted: "Don't you see that your taxes will be increased if sky-scrapers and department stores, bank buildings and money, factories and railroad locomotives and cars are exempt from taxes?" "Singletax means State ownership of all land. It means State ownership of your land. State ownership of land is the foundation of Singletax. If you don't believe it, read 'Progress and Poverty,' the Singletaxers' bible." Those are merely samples.

It's hard to say which were worse scared during the campaign—the foolers or the fooled; but the foolers are about as badly scared now as they were before election. They suspect something is coming next, but don't know what it is.



There be those who doubt the ability of voters to legislate for themselves, and would sooner trust a legislature than the people. I am not a member of that class. A legislature is as easily deceived as the majority of the voters; a legislature may be easily corrupted, while it is almost impossible to corrupt even a considerable minority of the voters.



In this fight Special Privilege had the active cooperation of the State administration—of every State officer except the Attorney General, and of the State Tax Commission and the legislature. I shed no tears because these public servants, acting wittingly or unwittingly as the agents of Big Business, took that stand; and I bear them no malice. The chickens they have hatched will return home to roost. It won't be long before they will be busy with white-wash brushes trying to paint out the 1912 spots on their records; and what punishment is greater than that of the man who tries to cover a "damned spot" that refuses to "out"?

One effect of the stampede was the repeal of the County Home Rule Tax amendment. It was advertised that the repeal of that amendment would "kill Singletax." The real effect, and the effect desired by Big Business, was to restore the taxing power to the legislature; but that body can't put the "emergency clause" on a tax bill. Anyway, the repeal of

that amendment gives the legislature an opportunity to break a few of its legs if not its neck.' The legislature will meet in January—to play politics. It is a safe bet that the game will be much more exciting after the legislature adjourns. Would that we had a Franklin Hichborn in Oregon to write the true story of the Legislature of 1913.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

819 Belmont St., Portland, Ore.

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 19, 1912.

A Correction.

In the list of Singletaxers who were elected to Congress, two weeks ago (current volume, page 1089), Edward Keating was erroneously described as a Progressive. The error came from a slip of the pen and subsequent oversight. Mr. Keating was chosen at the direct primary in Colorado for Congressman-at-large from that State as a candidate of the Democratic Party.



Election Results—The Presidency.

Official returns, only spasmodically reported in the news dispatches, show thus far the following popular vote for President:

State.	Dem.	Rep.	Prog.	Soc.	Proh.
New Hampshire...	34,725	32,927	17,794	1,980	535
Vermont	15,354	23,334	22,973	928	115
Georgia	93,171	5,191	22,010	1,014	147

[See current volume, page 1089.]



The vote in California is so close that the way the State has gone, whether for Roosevelt or Wilson, will not be known until the official count is reported. It may not be known until Congress counts the Electoral vote. Reports of the 16 districts gave Roosevelt a plurality over Wilson of 119.



Election Results—Governors of States.

The following official returns on Governors of States are noted in the news dispatches:

Indiana.—Ralston (Dem.), 275,275; Durbin (Rep.), 142,803; Beveridge (Prog.), 166,054; Reynolds (Soc.), 35,464; Hickman (Proh.), 18,454; Matthews (Soc. L.), 2,884. Democratic plurality over Progressive, 109,221, and over Republican, 132,472.

[See current volume, page 1089.]

Election Results—Singletax in Oregon.

Detailed reports on Singletax results in Oregon are not yet at hand. It is safe to say, however, that the county measures are defeated by a vote of at least two to one, and that the State-wide graduated land value tax is defeated by about the same proportion in the State at large, but has carried in Coos and Curry counties. [See current volume, page 1091.]



Election Results—Nebraska.

The Initiative and Referendum was adopted in Nebraska at the recent election. [See current volume, pages 470, 1090.]



Direct Voting in Colorado.

Several measures were voted on directly by the people of Colorado at the recent election, with the following results:

Defeated.—A measure providing for city home rule in respect of public schools, and for social center uses of school buildings. A court for the regulation of public utility corporations. State-wide prohibition. Authority to search and seize liquor in any house. A race track gambling measure disguised as a "State Fair" bill. A tax commission bill abolishing the State Board of Equalization.

Adopted.—An 8-hour law for women engaged in trades and industries. A mothers' compensation law. An 8-hour law for mining- and smelter-workers. Recall of all elective officials, not excepting judges. Recall of judicial decisions; by limiting to the Supreme Court the right of courts to declare laws unconstitutional, and giving the people power to overrule the decisions of that court in so far as they declare laws unconstitutional. The headless ballot; designed to do away with party distinctions on the official ballot. Home-rule for cities of 20,000 inhabitants. Publication in pamphlet form of all Initiated and Referred measures, with arguments for and against by persons interested in their adoption or rejection, and also of statements by candidates. Requiring proceedings for contempt of court to be tried before another judge than the one offended, and with the aid of a jury.



A Special Session of Congress.

Upon the eve of his departure for Bermuda on a four weeks' vacation, the President-elect authorized an announcement that he will call a special session of Congress not later than April 15. He said:

I shall call Congress together in extraordinary session not later than April 15. I shall do this not only because I think that the pledges of the Party ought to be redeemed as promptly as possible, but also because I know it to be in the interest of business that all uncertainty as to what the particular

items of tariff revision are to be should be removed as soon as possible.

[See current volume, page 1082.]



The Progressive Party in Illinois.

At a meeting of Progressive Party members-elect of the Illinois legislature, held at Chicago on the 16th, a committee was appointed to make overtures to the Democratic, Republican and Socialist members-elect on the basis of a declaration of—

intention to co-operate, without selfish purpose or for party advantage, with any and all right minded members of the legislature, regardless of party, to the end that the House and Senate may be organized along non-partisan lines by those who are in favor of good government.

To this end they favor—

reformed rules which will place in the hands of a majority of a quorum the power over legislation at any and all stages, including the right to withdraw a bill from committee at any time, . . . and desire to co-operate with all progressives, regardless of party, in the election of a Speaker of the House of Representatives; . . . the creation of a nonpartisan committee of Republicans, Democrats, Progressives and Socialists, which committee shall have the power formerly exercised by the Speaker of making up the list of standing committees, said committee or a similar committee to have the power throughout the session of appointing all select committees and joint and several commissions.

The purpose is to strip the Speaker of dictatorial power and to prevent an obstructive minority from hindering the work of the Assembly. [See current volume, page 1091.]



Bigelow and the Ohio Legislature.

Following a conference with Governor-elect Cox of Ohio, on the 12th, Herbert S. Bigelow announced his withdrawal as a candidate for Speaker. In this connection, Governor Cox explained:

I am sure I sense the public wish in the statement that the Governor will be expected to take charge of the task of platform fulfillment. So there is abundant justification for Executive interest in both the selection of the Speaker and the floor leader. Both of these officers must be in sympathy with our legislative program. Mr. Bigelow and I fought together for the adoption of a progressive Constitution, and it is my wish that he be so assigned that he can render the greatest possible assistance. There has been question as to whether he would be more useful as Speaker than as floor leader. My legislative experience tells me that the thing of first consideration is the selection of a man who can lead and maintain the fight on the floor; and no one in Ohio can better meet the requirements than Mr. Bigelow.

Charles L. Swain of Cincinnati, a supporter of Mr. Bigelow for the Speakership, is regarded as

Mr. Bigelow's successor in that candidacy. [See current volume, page 1090.]



Coming Singletax Campaign in Seattle.

A Singletax charter amendment was adopted on the 18th by the City Council of Seattle for submission to the people of that city at the municipal election on the 4th of next March. It was proposed by Councilman Oliver T. Erickson and provides for gradual exemption (over a period of four years) of real estate improvements and personal property from local taxation. [See current volume, page 295.]



The Labor War.

Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, N. Y., was sentenced at Herkimer on the 15th to pay \$50 or suffer 50 days' imprisonment for violating a city ordinance in speaking to a meeting of strikers on the street. In his defense he said:

I was not blocking traffic or causing congestion. I was about to address a peaceful assemblage and urge the men to use peaceful methods in their strike. I have always advised peaceful methods, and never a violent word has come from my mouth.

Refusing to pay the fine, Mayor Lunn gave bail pending appeal to the upper courts. [See current volume, pages 1020, 1045.]



Striking miners in the Cabin Creek district of West Virginia, and deputies aboard a passenger train on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, exchanged shots on the 14th without fatalities.



Governor Carroll of Iowa notified the Des Moines authorities on the 13th that he would call out the State troops unless the police immediately dispersed crowds gathering in the streets of Des Moines as a consequence of the teamsters' strike.



A general strike has been declared by the factories and workshops in St. Petersburg, Russia, in protest against the recent sentencing to death of 17 sailors of the Black Sea fleet for instigating mutinies. Demonstrations on the 12th were stopped by the police and many arrests were made.



Immigration and Employment.

At the closing meeting of the second annual Conference of Immigration, Land and Labor Officials, on the 15th at Chicago, a system of protection for immigrants was recommended. Free employment agencies are called for in the several States and the resolutions conclude with a recommendation that—

the Department of Commerce and Labor of the

United States shall have a separate bureau for the distribution of the unemployed and ascertain and distribute information concerning business and professional opportunities; shall license and regulate employment agencies doing an interstate business; shall favor the establishment of free employment agencies in each State, with which the Federal bureau of distribution shall co-operate in such matters as bring employer and employe together; investigate conditions of unemployment and transportation and co-ordinate the work of State free employment agencies in various parts of the country, and also co-operate with organized labor and employers' associations.

John R. Commons of Wisconsin was re-elected president and Frances Kellor of New York secretary. [See current volume, page 1094.]



Singletax Conference at Boston.

The third public advisory but unofficial Singletax Conference of the United States which is to be held upon invitation of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, will meet at 10 a. m., November 29th, at the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy street, Boston, Massachusetts. Open meetings will be held at the same place in the afternoon and in the evening of the same day. On the following day, November 30th, meetings will be held at Hotel Bellevue, the headquarters of the Conference, which is at 21 Beacon street. At 6 o'clock on the 30th there will be a 75-cent dinner at Hotel Bellevue, at which William Marion Reedy of St. Louis, editor of *The Mirror*, is to preside as toastmaster. The local managers of the Conference meetings ask all persons intending to be at the dinner to notify James R. Carret, 79 Milk street, Boston, in time for him to receive the notice before November 28th. An executive session of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission will be held at Hotel Bellevue on the 1st of December, and a public evening meeting for that day is under consideration. [See current volume, page 1085.]



Disorder in the British House of Commons.

To correct the nominal defeat of the Ministry, reported in these columns last week, the Prime Minister moved in the full House on the 13th to rescind the amendment to the home rule bill which the Unionists had carried in committee of the whole during a slack attendance of Liberal members. [See current volume, page 1092.]



Thereupon the Unionists started a riot on the floor of the Commons. Almost unanimously they threatened to make business in the House impossible unless the Ministry would acquiesce in the amendment or abandon the bill for home rule in Ireland; and they so far succeeded, through the

weakness of the Speaker, a Unionist member, as to force an adjournment of the session by riotous disorder. When the session began, say the Associated Press dispatches—

there were packed benches. The Premier's followers gave him a great cheer on his entrance and demonstrated that they were present in force by defeating a motion to adjourn early in the proceedings by a vote of 327 to 218. The substance of Mr. Asquith's motion was that the Banbury amendment be rescinded, "notwithstanding anything in any standing order of this House," and that the order of the House in respect to the home rule bill take effect as if Monday's proceedings had not taken place. The effect of this would be practically to begin again the consideration of the bill at the clause where the Banbury amendment was offered. Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition, had the floor quickly and inquired whether there was any precedent for the Government's course and whether it would not destroy all safeguards for regularity in the House of Commons proceedings. Amid loud opposition cheering the Speaker replied that he could find no precedent for rescinding a decision of the House arrived at during the passage of a bill. Whether it would destroy the safeguards was a matter on which every member must form his own judgment. There was a long discussion on the Parliamentary points, and then Mr. Asquith rose and said that no notice had been given of the amendment offered by Sir Frederick Banbury and that its discussion was brief. He doubted if the members on either side had appreciated its importance. It would reduce the \$30,000,000 which it was proposed to transfer to the Irish government to \$12,500,000. "If the decision come to Monday remains unreversed," said the Premier gravely, "or, on reconsideration, is found to be the deliberate judgment of the House, it would be impossible for the Government to proceed with the bill. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, a mortal blow would have been struck—"

Mr. Law—"Has been—"

Mr. Asquith—"At the financial arrangements of the bill. Next, I strongly hold that a bill passing this House should receive upon all substantial and vital points the assent of the majority of the House." Mr. Asquith proceeded to point out that last week the Government had a majority of 121 on a question similar to that raised by Sir Frederick Banbury. He argued that there were precedents for the course proposed.

Bonar Law replied that the established rule of the House was a decision once on a resolution. The Government's proposal, he declared, was an affront to the House.

Capt. Craig, Unionist for East Down, . . . moved adjournment, which was defeated, 327 to 218.

Then the storm broke. Sir Frederick Banbury moved that a decision reached could not be reversed at the same session. "The only honorable alternatives before the Government," he said, "are resignation or dissolution." . . .

Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the colonies, attempted to speak. He was on his feet for several minutes. Every sentence was drowned by Unionist shouts and derisive cries. . . .

The Attorney General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, had the same experience.

The Speaker finally adjourned the House for an hour. Immediately it reconvened, Sir Rufus Isaacs was on his feet amid shouts of "adjourn!" The voice of Sir Edward Carson, who led the anti-home rulers in Ulster, arose above the din. "There will be no more business ever in this House," he cried. The Speaker repeatedly appealed for order, and at length declared: "I rule that a scene of grave disorder has arisen and I adjourn the House until tomorrow." A yell of victory burst from the Unionists. The members of the cabinet clustered on their side of the clerk's table. No one moved to leave the House. On the Unionist side was a seething mob. An arm was raised and a document flew across the floor. It struck the Prime Minister on the shoulder. A shower of papers fell among the group of ministers. Mr. Asquith, white and indignant, faced the attack with folded arms. The air was thick with papers and hats. At length the Prime Minister stalked to the door, greeted with yells of defiance and approval. Suddenly the Unionist member, Ronald McNeill, rushed to the clerk's table, seized a heavy volume, and hurled it at Mr. Churchill. There was an ugly rush from the Liberal benches, but the cooler members held back their colleagues. For a moment a battle of fists seemed imminent. Then the voice of Will Crooks was raised in song: "Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgotten." Others took up the refrain and gradually flowed into the lobbies.

What followed is thus explained by T. P. O'Connor in his cable letter to the Chicago Tribune of the 17th:

It was intended to continue the riot on Thursday [the 14th] and Asquith was resolved to fight if it took all winter. At the last moment notice came from the Speaker that he would propose a compromise, and Asquith then was face to face with the acceptance of this advice or the resignation of the Speaker. The resignation of the Speaker would have involved the election of a new Speaker, and in the present temper of the Tory party that might have taken weeks and perhaps finally have forced the Government into a dissolution of Parliament and a new general election. Thus Asquith had no choice but to yield or face a revolutionary situation, the end of which no man could have foreseen. There is a great difference of opinion among the Liberals as to Asquith's wisdom in accepting this course. All of the fiery Radicals denounce it as a surrender to rowdiness and as a cooling of the flaming fires of the Radical indignation and fighting spirit. The cooler headed men, including all of the Irish leaders, approve of the solution as saving the home rule bill from incalculable dangers and restoring the situation to the normal conditions.

The exact nature of the proposed compromise is not yet reported, but pursuant to it Mr. Asquith was quietly allowed on the 18th to move and the House to adopt a rejection of the original financial clause which the Unionists had amended by springing their surprise. The Ministry is to substitute another clause, but how it will differ from the original does not yet appear.

War, Pestilence and Famine.

While the brief but bitter war of the last month between the allied Balkan states and Turkey apparently draws to a close, war's grim coadjutors—plague and starvation—have begun to play their hideous roles, and not alone in the undoing of Turkey, though that well-nigh vanquished Empire has so far suffered most on all three counts. By the 15th over 500 new cases of cholera were being reported daily in the Turkish army defending the Tchatalja line of forts before Constantinople, and the total number of cases then on hand was put at 6,000. Cholera had also appeared, but with slower advance, among the Bulgarians, as they successively occupied the positions of the retreating Turks. Riza Pasha, the Turkish general commanding the heavy artillery, was attacked by the epidemic on the 16th. By the 17th a thousand cases a day in and around Constantinople, were reported, with a 50 per cent mortality. By the 18th German news was to the effect that the deaths from cholera in the Turkish army had reached the appalling and almost unbelievable rate of 5,000 a day. By the 19th typhus fever had been added to cholera, in the reports from the army, and the shortage in the army's food supplies, noted from early in the war, amounted to famine. [See current volume, page 1092.]



The warfare of the allies has continued to be successful. The Greeks, having taken Saloniki, as reported last week, have occupied the peninsula of Mt. Athos, and have been pressing on to Janina. The Montenegrins have continued to beleager Scutari, and according to an unconfirmed report of the 18th, had captured it. On the 18th, after four days' fighting, Monastir, the second city of European Turkey, surrendered to the Servians, who thereby captured three pashas, 50,000 men and 47 guns. This ends Turkish control in Macedonia, and is regarded as the greatest individual success of the war. The main Bulgarian attack on the Tchatalja line of forts in front of Constantinople has continued, with advance of the Bulgarians, and their successive occupation of various points. The Turkish fleet in the Sea of Marmora has shelled adjacent Bulgarian positions. The cannonading can be heard at Constantinople.



Application to the Powers for mediation, on the part of the Turks, not having met with quick or co-operative response, Turkey applied directly to Bulgaria for an armistice, on the 12th, and a Bulgarian envoy arrived in Constantinople on the 13th. The stipulations of the Bulgarians, as reported by the Vienna correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph on the 16th, rested on the following points:

Included in the first stipulation is the surrender

of the Tchatalja army and its withdrawal, guarded by Bulgarians.

The second provides for the evacuation by the Turks of Adrianople, Scutari, Monastir, and Janina.

The third calls for payment of a war indemnity.

The fourth demands the surrender of conquered territory.

The fifth calls for the internationalization of Constantinople.

The sixth provides for opening the Dardanelles and making Saloniki a free port.

Later reports indicate willingness on the part of the Bulgarians to leave Constantinople and a strip of contiguous territory in the hands of the Turks. Turkey's terms, as given by the Chicago Record-Herald service on the 17th, were as follows:

That the Island of Crete shall be ceded to Greece in exchange for the restoration of Saloniki.

Adrianople and Kirk Killisseh shall remain Turkish under a decentralized administration.

Vilayets of Uskub, Monastir and Scutari shall be granted broad autonomous powers.

Railway to Saloniki is to be free for exports of articles from Servia.

Kavaja is to be a free port for Bulgaria and San Giovanni di Medua is to be a free port for Montenegro.



The American station-ship Scorpion, now at Constantinople, has landed marines for the American embassy, and warships of the other Powers have acted similarly, the official explanation of these landings being that they are intended to quiet alarms caused by the heavy cannonading at the Tchatalja forts. The Scorpion has taken a position in the Bosphorus opposite the American girls' school on the south side of the straits. The cruisers Tennessee and Montana were started from the Philadelphia navy-yard for Constantinople on the 12th.



Anti-war demonstrations were held at London, Berlin, Rome, Milan, Paris, and other European cities, on the 17th, organized by the Socialists and labor bodies. At the Paris meeting Mr. Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist leader; Mr. Pernerstorffer, vice president of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies; Mr. Scheidemann, Socialist member of the German Reichstag, and James Ramsay MacDonald, Socialist and Labor member of the British House of Commons, were among the speakers.

NEWS NOTES

—A Franco-Spanish treaty relating to Morocco was signed at Madrid on the 14th. [See current volume, pages 349, 804.]

—Twelve public school social centers are to be opened in Chicago this fall for the purpose of pro-

viding neighborhood entertainment and instruction. [See current volume, page 999.]

—Judge K. I. Perky has been appointed by the Governor of Idaho as United States Senator from that State to succeed Senator Heyburn.

—The Progressive Party's national committee has been called by its chairman, Joseph M. Dixon, to meet at Chicago on the 11th and 12th of December.

—The 2 to 1 vote for the Singletax in Everett, Washington, was cast upon a measure labeled "Singletax Amendment." [See current volume, page 1091.]

—Robert B. Blakemore of Fargo, N. D., is one of the Singletaxers to be elected to a State legislature. He is a member-elect of the legislature of North Dakota.

—The former residence of Tom L. Johnson, on Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, is to be opened by its purchasers as a fashionable family hotel under the name of "Johnson Hall."

—William Larrabee died at Clermont, Iowa, on the 16th at the age of 80. He was Governor of Iowa from 1885 to 1889, and one of the ablest and most distinguished of the early promoters of railway-regulation laws.

—It is officially announced that the second national Social Center Conference, to have been held on the 20th at Lawrence (Kansas) and Kansas City (Missouri), is postponed until further notice. [See current volume, page 1023.]

—The Irish Society for the Taxation of Land Values, of which A. W. Metcalfe of Belfast is president, has issued an address asking that in the Irish home rule bill power to tax the site value of land be given the Irish parliament in lieu of customs and excise duties.

—A general election for members of the Norway Storting, held on the 12th, resulted in the return of 74 Radicals, 24 Rightists and Liberals, and 23 Socialists. The Rightists and Liberals, who form the present government, lost 41 seats to Radicals and 13 to Socialists. [See current volume, pages 85, 1045.]

—A suffragette army which started from Edinburgh on Oct. 12 completed its 400-mile tramp to London November 16th under the leadership of Mrs. De Fontblanque, who traveled on horseback. They proceeded immediately to the Prime Minister's residence, where they presented their petition demanding suffrage for women.

—The State Department at Washington received on the 12th the required legal notice of approval by the State of Ohio of the proposed income-tax Constitutional amendment. Two affirmative votes are yet required to afford the necessary three-fourths vote of the States, and 10 States are yet to be heard from. [See current volume, page 1068.]

—A life size bust of Henry George, by his son, the late Richard F. George, was presented on the 17th of last month, along with a complete set of George's works, to the State of New York for the Education building at Albany. The presentation was made by the Central Federation of Labor. A similar presentation to the Public Library of New York City is contemplated by the Henry George Library Bureau

(George R. Macey, manager), 90 West Street, New York City, for the cost of which, \$500, Mr. Macey is soliciting subscriptions.

—The Negro Republic of Liberia on the west coast of Africa, which has been suffering financially for a number of years, is to obtain a \$1,000,000 loan from British, German, French and American bankers, under an agreement signed on the 14th in London. The Liberian custom houses will be held by receivers for the banking syndicate, as security for the loan. [See current volume, pages 350, 1093.]

—Of the 20,000 signatures to the petition for recalling Mayor Cotterill of Seattle (the 24,000 heretofore reported being 4,000 more than the petition showed), examination has disclosed the fact that over 12,000 were fraudulent. The petition is therefore rejected and the Recall election will probably not be held, inasmuch as 16,000 genuine signatures are necessary. [See current volume, page 1094.]

—Count Alvaro de Romanones, President of the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, was selected by King Alfonso on the 14th to form a new cabinet, in consequence of the assassination of Premier Canalejas. It was announced that the Count had decided to retain all the Canalejas ministers. Senor Moret y Prendergast, formerly Premier and minister of justice, was appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies. [See current volume, page 1093.]

—Norway intends to celebrate the centenary of its adoption of a constitution on May 17, 1814, by holding a national exposition at Christiania, May 15 to September 30, or possibly as late as October 15, 1914. The scope of the exposition will be very large. There will be exhibits of domestic animals, dairying, horticulture, and agriculture; manufactures of all kinds, including motor boats, machinery, and textiles; forestry exhibits; illustration of the work done at public and private institutions of every kind; and exhibits of arts and sciences. Diplomas representing gold and silver medals will be issued, as well as bronze medals and diplomas of commendation.

PRESS OPINIONS

Home Rule in California.

The (San Francisco) Star (dem. Dem.), Nov. 9.—Home rule in taxation has been beaten. The battle was a splendid one and, for some time, gave promise of success. We were defeated by the votes of men and women who should have been with us and who would have been with us if they had really understood the issue. * * * A great vote was given for the amendment and the fight will be continued until the land parasites shall be eliminated from our civilization.



Los Angeles Record (dem. Dem.).—Not understanding exactly what the Singletax might mean, and being told by "big business" organs that the Singletax was wrong, and would hurt the farmer and small home owner, many voted against home rule thinking they thus were "downing" the Singletax. Of course nothing could be further from the

truth. Under the Initiative, a State-wide Singletax campaign may at any time be inaugurated and, under proper educational facilities, it will carry as certainly as California is a progressive and enlightened State.



Vice and Society.

The Butterfly (Chicago), October.—Vice will never be eliminated by raids and arrests, investigations and reports. We have reported and raided for the past three thousand years. We are making the old, old mistake of trying to get rid of bad results without stopping detrimental sources. We are striving to clean the public river of morals at the mouth, while allowing the wells and springs which make the river to remain poisonous. Society can rid itself of nine-tenths of its vice if it will change fundamental social conditions. Society cannot rid itself of ninety-five one-hundredths of its vice if we remain satisfied with dealing with results instead of causes. Reports do not reform, and arrests do not stop. Society is selfish and sordid at the bottom, and so vice creeps out at the top. Stop vice? Where shall we start? Give every girl who works a sufficient wage to support herself. Give every man of mature age a sufficient wage to enable him to marry. Clean up our sordid tenements with their overcrowding and lack of privacy. Eliminate child labor. Give the young people wholesome and sufficient recreation. See that a "living wage" is paid for all work, so that body and soul may be well nourished and nourished well. Above all things, stop building "rescue" homes and "reform" schools. We can build a hundred rescue homes in every city, and vice will still be with us. We can increase our reform schools a hundred-fold, but vice will be ever present. Vice will be with us until we remove the causes of vice. The main causes of vice are economic and social. Morality depends more on a living wage than on rescue homes. Will vice—or virtue—be victorious?



How are all these great improvements in our social and municipal life which we have witnessed during the past generation, how, and at whose instance have they been effected? They have been effected by the representatives of the ratepayers, and they have been carried out at the cost of the occupiers of houses and land. But, gentlemen, who in the long run have benefited, and will continue to benefit by them? Those who have contributed little or nothing to the cost—the owners of the ground. I am convinced that the next great step in the direction of a larger and better municipal life will be in the opening up, as justice and reason requires, for the benefit of the community, of the hitherto untried source of taxation—a form of taxation which no one can assert to be inequitable, because it simply imposes the burden upon those with whom the benefit will ultimately rest.—Herbert H. Asquith at Tayport, East Fife, October 14, 1898.



Some people have the erroneous idea that high buildings and crowded streets make a great city.—Chicago Record-Herald.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO THE EDITORS OF TORY PAPERS.

For The Public.

From an Editorial in the London Times of July 7, 1912.
—“We were assured some forty years ago that having given the vote to the masses ‘we must educate our masters.’ We have done so at an enormous cost. . . . But has this education made the masses more intelligent? There can be no doubt about the answer. The inborn incapacities out of which the masses are born have been untouched by national education, and are unmodifiable by any training. . . .”

“If it was true that the working classes, either in virtue of their reasoning capacity, or of infallible instinct, were really capable of understanding their own necessities and of seeing clearly even the immediate consequences to themselves of any given course of action, it might be admitted that government by a widened democracy has some degree of justification. But the conduct of the Labor party in Parliament and of the agitators and discontented workmen outside, only too clearly shows that the leadership of the working classes is incompetent and that the rank and file have no understanding. . . . Historically every democracy, by whatever name it has ever been designated, has carried its people through insuperable ignorance, blind passion, widening corruption and incompetent leadership to disaster in war and destruction at home. . . .”

“It is in the highest degree important that all inflammatory and unsocial utterances should be ruthlessly suppressed with an unflinching hand. . . .”

“What is wanted is not a franchise bill, but a disfranchising act.”



Hireling of the noble purse,
Fling broadcast your hired curse!
Write your cynic diatribe
On God's altar, gibe for gibe,
Tempt the wrath of man and brute,
Pygmy in the walking-suit!

Write you down in British rage
The shame of Britain in her age,
Impotent your whine and whim,
O pampered of the land of Pym!
Drip your gall, it makes no matter:
Heedless of your purchased patter,
On and on the race shall go
Fighting with the King-made foe.

Tawny toilers in whose eyes
Bright the future promise lies,
With restless hands upon the share
Dare to strike—and wait to dare!
Know you these, your brother-men,
Driver of the courtly pen?
Know you these who gave your masters
Goodly lands and Godless pastors?
Know you these to whom you give
Insult though they let you live?
These, who toil to make your breeches,
Scribbler with the palm that itches?
These who keep your belly full,
Coward with the monocle!

Even for you, O little man,
They will labor as they can;
Not with vengeance will they strike,—
God is love and man God-like—
But with humbleness and grace,
Remembering Lincoln's sainted face,
Strike and build and die and pray,
Strike the titled wrongs away!

And when they find you in your corner,
Cowering with your plum, Jack Horner,
They will not despise and shun you,
But will have compassion on you,
Give you even a friendly hand,
Teach you on your feet to stand,
Teach you better than to hold
Your cleverness in pawn for gold—
Though you tempt great Heaven's curse,
Hireling of the noble purse!

In the mirror of your soul
Read, and learn to hate your role;
And paint your image worse and worse,
Hireling of the noble purse!

ORRICK JOHNS.



SOME SINS ARE WORSE THAN OTHERS.

From Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Forerunner.

There was a Certain Land wherein the People were a Pious People, a Virtuous People, a Religious People and True Believers; nevertheless, being Human, they Sinned.

Came persons and said to their women: “This will make the baby sleep and do him no harm;” and they believed what was told them and gave the medicine to the baby and he died. Then were they punished for killing the baby.

Came others and told them: “This is good food and will make you strong;” and they believed what was told them and ate the food, and it was not good and they became sick. Then were those punished for selling bad food.

Came others and told them: “If you slit a bird's tongue and put out its eyes, it will sing better;” and they believed what was told them and did this to helpless birds. Then were they punished for Cruelty to Animals.

Came others and told their young men: “It is fine and manly to See Life, to spend money freely, to drink, to smoke, to gamble and to consort with those whom we call The Daughters of Pleasure and also The Unfortunates;” and they believed what was told them and fell from grace and performed these various acts, and were not punished—save as they sickened, and their wives sickened, and their children sickened, and they died.

Came others and told their young women that if they wore monstrous and ugly things which rendered them helpless in action and incommo-

dious to all near neighbors, they would be attractive and beloved; and they believed what was told them and wore these things and were not attractive and not beloved. And none were punished save that many were made unhappy continuously.

Came others and told their men: "There is no Happiness but Success, and no Success without Wealth, and no Wealth without getting it away from other people;" and they believed what was told them and strove with one another continually for Wealth and Success and Happiness—and there was Poverty and Failure and Misery without end.

And the Righteous were grieved at the Sins of the world, and some they called Vices and some they called Crimes, and they punished some and some they did not punish. And some they did not call Sin at all.

Nevertheless, some Sins are worse than others.



A SONG OF A SISTER.

By the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss.

I sing you a song of the gold-washed hair,
A song of a painted cheek,
A song of a draggled silken skirt,
Of a name that I will not speak.

'Tis a song of the hills and the daffodils,
And the blue of a baby's eyes,
Of a mother's love that bends above
Like the arch of Paradise.

'Tis a song of a maid in the great, great town,
A song of a trusting heart;
And alas, 'tis the song of a cruel wrong,
The song of a scoundrel's art.

There's a cry that comes from baby lips,—
One cry and then no more;
'Tis the tale of the strife of a lonely life—
Discharged from the o'er-filled store.

There are lips in New York that drink champagne,
Because of the price of milk;
There are limbs that can find no honest dress,
And therefore are clad in silk.

There are beds in New York no priest can bless;
But listen—away in heaven,
There ringeth a song that the angels sing,—
The song of a soul life-shriven.



We can have universal suffrage, but with monopoly in land, women will be ground down by enforced poverty, and starving children will cry for bread. We may pass restrictive laws regarding the sale of alcoholic drinks, but while the present land system obtains, the crowded condition of cities will continue to breed drunkards. Labor may in its desperation, organize to revenge its wrongs by strikes and boycotts, but they are powerless while the usurpation of landlords extracts the product of their industry through rent.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

BOOKS

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil. By Jane Addams. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1 net.

As pre-eminent interpreter of the feeling of one class in society to the heart of another, Miss Addams stands forth once more in her latest book. The two groups which she now introduces to each other are the very two which throughout the whole history of the world it has been scandalously improper to have meet, the very classes that have been trying and all too well succeeding in ignoring one another—the prostitute with her household, and the rest of the human family. In which class the patron of the prostitute belongs is a new doubt cast into society's smug old certainty—a doubt so new that only a few even of the students of the "social evil" whisper it; yet so potent that, grown into its strength, this doubt can dig down to the crooked foundation stones of society and set them straight.

The phrase "social evil" is used by Miss Addams throughout her book "to designate the sexual commerce permitted to exist in every large city, usually in a segregated district, wherein the chastity of women is bought and sold." The greater part of the volume appeared recently as a series of articles in McClure's, the immediate sources of its information being the records of the Juvenile Protective Association, and of the Vice Commission, both of Chicago. To be ignorant of that information, whether gained from this book or its sources, is foolhardy on the part of any parent or citizen. For our children are every one in danger. Some are in greater peril than others: the idle boy, for example, the poor child, the low-waged working-girl, starved for food and fun.

In low wages, primarily, the author finds cause and opportunity for the "social evil." Miss Addams's resolution of the operating forces which make temptation powerful and victim weak, expresses the genius and the essence of her book—a sympathetic genius and a very human essence.

There is too great need for this book and its virtues are of too high an order to warrant lingering over its failings. These failings are too vital, however, to allow of complete silence. They can only be stated here:

It is a fundamental psychological and sociological error to imagine that prostitution can be studied separately from the other aspects of the sex problem.

It is inadequate reasoning to discover in low wages—as the author seems to do—an ultimate cause.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PAMPHLETS

Dance Hall Inspection in Cleveland.

Much has been accomplished during one year of strict regulation of dance halls in the city of Cleveland. A new ordinance went into effect in May, 1911, and its provisions were carried out by Robb O. Bartholomew, as Dance Hall Inspector (City Hall, Cleveland). His account of the year's work is a model report—well written, straightforward and interesting to the general public while practically useful for other such officials. Conditions at the beginning were deplorable. The old rules went unenforced. The private police, hired by the hall owners themselves, were far worse than none. Drinking, brawling and obscenity held sway until three o'clock in the morning in many close, insanitary halls. Under the new ordinance each hall was obliged to be licensed anew. There were at time of writing in August, 110 licensed dance halls in Cleveland, 44 of these being "public or saloon halls" located in the same building, but not as formerly on the same floor, with saloons. In these halls were held last year 5,507 dances, nearly half of them being (1) academy dancing parties, where the utmost propriety was a matter of course; many of the remainder being (2) festival or National dances, not only irreproachable but most desirable as part of the municipal life, and some being (3) social dances, entirely unobjectionable. The rest were (4) "commercialized" dances, open to the public and run for profit. These last were the object of the inspector's particular care. Some of the devices for making the ordinance effective are described by Mr. Bartholomew: the use of deputy police for dance hall duty, with police power of arrest and of enforcement of laws and ordinances; requirement of a permit for each dance given; late hours rarely allowed; the entire exclusion of young boys and girls; conferences with managers of dances instead of hasty arrests; the temporary revocation of licenses. "By these means," writes

Mr. Bartholomew, "the element of commercialism has been largely eliminated. As soon as large profits are impossible in connection with individual dances much of the criticism and much of the unfavorable publicity regarding dancing will forever pass and dancing will assume its normal place as one of the very necessary, wholesome and healthful forms of recreation. Reasonable regulations strictly enforced and the establishment of municipal halls to take the place of the saloon hall seem to point the way."

A. L. G.

Pamphlets Received.

Freedom, Liberty and Peace. By Frank J. Williard, 106 Main St., Lewiston, Idaho. Price, 25 cents.

Home Rule in Taxation. Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California, Volume VII, Number 4. San Francisco, October, 1912.

The Burden of Protection: An International Repudiation of the Gospel of Artificial Scarcity. Published for the International Free Trade League by P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster, London. July, 1912. Price, one shilling, net.

The Land Song: Words and Music. Our Message: Words and Music. As sung on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, October 12, 1912. Published by Manhattan Single Tax Club, 47 W. 42nd St., New York. Price 2 cents, postage, 2 cents. \$1.50 per hundred.

PERIODICALS

Ohio Free.

Everybody's for November prints "Ohio Wide Awake" by Frank P. Stockbridge—an article to be strongly recommended to those mistaken Single-taxers who think they need an antidote for the election reports from Oregon and Missouri. "I am going to tell you a great deal about Herbert Bigelow," writes Mr. Stockbridge early in his essay, "because, until you know and understand him, you cannot understand what lies behind the awakening in Ohio";

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11 a. m., Whitney Opera House. Benj. Fay Mills will speak—
Subject, "Where did you get it—The Significance of Too
Much Wealth."

4 p. m., Kent College Hall, 116 South Michigan Avenue. The
Forum—Address by Dr. C. B. Strouse, of Virginia, "The
Problem of the South." Discussion. Admission Free.

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A. L. G.



One trouble about giving the devil his due is that

it has to be done so frequently.—Chicago Record-Herald.



"Is you de S. P. C. A.?" asked the Negro with his arm in a sling.

"I am a member of the society," replied the earnest looking young man.

"Well, I wants to repo't my mule to you. I been

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arrested twice on his account an' I ain't gwine to hab no mo' words wif 'im."

"Has anybody hurt him?"

"No, boss. But look at me. I has been kicked, tromped on an' cussed in mule talk. If I's got to be kind to dat animal I wants some understandin' dat will compel reciprocity or, at de very leas' arbitration."—Washington Star.

Mr. Mann's Lectures, 1912-13

(THIRD SEASON)

Mr. Charles H. Mann is now giving the third of his annual courses of lectures at room 12, Johnston Building, 8-12 Nevins Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., at 8:15 oclock, on Wednesday evenings (omitting the fourth Wednesday of each month).

Mr. Mann's lectures are **Studies in Human Unity**, and in the **Progressive Manifestation of That Unity in Modern Life**. Typewritten manifolded copies of these lectures may be obtained for private study by those unable to attend their delivery. Circulars to be issued from time to time, announcing the delivery of lectures and their subjects, will be mailed regularly to any one who desires to receive them, and who will report his name and address to Mr. Mann, 251 West 100th St., New York City. Subject for Nov. 20: "The Individual Man in the Human of Mutualism." During December the subject of the lectures will be "The Child in the Coming Age." All interested are invited to attend. Seats free.

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BOOK DEPT.

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A friend in Scotland said to a boy: "What do you have for breakfast hereabouts?" "Porridge," was the answer.

"And for dinner?"

"Porridge."

"And for supper?"

"Porridge."

"Goodness!" said the friend. "Porridge every day for every meal! Do you never have anything else?"

"What else would you have?" said the boy.—Washington Star.

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