

The Public

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

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"Law and Order" Folk in Ulster.

It now appears that Orangemen were never opposed to lawlessness. They professed to be opposed to it when Irish agitators for home rule rebelled. But this turns out to have been only because the rebels were not on their own side. Now that the law is to favor home rule, Orangemen purpose lawless methods as enthusiastically as ever did an Irish peasant when shooting at a landlord from behind a hedge. Orangemen, also, are evidently human. Isn't it altogether human to be lawless or law abiding, according to whether the law is agreeable or not?



Roosevelt and His Party.

Had a new party sprung into the field in consequence of reactionary nominations by both the old parties, it would have been a party in reality and one greatly to have been desired. Roosevelt might have forced himself upon it, as he would certainly have tried to do, and, bitter as this pill would have been to its projectors, they might have been obliged to swallow him. But when the Democratic party was captured by its progressive elements, under Bryan's leadership and with such a candidate as Wilson, not only did all reasonable possibility of a genuine new party disappear, but so did all reasonable necessity for one. As events have shown, there was no revolt in both parties big enough and with a purpose sufficiently

identical to make that chemical union of elements without which no new party can be a real party. The Progressive Party is now, as it was from the beginning, nothing but a Republican "bolt." Instead of a nucleus for broad political alignments, it is essentially a Republican faction.



Not only is a new party in anything but name unwarranted by the circumstances, but the Republican faction which, so regarding itself, has taken the name of Progressive Party, is under a heavy handicap of leadership in its creator and chief candidate; and, paradoxical though it may sound, this handicap is its only political asset. Take Roosevelt out of the Progressive Party, and it would evaporate. No reflection at all is this upon the good intentions of the mass of its membership. It is simply a pointed indication of the fact that there is no Progressive party—not a *party*—but for the most part only a personal following. Analyze its elements and see if this is not so. There are the representatives of Mr. Roosevelt's "good trusts." They would drop the party without ceremony if Roosevelt dropped it, unless they could themselves control it. Then there are the good people of many kinds, each with his own variety of social reform duly planked in a platform obviously intended by the leader "to run on rather than to stand on." These good people would drop the party without ceremony rather than consciously allow Mr. Roosevelt's "good trusts" to control it. But what other elements are there in the Progressive party? None but a few crooked political bosses to whom Mr. Roosevelt has given absolute, the genuine Republican progressives of California who are back of Governor Johnson, the genuine Republican progressives of Kansas whom William Allen White and the populists before him have taught politics to, and the shouters for "Teddy"—just "Teddy."



And what does this man really stand for? We are not asking what his platform specifies. If it does not specify every particular thing in the public thought of the moment—except unpopular things—the reason must be that Mr. Roosevelt, who hewed all its planks with his own hatchet, didn't have his attention called to the omission in time. We mean to ask what Mr. Roosevelt's party—for his very own it truly is—stands for in its essentials. It stands for private monopoly. One of the ablest among the faithful progressives of the Republic has so characterized it, especially with reference to Labor, and the circumstances bear him out. We are not alluding now to Senator

La Follette. We mean Louis D. Brandeis, a man who has done more as a private citizen for the protection of Labor from monopoly than Mr. Roosevelt in all his career, public and private.



In his address before the Massachusetts branch of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Brandeis said of Mr. Roosevelt's platform:

Note not only what it contains, but what it omits; and consider what the natural results will be of the policies which it advocates. And when you make that examination you will find that there is a significant omission; and that this skillfully devised platform takes from Labor more than it gives. The new party, in this platform, pledges itself to social and industrial justice, and specifically to "work unceasingly for effective legislation looking to the prevention of occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry," and it proceeds to set forth fourteen definite and distinct measures to that end. But nowhere, in that long and comprehensive platform, neither in its nobly phrased statement of principles, nor in its general recommendations, nor in its enumeration of specific measures, can there be found any pledge to secure the right of Labor to organize, without which all other grants and concessions for improvement of the condition of the workingman are futile. It contains merely a friendly approval of the practice. The platform promises social and industrial justice, but it does not promise industrial democracy. The justice which it offers is that which the benevolent and wise corporation is prone to administer through its welfare department. There is no promise of that justice which free American workingmen are striving to secure for themselves, through organization. Indeed, the industrial policy advocated by the new party would result in the denial of Labor's right to organize. The new party stands for the perpetuation and extension of private monopoly in industry—that private monopoly from which the few have ever profited at the expense of the many, and for the dethronement of which the people have, in the past, fought so many valiant battles. That cursed product of despotism the new party proposes to domesticate in our Republic, proclaiming: "We do not fear commercial power." Certainly organized labor has had experience with the great trusts which should teach all men that commercial power may be so great, that it is the part of wisdom to fear it. Great trusts—the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Beef Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Smelter Trust—and a whole troop of lesser trusts have made the extermination of organized labor from their factories the very foundation stone of their labor policy. . . . As John Fitch, who testified before the Stanley Committee, says: "The fact is the steel workers do not dare openly to express their convictions. They do not dare assemble and talk over affairs pertaining to their welfare as mill hands. They feel that they are living always in the presence of a hostile critic. They are a generous, open-hearted set of men upon the whole. The skilled men are intelligent and are able and glad to talk

upon a variety of subjects. But let the conversation be shifted to the steel works and they immediately become reticent. It is safe to talk with a stranger about local option, the price of groceries, or the prospect of war with Japan, but it is not regarded as safe to talk about conditions in the steel industry." Again he says: "One man of long experience as a steel worker who gave me a better insight into mill conditions than any other one person, remarked: 'I used to write for labor papers a great deal, and sometimes I fairly burn to do it now—to declare before the world, over my own signature, the facts about working conditions in the steel industry. But I can't. It wouldn't be safe.'" That is free America—not despotic Russia. Espionage and discharge as a trust method of subjugating Labor is supplemented by the subtler and gentler device of "welfare work." The Steel Corporation has done much work of this character highly to be commended. Stung by the whip and scorn of publicity, this sensitive corporation has for several years made great strides in introducing safety appliances; and during the last year has gone far in reducing the seven-day week; and it has provided compensation for accidents and established a pension system. But its compensation and pension schemes are so devised as to rob the detached workman of an all-powerful corporation of what glimmer of freedom and independence remained. They create a new form of peonage. . . . Many of the new party leaders admit such hardship to labor and such injustice as I have described. They grieve over it and want to put an end to such practices. They say it is because of these abuses that they advocate the policy of legalizing private monopoly and regulating it; or, in other words, domesticating industrial monsters and taming them. They propose to secure relief by legislation and an Interstate Trade Commission. I, also, want legislation and an Interstate Trade Commission to help enforce the laws, but I don't think the community ought to be forced or bribed into legalizing private monopoly in order to get the legislation and the commission. And it seems to me very unwise, particularly for Labor, to surrender industrial liberty and to rely wholly upon legislation and a commission. Legislation and commissions help only "him who helps himself"; and a social program which accepts these things as a substitute for industrial liberty, instead of using them as means of securing industrial liberty, is fundamentally unsound.



La Follette and Roosevelt.

Peculiarly Rooseveltian is the pretense that Mr. Roosevelt was supporting the La Follette fight for progressivism until Mr. La Follette's illness necessitated new leadership, and that then Mr. Roosevelt came reluctantly to the front. Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the work of La Follette, when the latter was fighting the Interests alone in the Senate and the former was fighting for them and not alone in the White House, testify with great force against Mr. Roosevelt's present pretensions. But some leopards are allowed to change their spots

to suit the seasons, and maybe Mr. Roosevelt is such a leopard. More directly to the precise point, it may be, however, is the conduct of Roosevelt toward La Follette when Roosevelt skilfully managed to speak in Wisconsin just after the primaries instead of just before. Why did he make that side-step? And when he did speak in Wisconsin after La Follette had carried the primaries, why was he so eloquently silent about La Follette? This bit of political history is not consistent with the present theory that Roosevelt was supporting the movement which he now assumes to lead in La Follette's place.*



Edward Keating.

One of the candidates for Congressman-at-Large from Colorado is Edward Keating, the president of the Colorado State Land Board. Mr. Keating was nominated at direct primaries in spite of the fact that he declared unequivocally for free sugar, although the beet-sugar industry in Colorado is supposed to be under the fostering care of the tariff, and in spite of the further fact that he is well known as a thorough-going Singletaxer. He has frequently presided at Henry George celebrations in Denver. His nomination was, we say, in spite of those facts; but ought we not to say that it may have been in some degree *because* of them? Free sugar isn't so unpopular as it used to be, and neither is the Singletax. Familiarity with both doctrines is fast breeding the reverse of contempt. At any rate, Mr. Keating has been nominated, and it seems to be more than likely that he will be elected. This probability should be made a certainty by the Free traders and Singletaxers of Colorado. Able, brilliant and popular, but no time server, Mr. Keating would be a valuable accession to the Singletax group in the national capital—Congressmen George, Lewis, Buchanan and the rest in the House, and Owen, at least, in the Senate.



An Echo from "the Dunne Board."

The "Dunne Board," as Mayor Edward F. Dunne's progressive appointees to the Chicago School Board were sneeringly called by corrupt politicians and grafty newspapers less than five years ago, are vindicated now in another of the policies which in their official day won for them the complimentary enmity of all the crooks in Chicago politics. Of the policies for which they fought and lost and which have since been adopted, the latest is the use of school buildings out of

*See The Public of September 16, 1910, page 866.

school hours for civic education. The turning of these buildings over for political discussion in a political campaign, which has now been done, goes further than the "Dunne Board" had dared to propose to go. Those school board members went no further in that direction than to propose the use of school buildings for neighborhood discussions of civic questions of a non-partisan kind. Their use for Presidential politics is so much more extreme that the whole controversy may be considered now as having culminated in a complete victory for the "Dunne Board" on this question. Only one thing remains. If the political uses now agreed to are abused—if, for instance, the rooms are not properly renovated for school purposes after political meetings, let the responsibility be placed where it belongs—upon the Board of Education. Such neglect should be a reason for declaring, not the experiment, but the Board, a failure.



DEATH OF RICHARD F. GEORGE.

To all but his nearest friends the news of Richard F. George's dying has come with the shock of sudden death. But since the early spring he had lingered in an illness over which Death's shadow hung heavily. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., on the 28th. His body was buried near his father's in Greenwood on the 30th.



The second son of Henry George, and only brother of Congressman Henry George, Jr., Richard Fox George, was born in San Francisco on the 27th of January, 1865. This was at the time when his father's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Richard's birth was consequently under circumstances which, as described in the "Life" of his father by Henry George, Jr., must have gone far to inspire Henry George with the message he vitalized in "Progress and Poverty" and in his own subsequent career.

For a time Richard George was the "Co." in the firm of Henry George & Co., which published George's books in the '80's; and during its earlier years he served in the business department of Henry George's "Standard." He and Mary E. Robinson were married in 1888 by Father Huntington, the Episcopal priest whose sympathy with Henry George's message had been awakened in the Mayoral campaign of two years before, in which he had taken an active part as a street speaker. Mr. George's wife and three of their four children survive him.

Some years after his marriage, an artistic im-

pulse, noticeable in his youth, found an inviting opportunity for development under the tutelage of Frank Stephens, the Philadelphia sculptor. Thereafter, until the illness of which he has died incapacitated him, he devoted himself altogether to sculpture—especially to portraits.

His first notable work was a bust of his father, now widely known, which is both interesting and authentic. A bust of Thomas G. Shearman for an institution in Brooklyn was another of his works, and one of Tom L. Johnson another. He has left behind him an unfinished statue of Father McGlynn. The impressive tombstone at his father's grave is also the work of Richard F. George. So are those portrait tablets on the walls of the two buildings fronting on Union Square, New York, in which respectively William Lloyd Garrison and Henry George died. His last finished work was the huge bronze medallion of Henry George and Tom L. Johnson, of which there are many small reproductions in bronze. It was presented to Tom L. Johnson less than a year before Johnson's death, in honor of Johnson's work for the truth that George had tried to make clear;* but now it may serve as well for a memorial to the sculptor himself as to his father and his father's disciple and friend.



Richard Fox George had much of the temperament of his father, along with a marked physical resemblance. He had also his father's persuasive oratorical qualities, but gave himself little opportunity for oratorical expression. In the Singletax campaign in Delaware in the early '90's he made a good speaking record. After taking up sculpture, however, he clung to his profession. Yet he never allowed his devotion to art to submerge his social ideals.

Personally he was among the most lovable of men. And difficult though his pathway was, he has followed it with unwavering loyalty to the great principles of human life. Straw for his tale of bricks he tried to get, but straw or no straw he faithfully made his bricks.



QUATRAIN.

For The Public.

One lived a hundred years—another stayed
Half the same numbered days of light and song.
But lived more fully, and was best repaid—
For it is how we live, and not how long.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

*See Public of May 27, 1910, page 490.

CALAMITY IN OREGON.

Having kindly answered an inquiry—made of him on the street in his own Pennsylvania town, a question in which the Singletax was incidentally mentioned—the friendly citizen said:

"I'm no Singletaxer; I tell you that! We're fighting the Singletax in Oregon. We have timber investments there."

"You'll have to come to it," his friend replied.

"It's a terrible calamity. It will ruin the farmers and the owners of big city buildings," said he.

And then they parted.

He's a good-hearted fellow, and as he spoke his manner was charmingly free from resentment and ill-will. He's head bookkeeper for a rich Pennsylvania family, probably a partner in some small way in their predatory "investments." Neither he nor they may have any idea whatever that they have been helping to put the people of Oregon into the hell of poverty.

But what he said was better than a good dinner; it put a smile on his friend's face that wouldn't come off for an hour or two. There are chuckles back of that face yet.

Fighting the Singletax in Oregon! His word for it, they were.

Not fighting with their own brawn and brain—of course not. That would take time and strength that can with more pleasure be devoted to golf or the automobile. No, they themselves are not doing the fighting—it is their bank check that is doing it!

How easy it is either to fight or to philanthropize, when it can be done with a check—and when the amount of the deposit is well kept up by the victims of the fight or of the philanthropy. How much may not the people of Oregon have contributed to the big bank account against which that fighting check is drawn!

But—"It's a terrible calamity, this Singletax. It will ruin the farmers and the owners of big city buildings"! Sad, isn't it?

And what a mystery that this "terrible calamity" in Oregon should single out "the farmers and the owners of big city buildings" for its especial victims—its joint victims! Who can possibly explain it, unless it be the benevolent fellows who endorse the *fighting* checks?

They will doubtless make it "clear as mud" to the people of Oregon that State and municipal burdens have been lightened and the people blessed, by having their timber lands deeded to Pennsylvania land grabbers, and by being otherwise exploited by absentee landlords!

What a wonderful fight a good big bank check can make against a "terrible calamity"!

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.



HOW PROTECTION DROVE OUR FLAG FROM THE HIGH SEAS.

The American citizen who turns from the history of our merchant marine in the days when it equalled in carrying power that of Great Britain, to view the pitiable remnant of four steamships in the Atlantic trade and five in the Pacific, would be less than human if he did not feel a sense of humiliation. And when he realizes that this shameful condition has come to pass as the result of deliberate legislation, enacted for the carrying out of a fiscal policy, he can but wonder at the strange workings of the human mind.

One can understand why American shipbuilders, demoralized by the prevailing vicious spirit of Protection, and greedy for quick fortunes, should seek legislation to advantage themselves. But who shall explain the state of mind that prompted the mass of our citizens to yield to such unreasonable demands, and to continue for fifty years a fiscal policy that has strangled one of our chief industries. The motive of the parasite is apparent; but what, shall we say of the victim?



The American navigation laws furnish a perfect illustration of the true inwardness of the principle underlying Protection.

To throw a tariff wall around a country so rich in natural resources that no artificial restraints can interrupt its growth, may deceive the superficial thinker into attributing prosperity to the tariff; but in the case of our foreign shipping the competition of other nations has demonstrated what a pitiable farce Protection is.

Congress, wishing to protect American shipbuilders, passed laws denying American registry to foreign-built ships, and prohibiting any but American ships from engaging in the coasting trade, that is, from one port in the United States to another port in the United States, even though it be by way of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. An American ship, that is, a ship that may fly the American flag, must be built in the United States, and be owned by citizens of the United States. Our shipbuilders were not protected by a mere tariff on foreign built ships, but by absolute prohibition.

Here we should see the fruits of Protection in all their perfection.

What has been the result? After fifty years

of this policy our coastal trade, restricted entirely to American-built ships, is but a tithe of what it should be; and our overseas shipping is limited to a few small sailing vessels, and to nine steamships, two of which were built abroad and admitted to American registry on condition that two of equal capacity be built in the local yards.

Our sailors driven from the high seas, and the shipbuilders now clamoring for subsidies!



An American citizen may import a locomotive and cars, which he is free to use in hauling goods within the country, or between this country and Canada, or Mexico, and the law holds it to be an American train, subject to American control. But if he buy a ship built abroad he cannot carry goods within the country; it is not an American ship, it cannot fly the American flag, and it is subject to the laws of the country where registered. It may engage in any trade permitted by other nations, but it cannot trade here except as a foreign ship. It may engage in the coasting trade of Great Britain, but not in the coasting trade of its owner's country. So greedy are our shipbuilders that even should a foreign-built vessel be wrecked on our coast, and be bought by an American, it cannot become an American ship unless the repairs amount to three-fourths the value of the ship.



It may be said that many of these restrictions were in force during the halcyon days of American shipping.

True, but the conditions were different.

It is another case where the country enjoyed such natural advantages that even restrictive laws did little harm. In the days of wooden ships we had the best and the cheapest materials, and so built the best and the cheapest ships. The restrictions then had no more effect upon the price of ships than did the duty on wheat when we were exporting it by the hundred million bushels.

Even when the change from sail to steam vessels came we still led the world as long as ships were made of wood. But our iron, owing to our tariff, was dear; and when the iron ships displaced the wooden, the advantage lay with England.

But note the difference in the policies of the two countries.

Our wooden ships were crowding her to the wall. Her shipowners declared they could not pay the higher price for English-built ships and compete with the cheaper built Yankee ships. Parliament met the situation by repealing her

Protective laws, and permitting English ship masters to buy American ships.

This act saved her till iron was substituted for wood, as the best ship-building material.

Then the complaint came from our shipmasters; but it met with a different reception.

The predicament of the English shipmasters came at the culmination of the Corn Law agitation. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846, and three years later the navigation laws—similar to our own—were repealed.

But the cries of *our* perishing shipmasters fell upon ears ringing with the clamor of a horde of get-rich-quick-adventurers, who took advantage of the Civil War to foist upon the people a high Protective tariff.



Not only did the Protectionists in Congress disregard the plea for free ships to save our overseas shipping, as England's had been saved in 1849, but they were so completely subservient to the shipbuilders that they passed a law prohibiting those American ships that had sought protection under other flags during the Civil War from re-admission to American registry.

As about one-third of the American shipping had taken out foreign registry, the shipbuilders saw an opportunity for quick fortunes in supplying this immense tonnage. But they overreached themselves; they killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

That tonnage never has been replaced by American ships.

And to such a pass have things come that at a recent Congressional investigation, in which shipmasters were asking for free ships, and shipbuilders were protesting that it would be the death of their business, the chairman of the committee asked how long it had been since they had built any ships for the foreign trade; and it developed that not a ship had been built for the overseas trade in the past nine years.

Not a ship built for foreign commerce in nine years, yet protesting that free ships would kill their business!

There are two things that the American citizen cannot bring into this country, obscene literature and foreign-built ships.



Was it necessary for the Congressional Committee to take three volumes of testimony in order to discover why the American flag had disappeared from the high seas?

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

A Self-Evident Fact.

From Puck of September 15, 1897, and of September 25, 1912. Reproduced by courteous permission of the Editor of Puck.



Uncle Sam (to the other Powers): "Say, I want you fellows to distinctly understand that I am not racing with you!"

CONDENSED EDITORIALS

HOW IT GROWS.

Daniel Kiefer in the Cincinnati Post.

In 1903 Tom L. Johnson was a candidate for Governor of Ohio.

The issue was Singletax. At least, that is what the Cincinnati Times-Star, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, Cleveland Leader, Ohio State Journal and other veracious organs of plutocracy said. They shouted themselves hoarse over the matter, describing the Singletax as being about everything that it is not.

Johnson was defeated by 114,000 majority.

In 1912 a Constitutional amendment was voted on in Ohio, providing for the Initiative and Referendum.

The issue involved in its acceptance or rejection was the Singletax. At least, so said all the aforesaid organs of plutocracy, their heirs, assigns, associates, bosses and hired men. Perhaps they would like to admit now that they were only lying.

There was the same shouting, the same misrepresentation and the same appeal to ignorance and prejudice. But it carried by 80,000 majority. The voters had done some thinking during those nine years.

classes of property; (2) permitting taxes to be levied upon different classes of property at different rates, but providing that taxation must be uniform upon each separate class of property within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax.

Each of those amendments was rejected by the people of Oregon in 1910, and at the same time the people approved our "County Home Rule" tax amendment.

Immediately after the election it became evident that Big Business did not approve the decision of the voters in regard to those three measures. The day before the 1910 election The Oregonian, which is the mouthpiece of Big Business, briefly described the County Home Rule amendment, said it was bad, and advised the voters to kill it. Previous to election day neither The Oregonian nor any citizen of Oregon found any "trick" in the County Home Rule Tax amendment; and there was no trick in it. But as soon as it was known that the Home Rule amendment had been approved, The Oregonian raised the alarm that the amendment had been carried by "trickery!" that the ballot title, prepared by the Attorney General, did not describe the meaning of the measure! that the voters had been deceived into the belief that it did nothing more than abolish poll taxes, and that this was a "trick" because the legislature of 1909 had "abolished poll taxes in Oregon!"

In its report to the legislature of 1911, the State Tax Commission reiterated substantially what The Oregonian said, and advised the legislature to re-submit the two amendments that had been rejected, on the ground that the people didn't know what they were doing when they rejected them. They also advised the legislature to submit a repeal of the County Home Rule Tax amendment, on the ground that the people did not know what they were doing when they approved that amendment. The inference is that in the opinion of the State Tax Commission, every measure submitted at one election should be re-submitted at the next election, on the ground that the people blunder in rejecting as well as in approving measures.

"The statement that the legislature of 1909 "abolished poll taxes in Oregon" is false. It did repeal the "State poll tax law," but did not repeal the county and road district poll tax law, the result being that in 1909 and 1910, county and road poll taxes were collected in almost every county in Oregon, according to the written statements of county clerks.

Anyway, without looking into the matter, the legislature of 1911 followed the advice of the State Tax Commission, which was the voice of the Esau of Big Business, re-submitted the two rejected tax amendments, and submitted a repeal of the County Home Rule Tax amendment, except that part prohibiting poll taxes. That is, it has asked the people to repeal the portion of the amendment giving the people absolute power over tax laws, but added to the repeal measure a nice little provision prohibiting the legislature from passing any tax or exemption law under the emergency clause.

That emergency clause toy is supposed to be full compensation to the people for giving up their absolute control over tax laws. But it isn't.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

TAX AMENDMENTS IN OREGON.

Portland, Ore.

There are five tax amendments "before the house" in Oregon this year.

Two are amendments submitted by the legislature of 1909 and rejected by the voters in 1910: (1) Providing for a uniform rule of taxation and for the levy and collection of taxes for State purposes and for county and municipal purposes on different

The County Home Rule Tax amendment, in addition to giving the people of any county the power to tax or exempt any property, also prohibits the legislature from enacting any tax law "without the consent of the people;" and that is the sin committed by the people against the legislature, the State Tax Commission and Big Business.

The emergency clause toy offered to the people by the legislature, under the guidance of the State Tax Commission and Big Business, means this: As the County Home Rule Tax amendment now stands, any tax or exemption law passed by the legislature must be submitted by the legislature to the voters at the next general election, and such voters as object to the laws submitted will not be at any expense or trouble in getting up referendum petitions and paying circulators for signatures. But under the repeal amendment, the legislature might easily pass a dozen tax and exemption laws "without the emergency clause," and if any voters objected to those laws they would have to stand the trouble and expense of preparing Referendum petitions and hiring circulators to get signatures.

Under the amendment as it stands, the legislature can refer to the voters as many tax and exemption laws as it pleases, without expense to the legislature or the people; but under the proposed repeal amendment the legislature could make the referendum practically prohibitive on account of the expense.



The fourth tax amendment, authorizing income taxes that may be "proportional or graduated and progressive," and permitting "reasonable exemptions," is proposed by the State Tax Commission by Initiative petition.

In opposing this amendment we have pointed out that it is unnecessary, because the County Home Rule Tax amendment gives the people power to make income tax laws if they wish to do so; because if any person's income is derived from his earnings it should not be taxed; and that incomes derived from some power to appropriate the earnings of others will be fully reached by the proposed Graduated Specific Tax and Exemption amendment.

More than that, the Graduated Tax and Exemption amendment, which I shall explain next, will reach potential incomes, which an "income tax" does not reach. It will reach ground rents to be derived from the ownership of valuable unimproved city lots and lands to the extent of thousands of dollars a year where an income tax would not return one cent.

The fifth tax amendment, which is creating more commotion and acute pain in Big Business and political circles than all other measures on the ballot this year, is the Graduated Specific Tax and Exemption amendment, which has been proposed by Singletax men in Oregon.

As has been explained in The Public, it exempts from tax all personal property and improvements on, in and under land, except in those counties in which the people decide by vote to tax improvements and personal property. But it does not exempt from tax any community-made land value, or raw-land value, or "people value" of land, not even to the extent of \$5.

It is worth while to emphasize that statement, be-

cause some Singletaxers have an idea that all land values amounting to less than \$10,000 under one ownership are to be exempt from tax under this amendment. That supposition is based upon the fact that land values, water powers and franchises and rights of way amounting to more than \$10,000 under one ownership are subject to a graduated tax upon the owners, in addition to the regular general and special tax levies. The graduated tax falls upon the owner as "owner;" the regular general and special levies are against the property itself.

For example, a Portland lot assessed exactly \$10,000 in 1910 was taxed 22 mills, or \$220, under the present tax law. If the Graduated Tax amendment had been in effect the tax would have been \$225. Suppose another lot worth \$10,100. Under the present law the tax would have been \$222.20; under the Graduated Tax amendment the graduated tax on the owner would have been 25 cents, and the levy on the lot would have been \$227.25, making a total of \$227.50 of tax on owner and lot.

The rate of 22 mills in 1910 included all State, county, city and school taxes. On a lot assessed \$500, the 1910 tax was \$11; under the Graduated Tax it would have been \$11.25. The graduated taxes on owners of more than \$10,000 of land values, or water power values or franchise and right of way values would have paid about one-third of the total revenue of the county, for all purposes, so that the mill rate would have been increased from 22 to 22.5 mills. That disposes of the objection that a man owning a lot upon which he intends to build a home would be ruined by the proposed amendment. His tax would be only 5 cents more per \$100 of assessed value of the lot, using the 1910 figures of assessments and total tax levies.

One feature of the Graduated Tax and Exemption amendment that disturbs the appropriators of community-made or "people" values is that the graduated tax on ownership reaches the owners of valuable leased lots where the leases provide that the lessees shall pay all taxes on "the property."

It is said that the proposed Graduated Tax is unfair, and collides with the Constitution of the United States, because it attempts to impose the graduated taxes on assessed values within "each county" instead of "within the State." Take a railroad company, operating in ten counties, with total franchise and right of way values amounting to \$23,000,000. On the alleged "fair" plan of imposing the graduated tax on assessed values "within the State," the graduated tax would be \$688,150, with regular general and special levies in addition.

But under the county plan, assuming that the assessment is equally divided among the ten counties (assuming this merely for illustration), the total graduated taxes of the company in the State would be only \$50,500, with regular general and special levies in addition. According to the "fair" plan suggested by the State Tax Commission—after consultation with some eastern experts—the railroad would pay \$637,650 more in graduated taxes than under the proposed plan, in addition to regular and special levies.

If our graduated amendment is approved, and the railroad lawyers rush into court with a demand for

that "fair" plan, I want the moving picture rights for that legal Marathon.

W. G. EGGLESTON.



DIRECT LEGISLATION IN MAINE.

Skowhegan, Me.

At the State election in Maine Sept. 9th, two questions were voted upon by the people. The first was submitted under a referendum secured by the State Republican organization, on some amendments to the ballot law passed by the Democratic legislature. The second was a proposed constitutional amendment to authorize a \$2,000,000 bond issue for good roads, submitted by the same legislature direct. Both measures were adopted by large majorities, but the striking feature of the result was the large vote cast. Upon the ballot law amendments, 75 per cent of the total vote was cast, and upon the good roads amendment 71 per cent. The official figures are as follows:

Total vote for governor.....	142,003
"Yes" vote on ballot law.....	72,816
"No" vote on ballot law.....	33,884

	106,700
"Yes" vote on good roads bond issue.....	80,619
"No" vote on good roads bond issue.....	21,454

	102,073

How is this for an intelligent electorate?

C. M. GALLUP.



THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION.

San Francisco.

On September 27, when this is being written by a Californian who has just traversed the State, Wilson has gained "for keeps" a large part of the shattered and scattered Republican vote, and keeps also the normal Democratic strength. State pride on Johnson's account has helped the new party, but now the quiet thinkers are definitely saying that Johnson is needed for a second term as Governor. Roosevelt's speeches did him no good. Pinchot's work certainly helped the new party. Kent has a hard row to hoe, but has very earnest supporters. Bryan received a remarkable welcome in California. Theodore Bell's defeat in the Democratic committee meeting has strengthened the belief that Wilson is soundly and safely for progress.

CHAS. H. SHINN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LAND-TAX ASSESSMENT METHODS.

San Francisco.

E. W. Doty's article in The Public of August 23d (page 799) is the first statement I have seen in print of the great practical weakness of the Single-tax—its lack of a method of assessment.

Land values are produced by (1) site advantage and (2) expectation that it will always be possible to secure an increase by putting money into title deeds. As any application of Singletax approaches perfection (the taking of total rental value in taxes),

the second factor will be eliminated and a new basis of assessment will have to be found. If that basis can be found now, the problem will be solved for all time. For, however details may change, the basis will not change when the right one is found.

"Progress and Poverty," book iv, chapter ii, paragraphs 7 to 17 (pages 232-240, library edition), seems to me to indicate the factor that determines the site advantage of land—relation to the nearest trading point. The tabulation of assessments of all communities of a certain size should show the value given by that number of people to the most valuable lot in the community, and the lessening of values in comparison with recession from that point. The same method should show agricultural values in relation to the same point.

This method would give a reasonable basis for an arbitrary starting point, to find out what the site advantage really is. The starting point must be arbitrary in any case, and the virtue of the one found in this manner is that it is based on the factor that will be used when a perfect system of assessment is arrived at.

I also believe the same method, with the help of the Somers system, could be applied to cities of all sizes.

CHARLES K. HALE.



A "CAMPAIGN SYMPOSIUM DINNER."

New York, Sept. 27, 1912.

The second propaganda dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club for the season of 1912-13, Kalil's Rathskeller, 14 Park Place, New York City, Saturday, October 12, at 6 p. m., will be a dollar "Campaign Symposium Dinner"; and as a protest against the iniquitous and undemocratic custom which denies one-half the race the right to complete participation in civic matters, the Club has invited representative women to discuss the issues of the present year, and thus demonstrate the folly of ascribing exclusive political intelligence to the male sex.

The Club has secured speakers of exceptional ability and reputation. Amy Malf Hicks will preside, and the several political faiths will be defended as follows: Republican Party, May Wood; Democratic Party, Eva MacDonald Valesh; Progressive Party, Alice Carpenter; Socialist Party, Marie Jenney Howe; Anarchism, Emma Goldman.

JOHN T. McROY.



Seek your life's nourishment in your life's work. Do not think that, after you have bought or sold, or studied or taught, you will go into your closet and open your Bible and repair the damage of the loss which your daily life has left you. Do those things, certainly, but also insist that your buying or selling, or studying or teaching, shall itself make you brave, patient, pure, holy. Do not let your occupation pass you by, and only leave you the basest and poorest of its benefits, the money with which it fills your purse. This is the life that, indeed, "catches the quality of the life of God."—Phillips Brooks.

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, October 1, 1912.

The Presidential Campaign.

President Taft, who is making no further speeches in the campaign, expressed himself through an interview in the *Evening World* of New York on the 25th. His declaration on the tariff question was the familiar one that there should be only enough Protection for the manufacturer—

to pay the scale of high wages which obtains and ought to obtain in this country, and secure a reasonable profit from the business. . . . The American public may rest assured that, should the Republican party be restored to power in all legislative branches, all the schedules in the present tariff of which complaint is made will be subjected to investigation and report without delay by a competent and impartial Tariff Board, and to the reduction or change which may be necessary to square the rates with facts.

In the same interview he said of woman suffrage that it—

is an issue to be decided by the States and there can be no doubt whatever that whenever or wherever a majority of women impress on their fathers, their husbands, sons, brothers and beaux that they want to vote, they will get the right to vote. It is too noble, too serious, too sacred an issue to be used merely to get votes. I believe women to be as capable of a wise use of the ballot as men, and I can perceive wherein woman's influence extended to the political field would have a most beneficial bearing on the general welfare.



Mr. Wilson made a specific declaration in a speech at New Haven on the 25th on the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Having argued for direct primaries and the direct election of United States Senators, he said:

Let's get another step deeper. I hope you won't any of you think that I am going too far in even mentioning in your presence those extreme doctrines of the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. It is the last word that makes most men shrink. Let no man deceive himself by the fallacy that anybody proposes to substitute direct legislation by the people or a direct reference of laws voted in the legislature by the vote of the people for representative government. The Initiative is a means of recapturing the seat of legislative authority on behalf of the people themselves; the Referendum is a means of seeing to it that unrepresentative measures are not put upon the statute book, but are checked by being submitted to the vote of

the people. When you come to the Recall the principle is that if an administrative officer—for we will begin with an administrative officer—is so corrupt or so unwise as to be doing things that are likely to lead to all sorts of mischief in the future, it will be possible by a process prescribed by the law to get rid of that officer before the end of his term. I don't see how any man who is grounded in the traditions of American affairs, particularly as they derive their origin from New England, can find any valid objection to the Recall of administrative officers. It is another matter when it comes to the judiciary. I myself have never been in favor of the recall of judges—not that some judges haven't deserved to be recalled—that isn't the point. But because that is treating the symptoms instead of the disease. The disease lies deeper and sometimes it is very, very virulent and very dangerous. There have been courts in the United States that were controlled by private interests. There have been Supreme courts in our States at which men without privilege could not get justice. There have been corrupt judges. There have been controlled judges. There have been judges who acted as other men's servants and not as the servants of the public. And there can be no moral objection to removing such men from public service. You feel, as I feel, that the judiciary process is the ultimate safeguard of the things we want to hold stable in this country. But suppose that that safeguard is corrupted. . . . Would you remedy it by recalling the judges? . . . You wouldn't be cutting deep enough. Where you want to go is to the process by which judges are picked out. And when you get there you lead to the moral of this whole discussion, because the moral of it all is that the people of the United States have suspected until their suspicions have been justified by all sorts of substantial and unanswerable evidence, that, in place after place, at turning point after turning point, in the history of this country, we have been controlled by private understandings and not by the public interest, and that influences which were improper, if not corrupt, have determined everything from the making of laws to the administration of justice. . . . This thing that grows like a canker in our vitals must be cut out; though I grant you it must be cut out with the skill, and the knowledge, and the tenderness of the surgeon who will not disturb the vital tissues to which this ugly thing is attached.

[See current volume, page 918.]



Mr. Roosevelt campaigned through the South last week, closing at Raleigh, N. C., on the 1st, after which he left for New York. At Atlanta on the 28th he charged Woodrow Wilson, as reported by the *Associated Press*—

with making statements in regard to his position which were "not merely an untruth, but the direct reverse of the truth." The ex-President flatly denied recent statements of the Democratic candidate and said Governor Wilson did not believe some of these things and knew the Colonel had never said them.

[See current volume, pages 917, 918.]

What is reported as the largest Socialist demonstration in the United States came off at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on the 29th. It was on the occasion of the official notification to Debs and Seidel as Socialist party candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. An admission ranging from 15 cents to \$1 was charged. The great hall was crowded and an overflow meeting was held. The principal speakers were Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President; ex-Mayor Seidel of Milwaukee, candidate for Vice-President, and Charles Edward Russell, candidate for Governor of New York.



A straw vote taken by the New York Herald in conjunction with the Chicago Record-Herald, and completed on the 28th, was reported by the Record-Herald on the 29th as showing the following result, with 8,119 voters heard from:

	Taft.	Bryan.	Debs.	Wilson.	Roosevelt.
Voters who in 1908 voted for	3,872	2,117	226
Voters who in 1912 will vote for	1,770	424	3,407	2,518
Net Republican loss					2,102
Net Democratic gain					1,310
Net Socialist gain					198
Taft to Roosevelt					1,629
Taft to Wilson					691
Taft to Debs					71
Bryan to Roosevelt					248
Bryan to Taft					67
Bryan to Debs					49
Debs to Roosevelt					18
Debs to Wilson					22
Debs to Taft					4



Wilson's Democratic Victory in New Jersey.

Ex-Senator James Smith, the Democratic politician and leader of corporation interests in New Jersey, whom Governor Wilson successfully opposed for re-election to the United States Senate two years ago, securing the election in his stead of Senator Martine, made a campaign for Senator before the Democratic primaries of the 24th. Governor Wilson, though in the midst of his campaign for the Presidency, openly opposed Mr. Smith's nomination in public speeches over the State. The result of the primaries was an overwhelming defeat for ex-Senator Smith. Congressman William Hughes, a democratic Democrat and the candidate whom Governor Wilson supported, was nominated by 20,000 majority or more in a total vote of 70,000. [See current volume, page 919.]



The Labor War.

A "general strike" at Lawrence, Massachusetts, was undertaken on the 26th as a protest against the trial of Ettor and Giovannitti. It began in full force on the 30th, when 12,000 out of 30,000

textile operatives had quit work in Lawrence. The strike had been taken up, also, by operatives at Lynn, Quincy and Haverhill (Mass.), at Clairsville (Ohio) and at Belle Vernon (Pa.). It was managed by the Industrial Workers of the World. Having been called as a twenty-four hour strike, it was called off with the close of the 30th, but with an announcement that if Ettor and Giovannitti are unfairly tried, another demonstration will be made. The strike coincided with the beginning of the Ettor and Giovannitti trial, which opened at Salem on the morning of the 30th. In impaneling a jury, the presiding judge overruled challenges by the defense, of jurors on the ground of their owning stock in the Lawrence mills. Several conflicts between the police and strikers occurred in the course of this "direct action" demonstration. It is the first strike of its kind in the United States. [See current volume, pp. 877, 920.]



The Rubber Outrages in South America.

The Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia have announced that the governments of Great Britain and the United States have been in error in calling upon Peru to put an end to the atrocities committed by Peruvian citizens against the Indians of the Putumayo district in connection with the collection of rubber, since Colombia and not Peru holds sovereignty over this district. They declare that if, since the year 1901, Peruvian rubber hunters at first, and later the authorities of that country—by overcoming and despoiling the Colombian settlers of the Putumayo—have established themselves in that region, it has been in violation of the sovereignty of Colombia, and without the latter having ever renounced the right to reassert her sovereignty over these territories. They protest against the usurpation which deprives Colombia of the possession of these regions, and desire to make it known that if in their defense or re-occupation, conflicts occur with the Peruvian invaders, the fault will not lie with the nation on whose side is justice, but with the one which seeks to despoil her. [See current volume, page 705.]



The "Balkan Crisis."

The unrest in the Balkan peninsula (which derives its name from the Balkan mountain ranges which criss-cross over its territory, and includes Greece, European Turkey, and the states lying between the latter and Austria-Hungary—namely, Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia), noted in August, has reached the point of the mobilization of troops, and immediate war impends. [See current volume, page 830.]

Massacres of Bulgarians in Macedonia are advanced as a cause for war by Bulgaria, which demands home rule for Macedonia, the perpetually revolting province of Turkey. Bulgaria ordered mobilization on her frontier on the 30th. On the same day Serbia, having joined Bulgaria in demanding autonomy for Macedonia, ordered a general mobilization of her army, and Greece also ordered mobilization of her forces by land and sea. Montenegro has also mobilized, and Russia has called out over 200,000 reservists in Poland, but declares that this has to do with trial maneuvers, and has no reference to the Balkan crisis. A news dispatch from Berlin says that "the exact aims of Serbia and Bulgaria in mobilizing are their own secret and it is thought war may possibly break out without formal declaration. The great Powers, however, none of whom desire war, will continue their endeavors to prevent it until the last moment." A dispatch from London says that "two possible explanations of the Balkan crisis are offered, the first, that a coalition of the Balkan states exists for the purpose of demanding from Turkey, before it has time to conclude peace with Italy, the granting of complete autonomy to the Macedonian provinces; the second, that, fearing Turkey will seek an issue from its difficulties at home and abroad in war, they are preparing themselves for a possible attack." [See current volume, page 922.]



At the latest moment it is reported that the Balkan allies have sent an ultimatum to Turkey demanding reforms in Macedonia, and calling for reply within 48 hours. The Turkish government has ordered partial mobilization. France and Great Britain, as well as the members of the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria and Italy—are bending all their energies to prevent war.



Francis Neilson.

After a speaking tour of the continent, Francis Neilson, M. P., was given a banquet at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 30th. He had spoken in Manitoba and other Canadian cities, and at Portland, La Grand, Baker and Pendleton in Oregon, and Kansas City and St. Louis in Missouri, in support of the Singletax. At luncheon at the City Club, Chicago, on the 30th, he spoke on Lloyd George and the land question in Great Britain. At the Auditorium banquet there were 200 guests. The speakers, besides Mr. Neilson and the toastmaster, were Hamlin Garland, Margaret Haley of Chicago and ex-Bailie Peter Burt of Glasgow, Scotland. Mr. Neilson's subject here was the Singletax as a world movement. His addresses have been received with enthusiasm, both for their charm of style and their illuminating and in-

spiring qualities. [See current volume, pages 842, 880.]

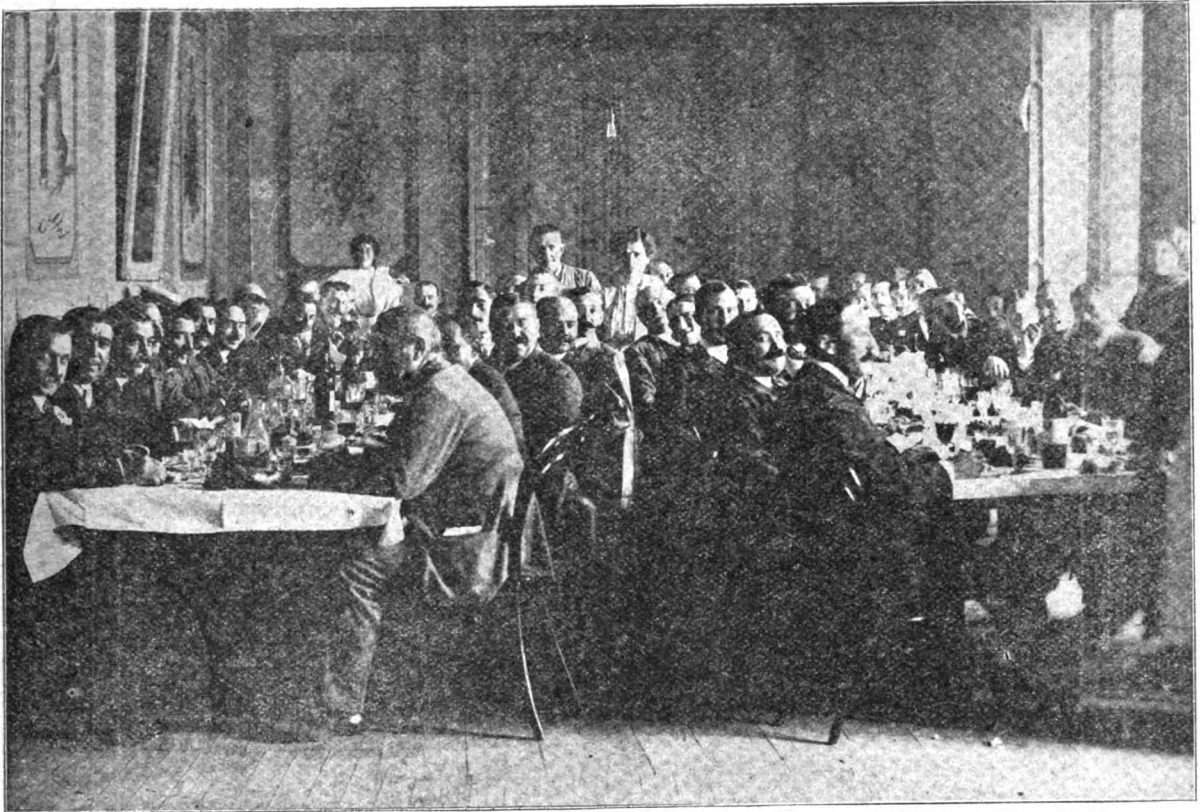


Francis Neilson, M. P.

A Spanish Henry George Banquet.

Spanish newspapers report a banquet in honor of Henry George's birthday, given at Haro by the Spanish Singletax League on Sunday evening, September 1st. There is said to have been a large and enthusiastic attendance, including guests from various cities, among them several government officials from Madrid. According to the Madrid "Correspondencia de Espana," Mr. Antonio Albendin received a rousing ovation in recognition of his magnificent work in organizing the League and in publishing so fine a periodical as that called in Spanish The Single Tax.* Mr. Albendin modestly declined to accede to the urgent demand for a speech, on the ground that oratory was not his specialty. He gave, however, a little talk on the general news of the movement throughout the world, adding that nowhere is the cause advancing more rapidly than in Spain and in Spanish-speaking countries, despite the economic ignorance of the people. One of the daily papers, "La Pioja," in its long report comments especially on the great enthusiasm displayed by those present. [See current volume, page 828.]

*"El Impuesto Unico." Imprenta Rondeña, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain. See Public of September 13, page 885.



The Henry George Dinner in Spain.

NEWS NOTES

—The Democratic convention of the State of New York met at Syracuse on the 1st.

—Job Hedges was nominated for Governor of New York by the Republican convention at Saratoga on the 27th.

—Ten thousand persons marched in the rain at Chicago on the 28th as a protest against vice conditions in the city.

—This year's convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Water Ways Association opened on the 24th at Little Rock, Ark. [See vol. xiv. pp. 1019, 1045, 1077.]

—Governor Foss of Massachusetts was nominated for re-election at the Democratic primaries in that State on the 24th, carrying the State by 26,614 majority. [See current volume, pages 418, 419, 729.]

—The State Central Committee of the Progressive Party of Wisconsin on the 24th unanimously endorsed the Republican candidate for Governor, the present Governor McGovern. [See current volume, pages 582, 684, 848.]

—The 5th international Congress of Chambers of Commerce has been in session in Boston. Calendar reform and the establishment of an international court of arbitration for suits between in-

dividuals and foreign states, have been under discussion.

—A force of 750 American marines was dispatched to Santo Domingo last week, to protect the custom houses of the Republic, which are under American supervision by the terms of the Convention of 1907, against the revolutionists. [See current volume, pages 228, 779.]

—Japan was swept by a typhoon—their most terrible storm for half a century—on the night of September 22. The loss of life was heavy and tens of thousands are homeless. The damage is put at over \$20,000,000. At Nara the thousand-year-old Kasuga shrine collapsed into a heap of ruins.

—The Women's Henry George League of New York has elected the following officers for the coming year: President, Amy Mali Hicks, 400 West 23rd street; vice president, Grace Isabel Colbron, secretary, Elma Dame, 535 East 78th street; financial secretary, Coline B. Currie, and treasurer, Lillian O'Neill.

—At an Orangemen's demonstration in Belfast, Ireland, on the 28th, a "league and covenant" against the home-rule measure for Ireland now pending in Parliament was largely signed, in which a threat of resistance by force is made, the "covenant" binding its signers "to use all the means that may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up home rule in Ireland" and to refuse to recognize

the authority of an Irish Parliament. [See current volume, page 470.]

—The Indiana trial of labor leaders charged with complicity in the McNamara dynamite plots began on the 1st before the Federal Court at Indianapolis, Judge Albert B. Anderson presiding. Ortie McMangal pleaded guilty. United States Senator John W. Kern is leading counsel for the defense. [See current volume, page 830.]

—Senator Clapp announced on the 25th that Friday, October 4, had been set by the Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures, for the appearance of Colonel Roosevelt. The hearings began, however, on the 30th, when several witnesses were examined and old correspondence obtained. [See current volume, pages 824, 849.]

—A United States Court composed of Judge Sanborn of Wisconsin, Judge Humphrey of Springfield and Judge Baker of Indiana and sitting at Springfield, Ill., decided on the 27th that the Illinois 2-cent fare law for railroads is unconstitutional and therefore issues against the State an injunction forbidding its enforcement. [See vol. xii, p. 325.]

—The Chicago Woman's Club adopted resolutions on the 28th asking the Illinois legislation to enact a bill "creating a minimum-wage-board commission with the necessary powers and machinery to inquire into the wages paid to woman workers, to arbitrate concerning them, and to recommend a minimum wage." [See current volume, page 566.]

—Not only the women of some of the cities of British India and Burmah, including Bombay and Rangoon, have the same voting rights as men, but the native women of Java share the small amount of political power vested in men, according to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who is making first-hand observations in regard to the political status of women in the Far East, and reporting to "Jus Suffragii" of Rotterdam.

—The convention of the Illinois Bankers' Association at Peoria on the 25th voted down the following resolution: "That this association, in convention assembled, does hereby approve such legislation in the State of Illinois as will hereafter require State supervision of bankers and all banks (except national), and that we pledge our earnest support to such measure." The resolution was defeated by 224 to 125. Of the large Chicago banks only three voted in the affirmative.

—Municipal ownership and operation of a telephone system is contemplated in a resolution adopted unanimously by the City Council of Cleveland on the 30th. It calls upon Mayor Baker and Director of Public Service Springborn to investigate the question of public ownership and operation of one or both of the local telephone systems, with the view of establishing a municipal system under the "home rule" amendment to the State Constitution just adopted. [See current volume, page 896.]

—At the Socialist Party county convention at Los Angeles on the 15th, the following resolution with reference to the pending State vote on home rule in taxation was adopted: "We realize that all the burdens of taxation fall upon the already overburdened working class, and we demand a more just and equitable system. We pledge ourselves and

our officials to take the necessary steps to shift the basis of taxation to land values, thereby discouraging land speculation, one of the greatest factors in the constantly increasing cost of living. As a step in this direction we endorse the State Initiative measure for home rule in taxation."

—The public school buildings of Chicago are to be open out of school hours for political meetings during the Presidential campaign, under the control of a committee of the Board of Education, which by action of the Board on the 27th is to "formulate plans, fix rentals, and make rules and regulations governing the occupancy of the halls for political purposes." This is their first use for other than school purposes, the efforts of the so-called "Dunne Board" to secure their use out of school hours for civic uses having been frustrated by other members of the Board of Education. The concession is now made as an experiment at the request of the Progressive Party. [See current volume, pages 543, 939.]

—To further relieve agriculture from taxation by placing the burden upon speculative holders of farm lands, important amendments to the Rural Municipalities Act of Alberta, Canada, will be sought at the next session of the Alberta legislature. By an act passed at the session last spring the assessment of land was made the sole basis of municipal revenue, while a rebate of 25 per cent of all taxes was provided for the benefit of farmers who improve their holdings. It is now proposed that this rebate be raised to 50 per cent, so that the man who owns a quarter-section wholly under cultivation will pay in taxes only one-half as much as the man who is owner of an adjoining unimproved farm. Hon. Charles Stewart, minister of municipal affairs of the Province, has declared himself in favor of the change.

—Thomas J. Tynan, the penitentiary warden whose humane methods in his own State have begun to affect penal policies everywhere, described the Colorado system in one of its aspects before the Chicago Association of Commerce on the 25th. He said: "We build approximately \$250,000 worth of roads yearly. Prisoners are sent out to do the work. They form a camp and are supervised in their work by a skilled road man. For every thirty days of good deportment the prisoner receives ten days of 'good time.' One prisoner out of every 200 escapes. Before they are sent out they give their word of honor they will not attempt to escape and will prevent others from trying. They get relatives and friends to make like promises on their behalf, so that when a man does escape he throws down his best friends." [See current volume, page 793.]

—The Nicaraguan revolution has come practically to an end with the surrender of the revolutionary stronghold of Granada to the government forces on the 25th. General Luis Mena, the chief leader of the revolution, was taken prisoner, with his principal officers, by Admiral Southerland, commanding the American marines who have been in Nicaragua protecting American interests. General Mena was immediately sent on an American cruiser to Panama. Dispatches from Washington state that "as soon as tranquillity is restored, with sound evidence that President Diaz's government is in condition to repress anarchy and afford protection to foreign life

and property, the American naval forces will be withdrawn from that country. Only one guaranty will be exacted of President Diaz's government; that is that the next president of Nicaragua shall be the free and untrammelled choice of a majority of the population of the country. This will follow the precedent recently set in Panama." [See current volume, page 900.]

PRESS OPINIONS

"Bosses" and "Leaders."

The Oregon Daily Journal (dem. Dem.), September 20.—"Why does The Journal object to Perkins and Munsey while asking the voter to vote for Wilson and thus swallow Murphy, Sullivan and Ryan?" asks a writer in yesterday's Journal. Why be unreasonable? Munsey and Perkins got the man they wanted. Murphy, Sullivan and Ryan did not want Woodrow Wilson. Ryan went into the convention to beat Wilson. . . . Sullivan voted against Wilson until within an hour of the nomination and then changed only because he saw Wilson was inevitable, and because thousands of telegrams from Illinois forced the delegation to force Sullivan to surrender. Murphy voted against Wilson until Wilson's nomination was made. . . . Bryan's denunciation of Murphy, and his declaration that he would not vote for a man supported by Murphy and his crowd, was the most terrible arraignment ever heard in an American convention. . . . Murphy was repudiated at Baltimore. . . . In the face of such history of only yesterday, it is nonsense for men to talk about "swallowing Murphy, Sullivan and Ryan" in voting for Wilson. A vote for Woodrow Wilson is a vote against bosses. . . . There is a wide difference between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt as to bosses. Mr. Wilson fights bosses in his own party. Mr. Roosevelt fights no boss in his party. The boss who supports Mr. Roosevelt is not a "boss" but a "leader." Tim Woodruff is not a boss but a leader. Bill Flynn is not a boss but a leader. George Perkins of-life insurance scandal is not a boss, but a consecrated soldier of the Lord. Dan Hanna, indicted by Taft for violation of the Sherman law, is not a boss but a pillar at Armageddon.



A Worthy Tribute from a Worthy Source.

The Sacramento Bee (Pro. Party), September 24.—The Bee desires to see Theodore Roosevelt elected President of the United States. But it will not bear false witness against any who view the contest in another light. Nor will it ever hesitate to accord full and just measure of faith to an opposing warrior like Bryan—a man who is a credit and an honor to the American name; a man who stands an Anak among his fellows; a man who is today the best-loved, the most universally loved, American. . . . The day has gone past when any man or woman of intelligence speaks of the Commoner save with deep respect for his views; with warm admiration for his genius; with strong confidence in his sincerity of purpose; with increasing faith and pride in his moral courage.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BREAD AND ROSES.

James Oppenheim in the American Magazine.

"Bread for all, and Roses, too!"—Chicago Women Trade Unionists.

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill-lofts gray
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,
For the people hear us singing, "Bread and Roses,
Bread and Roses."

As we come marching, marching, we battle, too, for men—
For they are women's children and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes—
Hearts starve as well as bodies: Give us Bread,
but give us Roses!

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead
Go crying through our singing their ancient song of Bread;
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew—
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for Roses,
too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater Days—
The rising of the women means the rising of the race—
No more the drudge and idler—ten that toil where one reposes—
But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and Roses,
Bread and Roses!



CAN YOU STAND PAT?

For The Public.

Citizen: "This is a great age and a great country. Why, do you know, a man can now make twenty-one times as much cloth or wheat or steel in a day as he did 100 years ago."

Investigator: "Who gets all these good things?"

Citizen: "Everybody. People never lived so well since the world began."

Investigator: "Did you get that from a campaign book, or did you really look into the matter?"

Citizen: "Oh, everybody knows that. What's the matter with you? You know that before we got steam the whole family had to work—men, women and children. When all else was done the

women and children had to spin and weave, spin and weave eternally.

Investigator: "Where did they do this work?"

Citizen: "At home, every home was a regular factory. It's different now."

Investigator: "Yes, for some of us. Some, owning mines, forests, lands, banks and railroads, live in palaces and keep steam yachts. Others ride in automobiles, keep servants and are very comfortable indeed.

"Did you ever look into the family life of the unskilled workers in the city?"

Citizen: "Oh, labor is better off than it ever was."

Investigator: "Some are, but the unskilled laborer?"

Citizen: "Well, what about the unskilled laborer?"

Investigator: "Today, as a hundred years ago, the wife must help and the children must help. Mark one great difference! Today she is a wage wife and goes out to a factory, and the wage children go out to another factory. The home is half broken up—nearly a million such today in the United States."

Citizen: "Is that why the little children die so fast?"

Investigator: "In this land of wealth, too. Can you stand pat while this remains?"

J. RUSSELL SMITH.



UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AS A NATURAL LAW.

George Hughes in a Three-Minute Speech at
Topeka, September 24.

There are a number of good reasons in favor of universal suffrage which compel the thinking mind to favor it and to work for it. Not the least of them is the readiness with which women instinctively see the absurdity of raising the funds for sustaining government by taxing things we want to have more of, and things which can run away and hide, which hiding increases the number of lies which are told during a year. There is, however, a fundamental reason which lies at the root of the question, and this I will make an effort to express, hoping that some of its splendor may shine through my cloudy and human expression.

The goal of Progress to the Christian mind, and to every thinking mind, is complete harmony at last between the Creative power and the whole of the creation, animate and inanimate, as we classify in our incomplete and halting method. Dimly we note the glorious laws and powers wrapt up in this storehouse, God's creation, which is at once our only means of sustaining life and our great inspiration. When this sinks into the thinking, sincere mind, the next thing is to turn to the analysis of social civilization and con-

ditions. There it becomes apparent that Progress today brings with it increased suffering, increased ignorance and increased injustice; and surrounding all is gruesome waste and strife. We note that though the comprehension of the joy and satisfaction in constructive effort is increasing hourly, together with skill in construction, still destructive force is with us in the shape of armies and navies, and death and hatred-dealing machinery. If our thinking is worth while we do not lose faith that life will attain that goal of perfect harmony with the Creator of life; no, with even greater faith we repeat that glorious prayer, "Thy kingdom come upon earth as it is in heaven." What the thinking mind does do is to realize the stupendous task it is to harmonize the laws that govern human action and progress with those "Great Originals," as Blackstone calls the natural laws of God.

Now, whenever a thing is hard to do, it is not wise to build a wall between half of the working force and the job to be done. That is, however, our present position. We have forced women to climb over a wall in order to get to work on social progress. We have done this; and until quite recently, though we realize how stupendous is the task and how incompetent we are, we have criticized those women who have climbed over the wall, driven by their desire to speed up the arrival at the desired goal. Yes, we have said it was indelicate for ladies to climb walls, even to assist in the thing we pray for. If we pull down the wall and allow women to directly influence social movements we shall double the force which is engaged in filling up the hole in the world's sidewalk, and we shall get that useless and stupid hole filled up the sooner. As it is now the usual vocation in social business of women is to pull the people who fall into this hole in the sidewalk out, and to doctor their wounds and comfort their hearts.

I favor universal suffrage because I know it will double the force and intelligence which are engaged in filling up that hole and extinguishing the need of all the beautiful but wasted labor which has mostly been done by women. I advocate that direct power to influence and serve in social business shall become universal. I favor and advocate universal suffrage because my intelligence tells me indisputably that this will speed up the consummation which is, even to so profane and ignorant a mind as mine, the chief sustaining power in life; that some day the whole creation will live under the natural laws which the Creator set up, and which render part of his creation so perfect and inspire to betterment the greater part of humanity in spite of the economic injustice and waste in which they exist. I do believe His kingdom will come on earth; and I know that it cannot come until all life is free to express itself completely and directly.

BOOKS

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

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

Mr. Orr contends for the economic identity of taxes and land values. To disregard this identity is in his view to encounter an impassable psychological barrier to the movement for land value taxation and to ignore a tactical opportunity. For land-users look upon "the sums which they pay in rent to land-owners, and in rates and taxes to the local and national governments, as one payment for the services rendered to them by the community," and will as willingly "give in another form tomorrow" what "they are willing to give in one form today." Consequently, as Mr. Orr argues, the transfer of taxes to land values will not lessen the net income of land owners, but will tend to increase it to the extent of the advantage in reduced friction of the direct land value tax over the present indirect ones.

In support of that view, British experience affords abundant example, which might be cited. Local taxes there, technically called "rates," are usually paid by tenants. They are estimated on actual annual rentals, and do not vary much from 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent on the rental. It is quite customary, therefore, for a tenant who pays his landlord for rent, say \$75, to pay to his local government about \$25 in addition for "rates." If, however, as not infrequently happens where buildings are put up in bunches, a landlord commutes the "rates" for a lump sum annually, his houses command higher rentals—about \$100 for a "rate free" holding that would otherwise rent for only \$75. That this tendency is the same regarding other kinds of taxation is doubtless true. Simply as the statement of a persistent tendency, then, Mr. Orr's identification of rent and taxes as two parts of one fund, either part rising as the other falls, may be conceded.

But if that tendency is to persist with equitable precision, social adjustments must be so perfect as to permit Ricardo's law of rent to operate normally. We are not referring to Ricardo's agricultural illustrations, which have led some students to identify economic rent exclusively with "the original and indestructible powers of the soil." Mr. Orr's criticism of the Ricardian law, in that view of it, is just. Nor do we find fault with his own restatement of the law of economic rent, that it "is the value of public services which assist the occupier to produce wealth, plus the value of public services which provide him with a market for his produce," unless to suggest that "public serv-

ices" is an ambiguous term which might be so interpreted as to exclude much of the common service that Mr. Orr evidently intends to include. Our own reference to the Ricardian law is to that broad sense of it which Mr. Orr formulates. This is the same, we take it, as Henry George's at the close of chapter ii, book iv of "Progress and Poverty," where economic rent is attributed not only to a lowering of the Ricardian "margin of cultivation," but (this being probably the more important) also to the bringing out in land of special capabilities otherwise latent and the attaching of special capabilities to particular lands"—such as "social," "common" or "public" services, advantages or opportunities." Considering Ricardo's law thus broadly, and as identical with Mr. Orr's formula, social adjustments must be sufficiently perfect to permit the law to operate normally, or Mr. Orr's conclusions may fail.

Operating normally, the law of economic rent would, as Mr. Orr contends, distribute individual earnings and community earnings in two funds, "wages" and "rent," with substantial precision. In those circumstances all taxes would be "rent" under another name, as Mr. Orr also contends; and, as he further contends, the transfer of taxation from land-users to land-owners, would probably not increase the incomes of the former nor lessen those of the latter. The principle seems to be the same as that to which Henry George directs attention in chapter i, book ii, of "Progress and Poverty."

But the law of rent is not now permitted to operate with the normality necessary to distinguish "wages" from "rent" with automatic precision. By making the "rent" fund private property, we have set up a land lottery. As society advances and "rent" increases, men appropriate land in order to draw land-value prizes. Land is therefore so generally monopolized on speculation that the rent margin is greatly depressed and "rent" accordingly increased. Instead of resting at the point of the best *unused* land, that margin is lowered to the point of the best *unowned* land.

So long as this condition remains, a transfer of taxes from production to land would indeed come under the influence of Mr. Orr's principle. But this condition ends the moment the transfer of taxation from production to land has the effect of discouraging monopolization of unused land. For at that moment, unused but monopolized land would tend to become a drug in the market, and all land would begin to fall in value. The "rent" margin would have a tendency to rise from the point of the best *unowned* land to that of the best *unused* land. "Rent" would therefore tend to fall, and "wages" to rise.

In those circumstances the transfer of taxes to land values would *not* take as much in rent from land-users as they formerly paid in rent and taxes

together, nor give as much net rent to land owners as before. From no defect, however, in the principle or tendency that Mr. Orr appeals to. This tendency would remain. But another tendency, more powerful under the circumstances, would have been stimulated. Although land owners would still try to get their accustomed rent *net*, and land users would still be inclined to yield, the falling land market would paralyze the powers of the former interest and augment those of the latter. These considerations explain the instances that Mr. Orr brings to bear in support of his somewhat reactionary deductions from a valid general principle. As to rentals of "rate free" holdings, there is nothing in the circumstances to affect the general market levels for land. And as to rising land-values in Australasian, Canadian and American localities where local taxes have been transferred from production to land-values, the same principle operates. The land-value taxes are not yet high enough to take up the increase of land-values consequent upon greater incentives to production. But with taxes shifted to land-values in sufficient degree to make it unprofitable to hold land out of use and profitable to use it, there would be a different story to tell. The land market would then be so glutted as to bring "rent" to that normal point at which it would represent common earnings in contradistinction to private earnings, and at which Mr. Orr's principle of distribution in "rent" and "wages" would apply with approximate precision.

At present, however, the important question is not so much the correctness of the economic ideal Mr. Orr holds up, as it is of the path to pursue in realizing it. He thinks that the taking of future "unearned increment," as proposed by John Stuart Mill, would be better than Henry George's Single-tax. This may be true of Great Britain. It may be true of Germany. It may be true of scattered places over the world. We are sure it is nowhere true of the United States or Canada. We should be surprised if it were true of Australasia. We doubt if it appeals very strongly to the land restorationists of Great Britain, with whom Mr. Orr has worked. But it is not for us—nor very wisely for anybody anywhere—to tell friends in distant places just what they ought to do locally and just how they ought to do it. When they are doing their best according to their own lights and their own circumstances, the rest of us, if we cannot help them, may at least refrain from bothering them. Standards of orthodoxy on general principles may be regarded as world-wide, but not methods of local realization.

One other of the points made by Mr. Orr should not go unnoticed. He makes the statement that "rent varies *directly* with wages and not *inversely*." Mr. Orr is himself a student of Henry George, and not an unsympathetic one. Yet the

proposition at the very roots of the Georgan philosophy is the reverse of what Mr. Orr seems at first blush to mean. George states that rent depends on the rent margin, *rising* as it falls and *falling* as it rises; whereas wages, depending on the same margin, *fall* as it falls and *rise* as it rises. If this is true, it follows that rent varies *inversely* and not directly with "wages." But Mr. Orr probably refers to "rent" and "wages" quantitatively and not as proportions of product. If so, he is not at variance substantially with Henry George on the point, as a study of chapter iv, book iv of "Progress and Poverty" will show. Increasing "rent" as an *absolute quantity*, and increasing "wages" as an *absolute quantity*, are quite compatible. It is probably the normal process, and would doubtless be the result of taking approximately all land values for common use and leaving wages to the earners. But increasing "rent" and increasing "wages" as *proportions of product*, is probably not a normal process. It could hardly be if both depend upon the "rent" margin, any more than the two arms of a lever swinging on the same fulcrum could rise and fall together.

The considerations which seem to us to be lacking throughout Mr. Orr's book are principally those of the chapter in "Progress and Poverty" which we have just cited, and in which the influence of speculation in land is characterized as "the force, evolved by material progress, which tends constantly to increase rent in greater ratio than progress increases production, and thus constantly tends, as material progress goes on and productive power increases, to reduce wages, not merely relatively but absolutely."

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Task of Social Hygiene. By Havelock Ellis. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1912. Price, \$2.50 net.

—Child Labor in City Streets. By Edward N. Clopper. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

—How to Analyze Railroad Reports. By John Moody. Published by Analyzes Publishing Co., 35 Nassau St., New York City. 1912.

—Principles and Methods of Municipal Trading. By Douglas Knoop. Published by Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's St., London. 1912. Price, \$3.25 net.

—The New Immigration: A Study of the Industrial and Social Life of Southeastern Europeans in America. By Peter Roberts. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.60 net.

—Progress and Uniformity in Child-Labor Legislation: A Study in Statistical Measurement. By William F. Ogburn. Whole Number 121, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co. Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.75 net.

PERIODICALS

The New Socialism.

In the September International Socialist Review (Chicago), Robert Rives LaMonte, the author of "Socialism, Positive and Negative," and of "Science and Socialism," contrasts the "Old Socialism" (parliamentarian) with the "New Socialism" (syndical) in an article which, while apparently entirely fair and certainly both readable and informative, is a sturdy defense of the "new Socialism"—that is, of the "Industrial Workers of the World." Another article of more than ordinary interest and value in this issue of the Review is T. A. Hickey's on "The Land Renters' Union" in Texas.



Negro Dwellings in Chicago.

A report on housing conditions among the Negroes of Chicago is made in the Journal of Sociology (University of Chicago Press) for September by Alzada P. Comstock, who made house-to-house canvass of certain chosen districts. "The results of this study," he concludes, "indicate that the colored tenant pays disproportionately high rent for his apartment, which he is liable to find in poorer repair than his immigrant neighbor. But it does not follow that this fact is entirely due to the simple raising of rents in certain districts. The Negro, with a weekly wage no larger, and usually smaller, than that of his immigrant neighbor, endeavors to maintain a standard of living more similar to that of the native-born white citizen than does the immigrant. He does not consent to so large a degree of crowding for the purpose of increasing the ratio of income to rent, and he demands a place of residence which shall be easily and quickly reached from his place of employment."

A. L. G.



The Capital City of Australia.

A pilgrimage to the site of the future capital of the Australian Commonwealth is described by Edwin E. Slosson in The Independent of September 12. New South Wales ceded to the Commonwealth 900 square miles for the Federal district, and a Government Act provided that any part of this territory then owned by an individual could always be bought at its 1908 market value—so forestalling any land boom. Moreover, all Government land will be leased, none sold, providing, it is estimated, an annual rental revenue of many thousand dollars, a sum increasing with the city's growth. The competitive prize plan for the building of the city, by Walter Burley Griffin of Chicago,* is copied and discussed by Mr. Slosson, as are also the two taking second and third prize. Mr. Griffin's design, writes Mr. Slosson, "bears a certain superficial resemblance to the map of Washington. It is, however, radically different, attaining the same end, a combination of vistas and convenience, by an ingenious system of octagons and hexagons instead of the diagonal network superimposed upon the conventional gridiron,

*See Publics of May 31, page 507; and July 23, page 716.

as in Washington. This makes possible square blocks and straight streets for the most part, yet avoids monotony and conforms closely to the contours of the site. The parliamentary buildings are grouped on a triangle with its apex on the hilltop and its base on the Molonglo river, in which they will be reflected as in a crescent mirrored edged by public gardens. One of the strongest points of the American design is that the city can be begun on a small scale at small expense, and later expanded as desired far beyond the twelve square miles allotted to it and yet maintain its symmetry at all stages of its growth."

A. L. G.



The baby takes to her bed at night
A one-eyed rabbit that once was white;
A watch that came from a cracker, I think.
And a lidless inkpot that never held ink.
And the secret is locked in her tiny breast
Of why she loves these and leaves the rest.

And I give a loving glance as I go
To three brass pots on a shelf in a row;
To my grandfather's grandfather's loving cup
And a bandy-legged chair I once picked up.
And I can't, for the life of me, make you see
Why just these things are a part of me!

—J. H. Macnair in London Spectator.



"How much are these puppies, little boy?"
"All a quarter 'cept that one, and he's thirty-five cents—he swallowed a dime yesterday!"—Puck.



The Senator's Wife (in Washington): "You are sure they are nice people, Augusta?"

The Senator's Daughter: "Yes, Mamma. Their father is owned by the same Trust that owns papa."—Puck.



A little girl who had been out walking with her aunt heard the latter complain that her feet were tired.

"My feet get tired, too, when I go out walking," said the small maiden, "but I always think what a nice ride my stomach has been having."—Chicago Record-Herald.

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