

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

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### A Mere Hint.

Half of them think he is a mountebank and unscrupulous demagogue. They are wrong. The other half think he is the greatest of the prophets and a demigod. They are wrong. It is his virtue and his failing that he has a quicksilver mentality—that quality of mind which absorbs gold wherever it touches, without ever assimilating it.



### An Electorate at School.

The voters of Ohio have been to school for three months. Last week was their graduation day. Not that their school has closed for good. It hasn't. That was only the first term which closed last week. But at its close the pupils decided to keep the school open for good and all, with other graduation days as occasion for them occurs.



It is the best kind of school, too,—a school in which every voter is a pupil and also a teacher. Direct legislation creates a college of citizenship. It gives a value to the ballot that is unknown to politics of the personal kind; better ideals go with it than "standing by" a Taft, or "trusting to" a Wilson or "whooping her up" for a "Teddy." It tends to give the people a sense of responsibility, not indirectly for what somebody does in their name, but *directly* for what they do themselves.

And it *disfranchises ignorant and indifferent voters*. Nearly half the voters of Ohio went into the disfranchised class last week. But instead of being disfranchised by some superior power arbitrarily, they *disfranchised themselves*. Not by any schoolmaster-schoolmastery test was this done, but on the basis of their ignorance of or their indifference to the particular subject at issue. It is of the nature of direct legislation, of the Initiative and Referendum, that it secures government of all and for all by those who are fit; those who are fit by the only test of fitness,—their own individual judgment upon their own intelligence and interest with reference to the common affairs upon which opportunity to vote is afforded them.



### Bigelow's Victory in Ohio.

Credit for the victory for Direct Legislation in Ohio at the special election last week must be distributed widely. Part of it lies upon the tomb of Dr. Tuckerman, the revered father of radicalism in Cleveland. Part of it goes to the memory of Tom L. Johnson, who placed Cleveland as "a city on a hill." It must be shared with those men of the Western Reserve of Ohio who worked with Tuckerman in the obscurity of the early days, and with Johnson when stones were sharp in their path and the brambles thick. At the lower end of the State there was different work to do and others to do it, among whom Daniel Kiefer will not be forgotten by those who know of his patient and persistent service. And out through the State—in Columbus, in Dayton, in Brand Whitlock's city of Toledo, and back to Cleveland with its splendid corps of democratic Democrats now under Mayor Baker's leadership in every town and every city of the State and out upon the farms—there are men and women without whose public-spirited help this mechanism of People's Power could not yet have come to Ohio. Nor can the tremendously effective work of the Scripps league of newspapers in Ohio be ignored. But there is nothing invidious in naming Herbert S. Bigelow as the one man of Ohio upon whom credit for the triumph especially concentrates.



Since the days when he and Tom L. Johnson campaigned Ohio to make democratic sentiment while plutocracy was still in the ascendant, Mr. Bigelow has made this work his own, placing it ahead of everything else. Not that he considered the Initiative and Referendum the most important

public measure, but that he considered it the *first*. Nor was his work confined to the field. Except for the skillful service he rendered in the Constitutional Convention, and his good judgment there, it is a fair inference that the Initiative and Referendum would not in any effective form have reached the people for their approval at the election last week. As a citizen of Ohio, as a member of the Constitutional Convention, as president of the Convention, the credit for placing an effective Initiative and Referendum in the Ohio Constitution justly goes to Herbert S. Bigelow. And this is the most vital of all Constitutional measures. Without it, public sentiment is a plaything of spoilsmen; with it, public sentiment may govern.



### Foote's Defeat in Ohio.

In the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum by the voters of Ohio, Allen Ripley Foote\* encounters the most decisive defeat which this wily lobbyist for the Interests has sustained since he went from Illinois into Ohio to play their game against Tom L. Johnson. Under cover of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, organized by himself for the benefit of undisclosed principals, he did all that was possible to baffle Bigelow's work for the Initiative and Referendum. With generalship less skillful than Bigelow's was, Foote might not improbably have killed or shackled in the Convention every Amendment of public value that could have been carried at the election. But the Initiative and Referendum was his principal object of attack. He saw, as Bigelow did, that this is the point of tactical advantage. Both of them realized that without the Initiative and Referendum, legislation is a matter of lobbying. For that reason Bigelow wanted the Initiative and Referendum and agitated for it; for the same reason, Allen Ripley Foote didn't want the Initiative and Referendum and schemed against it. His slick lobbying methods nearly won in the Convention, but before the voters last week they were battered to a pulp.



Few more useful servants with reference to legislation have the Interests ever had, than this same Allen Ripley Foote, whose usefulness to them in Ohio was crippled if not killed by the popular vote of last week; and not the least of his advantages in that vocation has been his skill in securing the apparent co-operation now and

\*See Publics, July 28, 1911, page 772, August 11, page 821, November 24, page 1186; January 19, 1912, page 49.

then of moderate reformers. He will be remembered by men who were interested in organized labor and anti-monopoly movements in New York in the late '70's and early '80's. A few years later he appeared at an economic conference to oppose municipal ownership; but in the interest, mind you, of municipalities! At this time he was a protege of Samuel Insull, now one of the great leaders in the electric power monopoly, and even at that time financially interested in private monopolies of public utilities. A few years later still Mr. Foote settled in Chicago as the publisher of "Public Policy," a reform paper with a monopoly purpose which was backed financially by the same Samuel Insull. Incidentally he established himself at the capital of Illinois during legislative sessions, where he secured the adoption of two reform measures of genuine merit (including the advisory Initiative), and thereupon tried but without success to secure the enactment of a cunningly drafted public utilities law that would have been of enormous advantage to the Interests. His connection with the Illinois electric combine having then been discovered, his career in Illinois ended.



At about this time, Tom L. Johnson was becoming troublesome to the Interests in Ohio, and Mr. Foote migrated to Columbus where he devoted himself industriously to putting obstacles in Johnson's way—always for the purpose, let it be understood, of helping Johnson! He would come forward with "something better," "something just a little different," as Johnson used to say—when ever Johnson's plans were in the way of winning out. Circumstances indicated that Mr. Foote in Ohio was still a protege of Samuel Insull of Illinois, although his operations are conducted in the name of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, an organization of his own begetting. Meanwhile, he had got into close relations with the Tax Reform Association of New York—a body originated principally to secure home rule in taxation for cities and counties, but which has drifted into opposition to that policy. Out of this New York connection Mr. Foote was able to add to Mayor Johnson's difficulties and to bother Mr. Bigelow in connection with his Initiative and Referendum work. Also to organize an international tax reform body, of a quasi official character, of which he has had the presidency, a prestige that has added to his usefulness as a perennial worker for the Interests. Its sixth meeting was held in Des Moines last week. Through the same connections Mr. Foote was able two years ago to assist the electric power interests of Oregon in

their almost successful fight against Wm. S. U'Ren's measure for county option in taxation. He has been similarly able to assist the same interests in the pending campaign in Oregon for tax-exemptions of all property but land values in three of the counties and for a graduated land-value tax on the owners of exceptionally valuable land. In Ohio, the crux of Mr. Foote's opposition to the Initiative and Referendum was that under it the people of Ohio would be permitted to vote on the Singletax.



### Singletax and the Ohio Amendments.

Some very good Singletaxers have expressed concern over what they have understood to be the fact that the Initiative and Referendum Amendment to the Ohio Constitution forbids its use for securing the Singletax in that State. They are misinformed as to the fact. Ten percent of the voters of Ohio may now Initiate a Constitutional amendment adopting the Singletax; and if a majority of the votes of the people cast on the subject are in the affirmative, that amendment becomes part of the fundamental law of the State. No approach to such an opportunity is possible anywhere in the whole Union outside of Initiative and Referendum States. Yet some Singletaxers, from impatience and from ignorance of the facts—a few for less excusable reasons, it may be feared—have used their influence against this reform in Ohio, on the ground that it is hostile to the Singletax! Enemies of the Singletax knew the contrary well enough. Under Allen Ripley Foote's direction, they centered their opposition upon the fact that the door to the Singletax would be opened; and with this cry, plus misrepresentation, they sought to prejudice farming communities. But they were overwhelmed by the popular vote. The clause forbidding the use of the *legislative* Initiative for the Singletax was proposed at the suggestion of Allen Ripley Foote, who expected Mr. Bigelow and the other Singletaxers in the Constitutional Convention to oppose it and thereby make campaign material against the Initiative and Referendum. To Mr. Foote's discomfiture Mr. Bigelow accepted the harmless clause without debate. But he defeated the attempt to exclude the Singletax from the *Constitutional* Initiative. Consequently the Singletax prohibition prohibits nothing not already prohibited by the general tax clause. But it does constantly advertise the fact that the Interests must be afraid of the Singletax or they wouldn't have tried in this way to head it off. And the way is open now for easily overriding that clause whenever the people wish to do it.

### Woman Suffrage Postponement in Ohio.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Ohio Constitution was defeated at the polls. Happily however for this advance in democracy, its ill-timed presentation did not defeat the Initiative and Referendum along with it.



When the holding of a Constitutional Convention was under discussion about a year ago, and the importance of concentrating all effort upon the Initiative and Referendum was manifest, suffrage leaders took a pronounced position which, under the circumstances, made co-operation between suffragists and direct legislationists, generally impracticable or ineffectual.\* Suffragists ignored the fact that the Initiative and Referendum is the gateway to their measure as well as to every other; and although many suffragists have worked faithfully and efficiently for this measure, the influence of their movement was centered upon suffrage regardless of the Initiative and Referendum. This could not have been without effect in cooling the ardor for woman suffrage of many men. Even if it did not cool their ardor, the throwing of both those fighting questions into the arena at the same time compelled a choice, so far as active service was concerned. Every word that a pronounced woman-suffragist said for the Initiative and Referendum would almost necessarily make votes against the latter among opponents of the former. That both questions should have been before the people at the same time was ill-advised; and if there was any doubt before in woman suffrage circles, there ought to be none now. The Initiative and Referendum should have had right of way *in the interest of woman suffrage itself*. Had that measure not been adopted, woman suffrage would now be postponed in Ohio for twenty years. As it is, the direct legislationists having carried their Amendment, it will be a fighting question again as soon as the signatures for it of 10 per cent of the voters are obtained—a process that will be in itself intensely educational.



The thrusting of the woman suffrage question into the recent Ohio campaign was ill-timed for an additional reason. The corrupt and corrupting liquor traffic, the corrupt and corrupting monopoly interests, and a certain coercive ecclesiastical element, were considerably alarmed over the Initia-

tive and Referendum alone. They were more than doubly alarmed when they faced both questions at once. And the juxtaposition made it easier for them to oppose both effectively. At the same time it was harder for woman suffragists and direct legislationists to co-operate effectively. The democratic side was weakened by the very circumstances that strengthened the enemy. And for this the putting of the woman suffrage amendment into the same campaign with that for the Initiative and Referendum was responsible.



But in saying that the woman suffrage question at that election was ill-timed, we do not mean to be understood as implying that it could have been prevented. It is part of the power of plutocracy in action that its differing factors can deliberately combine for temporary emergencies, and part of the weakness of democracy in action that its differing factors cannot deliberately combine. Democratic leaders are often driven into untactical positions by the democratic hosts behind them. This is doubtless what happened in Ohio among the suffragists. For better or worse it couldn't be helped. Let all be grateful, then, that in seizing upon an inopportune moment for a trial of strength, the woman suffragists lost their own amendment only, and not the Initiative and Referendum also. Thanks to the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, woman suffrage in Ohio is postponed, not for twenty years as the danger was, but no further than it would have been if its advocates had delayed it voluntarily in favor of the Initiative and Referendum.



### Ecclesiastical Influences.

Denying that she had ascribed the defeat of woman suffrage in Ohio to opposition of the Catholics, Anna Shaw is reported as saying that she does not believe the Catholic vote was cast against the woman suffrage amendment. That Dr. Shaw is right, is a reasonable inference. It is a mistake for non-Catholics to assume that Catholic voters are obedient to priests in political matters. Unfortunately, though, Catholic voters are as a rule disposed to be so reserved about their independence as to confirm impressions in non-Catholic circles that ecclesiastics do control them. The particular reason for the mistaken notion in Ohio with which Dr. Shaw's name has been unjustly associated, was the wholesale distribution inside of Catholic churches in Ohio on the 1st—two days before the election on the Constitutional

\*See *Publics* of October 27, 1911, page 1091, and November 3, page 1118.

amendments—of one of Allen Ripley Foote's pamphlets. It purported to have been "issued under auspices of the Catholic press and Catholic organizations of Ohio;" and it denounced most of the proposed amendments, including the one on woman suffrage. That this pamphlet failed of its purpose is evident from the vote. Although its denunciation of the Initiative and Referendum was as pronounced as its denunciation of woman suffrage, the former carried and the latter lost by majorities so large as to make it clear that none of this ecclesiastical influence was decisive as to either.



### Penal Atrocities in Michigan.

Voters of Michigan who cherish the good name of their State should take advantage of the opportunity the coming election affords to disclaim in her behalf all responsibility for the atrocious prison management at Jackson. The reported circumstances of the recent revolt of convicts there, indicate that the fault lies with prison officials. Be that as it may, however, and regardless of what the conduct of the prisoners really was, it is a shame to any American State at the present stage of human progress to have that truly said of its prison discipline which appears in the following excerpts from Oscar E. Hewitt's report to the Chicago Tribune of the 6th. Quoting a militiaman, corroborated by a prison guard, Mr. Hewitt says:

The floggings today were administered to inmates of the east wing of the prison. Six were strapped this morning and three this afternoon, and I was told that as many more will follow tomorrow. A barrel was placed upon a ladder which lay flat upon the floor. Each victim was made to strip his back and lie with his face down across the barrel. About his wrists were placed handcuffs and his arms were stretched out in front and fastened to a round in the ladder. Leg irons were placed on his ankles and his feet were stretched out behind. A gag was placed in the mouth of every one except a big husky fellow who, I was told, works in the engine room as a stoker. Over those who had thin white skins a sheet was placed, while those with the thick yellow hides had to take it bare. With these preliminaries over, a bulky guard who lives here in Jackson started in to whale the victim. You can make it as horrible as you want to and you won't be exaggerating it much. Some convicts brought in were white with fright and could hardly talk. One fellow's lips quivered and his eyes bulged out like walnuts. A small fellow succeeded in wriggling the gag out of his mouth and he begged piteously for mercy. He promised anything that was asked of him if the man that was doing the whipping would only let up. But he had to take the full dose prescribed for him. Two fellows fainted and another fellow was limp when he was taken off the barrel.

Do the voters of Michigan stand for such infamous barbarity?



### Accusing Congressman Buchanan.

If Congressmen Buchanan had in truth been culpably connected with the McNamaras, the fact would have been discovered prior to his campaign for re-election to Congress. Moreover, it doesn't fit in with his long and finally successful struggle against the Sam Parks "crowd" in his labor organization—a struggle in which Sam Parks got aid and comfort from the very steel-trust ring from which the charges against Buchanan emanate now. Evidently the objection to Buchanan, and the motive for these accusations against him, are not that he is a Labor criminal, as the accusations imply, but that he is an honest Congressman.



### Presidential Possibilities.

"About this season," said the old almanacs, "begin to look for"—well, what should we look for at this particular season but estimates of the election results of two months hence? The first supply comes from the North American Review. Considered without emotion its estimate is not half bad. From the Wilson point of view, it must be highly satisfactory; and while it is altogether hopeless for Taft and Roosevelt, it is by no means bad for—whom do you think? For Sherman!



Yet the flaw is difficult to find, if there be a flaw, although the estimate may crack later on. Some say it is full of flaws already, but the weather is still warm. Here is the estimate:

Wilson: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.—Total Electoral vote, 290.

Taft: Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Wisconsin.—Total Electoral vote, 156.

Roosevelt: California, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.—Total Electoral vote, 63.

Uncertain: Maine, Nebraska, New Mexico, Rhode Island.—Total Electoral vote, 22.



As the number of Electoral votes necessary to a choice is 266, the above estimate leaves Wilson 24 to spare. New York is therefore the only single State credited to him which, by disappointing that expectation, would deprive him of his

majority. The loss of Ohio would not be enough in itself. It would take almost a miracle, as matters now look, to deprive Wilson of the majority given him in the estimate; and the election of either Roosevelt or Taft by the Electoral College is well out of the jurisdiction even of miracles. The fight is not between Wilson and Roosevelt, as Roosevelt's speeches have it; nor between Wilson and Taft. It is between Wilson and the present Vice President, Mr. Sherman. How so? By no reasonable probability can either Taft or Roosevelt get a majority of the Electoral College, whatever happens to Wilson. This must be conceded by anyone who scans the foregoing estimate. But Wilson's loss in the Wilson list above, of New York, or of Indiana and New Jersey, or of Ohio and any other State, would relegate the selection of the next President to the present House, where the vote would be not by members but by State delegations. As the House is equally divided politically, the *North American Review* fairly concludes that the new Vice President would become President on the 4th of March; and that in all probability, under those circumstances, the new Vice President, and therefore the next President, would be James S. Sherman. Its reasons for the latter part of that conclusion are that under the Constitution the Senate would choose the Vice President if the Electoral College did not, that it would be restricted in its choice to Marshall and Sherman, and that the Republicans would probably be strong enough to choose Sherman.



### Vermont and the Progressive Party.

Out of its baptism of ballots at the State election in Vermont last week, the Progressive Party came with fair assurance of reality as a party. To be sure, it was only third; it should have been second if it is to count for more than a Republican "bolt." But it was a big third. If it had come out of the Maine election this week with as good an account of itself, it would have won its spurs; but as it had no candidates in Maine, its vote merged with the Republican party. There is reason to believe that the Maine election is prophetic in that respect of the future of the Progressive Party.



## THE DECADENCE OF AMERICAN SHIPPING.

Has any one marked, in these days of spread-eagling, the pathetic silence of the Protectionist regarding our shipping? The American ship bids fair to have a summing up as brief as that of the

famous chapter on the snakes of Ireland. It may be recalled that the chapter in question consisted of six words: "There are no snakes in Ireland."

What calamitous circumstance could have brought American shipping to this pass?



Time was, and that too within the memory of men now living, when our flag was to be seen upon every sea; and its presence proclaimed the largest, the fastest, and the best ships. As far back as 1800, when the nation was scarce out of its swaddling clothes, the flag covered a tonnage of 970,000 tons, while the British scarcely doubled it with 1,856,000. The Americans steadily gained on the mother country till, in 1860, our shipping amounted to 5,350,000 tons, while that of Great Britain, including her colonies, was barely 5,713,000.

With what pride does the American school boy scan the figures! And how eagerly does he turn to the next decade to see his country's flag the first in all the world!

Alas, for those who pin their faith to Protective tariffs! And woe unto them who would lift themselves over the fence by pulling on their boot-straps! American shipping had reached its zenith, and started on its decline.

In 1888 it had fallen to 4,310,000 tons—less, actually, than thirty years before—while the British tonnage had mounted to 9,050,000.

Even those figures do not convey the full truth. for part of the tonnage was steam, and as steamers can make quicker voyages they are reckoned at a higher carrying capacity. America in 1860 had steam tonnage to the amount of 870,000 tons, while England had only 502,000; which made the actual carrying power of the two countries in that year—America 7,960,000; Great Britain 7,219,000. The American flag really covered more commerce than did the English flag.

Since 1888 American tonnage has increased somewhat, owing to our coasting trade. The law forbids any foreign ship from carrying freight or passengers from one port in the United States to another port in the United States, so that there are more ships in that trade now than formerly. But in our overseas trade, or foreign commerce, our shipping has dwindled from 2,379,396 tons in 1860, to 863,495 in 1911, while our foreign commerce in the same period increased from \$689,192,176 to \$3,576,546,304. In other words, our shipping decreased to one-third while our trade increased five fold.



Let it be viewed from another point.

Of our total imports and exports in 1860, sixty-nine per cent were carried in American ships, and thirty-one per cent in foreign ships. In 1870 the proportions were reversed, thirty-five per cent of our foreign commerce being under the American flag, and sixty-five per cent under foreign flags.

The Civil War might be the cause of part of the loss. But in 1880 the percentage of our foreign commerce carried in American ships was only eighteen per cent. And it has continued to dwindle year after year, until in 1911 it had shrunken to [Put this, Mr. Printer, in your smallest type.] less than nine per cent.

That is to say, under a high protective tariff American shipping engaged in our foreign commerce has fallen off from eight-twelfths to one-twelfth.



Lest some deluded citizen should still doubt the efficacy of our tariff system, let one more fact be given.

During the fiscal year just closed our trade with the port of London amounted to nearly 212 million dollars. And during that year the American flag on a merchant vessel was seen in that port [There are no types small enough for this.] not once.

Think of it, O ye children of American sailors! Fifty years after the American flag had become the first on the seas, and while our commerce increased five-fold, not a single American merchant ship visited the largest port in the world in a whole year!



At the time when America was running bow and bow with Great Britain in the race for supremacy on the high seas; nay, when we had actually passed her in carrying power, our so-called free trade tariff was in force. Then came the Civil War—and a Protective tariff.

It was but natural that our shipping should fall off during hostilities. Ships of the South took out foreign registry to escape the Federal navy, while ships of the North went to foreign flags to escape Confederate privateers. All intended to return at the conclusion of peace. But they counted without their host. While the country was in the throes of civil strife, and men were laying down their lives for a principle, others of our citizens were seeking Congressional largesses. And not the least of these were the ship builders.

Not content with Protection that denied American registry to any foreign-built ship, and forbade any but American ships to engage in the

coasting trade, they nagged at Congress till they secured a law that withheld the American flag from any ship that ever had flown a foreign flag. This barred all the ships that had taken out foreign registry during the war. Hence, the drop during fifty years of high tariff from 69 per cent of our foreign commerce in American ships to 9 per cent.



And now men talk of reviving American shipping by means of subsidies! Having strangled it with Protection, they would revive it with a subsidy.

Can human fatuity go farther?

There were no subsidies when those white-winged messengers of peace dotted every sea, and the American flag was seen in every port of the world. To talk now of subsidies is enough to make the old sailors turn in their graves.

Ship subsidies, indeed! The disappearance of the American flag from the high seas does not mean that there is no American capital in the carrying business. Some of the largest companies are owned in this country. But our antiquated laws compel them to sail under a foreign flag. And in the event of war they would serve our enemies. Why, when our fleet of battle ships sailed around the world, they were coaled by foreign ships that would have deserted the fleet at the first shot!



Fifty years of high tariff, and American shipping in our foreign trade drops from eight-twelfths to one-twelfth. Great is protection! And great is the credulity of him who would enrich himself by taking money from one pocket and putting it into the other!

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

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## CONDENSED EDITORIALS

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### SIDE-TRACKING THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Charles E. Merriam in the Chicago Daily Press of August 31.

The only open and active opposition to the Initiative and Referendum at the last session of the Illinois legislature came from the Chicago Civic Federation.

Now the Civic Federation is endeavoring to secure signatures for a petition to place upon the ballot three propositions which are designed to crowd out and prevent a vote upon the Initiative and Referendum. In the last session of the legislature they urged the necessity of amending a taxing clause of

the Constitution as a means of defeating the Initiative and Referendum and now they are using the same method again. In the same way they are endeavoring to head off and defeat a vote on an amendment in favor of woman's suffrage. If they are successful in this move they will delay the vote upon the Initiative and Referendum until at least 1916 and possibly until much later.

These tricks and devices of cunning opponents of the Initiative and Referendum should deceive no one. The Civic Federation and its backers in this move are bitterly opposed to giving the people the power to veto laws or to pass laws which legislatures will not pass. They are not willing to submit the Initiative and Referendum to the people and make the campaign before them. They are seeking to postpone the vote by confusing the voter. The friends of the Initiative and Referendum should have nothing to do with this plausible plan and should refrain from signing any petition of this sort.

The Initiative and Referendum will not cure all the ills of this State, but they will help our situation. They will make representatives more mindful of the wishes of their constituents, and in that way make them more truly representative.



### WASHINGTON TAXBOLTERS.

Louis F. Post in the Chicago Daily Press of August 30.

Congress has made a pretty picture of Washington taxbolters. The camera was operated by Congressman Henry George, Jr. You can get a copy by writing your Congressman for "Report No. 1215 of the Sixty-second Congress, Second Session, House of Representatives." Ask him also for the testimony.

Like their class in every other growing community, Washington taxbolters fatten their private purses from public funds before the funds are in the public treasury. This pays better than "lifting" funds out of it. Also, it looks better. But in principle it is the same thing.

Half the expenses of Washington are paid by Congress.

As that money comes mostly from tariffs on imports, every man, woman and child in the United States who buys anything of foreign make, or anything of home-make containing foreign material, helps pay half of Washington's upkeep. They pay it in higher prices. This makes Washington a city of national pride for all of us. It likewise makes it a city of private profit for taxbolting owners of the site of it—of its building lots.

Washington building lots don't wear out as the houses do. Nor do they lose in value as houses do. While Congress pays half the city's expenses, the value of Washington building lots will increase. These values pay some taxes. But look at that Congressional report and marvel!

Owners of little homes pay on 60 per cent of value; owners of luxurious mansions with spacious grounds in choice places pay on only 30 per cent. And that isn't the worst. Monopolizers of vacant areas, who obstruct building operations with ex-

cessive prices for lots, pay on no more than 20 per cent.

If you are a tenant, you get no percentage favors at all. Your landlord includes in your house-rent enough more than the house is worth to cover what the lot is worth. Not at a 20 per cent rate, either. Nor 30 per cent. Nor even 60 per cent. But at 100 per cent.

There seems to be something wrong about all that.

Why should big owners of the site of Washington keep more out of the public treasury than small owners, in proportion to their respective values? Why, indeed, should anybody "annex" any part of the value of that site? Isn't all of it fairly a public fund?

Such privileges are the worst kind of taxbolting graft. If the law allows them, then this law, as old Bumble said of another law, must be "an ass." And there are places besides Washington where this kind of graft flourishes. If you doubt it, look at home—wherever your home may happen to be.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### THE FORTUNES OF RETIRED FARMERS.

New York.

Some years ago when I did much bicycle touring, I was often puzzled upon getting into a small town in a fairly rich farming district to learn of the number of retired farmers with comfortable little fortunes. I could not understand how they had acquired them out of such profits from farming as there had ever been in this country. Of course the conditions may have been different in the rich bottom lands of the Middle West, but east of the Alleghanias I doubt whether there has ever been a period when more than a modest competence could be amassed from farming. Yet the men I speak of had accumulated \$30,000 or so.

On one of these trips I turned up at Flemington, N. J., a typical town of the kind, lying as it does in the center of very good farming country. There would have been as much chance here as anywhere of accumulating money. It was populated to a considerable extent by retired farmers, the fiction as to whom was that they had got their money "on their broad acres." I happened to run across a business man who had lived in the town all his life and who was intelligent and well informed. Upon asking him about a number of these retired farmers, he seemed to be posted as to just what each of them was worth. He had the common idea that they had got their money off their farms, but when he came to tell their histories it turned out that in almost every case they had made their little fortunes in other parts of the country when they were young men, while their fathers were still running the farms.

This was just after the Civil War, when there was such a general developing of great natural resources not before utilized. One of the men, for instance, got hold of a coal mine in western Pennsylvania when great activity in coal mining was just beginning and the industry was still in the hands of small individual operators. Another



stumbled into the oil fields of western Pennsylvania at the beginning of their discovery. Another became interested in lumber on the upper Susquehanna when, as even I can recall very distinctly, exploitation of the forests was just beginning. And so on in practically every case.

Those men got hold of natural resources, gathered a good sized nest egg for those times, and then came back to take up their farming just as their fathers were getting older and ready to quit work. They all continued to farm for some years, but, as my informant admitted, while they had the reputation of making big money on the farm because they were well to do, he could not see that there was much chance of their having made more than a comfortable living. The other enterprises that were the real source of their comparative wealth must have been those outside interests.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.



### JOSEPH FELS'S SECOND VISIT TO SWEDEN.

Chicago, Sept. 4.

It is very interesting to read in the Swedish papers about the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Fels to Sweden this summer.

Large and attentive audiences, made up of all classes of people, greeted Mr. Fels everywhere. Twelve hundred tickets of admission were sold for a meeting at Gothenburg, and 100 persons attended without tickets. At Arvika Mr. Fels spoke to a chautauqua of young people numbering 4,000.

As to the attitude of newspapers, it appears that those speaking for the common people were generally friendly toward Mr. Fels—one of them called him "the little man with the big heart"—while the organs of plutocracy naturally attacked him and his work. One of the latter kind (Stockholm's *Dagblad*) "wished it hadn't." This paper praised Mr. Fels highly as a philanthropist (of the common type), and especially referred to the colonies for poor people he had established in England; but belittled him as a land reformer, saying among other things that "it was a chimera if one believed that he (Mr. Fels) in any way furthered a really happy solution of the land question" (that is, I suppose, a solution that did not in any degree or manner lessen the land owners' power to appropriate the earnings of other people). But Mr. Fels called on the editor-in-chief and handed or sent him a reply for insertion in his paper, in which he, in the most lucid manner, showed both the futility and harm of philanthropy, and the effectiveness for good for all kinds of producers, of the land reform he advocated. This reply was duly printed, accompanied by the editor's apology. Mr. Fels, he said, was certainly honestly convinced of the correctness of Henry George's doctrines; he was a man of "unprejudiced amiability" and a "happily great proportion of humor." However, he, the editor, must continue his opposition to his economic theories; Mr. Fels was gazing at one point only—the tax on land values, which he considered as a panacea for all kinds of evils, while "we others" look at many things.

Among utterances of Mr. Fels that must have

struck his Swedish hearers with astonishment were the following:

"The United States could easily feed all the inhabitants of the globe, if they could get at the land there, and used it well."

"Sweden, with its rich resources, could support in abundance 50 millions of people, instead of 5½, its present population. And there would be no need of emigration to America."

"One of the big multi-millionaires of America could easily buy all Sweden, and then—in accordance with your laws—turn the whole population off its surface. What an insane state of affairs!"

All the above concerns Mr. Fels. But Mrs. Fels, who accompanied her husband and shared in his work, also shared with him the attention of newspapers. And for her they all had nothing but praise. Even to Stockholm's *Dagblad* she was "the refined and intelligent little American millionaire wife," who not only in a high degree shares her husband's interest in land reform, and was the one who originally called his attention to social problems, but "whose interests have a much wider range" than his, and embrace among other things, woman's rights.

AUGUST DELLGREN.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, September 10, 1912.

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### The Election in Vermont.

Complete unofficial returns from the Vermont election of the 3rd show the following results as compared with the Gubernatorial vote in that State two years ago:

|                               | 1912   | 1910   |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Allen M. Fletcher (Rep.)..... | 26,259 | 35,263 |
| Harlan B. Howe (Dem.).....    | 20,350 | 17,425 |
| Frazer Metzger (Prog.).....   | 15,800 | ....   |
| Clement F. Smith (Pro.).....  | 1,443  | 1,044  |
| Fred W. Sutor (Soc.).....     | 1,181  | 1,055  |

No choice having been made by majority vote, the Governor will be chosen by the legislature, which proves to be strongly enough Republican to assure the election of Fletcher. The Progressive Party claims 50 members of the lower House of the legislature, the total membership of which is 246; and the Democrats poll their largest total vote in the State since 1880. [See current volume, page 848.]



### The Election in Maine.

Following less than a week after the election in Vermont, the election in Maine has been looked forward to as a sign in the general political sky; but its value in that respect is greatly minimized by the fact that the Progressive Party had no

State ticket in Maine. Maine is normally a Republican State, but its present Governor, Frederick W. Plaisted, is a Democrat. He was carried into office by the Democratic tidal wave of two years ago. At the election on the 9th, the Progressive Party is reported as having co-operated with the regular Republicans in support of William T. Haines for Governor. According to latest returns, the vote was as follows, with 28 towns not yet reported, in comparison with the vote of two years ago for the whole State:

|                   |        |        |
|-------------------|--------|--------|
|                   | 1912.  | 1910.  |
| Republican .....  | 70,072 | 64,672 |
| Democrat .....    | 66,515 | 73,425 |
| Prohibition ..... |        | 1,352  |
| Socialist .....   |        | 1,582  |

The Prohibition and the Socialist vote for 1912 are not yet reported in the news dispatches. Of the two Democratic Congressmen elected in 1910 only one was re-elected—Daniel J. McGillicuddy.



**State Organizations of the Progressive Party.**

Full nominations for State offices in Ohio were made at Columbus on the 5th by the Progressive Party, Arthur L. Garford being chosen for Governor. [See current volume, page 13; 488, 563, 779.]



The New York convention met at Syracuse on the 6th and nominated a full ticket with Oscar S. Straus as the candidate for Governor. Nearly 200 women were delegates, although women are not yet enfranchised in New York. [See current volume, page 777.]



In Nebraska the Roosevelt faction was adjudicated on the 5th by the District Court at Omaha to be the regular Republican organization. [See current volume, page 753.]



It is reported from San Francisco that the Republican State convention of September 24, the delegates to which were elected at the direct primaries of the 3d, will name Progressive Party men pledged to Roosevelt, as Presidential Electors on the Republican ticket. The chairman of the State committee announces, however, that these Electors will be put on the ballot by petition, the same course which the Taft men will have to adopt. [See current volume, page 848.]



At the Progressive Party convention for Missouri, held at St. Louis on the 4th, a full State ticket was nominated with Albert D. Norton as the candidate for Governor. [See current volume, page 206.]

Frank J. Edwards was nominated on the 7th for Governor by the Progressive Party convention of Montana, along with a full State ticket, and Senator Dixon for re-election to the United States Senate.



Probably the largest and most important county organization of the Progressive Party is that of Cook County, Illinois, which nominated a full county ticket on the 7th. The platform denounces both the Republican and the Democratic machines of Cook County as having "made the welfare of the taxpayer and the citizen secondary to the promotion of their own political parties," declaring that "they are part of the invisible government which it is the purpose of the Progressives to destroy." It demands "the nonpartisan election of Municipal Court and county judges," the short ballot, nonpartisan election of all local officials, "the adoption of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall in local as well as State affairs," and the Torrens system of land registration.



**The Singletax Fight in Missouri.**

To oppose the Constitutional amendments now before the voters of Missouri for adoption or rejection at the November election, the Missouri Anti-Singletax League was organized at Jefferson City on the 30th. The convention assembled as "the Missouri Land Owners' Protective Association," but changed its name before adjourning. According to the report of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of the 31st

sixty counties were represented and there were delegations from St. Louis and Kansas City. When the convention adjourned more than 350 delegates were seated in the Opera House, and plans had been adopted which will doubtless result in raising a fund of \$50,000 outside of the large cities to carry on the warfare against the Singletax propositions. The delegates were largely farmers, who paid their way here gladly to be a part in a State-wide organization to hunt to death the propaganda of Henry George. The sessions were enthusiastic and decidedly businesslike. . . . Plans were adopted for a State-wide organization, very much along the lines of the political parties. . . . It was repeated again and again that the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum amendments to the Constitution in 1908 was a set-up job, intended as an opening wedge for the Singletax, and that the Initiative and Referendum will be attacked at the next session of the Legislature and its head scotched, or plans adopted looking to this end.

George Falloon of Kansas City was elected president of the League. [See current volume, page 828.]



**Constitutional Amendments in Ohio.**

Full returns of the recent election on Consti-

tutional amendments in Ohio are not yet available. The latest reports, however, on the principal amendments are as follows:

**City home rule**—81 out of 88 counties give 261,767 votes in the affirmative and 185,603 in the negative.

**Liquor licenses except in prohibition territory**—84 counties out of 88 give 248,145 votes in the affirmative and 173,334 in the negative.

**Initiative and Referendum**—88 counties give 289,976 votes in the affirmative and 214,145 in the negative.

**Woman suffrage**—84 counties out of 88 give 220,936 votes in the affirmative and 303,294 in the negative.

**Abolition of capital punishment**—52 counties out of 88 give 137,181 votes in the affirmative and 133,437 in the negative.

**Bonds for good roads**—85 counties out of 88 give 253,011 votes in the affirmative and 253,465 in the negative.

Only 29 counties had made returns to the Secretary of State on the 6th. The reports of all others are gathered by newspapers.



#### Important Questions at the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago.

At the meeting of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago on the 8th, Margaret A. Haley described the recent campaign for woman suffrage in Ohio. She emphasized two points, presenting documentary evidence to prove her assertions. One was the career of the principal agitator against woman suffrage in Cincinnati, who also figured in California, Miss I. M. Martin. The other was the part taken in Ohio, with apparent ecclesiastical authority, by Catholic churches and Catholic periodicals, in attempting to influence an adverse vote. Miss Haley, who is a Catholic, described an authoritative distribution at Catholic churches in Cincinnati on the Sunday preceding the election, of anonymous pamphlets, evidently emanating from Allen Ripley Foote's headquarters, in which woman suffrage, the Initiative and Referendum, the abolition of capital punishment, and "every other proposal of any use," as the speaker expressed it, were opposed. The distribution was not at church doors but inside the churches. "The Catholic church does not oppose progress," said Miss Haley, as reported in the Record-Herald of the 9th. "If I believed it did I would not belong to it. Some of the priests refused to allow the pamphlets to be distributed in their churches, but many of them did, and also preached from the pulpit against us. When I saw the feeling it aroused in Cincinnati last Sunday among non-Catholics, I feared the results."



At the same meeting of the Women's Trade Union League, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas the right of free speech and assemblage

is the most precious possession of the American people, inherited by them from the long struggle and the great sacrifices of their forefathers in many lands, and secured to them in the Federal and State Constitutions; and whereas, the exercise of the right of free speech and assemblage promotes the popular intelligence and interest in the common welfare, forestalls the evil influence both of the demagogue and the reactionary, and provides accordingly a sure means for the perpetuity of free government and free institutions based on an intelligent and informed citizenship; and whereas the exercise of the right of free speech and assemblage still suffers in our day at sundry times and at divers places from improper interference—sometimes by officials and sometimes by the mob: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, that it is advisable to establish in the City of Chicago a free forum for the open discussion of all questions and subjects of whatsoever interest to the people, such as has long been provided by Boston Common and Faneuil Hall in the metropolis of Massachusetts and in the Public Square of Cleveland, Ohio; and to this end the Women's Trade Union League urges upon the South Park Commissioners that a portion of Grant Park be designated as a place for such public assemblage and discussion, and that in the construction of the proposed Field Museum Building a hall be designed and kept for the same purpose for use by the people in cold and inclement weather.



#### Tax Reform in Canada.

The third annual convention of the Tax Reform League of Eastern Canada met in Toronto on the 3rd with delegates in attendance from all parts of Ontario and from neighboring Provinces. The following officers were elected: Hon. President, Joseph Fels; President, Julian Sale; Vice-President for Quebec, Romeo Langlais; for New Brunswick, Ald. H. H. Stuart, Newcastle, N. B.; for Nova Scotia, Hon. R. Macgregor of New Glasgow; for Ontario, W. M. Southam, Ottawa; Treasurer, D. B. Jacques; Secretary, A. B. Farmer; Assistant Secretary, Sydenham Thompson; Executive Committee, W. A. Douglass, J. J. Carroll, P. P. Farmer and Milton Kerr. Among the visiting speakers were James R. Brown of New York, W. W. Buchanan of Winnipeg, and Francis Neilson, M. P., of England.



#### Labor Union Congress in Great Britain.

At the forty-fifth annual British Trade Union Congress, which convened at Newport, England, on the 2nd, a controversy over "syndicalism" came to a climax on the 6th in the adoption of a resolution proposed by the Parliamentary committee. The resolution declared the need for continued political action. Its adoption was strenuously opposed by "direct actionists" who decry political action in "capitalist" governments; but it was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The delegates in attendance represented 1,967,109 trade-

unionists, an increase of 306,976 over the represented membership of last year.



#### Intervention in Mexico Threatened.

Renewed activities on the part of the revolutionists in the northern provinces of Mexico, including raids across the border into American territory, with increasing danger to all Americans settled in Mexico, and a larger number of specific acts of violence against them, have brought out rumors of American intervention. In the south also the Zapatistas are becoming bolder, though Emilio Zapata has not yet made good on his threat of months ago, to shortly enter the City of Mexico if President Madero should not resign. Americans in the southern provinces are in especial danger, as protection from the United States could only be afforded by sending a sea expedition to some Mexican Gulf port, which would mean formal intervention and war; whereas in the north a display of troops on the frontier has a certain protective effect. [See current volume, page 849.]



President Taft, it was announced on the 6th, has served an ultimatum on the Mexican government to the effect that unless Americans and their interests are given immediate protection from the rebels the United States government will intervene. Mr. Manuel Calero, ambassador to the United States from Mexico, is personally hastening to the City of Mexico, bearing this ultimatum to President Madero. The press dispatches assert that should President Taft decide that intervention is the only course open to him he will call Congress in special session, and demand of it the authority to send the American army across the border. He is reported to have declared that under no circumstances would he do an unfriendly act against Mexico without consulting Congress. In the meantime additional troops and equipment are being rushed to the border. The President has authorized the export of 500 rifles and 150,000 rounds of ammunition to beleaguered Americans in the Cananea district. The War Department is also considering a suggestion from military commanders along the border that the United States obtain permission from the Mexican government for American troops to pursue into Mexican territory bands of rebel raiders who operate on this side of the line. This step was taken during the Indian troubles in Arizona and New Mexico in the '70s and '80s. The United States has given permission to the Madero government to send troops through Texas and New Mexico into northern Chihuahua. Inasmuch as the State Department has demanded that Mexico send Federal troops into northern Mexico to protect Americans, it is proper that the United States should co-operate with Madero's effort to do so.

The new Mexican Congress is to convene on the 16th. According to an Associated Press dispatch of the 7th, from Mexico City, the Chamber of Deputies will have on its roll 243 representatives, 150 of whom were elected by the Constitutional Progressive party, which gave Madero the Presidency. The minority of ninety-three is by no means a solid block. It includes representatives of three political parties, the Catholic, Evolutionist and Independent. The Congress Madero inherited was a part of the old administration. The new Congress is supposed to be in sympathy with his ideas. Under the old Congress, however, the administration was able to have enacted a most cherished reform—the Constitutional amendment providing for the non-re-election of the President. Among those measures known to be ready for presentation at the session beginning in September are an employers' liability act, the abolition of the *jefes politicos*, an anti-peonage law and a measure for establishing courts of jurisprudence for the settlement of land titles in cases where the records are missing.



#### China.

The imperative need of a foreign loan to the new Chinese Republic, held up in the early summer by the refusal of the Chinese to agree to a supervision of their national expenditures by the banking group of the six great Powers, which proposed lending \$3,000,000 to China under onerous stipulations, has been at least temporarily obviated by an agreement between the Chinese government and Lloyds' union of London banks for a loan of \$50,000,000. [See current volume, page 639.]



Summoned by the Minister of Education, an Educational Conference has been sitting in Peking. According to *The China Republican*\* the Conference debated on August 8 a motion brought forward by the Minister, in regard to the Chinese alphabet. The Minister argued that "the ignorance of the masses was due, chiefly, to the difficulties of the Chinese written language," which has a separate character for each word, and therefore it is "necessary to learn the sound and also the meaning of every word." He claimed also that the absence of an alphabet, in the European sense, "was responsible for a variety of dialects without a common spoken language. It was impossible to bring the people into contact in order to make a spoken language commonly understood, and therefore it was necessary to begin with the written language." The Conference resolved:

(1) That universal education and a written language should be available to everyone, and not alone to an intelligent minority.

(2) That word-sounds should be pronounced alike throughout the country.

\*See Public of September 6, page 859.

(3) That in order to fix the sound of a word an alphabet is indispensable.

(4) That scholars versed in phonetics, and also representatives of all the provincial capitals, should be employed to invent or adopt signs which would form an alphabet; that those signs must be simple in form and few in number, and that then a special dictionary should be published for the use of schools.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Henry George's 73rd birthday was celebrated at Spokane on the 2nd, with Mayor Hindley as toastmaster.

—Torrential rains and high tides in Che Kiang province on the east coast of China, on August 29th, overwhelmed many towns and villages and caused between 40,000 and 70,000 deaths by drowning.

—The 73d birthday of Henry George was celebrated at Dallas, Tex., on the 2d, with a supper, at which L. V. La Taste, A. B. Francisco, O. C. Eckley, C. P. Brannin and W. F. Bufkin were among the speakers.

—Jules Vedrines, a French aviator, established a new world's speed record in a monoplane, flying at Clearing Field, southwest of Chicago, on the 9th. Mr. Vedrines covered a distance of 12.4 miles in 6 minutes and 55.95 seconds. His average speed was a trifle faster than 1.79 miles a minute. His rate per hour was nearly 107½ miles. [See current volume, page 830.]

—Petitions for submitting to popular vote in Illinois in November, three questions of public policy—a change in the taxing system of the State, revision of the primary law, and a step toward a shorter ballot, were filed on the 5th with the Secretary of State of Illinois. The petition for woman suffrage was not filed, its supporters having failed to secure the requisite signatures. [See current volume, pages 804, 819.]

—Lieutenant-General Arthur MacArthur, retired, dropped dead while speaking at a reunion of the 24th Wisconsin Volunteers at Milwaukee on the 5th. General MacArthur was 67 years old. He fought through the Civil War in the volunteers, and then entered the regular army. He held important commands in the Philippines during the Spanish war, and was military governor of the Philippines from May, 1900, to July, 1901.

—The government crop report for September announces that the aggregate yield of grain in the United States for 1912 is the largest on record, and that a serious car shortage for the moving of these unprecedented crops faces the country. In Kansas the wheat crop is so large that the elevator capacity of the State is inadequate to meet the demands, and 1,000,000 bushels of the golden grain are piled on the ground. The oat crop will reach almost 1,300,000,000 bushels, the largest yield ever recorded by any country in the world. An enormous hay crop is also reported.

—Wm. D. Haywood, leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (American "syndicalists") is reported to be engaged in organizing in this country

a "general strike," to be called on the 30th, in behalf of Ettor and Giovannitti, who are in prison in Massachusetts awaiting trial for murder in connection with the Lawrence textile strike. Preparations in Italy for this general strike have taken the form of a demand by Socialist members of the Italian parliament that the Italian government interpose at Washington in behalf of Ettor and Giovannitti. [See current volume, pages 626, 655.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Black Skin and Black Heart.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), Sept. 5.—Negro lawyers are not to be admitted to membership in the National Bar Association in future. But there's no bar against barristers who show big rich clients how to evade laws made to protect the people. Black skin will keep a lawyer out, but black heart won't.



### It Goes with the Breed.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), Sept. 5.—Our friends, the Anti-Singletaxers, also want to abolish the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri. They're hand-in-glove with the crowd that wants to amend the State primary law so the bosses can rule again. Popular rule is their special aversion. Their motto: "To hell with the people."



### The New Order in Campaigning.

Collier's (ind.), Aug. 31.—Woodrow Wilson's manner of meeting personal assaults is one which we trust will be maintained, even to the close of a violent campaign. . . . The Governor's managers, some of them, are sure to urge him to fight back, to "have punch," to "put ginger" into his campaign. For our part we wish he may retain this elevation; may say calmly what he thinks and plans; may leave noise and slugging to others; may remain unruffled by the immediate value of mob excitement; and may be satisfied with the approval of his own conscience. . . . Governor Wilson, in a public reference to the Bull Moose party, not only refrained from attacking it but treated it with genuine appreciation, as a revolt against the evils of the old party rule. In the same speech Wilson severely exposed the bosses of his own party in his own State—the very men on whom he is supposed to rely for his election. Is not that the keynote of a better day?



### Know It by the Enemies It Makes.

The (Johnston, Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), August 2.—That the Singletax proposition is a very serious one in Oregon and that it is likely to be carried in November is indicated by the frantic uproar, proceeding from the ranks of Big Business. The opposition is adopting most of the methods resorted to by English landlordism in its frenzied efforts to defeat the famous Lloyd George budget and the same arguments, appropriately revised to meet the

Oregon situation, are being urged. The very extravagances of the opposition suggest the imminence of the peril confronting the landlord or speculative interest and the Singletaxers may well feel that the hour of victory is very near, for it is certain that if the big landholders, the water power monopolies and the holders of utility privileges did not believe themselves face to face with the real thing they would not be cutting any such capers as those marking their present defensive campaign.



### Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.

Cleveland Press (ind.), Aug. 24.—Unless your memory is defective you will recall that a few years ago the men who owned and managed the street railway system in Cleveland were crying in loud voices, "Three-cent fare will not pay!" . . . Now the Cleveland Railway Co.'s stock sells at \$105 a share. The new stock is to be sold by the company at \$100 a share, and as it is worth \$105 a share the buyer has a profit of \$5. . . . Of course there are some stockholders who own one, two, three or four shares, not enough to give them the right to buy a share of new stock. And there are others who, for lack of money or other reason, do not wish to buy new stock. But there is a profit for them, too. The railway company decided any stockholder might transfer his right to buy. Stock brokers are advertising that they will buy this right. The brokers are paying \$2 and \$3 for the right to buy a share. . . . One can't help recalling that the Cleveland Railway Co. used to cry that an effort was being made to wreck it. A healthy wreck, isn't it?



### Herbert S. Bigelow.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Sept. 6.—Herbert S. Bigelow and the progressive forces behind him in Ohio have won a splendid victory in the special election called to vote on the amendments to the Constitution proposed by the Constitutional Convention over which Mr. Bigelow presided with such consummate ability. . . . Mr. Bigelow could have been nominated for the Governorship of Ohio and he could have made the Governorship the stepping stone to the Senate. This course was strongly urged upon him by the progressives of his State. But he chose a very different one, offering himself for the legislature as a member of the lower house. It is understood that his election is certain and it is also understood that he will be able to gain the Speakership and through that high office the control of legislation carrying into effect the purposes of the new Constitutional amendments. His future career will be watched by democratic Democrats with unflagging interest. No man is better loved or more implicitly trusted by the genuine progressives who know him than Herbert S. Bigelow.



### Suffrage Extensions.

The Woman's Journal, July 27.—Only seventy years ago, Rhode Island was living under an antiquated Constitution based on the charter granted by Charles II. Suffrage was limited to men owning

real estate worth \$134, and to their eldest sons. Thomas Wilson Dorr worked for a more extended suffrage. Voted down in the legislature, he appealed to the people. A majority of the men of Rhode Island favored the change, but the oligarchic minority called in the Federal troops. "Dorr's rebellion" was put down, and Dorr was sent to prison. Under the hardships inflicted upon him there his health failed, and when he was released three years later, it was only to die. But in the meantime his agitation had been successful, and a new Constitution had been adopted, embodying the enlarged suffrage for which he had given his life. Today Rhode Island pays honor to his memory. But almost every argument used against votes for women might have been used against the reform that Dorr demanded. He might have been told, and doubtless was told, by the Dr. Lyman Abbotts of those days, that when any persons asked for an enlargement of the franchise, the burden of proof was upon them to show, by incontrovertible evidence, that the new voters would vote more wisely and righteously than the old ones. He might have been asked to furnish proof positive that men who did not own \$134 worth of real estate were morally superior to those who did. Was there any adequate evidence that younger sons would vote more wisely than the eldest son? Would it not merely multiply the vote, without changing the result? Could he guarantee that the votes of the landless men and younger sons would purify politics, and prove a panacea for all social ills? They certainly have not done so. Yet today everyone admits that Dorr's rebellion was righteous, and Rhode Island dedicates a monument to him, because he secured the redress of a great injustice. The justice is equally as clear in the case of the women; and before another century has gone by everybody will see it.



### Kent of California.

Collier's (ind.), Aug. 31.—California has had William Kent in Congress exactly seventeen months; if California will keep him there two years longer, she will by that time have the distinction of possessing one of the commanding figures in Congress. Kent will never become a power in the way Cannon did, by log-rolling and building up a personal machine; neither will anyone else; that method is as surely of the past as Cannon himself. Kent will grow in the same way he has already achieved prestige, by confidence in his intelligence and sympathy with his enthusiasm for good causes. When Kent answers a roll call, everybody knows that vote was dictated by no other consideration whatever except the excellent muscle inside of Kent's skull. He combines his passion for the theory of democracy with an unusual capacity for making friends of whatever parts of the human race he happens to come in contact with, a trait which will help him toward leadership.



The Sacramento Bee (ind.), Aug. 22.—Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart of the Reactionary press are at the heels of Representative William Kent, and they claim he "has not done his duty to the interests of California." That depends entirely upon

what they mean by the "interests." . . . If the Reactionary press uses the phrase "the interests of California" to mean that system of special privileges and grasping monopolies which has driven into the hands of close corporations those indispensable gifts of Nature and those methods of transportation and vending which should present and extend equal opportunities to all under benevolent government protection or drastic government ownership, then is William Kent guilty in the first degree. If "the interests of California" is to be translated into "THE Interests," then William Kent can present no adequate defense. But ordinary people who can distinguish between the two—who recognize the fact that William Kent always has been conscientious and consistent in voting against special privileges and throttling monopolies under the guise of "great public interests," have only words of commendation for the Congressional record of that same man.



### Easy Living Upon Awful Misery.

American Economic League (Cincinnati) Press Bureau, No. 256.—In New York City there is an eminently respectable organization called The Allied Real Estate Interests, which is bitterly opposing the enactment of a law cutting in half the tax rates on buildings. This measure is championed by the Committee on Congestion of Population as a means of relieving overcrowding on the East Side. The proposal is moderate enough, entirely too moderate in fact, but it is being fought as bitterly as the abolition of chattel slavery was fought by slave owners. . . . New York City is not the only place where eminently respectables are helping to slaughter the innocents. In the State of Missouri there is an organization, The Landowners' Protective Association, with headquarters in Kansas City. This association is in fact a land speculators' rather than a land owners' organization. It is now engaged in fighting a pending Constitutional Amendment that will have the effect, if adopted, of putting an end to the encouragement of baby slaughter in St. Louis, Kansas City, and other crowded cities of the State. To secure the defeat of this life-saving measure, this land speculators' organization is engaging in a strenuous campaign of lying, deceit and misrepresentation. . . . In Oregon there is a similar movement of land speculators to prevent the adoption of a land value tax measure. In Ohio some eminently respectable persons successfully fought against putting anything in the new Constitution that would make possible a change in the slaughter-encouraging tax laws of that State. In every other place where there is a live movement afoot to abolish the cause of infant mortality, eminently respectables, many of them prominent in charitable work so-called, are busily engaged in fighting for continuance of the incentive to overcrowd and slaughter.



I believe in woman suffrage for the same reason I believe in man suffrage. Woman suffrage is part of democracy, and one who believes in democracy should believe in woman suffrage. The women who create life should have power to protect life.—Tom L. Johnson.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### RAIN AFTER DROUGHT.

All night the small feet of the rain  
Within the garden ran,  
And gentle fingers tapped the pane  
Until the dawn began.

The rill-like voices called and sung  
The slanting roof beside;  
The children of the clouds have come;  
"Awake! awake!" they cried.

"Weep no more the drooping rose  
Nor mourn the thirsting tree.  
The little children of the storm  
Have gained their liberty."

All night the small feet of the rain  
About my garden ran.  
Their rill-like voices called and cried  
Until the dawn began.

—Dora Sigerson Shorter.



#### DANIEL KIEFER.

Erand Whitlock in the *American Magazine* for  
September, 1912. Republished by Courteous  
Permission of the Editors of  
the *American*.

The occupation of Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati is set down after his name in "Who's Who" as that of a political reformer. A decade or so ago it would have been printed as clothing merchant, and clothing merchants do not get into "Who's Who," unless they sell enough clothes to create a surplus that will enable them to become philanthropists. Daniel Kiefer was born and reared in Cincinnati, and in that city and in Chicago he had been successful in his business, and then an experience befell him; he read "Progress and Poverty," and after that he had a new concept of life. He had already the altruistic spirit, and that generous desire to help the outcast and the poor, which is the human basis of genuine reform. But with the new vision he had caught from Henry George, he set himself to bring to pass the adoption of the Singletax, in the operation of which he perceived the possibility of the abolition of poverty, and with the concurrent abolition of legal privilege, the dawn of real democracy. He soon discovered, however, that reform is a vocation that requires leisure, wealth and energy, and, if pursued long enough, wholly absorbs all three elements. It is a difficult, dangerous and discouraging occupation, owing to the competition of other reforms with that in hand, and to the general reluctance of a stiff-necked generation. Reform, too, has a dreadful tendency to hurt business, and



Daniel Kiefer's partners in the clothing trade complained that he talked too much of Henry George. Then he arranged his affairs as a man going on a long journey, and prepared to give all his time to his new ideal. Cincinnati was a place in which it would seem there was room for reform and one in which there was not so much competition as might be met elsewhere.

Every leper, says Maarten Maartens, likes his own sores best, and so it is with reformers. Each one is sure that his own reform is the one thing needed to set the old world right. Thus each one learns the patten of his own program, becomes the slave of its cliches, and spends his time decrying all others. Daniel Kiefer, however, had few illusions as to the delays and difficulties he would encounter, or the hard task it set before him, the Singletaxers, anyway, being the most opportunist of all reformers. And so he avoided extremes, partly because he has that kindly human feeling toward all men that makes the best basis for a reformer, partly because he has some of the shrewdness of the politician.

Thus having arranged his business affairs so that he might give all his time to his reform, he gives his life to it—evidence of sincerity and of faith, the kind that moves mountains and the world. He set to work in his own town. He was one of those who helped to reorganize the Democratic party in Cincinnati in 1905, and that year they overthrew the old Cox régime and elected Judge Dempsey mayor. There was a reaction afterward, of course; that was to be expected, but it was the beginning of the movement that two years ago elected Henry Hunt prosecutor of Hamilton County and, last fall, Mayor of the City. In addition to this Mr. Kiefer was manager, as it were, of the Vine Street Congregational Church, in the liberal pulpit of which Herbert Bigelow preached radical political doctrines every Sunday to large congregations of common people. It was no little task to keep an institution like that alive but Daniel Kiefer kept the church open and warm and lighted, and later on made an arrangement—he has lost none of his business ability—by which the church society disposed of its property on Vine Street, and created a fund which enables it to hold its meetings Sunday afternoons in the Grand Opera House. Bigelow calls it a "People's Church and Town Meeting Society." Kiefer calls it the "People's Forum for Free Speech."

In addition to this Daniel Kiefer has for years been carrying much of the burden—the drudgery of the finance and detail—of organizing the State of Ohio for Direct Legislation, a work that now has come to its fruition in the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum by the Constitutional Convention. He is also treasurer of the Joseph Fels Fund, and in the midst of all his other labors he finds time to direct the financial policy which has made it possible to sustain *The Public*, the radical

weekly published and edited by Louis F. Post in Chicago.

But these activities, enough to wear out any man, are all subsidiary to the great purpose Daniel Kiefer has set himself in life. His offices in the Commercial Tribune building are stacked with printed matter, and he carries on an immense correspondence all over the world. It has been estimated that every third man in those countries covered by the postal treaties receives every morning a circular letter from Daniel Kiefer, calling his attention to the philosophy of Henry George, and requesting a contribution to some one of the causes in sympathy with that philosophy, and always, in the end, pointing out the Singletax as the hope of man. He was thus in the budget fight in England. in the propaganda for taxing land values in Oregon and Canada and Australia, in the direct legislation campaign everywhere. This prodigious labor, carried on ceaselessly day and night, year in and year out, requires enormous energy, perseverance, devotion, faith. He never rests, never takes vacations, has no other interests, outside his family, and expects to carry on the work all his life. Since he is abstemious in his habits and a vegetarian, his life with such an interest and purpose to inspire it promises to be long, so that his correspondents might as well resign themselves to the inevitable and remit now. And at fifty-six, Daniel Kiefer looks out on the world, a happy and a hopeful man, giving his life to an ideal.

BRAND WHITLOCK.



## "TAY PAY" ON TWO SINGLETAX MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Special Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune of September 1, from T. P. O'Connor, M. P.

Returning to the subject of Singletax which I touched on last week,\* there are two other chief figures in the group, both predestined politicians. They are F. Neilson† and E. G. Hemmerde.‡

Neilson started life in the dramatic world. He bears to this day something of that ineffaceable imprint which the dramatic profession leaves upon its members.

The face is clean shaven, as is almost invariably the case with the man of the stage, the features are pronounced and handsome, the eyes brilliant and expressive, made perhaps the more so by the pallor of the complexion from which they look out. Add that he is a tall man with a good figure and you will understand that he makes an impressive and attractive figure upon the platform.

Neilson has done an immense deal of work outside the house of commons; probably no man

\*See Public of August 30, page 835.

†See Public of September 6, page 842.

‡See Public of July 19, pages 673, 678.



has made more speeches at popular meetings during the last few years.

Calm, and yet with an ardent and even impassioned spirit underneath, he has immense influence over large gatherings, and so far as the ideas of Henry George have found acceptance in England he has done as much as any man to propagate them.

It was perhaps their community of ideas that brought him and Hemmerde into association. This was followed by an association of a different kind. In collaboration they produced "Breaking a Butterfly," one of the most successful dramas of a season.

To his cause Neilson brings the invaluable gift of an unselfish enthusiasm. Though brought up in the hard school of the world behind the scenes, he has remained an idealist. I should add that people who knew him in his earlier days still speak with enthusiasm of his remarkable gifts as a stage producer—his knowledge of color, of effect, and of organization. Many of the greatest productions at Covent Garden were brought out under his skillful guidance.

Perhaps his experience in this world has helped him largely in politics; only those outside politics fail to appreciate how much the effectiveness of a cause is helped by the dramatic instinct of the moment and the act or word that the moment demands.

Hemmerde is, as everybody knows, a barrister. Here is a man who stands out from any crowd of men by his startling personal appearance and air. Tall, well proportioned, with strongly marked features, a long, aquiline nose, brilliant, dark eyes, a dark skin, a mass of dark hair, an air bold and almost challenging, he looks the part of a daring innovator. Confident in himself as well as in his ideas, bold in speech as in action, optimistic, never depressed, always certain he is going to win, he is just the man to take a leading part in a fight which was to remove mountains of fortified strength and of buttressed opinions.

Hemmerde is a fighter; seeks as most men would avoid a big and difficult battle. For instance, he gave up a safe Welsh seat to have the rollicking fun of a contest with Lord Charles Beresford at Portsmouth. He was beaten, but before he had finished the fight he had battered the sides of even so tough an old battleship as Lord Charles.



## A TALE OF CONFISCATION.

Parts of a Report Upon Sheffield, England, in the London and Manchester Daily News of June 10, 1912, by R. L. Outhwaite.

During a century Sheffield has grown from a town of 30,000 inhabitants to be a mighty manufacturing center of 454,653 people, with a world-conquering industry based on the fashioning of

steel to individual needs and national folly. But those who sowed have not garnered the harvest; that has gone to the ground landlords, and in particular to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk. I owe it to Mr. Charles Paul, author of "Forgotten Facts in the History of Sheffield" and "An Old English Village" (St. Catherine's Press, price 6d.) that I was able to understand the evolution of this tragedy.

We left the center of the city, and in a few minutes were in Attercliffe, the dark realm of the clan of Tubal Cain. Black clouds of smoke hung low, poisoning the atmosphere, obliterating the sky; the begrimed streets, the toil-stained workers, the squalor and the overpowering evidences of gigantic, remorseless activities were suggestive of the grim brutality of industrialism. A century ago this was Attercliffe Common, a place of pleasant meadows on the crystal Don, a part of the 63,000 acres of common land which in 1767 lay within a twelve-mile radius of the Sheffield parish church. The Inclosure Award dealing with Attercliffe Commons was made in 1820, in the childhood of men still living, and "the most noble Charles, Duke of Norfolk, Lord of the Manor of Sheffield," secured an area here of over 60 acres. Within the last 30 years the population of Attercliffe has grown from 6,000 to 60,000, and large works are now massed on what was the common land. Mr. Paul pointed out one crowded area of three acres, the site of which went to the Duke of Norfolk when the people were despoiled of Oaks Green.

We passed into Brightside division, another industrial territory under tribute to the Duke. A pleasing name is Salmon Pastures, recalling the once verdant river banks. It lay within the ancient demesne of the Duke of Norfolk. Industry has covered it with bricks and mortar, and pays dearly for the privilege.

The Duke has here, as elsewhere, low-lying land unfit for building purposes. The manufacturers have difficulty in getting rid of ashes and refuse. The Duke permits them to tip on to this land at a charge of 6d. or more a load until they have made it fit to provide him with ground rents as building land. In 1906 there was a vacant space here, slightly over an acre in extent—an unconsidered trifle; it produced no income and so it paid no rates. Then the Sheffield education committee purchased it, and had to pay the price of progress—£2,231 and costs.

We pass one world-conquering firm after another. Here, for instance, are the works of Messrs. Vickers, Sons & Maxim, covering 100 acres and employing 6,000 men. From this point back to the Wicker in the city is about two miles, and in one continuous row stretch the works of mighty firms established on ducal land. On a hillside in the distance one saw the massed dwellings of the workers at Pittsmoor, who pay ground rent to the

present Duke for occupation of land that his ancestor secured under the Brightside award. We pass the Rotherdam railway that in the days of its construction paid tribute to the ducal estate. So in the manufacturing quarter of Sheffield one saw on all sides how progress has fructified in ground rents for His Grace the Duke of Norfolk. And, thanks to Mr. Paul's investigations, I was able to trace the similar history of ducal property situated in more favored residential areas. Under an Inclosure award in 1791 the then Duke secured 1,393 acres, and villadom now occupies the site; under another, 7,000 acres went to him for the benefit of his descendant.

We passed into the Bailey street area of back-to-back houses, of which Sheffield has 17,000, and inspected foul, evil-smelling habitations. Here Death reaps a full harvest at the rate of 40 per thousand, comparable with the 8 per thousand amongst the villas of Fulwood suburb. From there we went to the Scotland street area, of which Councillor Bashforth remarked: "This area should be swept away, but it cannot be done under the present system owing to the cost, but under a land values tax it would clear itself, for the site is of high value."

We passed out of these horrible areas down on to West Bar, a main thoroughfare, which, with streets leading thereto, has been improved by the Corporation at a cost of £63,926. Great hoardings along vacant frontages attest that the Corporation, as in the case of its slum clearances, has not been able to dispose of land purchased, and that the ratepayers are bearing a heavy burden of loss. And right down on to these frontages come the slum areas within a stone's throw of the Town Hall. If rating had been on the basis of land value the slums would have been swept away and these improvements would have brought such an increased revenue to the treasury that there would have been profit in place of loss. So whether it be a matter of slum clearances or street widening, one sees the present rating system wrecking municipal endeavor.

We passed on to the New Street Improvement area lying near the Market Buildings. Here the Corporation has taken the first step towards a clearance, having purchased property at a price of £145,987. The need was great, for we went at one point down a narrow alley way and struck a pest spot, a whiff from which sent us hurrying back. Here again the Duke of Norfolk levied a heavy toll. This area lies in the midst of the busiest business thoroughfares of the city, alongside the Great Central Railway Station. A land values tax would have swiftly swept it clean. Then we came to the Market Buildings, and evidences of ducal plunder again became the predominant feature of our investigation. The Duke of Norfolk owned the market site and buildings, and as Lord of the Manor had the sole right to maintain

a market in Sheffield. The Corporation bought him out, and paid £526,000 and £5,292 in transfer expenses. At the outside, £100,000 would cover the value of the buildings.

Then we turned into the Park territory—so called because it was once the park of the Duke of Norfolk's manor house. Councillor Bashforth pointed out a small corner shop. Mr. Unwin, a draper, had held it on a lease from the Duke at £5 1s. per annum. When the lease had still 6½ years to run the tenant approached the Duke for a renewal. He had to surrender the unexpired term, and for a forty years' lease contract to pay £150 a year and spend £1,000 on the property.

Round the corner in Duke street we saw the Park Wesleyan Chapel. The site, in area about three-quarters of an acre, was held on a 99 years' lease expiring in 1895, at an annual ground rent of £8 16s. In 1889 the Duke of Norfolk advertised the freehold of the site for public sale, but on representations from the Chapel trustees he sold it to them privately for £2,800. A small frontage was reserved for the Duke and is now occupied by a butcher's shop. The Duke has been more generous to his co-religionists at Arundel, for whom he has erected a magnificent church out of the wealth of Sheffield.

Then we went up the slope, still on ducal territory, into a miserable, congested area where inhabited hovels are mixed up with others untenanted and in ruins. We stopped at one tumble-down cottage to talk with a miner and his wife. The whole abode of two little cribs below and two above only provided the space of a small room. There was a hole through the outer wall, the rent is 4s. 9d. a week, and helps to maintain Arundel Castle. And just beyond this crowded area, within a mile of the center of the city, stretch the green pasture fields of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk. These fields block the extension of the city in this direction, they ring round the congested Park area, preventing the spreading out of the people. Councillor Bashforth informed me that in Sheffield cottages are built on the average at the rate of 45 to the acre, at a ground rent of £1 10s. each, and so one may attribute to this land a minimum value of £1,500 an acre and to the area of 63 acres a total value of about £100,000. This block is rated at £79, and as "agricultural" land will contribute £20 or so to the expenditure of the city and to the finance of education and poor relief, that is to say, about as much as five cottages letting at 6s. a week. A land values tax would unlock this area.

I then took a penny tram to Osgathorpe, and walked along Earl Marshal road, with pasture fields belonging to the Duke of Norfolk on each side, comprising an area of 61 acres. The Education Committee in 1910 bought an acre of this land for an extension of the Owlter Lane School. The price paid was £1,512 10s. and costs. The

61 acres of surrounding "agricultural" land are assessed at £90, and contribute a few pounds to the rates. During the last 38 years the Education Authority has spent £153,657 on sites for elementary schools. Of this sum £34,000 has been paid to the Duke for 20 acres. Eleven acres which cost £22,000, were derelict, and went unrated. The other nine acres, which cost £12,000, were assessed at from £1 10s. to £2 per acre, and contributed about £5 to the rates. Under a land values tax there would be a different story to tell.

I called on Ald. Sir William Clegg, ex-Lord Mayor and leader of the Liberal Party, who expressed himself as strongly in favor of the rating of land values, so that landowners benefiting from municipal expenditure, like the Duke of Norfolk through the tramways, should pay their fair contribution. The force of Sir William Clegg's argument is revealed in the Abstract of Accounts for the City under the head "Property and Permanent Works and Outlay of a Capital Nature." Total cost or outlay to March 25, 1910, has amounted to £11,941,349. This vast expenditure, over £26 per head of the population, has gone in the main to directly enhance land values.

This, then, is the lesson that Sheffield conveys so that he who runs may read. Within the space of less than a century, and in particular during its last quarter, meadow land and waste fields have been turned into crowded residential areas and factory sites. Industry has marched forward from victory to victory, but the spoils of conquest have been filched from the victors by those who own the city site, and in particular by one leviathan monopolist. The burden of civic endeavor and national obligation grievously penalizes industry and cruelly taxes the struggling worker, whose wretched abode is made subject to it, whilst the ducal tax-collector, with the Strand and the mines also under tribute to him, can hold 20,000 Sussex acres as an appanage to a castle on which he spent £750,000, and a territory in Scotland for the preservation of grouse. It is estimated that of the occupied area of Sheffield the Duke of Norfolk holds 4,000 acres. Put the average value so low as £1,500 per acre, and this gives a total land value of £6,000,000. In 1815 the rental of the Sheffield estates was £18,000. Here we see what a century of progress has done for the Duke of Norfolk.

It is not so much what monopoly takes from the citizens as what it absolutely withholds that makes reality fall so tragically short of possibility. In the City Engineer's Report the following passage occurs: "The area of the city, which is one of the largest in the United Kingdom, is 23,662 acres, and the proportion of land at present undeveloped exceptionally large. Of the total area of the city 5,000 acres may be taken as being densely populated, 2,500 acres sparsely built upon, 11,500 acres as land available for further development,

the remainder being moorland, reservoirs, parks, recreation grounds, precipitous ground, etc., unavailable for building."

When we exclude from the 5,000 acres the business sites, the great areas occupied by the engineering yards, the roadways, and other non-residential areas, the spectacle is presented of all but a few of 454,653 human beings jammed together, skimped of light and air and garden space, whilst around them lies a great territory that the monopolist withholds till his price be obtained. A land values tax would lift the ban.

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## BOOKS

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### A STORY OF MODERN POLITICAL LIFE.

*The Citadel. A Romance of Unrest.* By Samuel Merwin. Price \$1.25, postage 10c. New York, The Century Company.

Congressman John Garwood had surprised himself.

The subconscious self of him that had long been storing up the facts of observation had suddenly broken loose and delivered in the House of Representatives a remarkable speech, the words of which he could not distantly recall. Seated in his office resting his feet on the low steam radiator while he moodily reflected on what he had done, he was startled by the headliners of the *Evening Sun* which his secretary thrust before his eyes: "Garwood assails the Constitution. Astonishing Attack on Fundamental Law," etc., etc. The words did not seem to relate to him, but he read on, without a sense of personal responsibility, the bold speech which followed:

I do not see, Mr. Chairman, why we should hesitate to admit that this pretense of sacred mystery that is today woven about the Constitution is just bold hocus pocus. The Constitution is, of course, an interesting and remarkable document. But to expect us to believe that any document drawn up as a compromise by a body of men representing the property interests of a few sea coast colonies—colonies which existed in political, industrial and social conditions basically different from the conditions obtaining today—to expect us to believe that any such document is to be accepted today as the political, industrial and social law and gospel is to expect us to believe a good deal.

The Congressman's eyes ran on over the contrasts between the problems of 1789 and those that face the present generation, and fastened on the next paragraph:

Mr. Chairman, speaking as an individual, may I not admit that I am tired of thinking and talking nonsense? Is it not nonsense—this perpetual use of our ancient Constitution as a bar to progress and to independent thought, and this perpetual tinkering and

patching about the edges of our real problems, with no one speaking out. . . . We try to work out a system of properly compensating injured workingmen, but we are blocked. Why? The Constitution stands in the way. We try to work out a system in the interest of all society, to protect children from the ravaging greed of industry. It proves to be impossible to work it out on any national scale. Every device we suggest is unconstitutional. We try to make our national legislature more directly responsible to the will of the people. We have fought for years to secure a Direct Election Amendment. . . . We have wasted years of effort in the hope of securing an adequate National Income Tax. Up to the present we have failed to get it. It is unconstitutional. In industrial and social legislation, Mr. Chairman, the United States is today a full generation behind Germany, France and England. . . . Our century-old habit of straining every new idea through the old constitutional sieve . . . is one of the reasons for this extraordinary backwardness of thought perhaps. If so we ought to get this marvellous document out and look it over dispassionately and with the peculiarly new problems of modern life in mind. . . . Not to see if these new problems square with the paper drawn up a hundred and twenty odd years ago but to find out how remotely it squares with present day facts. It is quite conceivable that we may need a new one—or that we might get along better, under modern conditions, with no Constitution at all.

John Garwood might well have drawn a long breath after that, for his kingdom had departed. As a representative of the dominant party he would be compelled to step down and out.

Whether he would have had courage to go forward on the checkered path of reform he had forecast for himself is not quite certain if he had not been instantly reinforced by the sympathy and moral support of a young woman from the Department of Agriculture—a biologist, direct and businesslike, with no consciousness of sex, she informally expressed her pleasure in having heard in the gallery "just the things she had given up hope of hearing anybody say."

And from that time onward Margaret Lansing, without any preconceived idea of woman's place or power, becomes the inspiring co-partner in the life plans of John Garwood, who espouses the cause of the people and releases himself from the thralldom of the capitalist politicians in his home district. Embarking upon an independent campaign for re-election, he unearths the secret schemes for self-aggrandisement at the cost of the working class, and appeals for social justice with an array of facts and arguments that virtually wins his cause, though in the present chaos of forces he, of course, misses his election.

In this "Romance of Unrest," Mr. Merwin makes a vivid showing of the warring political principles of today, with an inspiring push to the foreground of the great moral forces that are destined to become the reigning power in our national life.

Incidentally he deals with the sex problem, which ceases to be a problem when stripped of the artificial restraints with which the perverted human imagination has encumbered it.

A. L. MUZZEY.



## A BOOK OF SHORT STORIES.

*Whispers About Women.* By Leonard Merrick. Published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York and London. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

New books of short stories, clever and clean, are too welcome for criticism, especially when the collection includes so witty and charming a little character study as "The Bishop's Comedy," and introduces to such delightful Bohemians as Tricotrin and Pitou. The reader recalls Alice Brown and W. J. Locke and brings up with the conclusion that Leonard Merrick writes his own stories. But did he choose the title? One wonders, and is reminded of a very solidly good play recently on our American boards and its lurid posters which attracted only the class of people who would find the play dull, and repelled the very sort whom the play would best please.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The Democratic Mistake. By Arthur George Sedgwick. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Essential Reform: Land Values Taxation in Theory and Practice. By C. H. Chomley and R. L. Outhwaite. Published by Sidgwick & Jackson, 3 Adam St., Adelphi, London. 1909. Price, one shilling net.

—The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to Its Relations with Public Service Corporations. By Clyde Lyndon King. Published by the Fisher Book Co., 430 Seventeenth St., Denver, Colo. 1911. Price, \$1.50.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

Report of the Committee on Taxation to the American Bar Association. 1912. Edward O. Brown, Chairman.

Address of the President, S. S. Gregory, to the American Bar Association, August 27, 1912, at Milwaukee, Wis.

A Pamphlet, Containing a Copy of All Measures "Referred to the People by the Legislative Assembly," "Referendum Ordered by Petition of the People," and "Proposed by Initiative Petition," to be submitted to the Legal Voters of the State of Oregon at the Regular General Election, Nov. 5, 1912, together with the Arguments Filed, Favoring and Opposing certain of said Measures. Compiled and Issued by Ben W. Olcott, Secretary of State. 1912. Printed at Salem, Oregon.

**PERIODICALS**

**The Spanish Single Taxer.**

The September number of the Spanish Single Taxer is nearly all devoted to a sketch of Henry George's life. On the first page there are a picture of Mr. George and an editorial by Mr. Albendin, entitled "The Holiday of the Future," in which he predicts that when the world realizes the true significance of this great man's work, his birthday, September 2, will become a universal holiday. Spanish translations of Henry George's lectures, "Thy Kingdom Come" and "Thou Shalt Not Steal," are published for the Spanish Single Tax League in pamphlet form by the Imprenta Rodena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain. Price, 5 cents.

C. L. LOGAN.



**A Playground Circus.**

"The city child has little initiative and less originality in his play," is a not infrequent remark. The blame may be with the city fathers rather than with the children. Children need land for play as much as their parents need land for their work. No common land, and a whole big neighborhood would have missed "The Greatest Show on Earth"—a gorgeous

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free circus, gotten up and given by the children of Cornell square in Chicago. Much originality and merry co-operation went into the making of this big frolic, the story of which is told by half-a-dozen jolly photographs in The Survey of Sept. 7.

A. L. G.



Sing a song of farmers,  
Up at early morn,  
With four-and-twenty chores to do  
Before the breakfast horn.  
When the breakfast's over  
There's little to be done,  
Except to plow the fodder  
And let the harrows run,  
And mow the sheep and prune the beets  
And curry up the swine,  
And shear the hens and dig the hay  
And shoe the gentle kine,  
And saw the wheat and rake the rye  
And wash and dress the land,  
And things like that which city folks  
Can never understand.

—Life.

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Schiller Hall (Twelfth Floor), Schiller Building, Friday, September 13th, 8 p. m.

MARGARET A. HALEY

Subject: "The Recent Campaign in Ohio."

All interested are cordially invited to attend. Regular meeting of Club at Room 508 is canceled. JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

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