

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Protection and the Progressive Party.

One of the weaknesses of the Progressive Party platform, a weakness that goes to its very foundations, is its tariff-Protection principle. Free-traders in the Progressive Party may retort that the Democratic platform is not for Free-trade, and this is true. But the Democratic platform does demand the fullest measure of trade freedom that Constitutional barriers permit, whereas the Progressive platform pledges its supporters to tariff-Protection in perpetuity. It does this, indeed, for the benefit of wage-workers; but hasn't Protection always been demanded for that purpose? and hasn't it always failed? Aye, but the Progressive Party is to make the purpose a reality! Impossible. No party can do that. Tariff-Protection is a system of Privilege, and in the very nature of Privilege there can be no privilege for wage-workers the benefits of which they can keep. Privilege means monopoly, monopoly means concentration, concentration means power for the few, and power for the few means exploitation of the many.



Panama Canal Tolls.

Great Britain protests against the toll-discrimination in favor of American vessels which our government intends to allow at the Panama Canal. As Great Britain does her subsidizing out of her own treasury, she doesn't think it fair that we should do ours out of the treasury of an inter-

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Protection and the Progressive Party.....	841
Panama Canal Tolls.....	841
Francis Neilson, M. P.....	842
William Kent of California.....	842
Judge Hanford's Successor.....	842
The Mystery in the McNamara Case.....	842
Irresponsible County Government.....	843
The Road to Industrial Democracy.....	844
The Last Argument in a Bad Cause.....	845
Labor Cost.....	845
The Threshing Floors of Eternity. (Charles Howard Shinn).....	845
Direct Legislation. (Victor E. Fehrnstrom).....	846

CONDENSED EDITORIALS:

A Higher Kind of Politics. (Louis F. Post).....	847
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Ohio Constitution.....	848
Election in Vermont.....	848
Republicans in California.....	848
Old Parties in Wisconsin.....	848
Roosevelt's Campaign-Fund Explanation.....	849
Michigan Primaries.....	849
Municipal Progress in Canada.....	849
Nicaragua, Honduras and Mexico.....	849
Land Value Taxation in China.....	850
News Notes.....	851
Press Opinions.....	852

RELATED THINGS:

"Of Long Descent." (B. C. Moomaw).....	854
"God Knows." (Harry W. Olney).....	854
Little Tales of Fellow Travelers. 12. (Charles Howard Shinn).....	854
Real Estate Men and the Singletax. (Louis F. Post).....	856
Government by Injunction. (J. W. Dutton).....	858

BOOKS:

Syndicalism.....	858
Books Received.....	858
Pamphlets.....	859
Periodicals.....	859

national highway because we happen to have the management of it. Moreover there is a treaty. But Great Britain doesn't talk war. Fortunately her government is not now in the control of her "jingo." She proposes arbitration at The Hague. This is an appeal from the peaceable element of Great Britain to the peaceable element in the United States. Shall our "jingo" element be allowed to make us reply in war-provoking terms?



Francis Neilson, M. P.

New York papers tell of the arrival in this country for a lecturing trip to the Pacific Ocean and back to London in time for the reassembling of Parliament in October, of Francis Neilson. Mr. Neilson might almost be said to be an American member of the British Parliament, for he lived in this country, traveling it over, from 1885 until 1897. He is a successful playwright, a captivating lecturer, a newspaper man, and in British politics an enthusiastic supporter of Lloyd George. Also a land-value taxer, he is president this year of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, a member of the all-British United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, and one of the "Land Values" group ("caucus" as we should call it in Congress) of Parliament, where he has sat since 1910 as a member from Cheshire. He was one of the active campaigners who won the recent by-elections for radical Liberals in three constituencies, including Outhwaite's victory in Hanley. American theatergoers who were fortunate enough to see "A Butterfly on the Wheel" last winter may recall Mr. Neilson as its co-author with E. G. Hemmerde, the Recorder of Liverpool and also of the "Land Values" group in Parliament. Mr. Neilson is to make his American trip through Canada to the coast, and, by a more southerly route, back to St. Louis—with a possible stop at Chicago on his way from St. Louis to New York. While in Oregon and Missouri he is to campaign for the tax amendments to be voted on at Referendum in those States next November.



Congressman William Kent of California.

This is the man who redeemed his Congressional district in California two years ago. Against all the power of President Taft's administration plus that of the Southern Pacific Railroad ring, he won the Republican nomination at the people's primaries and the seat at the election. He won as a democratic Republican, and in Congress he has made good. But this is no new role for him.

As a democratic Republican he has been making good from the day, years ago, when he began war upon the "gray wolves" in Chicago and became an alderman "to carry the war into Africa." This year Mr. Kent drops his partyism altogether and stands on his own platform. He stays out of the primaries and makes an independent canvas for nomination by petition. Although co-operating with the Progressive Party, he draws the line at Protectionism. As to the social welfare demands of that party, they sound like echoes from his own career; and of course he is in absolute accord with its platform on the Initiative and Referendum. Congressman Kent's re-election will probably be opposed by a Republican and a Democrat, both appealing to the progressive sentiment. But their appeal ought to be in vain. The democratic Republicans of his district should see to it that Mr. Kent is not defeated by the Republican candidate; the democratic Democrats may be relied upon, we should suppose, to save the Democratic candidate from Congressional responsibilities and temptations, so long as William Kent is in the field as an independent candidate. It would be a reflection upon that constituency if they allowed the Southern Pacific ring to recapture their seat in Congress when a man like Kent has once taken it out of the ring's clutches.



Judge Hanford's Successor.

When Judge Hanford resigned "under fire" as a Federal judge in Seattle—"a bad judge, too"—a judicial vacancy was left for President Taft to fill. He has filled it. "Filled" is the word. Hanford himself couldn't have fitted into his old place any more snugly. Mr. Taft's appointee is Clinton H. Howard, lawyer for the Great Northern and for the monopolized traction interests of the Seattle region; also a corporation lobbyist.



The Mystery in the McNamara Case.*

There are mysteries in the McNamara case which we never expect to see unraveled, but the one that most concerns the public welfare may fairly be considered a mystery no longer. It relates to the motives that prompted the McNamara crime. Were these men tools of employers? or were they "labor-sluggers"? or were they "direct action" revolutionists? The theory that they were tools of employers has not been without circumstantial plausibility, but it probably has no substantial basis. The alternative, therefore, is that

*See The Public of April 12 last, page 338.

they were "labor sluggers" or else that they were revolutionaries.

By "labor slugger" we mean the type of man who takes part in labor quarrels as a plug-ugly, a fellow whose animal spirits find an outlet through bludgeons or pistols or dynamite, and who would as lief kill as eat. It was men of this type whom some of the leading Chicago newspapers employed when they were fighting among themselves two years ago, and who, after finishing their job of "shooting up" newsmen to the satisfaction of their newspaper employers, started a little reign of terror in the pay of one set of labor unionists against another. "Labor sluggers" of this type are employed at the present moment by some of the big newspapers of Chicago to help them in their fight with street newsdealers over the pressmen's strike which originated on the Hearst papers. But your "labor slugger" has no social philosophy. He simply loves to "slug." He takes pay, of course—for sluggers, too, must live—but, with the muscle of an ox and the heart of a gnat, he slugs from pure joy of slugging. The McNamaras do not belong in his class on its lower levels. It may be taken for granted, too, that they are not even among the higher-ups of the class—those who have motives for their criminal manifestations of pure animal joy, such motives as the winning of a strike.

It is evident that the McNamaras do have a social philosophy, and that their crime was committed in pursuance of it. Their philosophy contemplates a labor state composed of labor unions. Not that they were Socialist Party socialists; in political affiliation they appear to have been Democrats. Not that they sympathized with Socialist Party methods; they probably did not. But that they believed in the kind of labor state the Socialist Party proclaims. Their views as to the way to get it, however, were "syndicalistic" rather than "socialistic," the way of the Industrial Workers of the World rather than that of the Socialist Party. Yet they did not belong openly to any known "syndicalistic" organization, nor is there reason to believe that they belonged secretly. They appear to have been their own organization. They believed that a class war is on between the capitalist class and the labor class; they believed that this war must be fought out on the labor side by the "direct action" of labor organizations; they believed that "direct action" may on occasion mean violent action; they believed that the strike in Los Angeles was one of those occasions; they there-

fore resorted to violence, resulting in destruction of human life. Under the circumstances, they now regard themselves as prisoners of war captured in battle.

Irresponsible County Government.

One of the most important problems before the American people concerns our too-much neglected county governments. These are the arteries which supply the life-blood to greater organizations of evil. The bosses have learned how to use "county rings" and boards of supervisors; in fact, the worst sort of politicians get their training and their discipline in county affairs. The governing bodies of most counties are too large, devote too little time to their work, are underpaid, and are not responsible. There is, for instance, a county in California whose five supervisors have the spending of over a million dollars a year; they receive a hundred dollars a month apiece and mileage; they are narrow and third-rate men, selected from the five districts of the county, and, even when honest, they waste immense sums through carelessness and incompetence. Worse than this, the guiding star of their lives has come to be "political patronage" in all their appointments and expenditures. They thus build up a very powerful machine, intimately related to all other county machines regardless of party names.

How should wise reformers attack this most dangerous evil? First, by arousing the people to the situation. Secondly, by working for intelligent and safe-guarded county commission-government. Three county commissioners elected from the county at large, and giving their entire time to county affairs, could save very large sums, and introduce many important reforms. If subject to Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and kept in the white light of publicity, they might be trusted to appoint minor county officers, thus making a "short ballot" practicable.

The hopelessness of most American county governments can be more clearly understood by considering the almost total absence of civic pride. Many of our American counties are so large, so overflowing with resources, so full of energetic and capable people, that anyone would suppose they could be managed according to a systematic and progressive plan of development; that every road-side would be lined with useful and beautiful trees; that the county would own farms and for-

ests, where the unemployed could have work, and the old and ill could find comfort. One would also think that all the public institutions, all the civic architecture, all the villages and highways would amply and constantly illustrate high intellectual and spiritual ideals working steadily onward and upward. Is there a single county in America whose citizens so love and honor it that they passionately toil for its right government? Why can we not give ourselves the chance to feel towards the counties we live in as did the citizens of Athens and Florence towards those places in the days of their blossoming?



The Road to Industrial Democracy.

A correspondent from Oak Park, Illinois, makes a proposal which may be best considered by our readers if we print it in full:

Why not make Singletax advocates a political force this year by a united determination to aid the Socialist ticket? The Singletax proposal is revolutionary and menacing to the capitalist system. It never will be adopted effectively before the working class is consciously in political power. It is futile to attempt this radical change by means of a propaganda that tries to gain support from the trading class—it is like putting salt on a bird's tail in order to catch it. It is now apparent that one of the first and most revolutionary things that the Socialist Party may do when it gains political power, is to tackle the land question. It probably will use the Singletax as its first step. If this change brings industrial freedom, the Socialist Party and the working class will be satisfied. All sincere persons who desire to see the Singletax applied should vote the Socialist ticket. It is likely that two million Socialist votes would so terrify the plutocratic parties that their representatives in office would try various proposals of the Singletaxers in an effort to allay the unrest of the workers. The Socialist platform is the only one which advocates the Singletax ideals. A vote for the Republican, Democratic or Progressive party Presidential candidates is certainly a vote against the Singletax and against the social ideals held by Singletaxers. A vote for the Socialist Party candidates is certainly a vote for land reform and for the supremacy of the working class, which, of course, is desired by intelligent Singletaxers.

OTTO McFEELY.



That a good many Singletaxers will vote the Socialist ticket this year is by no means improbable, and for the reasons urged by Mr. McFeely. Equally probable is it, however, that a good many others will not do so, and for reasons varying with individuals. Some Singletaxers who will withhold their votes from the Socialist ticket have no interest in the Singletax except as a fiscal reform; some are individualists; some, like most

Socialists, ignorantly think of the Singletax as superficial, and, unlike many Socialists, don't want any social reform that isn't superficial; some are Singletaxers only unconsciously, not accounting themselves Singletaxers at all but favoring things that make for the Singletax; some will withhold their votes from the Socialist Party this year for the very reasons Mr. McFeely urges for their doing otherwise,—namely that they want the substance of the social state that Socialism wants. But they do not want the Socialist form of social state, and they wouldn't expect to secure any form of it by Socialist methods.



What is the social state that Socialism wants? A Labor state, isn't it? And by Labor state is meant, if we understand the aspirations of Socialism, a world-wide industrial democracy in place of the existing "capitalist-class" governments. That is precisely the kind of social state that Singletaxers of the Henry George type also want. But the Socialist form for such a social state differs from the Singletax form. Whereas the Socialist form would have to be one of minute rules and regulations, choke-full of specific "dos" and "don'ts," the Singletax form would uproot industrial privilege and keep it uprooted. The Socialist method, too, differs from the Singletax method. Whereas Socialism aims at establishing industrial democracy through a struggle between employers and employes, as hostile *personal classes*, the Singletax aims at establishing industrial democracy through a struggle between Privilege and Labor as hostile *economic interests*, regardless of class lines. A further difference in method, though logically resulting from the other, relates to partisanship. Socialists of the political group—"direct actionists," though similarly intent on establishing the Labor state, take no stock in any kind of politics—are party-bound, and expectant of developing their party into the Labor state; but all partisan bonds lie loose on Singletaxers of the Henry George type. The latter do not expect much of any political party all at once. They vote with or to oppose parties, not as partisans, but as an effective way of stimulating, promoting and helping to guide public opinion in the direction of industrial democracy. Such Singletaxers are not very likely to vote the national Socialist ticket this year, although it can be granted that they might "go farther and fare worse."



The attitude of Singletaxers of the Henry George kind toward the Socialist objective and

Socialist methods may be best understood on all hands from reading chapters xviii and xix of Henry George's "Social Problems," and chapter xxviii of his "Protection or Free Trade."



The Last Argument in a Bad Cause.

When bad eggs are used for arguments in any cause it is a sign not only that the cause is as bad as the eggs but also that those who thus defend it know how bad it is. From which it may be judged how poorly the land monopolists of Missouri feel that they are making out in their efforts to convince farmers that it would hurt them to have their improvements and personal property go free of taxes. The place was a school house near Cedar Gap, Missouri. The time, August 24, 1912. The speakers for the Missouri tax amendments whose oral arguments brought the bad-egg reply, were John Z. White of Chicago, and Judge Pittman and R. Gratz Brown of Memphis. But the egg-throwers were not farmers. They were hoodlums from a neighboring town. And they "took to their heels" as soon as they had done the job in egg-oratory for which they had apparently been hired by land monopoly interests.



Labor Cost.

One of the large facts proved before the Stanley committee of Congress in its investigation of the Steel trust, cannot be too strongly or too often emphasized. The committee's report puts it in these words: "A most important economic fact brought out and too often overlooked is that the true measure of a man's work is the tonnage produced per man per day, and not the mere amount of wage paid. The true economic unit is the tonnage produced per man, and not the wage paid per man." This is essentially true of every other industry, as well as steel production. The number of bricks laid, the yards of cloth woven, the pairs of shoes turned out, etc., etc., and the wages per unit (quality of work considered, of course), determine the cost of labor. For that purpose the statistics of *time wages* are not at all significant. Yet Protection statistics of labor cost are based upon time wages and not upon wages of production. When statistics of wages of production, in contradistinction to time wages, are considered, it will be found that in all industries appropriate to our natural conditions, *American wages are the lowest wages.*



And American wages, when subjected to that

test, fall with increased productive power. An illustration in connection with the steel industry is given in the Stanley report—"Report No. 1127, 62nd Congress, 2nd session, House of Representatives,"—at pages 126 and 127. The labor cost of producing pig-iron in Pennsylvania fell from \$1.25 a ton in 1902, to 82 cents a ton in 1909. Yet the realized value of the pig-iron output was \$15.64 a ton in 1902, whereas it was \$17.44 in 1909. In other words, wage-workers in 1902 got \$1.25 for producing only \$15.64 worth of pig-iron, and in 1909 only 82 cents for producing \$17.44 worth. In 1909 they produced \$1.80 more in pig-iron value than in 1902, and for 43 cents less in wages. For every additional dollar's worth of product which they turned out, their wages fell a quarter of a dollar.



THE THRESHING FLOORS OF ETERNITY.

All of the great philosophies of life conceive of Time as only an eddy in the currents of eternities; we are living in and working in That which Is—forever and forever.

All of the greater prophets and seers love the symbol of the Threshing Floor, where the wheat and the chaff are separated. It remains in literature, as the sword and a thousand other things remain, because it eternally sets forth the truth behind the fact, the hope beyond the event.



The reason why history must ever be written over, and told in the light of new comprehension, is because of the dust and the noise of the Threshing Floors of eternity. After awhile the wheat is swept together, the chaff is winnowed and cast out; millions of great reputations perish in an hour; men recognize another Liberator, and for a moment there is a silence on earth and in the heavens. Then is it understood that, as in the shaving of Shagpat, the Destinies have at last shaped The Event.

Once the hidden, the ill-read issue was human slavery, and for some seventy years every man and woman in America was being sifted to the uttermost though they knew it not, on that mighty Threshing Floor. When the dust cleared, we saw Lincoln and Garrison and Whittier, and a little group who had stood fast, had kept the faith, had worshipped the Truth behind the Veil.

On a greater Threshing Floor, under wider skies, all the children of men, far and near, are being hammered even now; and when the dust

clears, though that may be generations hence, history will have to be re-written, for it will then be plain that one of the all-including Events has culminated at last. Then the historian will say: "As once the unconscious test of the life and value of each individual was his or her real attitude towards human slavery, so now (as at last we can perceive) the unconscious test these hundred years has been, *ultimate democracy*—in other words, one's real attitude of mind towards all natural resources and all other people.



Then, once more, in an obscure corner of the Threshing Floors of eternity some one will ask a question, will utter a protest against ancient wrong; and a little dust will rise, and earth will begin to tremble with its new-found problem, and before the ink is dry on the last page of the re-written histories, they will have become monuments of error, as another dawn begins to broaden over the world.

But now, in 1912, the dust and noise of the uncleaned Threshing Floors are everywhere, day and night; and each one of us, from hobo to billionaire, from jail-bird to emperor, must be flailed, sifted, winnowed.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Direct legislation embraces three main processes known as the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. The Initiative is the proposal of a law by the people, the Referendum is the submission of a law to the people, the Recall makes it possible for the voters to oust public officers who prove recreant to duty.



There is a confused impression in the minds of many that the choosing of rulers is the substance of freedom and self-government: that a people who elect their lawmakers are really making the laws. It is this wrong impression which breeds that spirit of disinterest which is manifest in marking the ballot. We very often hear voters say that it makes little difference to the great majority how the ballot is marked, that one set of office-seekers will turn out as bad as another. In other words, that there is no choice between the candidates.

The exercise of the right of suffrage does not constitute self-government. The selection of a Governor is not governing, any more than the selection of a captain is commanding, or the choice

of an organist or pianist is playing. The choice of a legislature is not self-government any more than the selection of a jailor or the choice of a jail is freedom. An apprentice may be allowed to choose the master to whom he is to be bound for years, and a lunatic or minor who is deemed incapable of governing his own affairs may, nevertheless, have the privilege of selecting the guardian who is to govern him. A people may elect their rulers and yet live under an absolute despotism.

This was true in old Rome when the king was elected by the whole body of citizens. It is true now of the Western Fulahs in Africa and the Kamtsadales in Asia, who elect their chiefs, but after election must obey the head man's orders. It is true in many of the cities of America, where the people go to the polls year after year in the fond delusion that they have a voice in the administration of public affairs, whereas in reality a ring of rascals holds the city in its grasp. Whichever nominee the citizens may vote for, the ring will rule the same as before; enacting its private purposes into law, pouring the public moneys into its purse, filling appointments with its creatures to perpetuate its power, and controlling the city for its plunder, regardless of the interests or the wishes of the people.

This is true in the nation and the States as well as in the cities. The rule of a Congress or legislature that does the will of a railroad or syndicate of gamblers in opposition to public opinion and the good of the commonwealth, is a despotism as truly as ever the rule of a Tarquin or a Caesar was. Napoleon himself, the arch-despot of modern times, was elected to his imperial power.



Direct Legislation is not so dangerous as present-day political bosses would have us believe. There is method in their madness. What is proposed is merely to get back to pure democratic government, that is, so far as it may be deemed practicable. Back to the town-meeting principle of government, where every man has a personal interest in shaping the politics of his city, State and Nation. What is wanted is a *popular* government as against the present *delegated* government, which has proved unsatisfactory.

Senator Bourne of Oregon well puts it when he says, "The Initiative and Referendum is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of this the people may accomplish such other reforms as they desire. The Initiative develops the electorate because it encourages study of principles and policies of government, and affords the originator of new ideas in government an op-

portunity to secure popular judgment upon his measures if a certain per cent. of the voters of his State deem the same worthy of submission to popular vote. The Referendum prevents misuse of the power temporarily centralized in the legislature."



Unquestionably the Referendum will tend to purify politics and elevate government. Under the Initiative and Referendum it would no longer pay rich corporations to buy franchises from legislatures, because the legislature could not settle the matter; the people have the final decision, and they are so many that it might cost more to buy their votes for the franchise than the privilege is worth. Why not adopt that method which will minimize the possibility of Big Business controlling law-making functions?

We all know that a powerful lobby is continually at work in State and national capitols. In whose interests are they laboring? Not in yours and mine—the great mass of voters. They are in the employ of business interests. It costs money to employ clever lawyers for the purpose of safeguarding monopolistic privileges.

It is to make ineffective the work of these paid hirelings that Direct Legislation aims. Their baneful influence over legislation is felt by the housekeeper and the voter. It is an influence which negatives the will of thousands of honest voters.

The fundamental political argument for Direct Legislation is that it is necessary to true self government. It is the only practicable means of destroying the great law-making monopoly which holds us in its grip today, and which is not only a terrible evil in itself, but the prolific parent and protector of other monopolies and oppressions.

If the control of affairs is put into the hands of a few men for life, without responsibility to the controlled, everybody recognizes the fact that the government is an aristocracy. If the control is put in the hands of a few for two or three years without responsibility to the controlled during that time, there is an aristocracy as much as before. To have a government by the people, the legislative agents must be subject to the control of the people every moment. If for one instant they cease to be subject to the orders of the people, for that instant they cease to be servants, and become sovereigns in place of the people.

VICTOR E. FEHRNSTROM.



The more society is improved and education perfected, the more equality will prevail and liberty be extended.—Aristotle.

CONDENSED EDITORIALS

A HIGHER KIND OF POLITICS.

Louis F. Post, in the Chicago Daily Press of August 24.

Who is to be the next President makes little difference, compared with the kind of laws we are to have. So watch Ohio, the State that is going to talk about law-making for herself before she helps again at President-making for the rest of us.

Ohio will talk for herself, but she will talk to us all. And her voice will be the voice of her people, not of her "Jackpotters."

Her Constitutional Convention, presided over by Herbert S. Bigelow, a fundamental democrat, has whipped into shape 41 amendments to the Constitution of the State. Her voters are to say on the 3rd of September whether or not those amendments are the kind of laws they want.

They will decide such questions as these: A three-fourths vote for jury verdicts? No death penalty? Reasonable hours, pay and conditions for labor? Conservation of natural resources? Easy and safe transfers of real estate? No prison-labor by contract? Regulation and limitation of the liquor traffic? An easier way to amend the State Constitution?

They will also decide the question of woman suffrage. Six States already allow women to vote at all elections—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California. Will Ohio be the seventh?

And they will decide the question of home rule for cities. Shall every Ohio city have the right to make its own charter by the vote of its own inhabitants, and to manage its own light, heat and traction services as most cities are now allowed to manage their own water supply?

The Ohio voters will also decide the question of adopting the Initiative and Referendum, one or the other of which, or both, have been adopted in more than a quarter of the States—South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and California. By the Initiative and Referendum, representative government may be prevented from representing private instead of public interests. If representatives pass laws the people don't want, the Referendum would empower a majority of the people to say, "Veto!" If representatives refuse to pass laws the people do want, the Initiative would empower a majority of the people to say, "Let them be laws nevertheless!"

Watch the September election returns from Ohio, and see what kind of thinking on those subjects the "Buckeyes" are doing.



'An Arab said to his son, "O my child, in the day of resurrection they will ask you, 'What have you done in the world?' and not 'From whom are you descended?' That is, they will inquire about your virtue, and not about your father."—Saadi.

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, September 3, 1912.

The Ohio Constitution.

The Constitutional Convention of Ohio was dissolved by its own action at Columbus on the 26th. It had assembled after a long recess, for the purpose of considering the question of postponing the election set for September 3rd, if that question were raised, and if not raised then to finish its work and dissolve. [See current volume, pages 584, 745, 772, 819.]

A point having in the interval been raised to the effect that the proposed judicial amendment would abolish the office of justice of the peace, and President Bigelow having ruled that no alteration could now be made, the convention voted unanimously that it was not its intention to abolish that office nor to legislate anyone out of office.

In closing the Convention, President Bigelow said, as reported by the Cincinnati Enquirer of the 27th:

"We look forward to next Tuesday not without hope, but more impressed than ever with the power of the enemy. We believe that the opposition has been unfair, and that questionable methods have been used to misrepresent the work of the Convention. From some mysterious source large amounts of money must have been contributed not to enlighten, but to confuse the voters of the State. I do not wish to sound a note of discouragement, but to express the real feelings of many of the delegates here. The issue is at this hour in doubt. A few weeks ago it seemed inconceivable that such forces could have been marshaled or such an organization made." The speaker declared that papers had been flooded with plate matter and that agents had been hired to make house-to-house canvasses. In Cincinnati, employers tried to lock their hands in their factories to prevent them from hearing the Amendments expounded. "Next Tuesday there will be a real battle," he cried. "There will be money on the one side and the enthusiasm for liberty on the other."

The latest word from Ohio received at the hour of our going to press, relative to the popular vote on the Amendments on the 3rd was to the effect that all except woman suffrage and good roads carried. The defeat of woman suffrage is attributed to the liquor interests. Direct primaries were running ahead of everything else, and em-

ployes' welfare second, with home rule in third place, and direct legislation sixth. Few figures on any of the amendments are reported by the dispatches, but the Associated Press from Columbus states that the reported result is based on returns from various parts of the State, explaining that these "were mostly from cities, but they will hardly be offset by belated rural returns." The only returns reported are from 950 precincts out of 5,197. These are as follows:

	Yes.	No.
Equal suffrage	36,063	55,139
Initiative and referendum.....	63,039	33,085
Fifty million dollar good roads bond issue	37,299	38,210
Liquor license	55,341	20,942

Election in Vermont.

The State election in Vermont, regarded on all hands as the first sign of Presidential possibilities two months hence, came off on the 3d. Both the Republican and the Democratic parties had full tickets in the field, and so had the Progressive Party, for which Mr. Roosevelt made a whirlwind campaign in the State last week. The election returns at the hour of our going to press, complete from all six of the cities and from 196 out of 240 towns, are as follows:

Allen M. Fletcher (Rep.).....	22,366
Harland B. Howe (Dem.).....	17,504
Rev. Frazer Metzger (Prog.).....	13,630
Clement F. Smith (Pro.).....	1,341
Fred W. Suiter (Soc.).....	976

The next legislature will probably contain 110 Republicans, 36 Democrats and 14 Progressive members of the lower branch, with 30 Republican Senators. The strength of the Progressive Party and the gain of the Democrats over previous elections are the significant features of the returns.

Republicans in California.

As a result of the California primaries on the 3d the Progressives won control of the Republican party, by about 4 to 3, so that the Roosevelt-Johnson candidates for Presidential electors will run as regular Republicans, not as Progressive Party candidates, and consequently, if the Republican party wins at the election, the Electoral vote of the State will go to Roosevelt and Johnson instead of Taft and Sherman.

Old Parties in Wisconsin.

At the primaries of the 3d, the contest was in the Democratic party, between progressives and reactionaries, Adolph J. Schmitz being the candidate for governor of the former, and John C. Karel of the latter. Republicans were so active on both sides in this Democratic contest that they probably failed to poll 10 per cent of the State vote for

their own candidate—Governor McGovern—and may therefore lose their place as a party on the election ballots.



Roosevelt's Campaign-Fund Explanation.

In an 18,000-word letter to Senator Clapp, published on the 2d, Theodore Roosevelt replies to the charges of corruption in connection with campaign contributions from corporations in the Presidential election of 1904. The letter consists chiefly of letters offered by Mr. Roosevelt in support of the following declaration which he makes in it:

What I can testify to is that if any request for funds was made from the Standard Oil Company, or if any funds were received from the Standard Oil Company by Mr. Bliss or any one else connected with the national committee in 1904, it was not merely done without my knowledge, but was done against my expressed direction and prohibition and in spite of the fact that I was assured that no such request had been made and that no such contribution had been or would be received.



Michigan Primaries.

At the Michigan primaries on the 27th the Democrats polled their normal vote, nominating W. H. Ferris for Governor and J. W. Helme for Lieutenant Governor without opposition. For United States Senator, Alfred Lucking was nominated over George P. Hummer by a small majority. [See current volume, page 772.]



The contest for Governor in the Republican Party lay between Amos Musselman and Frederick C. Martindale. Musselman was nominated by 2,018 majority, having polled 74,307 to 72,289 for Martindale—a Republican total of 146,596.



In the Progressive Party the contest was over the nomination of Congressman-at-Large, there being only one candidate for Governor. The vote was small, W. A. Hill getting the nomination for Congressman-at-Large with 3,132 votes to 2,491 for J. B. Kirby—a total of 5,623.



Mayor Thompson was renominated by the Democrats for Mayor of Detroit.



Municipal Progress in Canada.

At the twelfth meeting of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, which opened on the 28th at Windsor, there were present prominent municipal officials from all parts of Canada. "The Mayor

of Halifax, N. S., shook hands with the Mayor of Victoria, B. C.," says the London (Ont.) Free Press on the 28th, which proceeds with its report as follows:

President J. W. McCreedy, city clerk of Fredericton, N. B., outlined some of the problems that are confronting the Union in his address, referring to the question of government by commission, agitation for revision of the assessment laws, town planning and the movement for good roads. One of these questions, that of revision in assessment laws, was brought before the convention at an evening session by papers on municipal taxation by Ald. Joseph Clarke, of Edmonton, Alta., and Ald. W. Hepburn, of Vancouver, B. C. In both cities the system of exempting improvements from taxation has been adopted. The papers and the discussion which followed indicated that the system of assessing land values is favored by representatives of Western cities, while those of the older cities in Eastern Canada are, in many cases, opposed to it. "The triumph of our land tax in Edmonton is shown by the fact that in 1906 we had building permits to the value of \$1,563,000, while in 1912, the first year all taxes other than land taxes are taken off, they were \$15,500,000," said Ald. Clarke of that city. "If the previous ratio had been continued, it would have required 80,000 population to justify this expenditure, while our population is approximately 53,000. The land tax in Vancouver is the principal cause of the growth of the city in recent years," said Ald. Hepburn. "The difficulty of making owners of buildings keep them in sanitary condition has been greatly lessened and the tax on land has also had the effect of causing owners of vacant property to improve it." "No one will attempt to dispute that the land tax in Victoria has been most beneficial," said Mayor J. L. Beckwith, of the Western city. "The system of taxing buildings is simply a system of fining a man for improving his property." "Cities of Saskatchewan are moving toward the land tax," said Deputy Minister J. N. Bayne. "Under the new law the limit of assessment is fixed at 60 per cent and cities have the right to reduce this 15 per cent a year. Within two or three years it is believed that the cities will entirely remove the tax on improvements."



Nicaragua, Honduras and Mexico.

Rear Admiral W. H. H. Southerland, commander-in-chief of the American Pacific fleet, is now in supreme command of the Nicaraguan situation as far as the United States is involved in it. Admiral Southerland arrived at Corinto on the California on the 28th, and remained there while the California proceeded to Panama to embark the marines brought to Colon on the Prairie, as reported last week. Reopening of full communication between Corinto and Managua will be the first task of the Americans. The reinforcements to arrive on the California will bring the total of American marines and sailors in Nicaragua up to nearly 2,000, with several hundred more available from the neighboring warships. Dispatches from Washington on the 29th stated that orders had

been issued by the war department for two regiments of infantry, with field battery equipment, to hold themselves in readiness to proceed immediately to Nicaragua. [See current volume, page 829].



Charges are being made by various newspaper writers to the effect that the successive revolutionary movements in Nicaragua during the last few years have been aided or thwarted by the United States government in the interest of American concessionaries. The present revolution is anti-American in character; nevertheless it has been charged that American interests, dissatisfied with the government in power, have financed it in the hope of precipitating American intervention and forcing the ratification of the agreement for the fiscal administration of Nicaragua entered into by the American secretary of state and the Nicaraguan government.



Subcommittees of the United States Senate committee on foreign relations are to visit Nicaragua, Honduras and Mexico during the next few weeks for the purpose of determining, according to John Callan O'Laughlin in the Chicago Tribune—

Whether the American government or American citizens are behind the unrest prevailing in the Republics named.

Whether this government should enter into the agreements negotiated by Secretary of State Knox, establishing financial protectorates over Nicaragua and Honduras.

Whether the policy observed by the Taft administration toward Mexico is in the interest of the good relations of the United States and its sister Republic.

What kind of broad policy shall be observed toward the countries between the Rio Grande and the canal zone which will assure peace and stability, adequately protect American interests and prevent foreign complications.

The subcommittee to visit Nicaragua consists of Senators Lodge of Massachusetts, Sutherland of Utah, Burton of Ohio, Bacon of Georgia, and Clark of Arkansas. Mexico is to be investigated by a subcommittee comprising Senators Smith of Michigan, McCumber of North Dakota, Borah of Idaho, Shively of Indiana, and Hitchcock of Nebraska. None of the senators named have ever been in Mexico or Central America, which is regarded as likely to promote an unbiased investigation. The same correspondent states further that—

The Senate has not looked kindly upon the policy of the state department with reference to Nicaragua and Honduras. A year and a half ago Mr. Knox signed a treaty with the minister of Honduras, and six months later a treaty with the minister of Nicaragua, under which this government agreed to aid the countries named in making a loan for the re-

funding of their debts, those countries consenting to an administration of their customs like that which has been conducted so successfully in the Republic of Santo Domingo. Unfortunately, the treaties were so drawn as to be open to charges that the state department was serving as the agent of Wall street. A contract was made between the Honduras government and a group of New York bankers, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., which, it was alleged, was less in the interest of the Central American Republic than in that of the American financiers. Moreover, the treaty with Honduras placed in the hands of these financiers the selection of the collector-general of customs and practically bound the United States to back him up. The same consideration was shown whatever bankers undertook the Nicaraguan loan. Several members of the Senate foreign relations committee promptly announced they would not permit the ratification of such treaties. The result was that the consideration of these instruments has been indefinitely postponed. The investigation by the Senate subcommittee may result in a decision to modify the treaties, and if the modification be acceptable to Nicaragua and Honduras, to ratify them. But what the Senate wants above everything is to develop a broad policy under which Mexico and Central America may have peace and orderly development. This is essential to the United States, because foreign governments look to this country to protect their interests.

[See current volume, pages 63, 804.]



Land Value Taxation Propaganda in China.

In a late issue of the Peking Daily News appeared the following letter from Dr. W. E. Macklin of Nanking:

One of the most urgent things to be done in China now is the prevention of famine. To prevent the floods of the Hwai River valley will cost maybe 100,000,000 taels.

Where is this money to come from? It is a good rule to go by, not to borrow unless there are resources with which to pay back the debt. Lands in the Hwai Valley are worth from \$2 to \$40 a mow. Lands in which there is no danger of floods are worth, say, \$40 a mow. Lands subject every year or two to floods may be worth from \$2 to \$10 a mow. If we borrow capital and dig a canal to the sea we make this \$2 to \$10 land worth maybe \$40. This will be a gift to the land owners. We should, therefore, take a list of sales of land before and after the digging of the canal. The increase in value will show how much advantage the land owners have received. By taxing this unearned increment the landlords will not be hurt, and yet there will be an abundant revenue to pay back the debit.

Famine relief is very much improved in method in the past few years.

First, great sums of money were collected from Chinese and foreigners and doled out to the famine sufferers. This was a great source of profit to the rice dealers, as the increased demand for rice raised the price. Then food stuffs were sent up to the famine region. This, of course, lowered the price of

grain and hurt the rice dealers. Both methods tended to pauperize and degrade the people.

It has been found in the last year that a better method was to send grain and pay the starving people for work done in digging ditches and making dikes. This work improved the land and tended to prevent flooding—a permanent benefit.

Unfortunately the benefit goes to the land owners who are thus able to get a greater rent for the land. The land owners should be taxed to pay for all improvements of their land. Famine relief should not be in any sense a charity work, but a business proposition.

Every improvement, as dikes, ditches and canals, raises the value of the land. This increased value can be taxed to pay for the improvement.

[See current volume, pages 110, 297, 830.]

NEWS NOTES

—Clarence S. Darrow's trial on another charge of jury bribery was set on the 27th for October 21st. [See current volume, page 830.]

—A commission form of government, including the Initiative and Referendum, was adopted at a special election in New Orleans on the 28th by 23,000 for, to 2,119 against. New Orleans is the largest city in the United States to adopt the commission form. [See current volume, page 630.]

—General Leonidas Plaza, who refused the provisional Presidency of Ecuador last March, has been inaugurated as President. He retains in office the cabinet of Dr. Francisco A. Marin, who has been acting as President since March. [See current volume, page 255.]

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States [vol. xiv, p. 831; current volume, page 567] for the year ending June 30, 1912, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,204,222,088	\$1,653,426,174	\$550,795,914 exp
Gold	57,306,348	48,936,500	8,369,848 exp
Silver	64,890,415	47,050,219	17,840,196 exp.

Total	\$2,326,418,851	\$1,749,412,893	\$577,005,958 exp.
1911, total balance (vol. xiv, p. 831)			488,421,658 exp
1910, total balance (vol. xiii, p. 709)			272,404,326 exp.
1909, total balance (vol. xii, p. 758)			410,383,527 exp.
1908, total balance (vol. xi, p. 638)			603,942,615 exp
1907, total balance (vol. x, p. 469)			397,183,715 exp
1906, total balance (vol. ix, p. 374)			480,941,163 exp.
1905, total balance (vol. viii, p. 249)			461,329,924 exp.
1904, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			474,333,007 exp.
1903, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			416,617,778 exp.
1902, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			496,446,285 exp.
1901, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			671,458,818 exp.
1900, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			571,677,235 exp.
1899, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			504,086,295 exp.
1898, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			534,624,851 exp.

Total export balance, 1898-1911.....\$7,360,857,150 exp.

Total export balance, 1834-1911.....\$9,983,476,467 exp.

—Henry George, Jr., whose recent illness was exaggerated in press reports, has been renominated for Congress by the Democratic party and the Inde-

pendence League, from the Twenty-first District of New York. [See vol. xiii, pp. 1092, 1095; current volume, pages 819, 827.]

—Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the musical composer, died in London on the 1st, at the age of 37. The father of Mr. Coleridge-Taylor was a West African, and his mother English. Among his musical works were The Atonement, a sacred cantata; the music to Stephen Phillips' "Nero"; a volume of Negro melodies for the piano; Endymion's Dream, for soli, chorus and orchestra; and the Hiawatha cantata, consisting of three sections of Longfellow's poem, set to music. [See vol. ix, p. 825.]

—The Federal grand jury at Dallas, Texas, returned an indictment on the 29th against prominent representatives of the Standard Oil Company for conspiracy in restraint of trade in violation of the anti-trust laws. It is alleged that the Standard Oil Company, the Magnolia Petroleum Company and individual defendants conspired to destroy the business of the Pierce-Fordyce Oil Association of Texas. Among the individuals indicted is John D. Archbold. The case has been set for trial at the January term of the court.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for June, 1912, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [vol. xiv, p. 831; current volume, page 443]:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	166,263,807.88

Total	\$316,263,807.88
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1911	288,200,599.23

Increase for fiscal year ending—	
June 30, 1912	\$ 23,063,208.65
ditto, June 30, 1911 (vol. xiv, p. 709)	37,709,815.63
ditto, June 30, 1907 (vol. x, p. 469)	90,494,154.26
ditto, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 373)	35,896,690.38
ditto, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215)	25,820,159.73
ditto, 1902 (vol. v, p. 218)	31,740,991.83
ditto, 1901 (vol. iv, p. 218)	21,127,470.14
ditto, 1900 (vol. iii, p. 218)	24,325,186.05

Total increase for fiscal years	
1900-01-02-03-06-07-11-12	\$295,177,676.67

Decrease for fiscal year ending—	
June 30, 1910	\$ 23,963,057.46
ditto, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 758)	115,104,151.91
ditto, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 371)	29,023,444.35
ditto, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 250)	26,537,180.18
ditto, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248)	65,367,033.19

Total decrease for fiscal years 1904-05-08-09-10	259,994,867.09
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Net increase from June 30, 1900, to June 30, 1912	\$ 35,182,809.58
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—As reported by the Cleveland Press of the 26th, the Tom L. Johnson memorial fund has reached a total of \$17,286.98. The Press turned over to Treasurer F. H. Goff of the Memorial Fund on the 24th a check for \$5,516.51—proceeds from the Memorial Day observance, and previous contributions had amounted to \$11,770.47. The Press announces that the Memorial Fund committee will meet early in September "to determine the nature of the memorial which shall be a tribute by the common people of the city to the memory of the Mayor who

sacrificed health and fortune to better their conditions."

—"Cloudburst" storms doing great damage were reported from Warren county, Ohio, on the 28th; from Wisconsin on the 1st, where a train was wrecked by a washout, with 6 fatalities; and from western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio and northern West Virginia, on the 2nd, where terrific rains and consequent floods, and fires from lightning, caused 36 deaths and a probable loss of \$1,500,000. Heavy rains and floods are reported from England. On the 27th 7,000 persons had been driven from their homes in the city of Norwich. [See current volume, page 804.]

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government [vol. xiv, p. 832; current volume, page 443] for June shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912:

I.—Ordinary:

Receipts—	
Customs tariff.....	\$311,257,347.86
Internal revenue—	
Ordinary	292,953,004.00
Corporation tax.....	28,583,103.90
Miscellaneous	58,346,999.63
	\$691,140,455.39
Disbursements—	
Civil and miscellaneous.....	\$173,046,341.91
War	150,182,311.49
Navy	135,556,259.49
Indians	20,057,439.34
Pensions	153,596,749.87
Postal deficiency	1,568,194.88
Interest on public debt.....	22,616,300.48
	\$656,623,597.46
Less repayment of unexpended balances	1,818,972.86
	654,804,624.60
Excess of ordinary receipts over ordinary disbursements.	\$ 36,335,830.79
II.—Panama Canal—	
Receipts—proceeds of bonds.	\$ 33,189,104.15
Disbursements for canal....	35,327,370.66
Excess of Panama Canal dis- bursements over receipts....	2,138,266.51
	\$ 34,197,564.28
III.—Public debt—	
Receipts—	
Proceeds of bonds and certifi- cates	\$ 459,280.00
Deposits to retire bank notes..	20,078,365.00
	\$ 20,537,645.00
Disbursements—	
Bonds and certificates retired.	120,616.03
Bank notes retired.....	28,527,711.50
	\$ 28,648,327.53
Excess of public debt disburse- ments over receipts.....	8,110,682.53
Excess of all receipts over all disbursements	\$ 26,086,881.75

—After hearing a song to the effect that every race has a flag but the colored race, Rev. J. L. Lennox of Cleveland, a bishop of the Zion African Evangelical church, designed an official emblem which he announced on the 28th that his church has

decided to adopt. The flag has twelve stars in a field of purple and twelve bars of red, white and blue. The purple, he explained, represents the robe Christ wore before the crucifixion; the red, "our sins that shall be made white as snow;" the white, the purity of the Apostles; the blue, the Negroes' loyalty to the United States.

—At its session last week in Milwaukee, the American Bar Association recommended uniform State laws on marriage, requiring licenses, two witnesses, and marriageable age or consent of parents or guardians, and abolishing common law marriages. It also recommended uniform State laws on child labor and pure food. Frank B. Kellogg and other lawyers presented a memorial against the Recall of judges and of judicial decisions. The Negro question was compromised by allowing the present Negro members to retain their membership but providing that in all future applications of Negroes the fact that they are Negroes shall be stated so that white members who wish to may blackball them for being Negroes. One of the Negro members, William Morris of Minneapolis, immediately resigned. [See vol. xiv, p. 934.]

PRESS OPINIONS

An Old Man of the Sea.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Aug. 15.—There may be no purely democratic parties in existence. But this much is not in doubt—the Progressive party must purge itself of Roosevelt before it can serve the country as the great democratic force of the age.



Negro Lawyers.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (dem. Dem.), Aug. 25.—The American Bar Association professes to be representative of the bar of the nation. It is not a social organization. Why, then, should it exclude the Negro? . . . Some Negroes are great lawyers. The race is disproving the lie that it is an inferior creation. But whatever attitude the Bar Association shall take, the Negro will go on in the working out of his destiny. His progress cannot be permanently stayed. By our treatment of him we are breeding in him qualities which one day along certain lines will make him our superiors. Persecution makes great the people persecuted.



The Hearst Strike and the Hearst Police.

The Chicago Daily Press (ind.), August 31.—Sensational scandal! That is what you would say if The Chicago Daily Press should print a story charging Mayor Harrison with misappropriating \$549,000 of the people's money. Yet, in four months, this is approximately the amount of the taxpayers' money that has been spent on the order of the Mayor, keeping 200-pound policemen sitting on little chairs watching small boys sell trust newspapers, or acting as helpers to gunmen with criminal records as the latter deliver trust papers. Meanwhile, Chief of Police McWeeny is wringing his hands for enough

policemen to protect storekeepers and residents who are in no wise responsible for the newspaper strike and who are just as much entitled to police protection as the big papers are. More—because the average burglar victim is not a tax dodger. Chief McWeeny, meanwhile, also has admitted that burglary and highway robbery is on the increase to an alarming extent since the newspaper strike.



The Farmer Begins to See.

(Peterboro, Ont.) Farm and Dairy (Agricultural) June 27.—In a new country, where land has practically no value, interest and wages are high. As population increases, we have competition for land; a greater and greater proportion of the wealth that is produced by labor and capital must be given to the landlord. . . . Taxation of land values would divert the moneys now going into the landlords' pockets into those of the general public, and thereby reduce other forms of taxation. It would force into use land now held by speculators, and thereby reduce rents, both to the laborer and the capitalist. This in turn would reduce the cost of doing business and thereby benefit the public. It is the city land holder, the men who monopolize our mines and water powers, and the holders of special franchises, that are able to live on the proceeds of their monopoly without labor on their part. Our farmers' organizations, in endorsing taxation of land values and such natural monopolies, take a stand that is to the advantage of farmer, working man and capitalist. Our interests are common.



The Land-value Incubus on Farming.

The Nebraska Farmer (agricultural), Aug. 21.—That the average rate of income upon the farmer's investment in land and equipment is low, is patent to all who have observed farm affairs. In a brief presented to the State Board of Equalization last week, asking for lower assessments of farm lands, Secretary Odell of the Nebraska Rural Life Commission and Chairman Delano of the tax section presented figures to show that farmers in this State are making only about 3 per cent on their investment, not counting labor. If the latter were included, according to their findings, farmers would be doing business at an absolute loss. The reason for this showing is evident from the figures of the census bureau. Land capitalization has increased more rapidly than returns from the land. The effect is analogous to watering stock. You get more stock but a lower percentage of income. The members of the Commission that submitted this brief were mistaken in their idea that increasing the taxes on land would lower the income from farming. It wouldn't do that, but would lower the price of land. Lowering the taxes on land, on the other hand, would increase its price and give a larger capitalization without increasing its productive capacity.



Progress of the Singletax.

The (Winnipeg) Grain Growers' Guide (agricultural), June 12.—The Hudson's Bay Company re-

cently sold 586 lots from their property holdings situated within the city of Edmonton. Great excitement, we read, marked the sale. The holder of ticket number 1, entitling him to be first served by the agents of the company, was offered \$10,000 for his ticket, and refused the offer. The Hudson's Bay Company received from the sale \$2,034,150. Thirty years ago the whole estate was hardly worth a song. Where did that two million dollars' worth of value come from? Not from the company. It has not done, it has not pretended to do, a hand's turn. The value has plainly come from the people who have gone in and built up Edmonton. Yet their reward has been to be kept all those years from using these choice sites, and finally when the Company chooses to sell, the very ones who have given the property all the value it possesses have been simply taxed to that extent before they could build on it or make any use of it. "The law's a 'hass,'" exclaimed an irate Britisher long ago, and the saying has survived. One is tempted to use similar language in describing our present system of enriching idle landholders at the expense of the real up-buffers of a community. Fortunately Edmonton has awakened to the folly of this procedure, and it is this very awakening which caused the Hudson's Bay Company to sell its vacant land to those who would improve it and not hold it for speculation. The same thing is being done every day by men and women of every walk in life. They are taking advantage of the "system" to get something for nothing.



To Whom Blackmail is Paid.

St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 23.—The man who owns the land holds the key to the possibilities of the future in any section of the country. Nothing can be done without the land. The big industries, or the small industries, the factory and the residence, the big city blocks, and the small flats or large apartment buildings must have the ground. Tribute must be paid to the man who owns the land, in any event. For any one to say that there is no field for investment in real estate is to deny the very fundamentals of existence. Who are the men who in the past have made the greatest money? They are not the manufacturers as such alone; they are not the bankers as such alone. They are not the merchants, merely as merchants. They are the men who have had faith in real estate, who have put their money in it, and who have watched the pennies grow into the dollars, and the dollars into hundreds of dollars, largely through the added value of the real property which they own. . . . We have frequently met with the man who is ready to admit that the big fortunes of the past have been made in real property, but who comes forth with the proposition that there are no such chances offered today. To such a man we can only answer that to say that there are not large opportunities in real estate today, is to declare that the limit of human advancement has been reached. Real estate is not only a paying investment, when the property is bought and handled judiciously, but it is the safest possible investment. There is no such thing as losing it. There is no such thing as its being stolen. It is the ground, and is enduring as the great

earth of which it is a part. It is there, in its place to stay forever, or as long as the earth shall endure. The owner can leave it, go away, and stay as long as he likes, with the assurance that whatever happens, even if an earthquake should come, the land will still remain, and will still be subject to his disposition of it.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"OF LONG DESCENT."

"The grand old gardener and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent."

A dozen generations proudly mark
The noble lord who sprang from Norman knight,
While only from the sage who manned the Ark
Descends the humble and obsequious wight.
The secret story of his wandering line
Survives the record of ten thousand years,—
'Twas that in splendor on his lineal vine
Nine thousand years ago a king appears.
No matter how I learned the wondrous tale—
This olden king possessed a humble slave
Whose line the fates had suffered not to fail
Until it flowered in the Norman brave.
And more the record of his race revealed—
Ten times the children of the mental rise
To sway the sceptre or to win the field,
While full ten times beneath eternal skies
The royal line becomes the servitor
To fetch and carry for the haughty lord,
Pour out his blood in every wanton war,
And tremble at his master's every word.

Thus up and down and up and down they fare,—
While one is up a thousand years or so,
Fate deals the other his millennial share
Of galling bondage, poverty and woe;
Until at length among the Norman braves,—
Each the descendant of a hundred kings,
Each the descendant of a hundred slaves,—
On Britain's breeze the conqueror's banner flings
Proud plumed knight upon a prancing steed,
Obsequious varlet hastening at his heels.

The flowing centuries offer us the meed
Of wondrous change, and destiny reveals
Perchance the equal balances of fate,
Perchance the subtle humor of her jest,
Who scorns the proud pretensions of the great
And folds a beggar to her ample breast.
For thus it fell; beyond the rolling seas
The humble scion of an ancient line
Sought not in vain for golden argosies,
The rich return of factory and mine.
In the wide West the ancient strain returns,
Majestic mind, unconquerable soul;
And once again the proud ambition burns
To win the glory of a mighty goal,—
Redundant harvests of a thousand wiles,
A host of menials serving his behest,
The proud dominion of unnumbered miles,
A world of golden wealth, and all the rest.

We speak the scorn of this our larger day,
Yet 'tis the logic of the living line
Which trails unbroken to the primal day
And earliest flower of his lineal vine.

So let us pass him by, for like a star
Arises on our vision in the West,—
Who may but humbly worship from afar,—
The magnate's daughter beautiful and blest.

O'er all the seas the splendor of her fame
On silken wing and golden chariot flies;
The Norman's scion feels her radiant flame,
(Computes her millions), languishes and sighs.
'Tis soon they wed, to dwell where Albion flings
Her glorious banner to the winds and waves,—
Each the descendant of a hundred kings,
Each the descendant of a hundred slaves.

BENJAMIN C. MOOMAW.



"GOD KNOWS."

For The Public.

"What are you going to do about the problem of unemployment?" asked a laborer in the audience. "God knows," President Taft replied.

Thirty-five years ago another American faced the same question, and his answer was substantially as follows:

When the restrictions upon employment are removed, such as the extortions of landlord and tax collector, capital now devoted to the purchase of land titles will be devoted to the production of wealth, lands now held for speculation will be thrown open to the use of the land-hungry, and employment will be limited only by the unsatisfied desires of mankind.

The keen competition of the job-hunters, everywhere reducing wages to a minimum, will be displaced by a keen competition for employes, and the abnormal conditions that make the employe the virtual slave of the employer will disappear. A new basis of co-operation in industry will come about, and social justice will be at hand.

Under such conditions every man, of whatever degree of intelligence, who is willing to labor, will be able to support his family in comfort, with their fair share of the luxuries of life.

HARRY W. OLNEY.



LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 12. Disillusionments and Discoveries.

For The Public.

The same young man of whom you were told, gentle reader, as having once met the Outcast Woman,* began from that hour a struggle to make things better for people who had gone wrong, or

*In The Public of August 23, page 809.

were "on the ragged edge," or in any kind of serious trouble. He found enough to do.

Sometimes he thought with sad amusement of how Dr. Hale's young people, trying with all their energies to do their "level best" in good works, almost became mental, moral and financial wrecks. Everyone came to him, as it seemed, and each of them sent many others. (This is literally true, though it appears to run counter to ordinary mathematics. Sometimes Charity knows neither logic nor arithmetic.)

After he had been deceived many times, had read a whole library of Charitable Association pamphlets, had talked to many, many organizers, and had helped in various sorts of money-raising spees, such as church fairs, his attentive Mother gave him a drastic elucidation of the inevitable end of this trying to empty the ocean of human misery with a five-cent tin pail. Further, endowing him with a railroad ticket and a modestly-lined pocketbook, she bade him put his troubles aside, and wander for a few months among his fellow travelers, high and low, rich and poor. She gently advised him to listen to others and hold his tongue (as far as practicable), also to search diligently for the primary causes of human wretchedness.

"You must find and conquer the Great Illusion," she said.

"I shall go forth like Dr. Syntax," the young man exclaimed, "or somewhat like Japhet in search of his ancestor. Fun of various degrees will be poked at me."

"All the better," retorted that excellent woman. "'Tis the best medicine in the world." So she packed his suitcase, and sent him off that afternoon.

The young man went to New York first; there he lived plainly, went around with many people, and became acquainted with all sorts and conditions of life. He soon found that he could write some, so he did newspaper work and thus paid his way. He went to meetings of every sort of protest and criticism; he listened to John Swinton; he took a modest part in the Henry George campaign for Mayor; he had long talks with Richard Watson Gilder; he came to know little shopkeepers, mechanics, newsboys, hackmen, sailors, saloon-keepers, ward politicians, people on the bread-line, and men who never consciously had any human country, but ran with the wolf-pack. It surprised him very much that when he wrote down the things which he heard and saw, newspapers would actually print them, and pay him good money for what was merely talking on paper. He was entirely free from that pestiferous microbe known as "literary ambition," and though he sometimes worked very hard to get the needed word, he never thought twice about anything after it was printed.

Then he went to other cities, seeing how people

lived, and trying to discover what they were thinking about. More and more he made friends among the poor and lowly; more and more they gave him their affection.

Over the things which he saw his heart sometimes burned within him; he suffered agonies of sternly repressed rage and despair. It became harder for him to produce articles which were cheerful and gentle enough to be sold to the newspapers. About this time he wrote his Mother:

"I sat in a smoker on a fast train once and talked with a very rich man who said that I had more happiness than he had. That surprised me then; I supposed that almost everyone had happiness. But when I told him that it must surely be that all men were meant to be happy; the resources of the earth were sufficient; there should be no poverty, no crime, no misery anywhere.

"That will never be!" he answered. Then as we talked on he told me, I think, exactly how he felt. He had two million dollars, or more, and he worked like a slave, as a Chicago stock-broker. But he would personally prefer to raise colts and plant grapevines.

"I asked: 'And why not?'"

"Finally he said to me this awful thing: 'I am compelled to go on getting money and salting it down, for the sake of my family. This world is so cruel that whoever is down and out is trampled into the dirt. My three daughters might be shop-girls; my wife might scrub floors. Unless I eat up the other fellow, he will eat me up!'"

"It made me mighty sorry for him, and I asked him just as cheerfully as I could whether he ever thought of that other fellow's family.

"'You bet I have,' he told me, 'but it is eat or be eaten in business.' Then he went off, and I never saw him again. I thought then that he was a monster. Now, I know better. He was naturally a good fellow, hanging from the dripping jaws of a Bengal tiger."

Something broke off his letter at this point, but he went on later:

"Now, Mother, I begin to know a little more about it. The first Great Illusion is that rank, money, education or anything whatever except the Immortal Spirit of man, is worth considering. We are truly Fellow Travelers, and everyone is somehow worth while if you can melt through the shell. But one's real friends in life are the ones with whom you are in tune, and they with you. That fellowship knows no bars of race, time, country or occupation. It does not recognize the walls between 'high' and 'low,' 'good' and 'bad.' It is wholly a thing of the spirit. That's what the story of King Cophetua means; that's how he found his helpmate.

"But there is much more to it. The sense of fellowship either grows upon a man until he belongs to all of humanity, or else it narrows down to just his few friends, his family, himself. If it

widens out, he is walking with the great Lovers and Helpers, with St. Francis and Lincoln, even with St. John and Jesus Christ. Then every wrong hurts him hard, every evil becomes his mortal enemy, every grief is made his own. Thus he carries the burden of humanity. It is enough, and more than enough;—he must put aside everything else, and take service at the front, wherever he seems to be most needed.

“But where is this front-line of battle? Essential is the full restoration to all men of long-lost equal opportunity; essential is the enlistment of all men in the age-old struggle towards a complete reconstruction of the social order; essential is the destruction of misery, and the broad-cast sowing of the seeds of peace, joy, fellowship. Important, too, is every possible amelioration of evil, and all the personal help one can give, but these are not the vital issues.

“All this, dear Mother, means to my mind that Materialism is really the great enemy; that an enlightened and progressive Idealism is truly the great good; that we must arouse and educate the public conscience, until the last fortress of Special Privilege is destroyed. In the years to come, men and women must dwell together in happiness, just as the dear people do in William Morris’s ‘News from Nowhere,’ having full access to all the natural resources of bountiful Mother Earth. Prometheus must be unbound.”

“You are a radical,” his Mother wrote back. “That is good, but do not go too fast. Remember that there is much worth saving; that as the world of living people is more and more flooded with that all-helping love whose ministers are Science and Religion, are deathless Patience and untiring Labor, you will find that even your benighted ancestors were striving towards better things.”

She had followed up his work; all which he had written was in her scrap-book, and their correspondence had been on the highest levels. She knew that he was finding his trail towards the snow peaks, and she smiled to think how easily he walked over isms, cults, word-wisdoms and esoteric formulas.

“Come home, young man,” she wrote him one day. “Digest these many experiences. The cities wear men out too fast. Pull the rocks from our neglected hillside pasture; help to plant an orchard there; get up your farm-boy muscle again!”

She added from her fruitful wisdom: “I want you to find out that your scattered and secretive neighbors are up against those same world-problems. It is good, too, that one dwells in the world and yet not of it; that you keep a rest-place in the everlasting hills. Some day the city will call you back, and then you will be, God willing, like Bunyan’s hero when he met Apollyon in the Valley of Battle.”

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

REAL ESTATE MEN AND THE SINGLETAX.

Abstract of a Talk by Louis F. Post Before National Association of Real Estate Exchanges, at Louisville, Ky., June 20, 1912, as Published in the August “American City.”

Real estate men are accustomed to thinking of the Singletax as hostile to their business. This is not necessarily true. The real estate business is as useful as any other business, when properly carried on. I can think of no circumstances under which we should not need land managers, land brokers, assistants in the general service of the community through the management of locations on the earth’s surface. No person engaged in this useful service need have any apprehension of hearing anything disagreeable from me.

But there are real estate men *and* real estate men. Such real estate men as are in the business only as speculators, as gamblers, as mere monopolists of those natural and industrial and social opportunities which are commanded by land ownership, may very well consider that I am criticising them. At any rate, they may consider that I am criticising the conditions which make that kind of occupation profitable.

The essential idea of the Singletax is that the value of land is not in any sense justly private property; that it is a value due to the growth, progress and prosperity of the community and therefore belongs to the community as a whole. Consequently the Singletax in its fullness would take this annual value approximately to the full amount every year for public purposes. On the other hand, the Singletax would leave to the useful member of society—the worker, the business man, the real estate dealer if he is a land manager instead of a mere land monopolist—his entire earnings without any exactions whatever for public purposes. In other words, the Singletax would exempt from taxation all the earnings of industry and enterprise, and take land values into the public treasury.

To understand the nature and effect of this proposal, it is necessary to appreciate one of the most familiar principles of taxation. I refer to what is called the “incidence” of the tax—as to whether or not it “stays put.”

Some taxes do “stay put;” the man who pays them is the man who has to bear them. But some taxes do not “stay put;” the man who pays them adds them to the price of his goods or the rent of his property, and adds to them a profit on their amount, when he comes to deal with the final consumer. To illustrate this point with reference to the real estate business, a tax that falls upon houses does not “stay put;” but on the whole is added to the rental; whereas a tax upon land values does “stay put.” A tax on the value of the site as

distinguished from a tax on the value of the house, adds nothing to the value of the site, and consequently nothing to the rent, insofar as the rent is site rent or ground rent; but, insofar as a tax is an improvement tax, it is on the whole added to the value of the improvement in the market and consequently to the rent which tenants have to pay, insofar as their rent is house rent in contradistinction to land rent. It is not necessary to take the time here to prove what I have just said. Every one with no more than even an elementary knowledge of taxation will agree that I have made a substantially correct statement.

Now the Singletax avails itself of this principle, in order to exempt real estate improvements and other industrial products, and to get public revenues exclusively from so much of what we now call the real estate tax as falls upon the land in contradistinction to that part of it which falls upon the building. We do not expect to make this change complete all at once. No matter how desirable that may be, it is a political impossibility. But we do believe that by taxing land values more and more, and improvement and other industrial values less and less, as the people come to appreciate the value of this reform, we shall gradually, though not necessarily slowly, succeed in transferring practically all taxes from industry to the monopoly values of land.

This reform isn't alone a method of securing public values for public incomes and private values for private incomes; but it is also the best system of taxation, considered merely as a fiscal reform. The land value tax is the simplest and easiest and fairest tax to assess; it is the surest and fairest as to collection; it comes from a common fund; it comes from a fund that grows as the community grows; and it "stays put" so effectually that the man who pays the tax knows that he pays it, and so does everybody else.

The argument in support of the Singletax simply on fiscal grounds is abundantly strong. Any person who wishes to follow the matter further, either on the point of the fiscal desirability of this method of taxation, or of its fairness and effectiveness as an industrial reform, will find all the material for reflection that he needs, if he will turn to two or three books to which I now call attention. One of these is Hurd's "City Land Values." Mr. Hurd is not a Singletaxer; he is a real estate expert, and as such has made a study of the subject of city land values especially, and has published a book which no intelligent real estate man ought to be without, whether he is interested in the Singletax or not. Another important book is Thomas G. Shearman's "Natural Taxation," published by Doubleday, Page & Co. Mr. Shearman was a Singletaxer who stood for Singletax rather as a reform in taxation than for any other reason, and he was in his day one of the

leading lawyers at the New York Bar. His book on this subject is a thorough vindication of the Singletax as the best method of raising public revenues. Both with reference to the question of public revenues, and to the deeper questions involved in the Singletax, let me suggest that you will find Henry George's "Social Problems" easy and attractive as well as instructive reading, and that if you care to go any deeper into the subject from Henry George's point of view, you will hardly come to any conclusion upon the matter at all without first carefully reading his "Progress and Poverty."

It is urged against the Singletax that it is an entering wedge for the abolition of land monopoly. Well, what of that? Land monopoly is in the nature of a breach of trust. What right have men to own this planet; what right has any government to recognize their ownership of this planet, for any other than one single reason, namely, that they shall put it to the best use?

Under existing industrial conditions, the control of particular spots of the planet must be given to individuals. The farmer must have absolute possession of his farm-site in order to enjoy the products of his work as a farmer; the builder must have absolute possession of building sites in order to enjoy the products of his work as a builder; the real estate manager must have private possession of parts of the earth upon which improvements are made, or upon which he wishes to promote improving, in order that he may enjoy the products of his work as a land manager or real estate manager. In order that these results may be accomplished, government gives private ownership of land to individuals. But it does not give this ownership to them for the purpose of enabling them to "hog the planet." No government would have a right to make a landed class or a landed interest, to the exclusion of other people, except upon some trust for the benefit of all. There is, therefore, implied, morally and politically, in every deed to land, a trust to the effect that the private ownership or possession of this particular land is given to this particular grantee, and the government protects him in his possession or ownership thereof, upon the condition and trust that he will put the land to its best use and not monopolize it to the detriment of the rest of the community.

Now the Singletax would have the effect of encouraging and enriching the men who, holding land, recognize that they hold it under some such trust, and the Singletax would make it contrary to the interest of land holders not to observe that trust. By putting all taxes on the value of land, we should be saying to every land holder, in the well known language of dollars and cents, that he must observe his trust as a grantee of that land or suffer the financial consequences. By exempting all industry from taxation we should be saying

to every grantee of land, and to everyone holding or acting under him or as his agent or broker, that the more useful they made that land the more wealthy would they become from the profits of their work, and the more prosperous would the community become from the increasing value of that part of the planet on which their work was done.



GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

For The Public.

Are trusts, monopolies and courts
Now acting in conjunction,
And do our judges dare presume
To govern by injunction?
If so, there may be shoals ahead,
And dark and stormy weather;
It then behooves all patriots
To stand or fall together.

If greedy corporations dare
To use a "golden unction"
To soothe the consciences of courts
Who govern by injunction,
The living love of liberty
Inspires to resent it,
And they who pervert the laws
Sincerely will repent it.

We may be near the danger line,
When courts without compunction
Ignore the laws the people make,
And govern by injunction.
This talk of peace at any price
Is cowardly and craven;
There may be some rough weather yet
Before we reach the haven.

And have we truly reached the hour
When courts assume the function
To rule us with a regal power
And govern by injunction?
O, snowy-plumaged Dove of Peace,
We worship and adore thee,
But Liberty and Equal Rights
Must always stand before thee.

J. W. DUTTON.

BOOKS

SYNDICALISM.

The Labor Movement in France. A Study in Revolutionary Syndicalism. By Louis Levine, Ph. D. With an Introduction by Professor Franklin H. Giddings. New York. Columbia University. Longmans Green and Co., Agents, London; P. S. King & Son, 1912. Price \$1.50.

An exceptionally valuable addition to that valuable series of "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," now in the forty-sixth volume, which the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia

University edits and the University publishes. Its special value is not due, however, to excellent workmanship—whether of investigation, authorship, or editing—for this is characteristic of the series. While fully up to standard in that respect, Dr. Levine's work lifts the curtain upon a situation of universal import and menace, about which most persons who think they understand it may be mistaken, even though they be in it and of it. The scope of the investigation may be inferred from the Introduction by Professor Giddings, which describes Socialism as a phase of the democratic social movement, and ascribes to it a "conservative" and a "radical" side, one relying on the ballot, the other on violence, each proclaiming a class struggle and both standing for collectivism. It is with the "radical" or violence side of this "class war" phase of the democratic social movement, that Dr. Levine's book is concerned. He attempts to define it as an effort "to fuse revolutionary socialism and trade unionism into one coherent movement." While that movement has attracted much attention outside of France—the Industrial Workers of the World being an expression of it in the United States—it is historically a product of French industrial conditions. This accounts for the title of the book and its special character as "a study of revolutionary syndicalism" in "the labor movement in France." Believing it more important to describe facts truly and to understand the anterior conditions intelligently, than to pass judgment, Dr. Levine has tried to be impartial; not by colorless indifference, but by entering sympathetically into the feelings of either side, as he considers the one or the other. He appears to have succeeded in one of the most difficult of judicial tasks.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Woman in Modern Society.** By Earl Barnes. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**Laws of the State of Illinois enacted by the Forty-seventh Assembly at the First, Second and Third Special Sessions, 1911-1912.** By courtesy of C. J. Doyle, Secretary of State.

—**The Status of Aliens in China.** By Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, English Secretary to the President of China. Whole Number 126, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912.

—**Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, Numbers 33 to 42:** The Ballad in Literature, by T. F. Henderson; The Origin of Earthquakes, by C. Davison; Rocks and Their Origins, by G. A. J. Cole; Spiders, by C. Warburton; Goethe and the Twentieth Century, by J. G. Robertson; Life in the Mediaeval University, by R. S. Raitt; A History of Civilization in Palestine, by R. A. S. Macalister; Methodism,

by H. B. Workman; Ancient Assyria, by C. H. W. Johns. Published by the University Press, Cambridge, England, and by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1912. Price, each, 40 cents net.

—Forty-fourth Annual Insurance Report of the State of Illinois. By Fred W. Potter, Insurance Superintendent. Part I: Fire, Marine and Inland Insurance. 1912. Part III: Casualty and Assessment Insurance and Fraternal Societies. Fred W. Potter, Insurance Superintendent. By courtesy of Fred W. Potter.

PAMPHLETS

Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.

A most interesting pamphlet, and inviting typographically, is the fifth annual report of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, of which John Paul is secretary. Covering the period from April 1, 1911, to March 31, 1912, it shows in its financial statement for the first 9 months, receipts to the amount of \$26,775 and expenditures to the amount of \$28,220. There are constituent land value taxation leagues to the number of 15. Of these, 10 are in England, 8 in Scotland, 1 in Wales and 1 in Ireland. But the story of Singletax work out in the field is the interesting feature of the pamphlet. Nor is it of local interest alone. (United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 11 Tothill St., Westminster, London, S. W.)



A Convenient Tariff Manual.

By using the West key-number system, familiar in law books, Roger Sherman Hoar (6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.) has produced an inexpensive tariff manual in which reference may be made instantly to any of the essential arguments against Protection and for Freetrade. For example: You wish to know what anti-Protectionists think of the tariff with reference to labor; you turn to "wages" in the Index, where you find all the paragraphs of the Manual on that subject referred to by number; you then turn to these paragraphs, and there you find brief discussions of the different phases of that particular subject. "Wages decreased, 35, 58," is one of the "W" lines in the index; "Wages, high, not maintained by the tariff, 16-18," is another; another is "Wages, high, not a burden on the employer, 19." Of "workingmen," you find in the index, also under "W," that they "need no protection, 15." Thus the whole labor subject with reference to the tariff falls under your eye at once, and you are ready to meet the Protection fallacy-maker with the common-sense rejoinder of the paragraphs indicated by the index figures. A "brief" is also included in the pamphlet, by means of which the book literature on each tariff subject is spread before you.



Pamphlets Received.

Seven Months in America. By Alfred E. Zimmern, London: Sherratt & Hughes. Manchester: 34 Cross St., 1912.

The Administration of William H. Taft: A Historical

Sketch by Albert H. Walker, Park Row Bldg., Manhattan, New York.

Held Up to the Mirror, or, Capital and Labor in the Light of Christianity. By M. C. Roberts, 369 Edgecomb Ave., New York City. Price, 5 cents.

Report of the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Ella Flagg Young, to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, for the year ending June 30, 1912.

PERIODICALS

"The China Republican."

At Shanghai, China, a new daily evening paper, printed in English, began publication August 1. With both cable and local news service, this journal purposes to "interpret current events from the Chinese viewpoint." The issue of August 3 editorially criticizes President Yuan for his cabinet appointees, and supports the National Council in their impeachment of Premier Lu Chen-hsiang. That the editor is not without a radical constructive policy, may be inferred from his printing in so early a number of his eight-page paper a four-column article on the Singletax, in the form of a very able resumé of "Progress and Poverty." In this condensation not only is Henry George's argument complete and with emphasis well placed, but the subject, by a few deft touches, is dated "The World, 1912," instead of San Francisco, 1879.

A. L. G.



Everybody's.

Freetraders and Protectionists should stop fussing long enough for a good laugh over Charles Johnson Post's story of "Jimmie's Infant Industry" in the August Everybody's. After his laugh, the passive Protectionist may think and the active Protectionist will frown; but the Freetrader will only chuckle to himself contentedly and enjoy the author's clever drawings along with the brilliant little satire. In this number of Everybody's, too, there is Inez H. Weed's account of "The Way St. Louis Women Drove a Nine-Hour Day Into the Law;" how under Hannah Hennessy's leadership and Mrs. Knefler's, the working women posted the town against E. J. Troy, manufacturers' candidate and enemy of the nine-hour bill. The women's victory and how they won it is inspiring. But the cloud on the labor horizon is shown in William M. Daly's two pages on "Labor's New Phases and Phrases," where able and much-needed definitions are given of "Syndicalism," "Direct Action," "Sabotage"—those ominous new words, sprung but now into our language to put madness into men and machines.

A. L. G.



The French Singletax Review.

The argument in favor of an individualistic interpretation of the Singletax doctrine is continued in the August number of "La Revue de L'Impot Unique." The confusion caused by government interference is but too apparent. We are familiar with laws dictated by expediency from which flow evils that must be corrected by fresh legislation. We have learned to fear a bureaucracy, and are approaching the idéal of the Physiocrats, to establish

equality of opportunity and then stand aside and cease to block natural laws. If we are to free ourselves from the formalism which binds us to worn-out customs and dead creeds we must not make the mistake of regarding the Singletax as an end, but rather as the open door to freedom. In this spirit the Review deals with Mr. John Orr's book, "The Taxation of Land Values." Nothing is more fruitful than difference of opinion. The vitality of the Singletax movement the world over is reflected in the stimulation of individual thought which it creates. And it doubtless owes much of its vigor to the varying angles at which it has struck the Anglo-Saxon and the French intellects. "It almost seems as if it had been providentially reserved to these two nations to demonstrate by facts the fertility of the intellectual co-operation of different races." In commenting upon the land campaign now in progress in Great Britain it is pointed out that the land valuation will reveal the wealth of the nation while the Insurance Act will reveal its poverty, a striking object lesson.

F. W. GARRISON.



American Lawlessness.

An inquiry into "American Lawlessness," by Victor S. Yarros in the American Journal of Sociology for July, is the first really serious democratic attempt of which we are aware to explain a congeries of social phenomena that are usually classified quite thoughtlessly in the terms of the quoted part of Mr. Yarros's title. Illustrating with Sunday laws, laws against the littering of sidewalks and spitting in public places, Negro lynchings, marriage regulations, and contempt for judges, Mr. Yarros explains convincingly with four general reasons: First, that we as a people are passing through a period, due to the variety of our immigration and the evolution of cities, in which "like-mindedness is largely absent." Second, a certain incongruity and consequent weakness in our Federalism, despite some advantages. Third, the unique prerogative of arbitrary legislation which our judges are increasingly believed to have usurped. Fourth, the peculiar power our electoral mechanism offers to men who live by politics and to the business interests they treacherously serve. In these circumstances, Mr. Yarros concludes that the American nation is not lawless, but that appearances of lawlessness are only manifestations of its efforts to solve a question of "extraordinary and unparalleled difficulty and complexity" in the enactment and enforcement of law. Accordingly, to promote "solidarity among" the people, "while cherishing freedom of local experimentation, and useful differences within wide-limits," seems to him at once a necessity and the supreme duty of American citizenship.



"Are the Japanese Honest?"

"It is impossible," writes George Kennan in the Outlook of August 31, "to discuss fairly the question of Japanese honesty or dishonesty without taking the population by classes. . . . No one who studies the Japanese carefully and dispassionately can fail to notice a wide difference between the moral standards of the merchants and the samurai.

The merchants are not all dishonest—perhaps a majority of them are not—but there is far more dishonesty among them than among the samurai, and more perhaps than among the artisans or the agricultural peasants. . . . For this low standard of honor among the traders, however, there are important historical reasons. . . . A tradesman, especially a retail tradesman, was not tolerated for a moment in the best society of feudal Japan. For this reason, few Japanese of reputable character went into trade, and the moral standards of the commercial world were the standards of a body of already discredited men who had no honorable reputation to lose. . . . If under the new and changed conditions of Japanese life the stamp of moral inferiority has not been wholly effaced, we should not wonder at it, nor should we condemn without consideration." Further, Mr. Kennan makes specific answer to the oft-repeated remark that "the Japanese are so dishonest that they have to employ Chinese cashiers in their banks." Mr. Kennan explains:

Chinese bankers and cashiers are largely Shansi men—that is, men from the province of Shansi, where the profession of banking has become hereditary in a large number of families. They are all, or nearly all, members of the powerful organization known as the Bankers' Guild, which has branches in every part of the Empire. The Bankers' Guild has discovered that it is practically impossible to conduct large financial operations without honesty; and it therefore enforces honesty by means of a discipline that is as rigorous and Draconian as that of the New York Stock Exchange. If a New York broker fails to keep a contract, or refuses to take delivery of a thousand shares of stock because the market has gone against him, he loses his seat and is virtually ruined. So, if a Chinese banker breaks faith, violates a contract, or betrays a trust, he is expelled from his guild and the doors of banks are closed against him for all time. In the first place, therefore, the Chinese cashier is honest because honesty is a condition of his business existence. He may not be honest in other respects—often he is not—but he is absolutely honest in the handling of money. In the second place, he is probably the most expert man living in the rapid calculation of exchanges. The monetary system of his country is the most confused, chaotic, and complicated system in the world. The necessity of dealing in some way with this great mass of unstable and fluctuating currency and of earning a subsistence from it, has made the Chinese cashier one of the most expert of living accountants. He will solve difficult monetary problems by short cuts of mental arithmetic, and he calculates exchanges to eight points of decimals. In the third place, the Chinese cashier counts and manipulates bank bills and coins with extraordinary skill and accuracy. I have had dealings with him in many parts of the Far East, but I cannot remember ever to have seen him count a sum of money twice, and I have never caught him in an error. He throws out the bills or coins with a nonchalant carelessness in which he seems to take a sort of professional pride, but he seldom, if ever, makes a mistake. Now, when you get a man whose honesty is guaranteed by his guild, whose manipulation of money is phenomenally dexterous, and who can calculate exchanges to eight points of decimals, you have an ideal cashier; and if Japanese bankers employ him, it shows their good business sense rather than their distrust of their own people. But all Japanese bankers do not employ him. In some of the largest banks in Tokyo, Kioto, and Osaka there are no Chinese at all—or at least I have never seen any. This explanation would not be worth, perhaps, the space that I have given to it if the story of the Chinese cashier had not

been so widely circulated, and if it were not typical of a whole class of cases in which the Japanese are misjudged on the basis of a single incident or a solitary fact.
A. L. G.



God, what a world!—if men in street and mart
Felt that same kinship of the human heart
Which makes them, in the face of flame and flood,
Rise to the meaning of true brotherhood.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.



Some plain people were accosted by a party of patriots.

"Look!" cried the patriots. "The country is in danger. Pray put your shoulders to the wheel and save it."

The plain people did as they were bidden, after which they examined, with more attention, the mechanism of the wheel and its peculiar construction.

"Why, it's only the wheel of a bandwagon!" they exclaimed, in considerable disgust, while the laughter of the patriots, muffled only by their sleeves, could be heard in the distance.—Puck.



"Black sheep, black sheep, you're blocking up the road!

Don't you know your crinkly fleece would be a heavy load?" . . .

"But, Mister Teddy, stop a bit; you needed us before."

"Times have changed, oh, black sheep, and I need your masters more!"

—Stanley Quinn in Puck.



Howell—"Does he take things philosophically?"

Powell—"Yes, but he doesn't part with them philosophically."—Woman's Home Companion.

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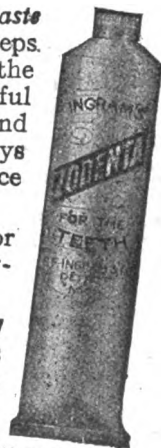
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