

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Key to Two Political Positions.

"The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not of the increase of it." This quotation from a speech by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Roosevelt calls "the key to Mr. Wilson's position." It is a fair characterization. Limitation of governmental power rather than increase of it, is of the essence of the issues in this campaign on Mr. Wilson's side. On Mr. Roosevelt's side it is the other way. The question, then, between those two candidates is whether governmental powers shall be greater or less.



Now precisely what does this direct conflict on governmental policy mean? The answer requires consideration of more than a single utterance of either candidate, and more than can be quoted here. The speeches, the platforms, the public record of the two men must be considered as a whole. Tried by that test, Mr. Roosevelt advocates the retention of governmental powers that maintain private monopolies, supplemented with further governmental powers to keep private monopolies from doing harm. Tried by the same test, Mr. Wilson advocates such a lessening of the governmental powers that maintain private monopolies as to make private monopolies non-existent.



Perhaps the difference may be illustrated by a quotation from Mr. Roosevelt's San Francisco

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

The Key to Two Political Positions.....	889
The Essential Issue of the Presidential Campaign.....	890
Political Tendencies in Great Britain.....	891
Joseph Martin, M. P.....	891
Flying Red Flags.....	892
High Wages and the Tariff (Stoughton Cooley).....	892
The Tax Amendments in Missouri (Percy Werner).....	893

### CONDENSED EDITORIALS:

A Senseless Thing in Boston (Henry Sterling).....	895
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### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Left Behind (Cartoon by J. W. Donahay).....	895
Woman's Suffrage in Ohio (Laura H. Wild).....	895

### INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

A New York Voter's View (Charles Frederick Adams).....	896
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### NEWS NARRATIVE:

Constitutional Amendments in Ohio.....	896
Civic Organization in Ohio.....	897
State Organization of the Progressive Party.....	898
Cancellation of the Cunningham Claims.....	898
Mexico.....	898
Conflict Among British Land Reformers.....	898
Peace Probable Between Italy and Turkey.....	899
The Passing of An Emperor.....	899
China.....	899
News Notes.....	900
Press Opinions.....	900

### RELATED THINGS:

The Neighbor (Florence Cross Kitchelt).....	902
"Tay Pay" on Three More Singletax Men of Great Britain (T. P. O'Connor).....	902
An Open Letter to Revisers of City Charters (C. G. Hoag).....	903

### BOOKS:

People's Power.....	907
Reasons for Land Value Taxation.....	907
Books Received.....	907
Pamphlets.....	907
Periodicals.....	908

speech of the 14th, in which he characterized Mr. Wilson's statement about limitation of governmental power as the key to Mr. Wilson's position. "So long as governmental power was exclusively for the king and not for the people," said Mr. Roosevelt, "the history of liberty was a history of the limitation of governmental power; but now the governmental power rests in the people, and the kings who enjoy privileges are the kings of the financial and industrial world, and what they clamor for is the elimination of governmental power, and what the people sorely need is the extension of governmental power." That the successors to the privileged kings of the past are those of the financial and industrial world, is true. But it is also true that they, like their predecessors, get their privileges through governmental power. Therefore, it is as imperative now that governmental power be limited in its maintenance of industrial privileges for financial and industrial kings—limited even to the point of abolition—as it ever was in history with reference to the privileges of political kings. Mr. Roosevelt does not think so; Mr. Wilson does.



For illustration: Mr. Roosevelt's policy means protective-tariff privileges established by governmental power but guarded from doing harm by extensions of governmental power; whereas Mr. Wilson's means abolition of protective-tariff privileges themselves, by limitation of governmental power. Nor is the tariff question the only one to which this conflict of policy similarly applies. There are many others. Mr. Wilson has indeed disclosed the key to his position; and in denouncing Mr. Wilson on that point Mr. Roosevelt acknowledges the key to his own. Mr. Roosevelt would remedy excessive governmental power with more governmental power, Mr. Wilson with less.



### The Essential Issue of the Presidential Campaign.

A better statement of the essential issue in the Presidential campaign could not be reasonably desired than this of the leading editorial in Collier's for September 7th: "Shall we have regulated competition or regulated monopoly?" Meaning the same thing, it is quite as good in form as that which Mr. Roosevelt finds in Mr. Wilson's governmental-limitation policy. If there be any choice, it is the better of the two. But Collier's appraises its question at less than true value, estimating it not as the essential question but as the *most important*. "The most important question

of this campaign, not even excepting the tariff," is its phrasing. But the tariff is really not a question to be compared with the other. It is included. All the specific questions of the campaign, the tariff along with the rest, are comprehended in that one broad issue which is so well formulated by Collier's: "Shall we have *regulated competition*, or *regulated monopoly*?"



Collier's makes a strong argument for regulated competition as opposed to regulated monopoly, but the merits of the question it formulates are not to our present purpose. What we wish now to do is to emphasize the all-embracing character of the question itself. Consider it with reference to the tariff. If you support Wilson's policy of tariff for revenue only—the furthest point possible in the direction of international free trade without amending the Constitution—you support "regulated competition" with reference to international industries. If you support Roosevelt's policy of a protective tariff for the benefit of everybody, you support "regulated monopoly." If you support Taft's tariff policy, which doesn't differ in principle from Roosevelt's, then also you support "regulated monopoly"—or at any rate monopoly. As to that variety of specific proposals which give the Progressive Party its presumed popularity, Mr. Roosevelt's position is plainly of the "regulated monopoly" order. Mr. Taft would probably have to be classified as standing for *unregulated* monopoly in most of those particulars. But Mr. Wilson has left no room to question his attitude as being favorable to *regulated competition*.



Use the terms "free trade" and "protection" in their broad and only true politico-economic sense, as comprehending original production as well as the production that consists in exchange—do this, and you may substitute "protection" for "regulated monopoly" in Collier's question, and "free trade" for "regulated competition." The essential issue of the campaign may then be defined as "protection" versus "free trade." For on the one side, the guiding principle is restrictive legislation creative of monopolies but so administered as to protect their victims, which is the protective principle, the "regulated monopoly" principle; and on the other side, the guiding principle is legislation destructive of monopoly and sufficiently guarded (if need be) to prevent abuses. Except as temporary or local considerations may be decisive, voters at the coming Presidential elec-

tion will find it increasingly difficult to support Roosevelt without opposing the principle of regulated *competition* and yielding to the principle of regulated *monopoly*.



### Political Tendencies in Great Britain.

Signs of a political break-up in Great Britain have been growing recently, apparently over the land question; and as usual always and everywhere under such circumstances, there are divided councils and activities among those who stand for the principle of "the land for the people." On one hand, are such as favor the land-value-tax method, commonly known as the Singletax, which aims at securing the mutually-desired result without government-ownership of land. On the other hand are those who urge purchase of the land for government ownership.



The essential thing, and that which both factions presumably desire in common, is (1) to secure for all the people the full annual value of land annually, as an approximation of course, and (2) to make land of all kinds accessible to industry upon equal terms relatively to differential advantages of location. The second would evidently result from the first; for there can be no effectual private monopoly of land if the monopolist has to pay its annual value annually into public treasuries. It would seem, too, that this ultimate might be most rapidly approached and certainly secured by means of exempting industry from taxation and shifting tax burdens to the owners of land in proportion to its value. That may not be the best method in Great Britain. We profess no special knowledge on the point. But if it does happen to be the best method there, as it plainly is in the United States and Canada, and especially if it is the method which the British people are now forcing into politics, then the proposal to turn from that method to a method of compulsory purchase may easily play into the hands of land monopolists at a critical moment.



The Parliamentary "Council" of land reformers who have at this late date begun a movement for compulsory purchase in opposition to the Parliamentary "Group" of land value taxers who have popularized the taxation method in Great Britain, stand in a slippery place. They do not make out a case for their own method with reference to the line of least resistance; and the line of least resistance is the true test for Parliamentary purposes. What they do is to say in behalf of their

members that they "*believe* that it is only when the public is its own landlord that full advantage can be gained from land from the point of view of public revenue," and to imply that they *believe* that only this will yield the desired economic advantage to the public. Even if they are right in those beliefs, they appear to be proposing a greater instead of the least difficult method. Isn't it a little as if they were to say that they *believe* it is only when the butt of a wedge is driven into a log that the "full advantage" in splitting it can be gained, and therefore that the wedge should be driven in butt end first?



All of us who would make the future ours, may profit by bearing well in mind that the future is not yet here. And few of us could profit better by it at this juncture in Great Britain than the Parliamentary "Council" for nationalizing land by buying out its monopolists. Land nationalization is of the future, if at all. Land purchase for nationalization is also of the future, if at all. But taxation is of the present. There is no avoiding it. It is insistent year by year. The only question regarding it, and this is a question of the present, is where the burden shall fall and with what tendency with reference to the future. Shall the tax burden favor land monopoly, thereby making land nationalization in the future more difficult and if by purchase more expensive? Or shall it discriminate against land monopoly, thereby making land nationalization easier if the economic opinions of the land nationalizers are sustained, and less expensive if their theories as to purchase be found necessary or desirable? The land nationalizing "Council" in Parliament stand distinctly (if they know where they do stand) for the former policy; the land-value-taxation "Group" for the latter.



### Joseph Martin, M. P.

Considerable surprise has been expressed over the attitude of Joseph Martin, M. P., in connection with Singletax developments in British politics. Mr. Martin is a Canadian. He was at one time a radical-Liberal leader in the politics of British Columbia, from which he graduated into the Liberal politics of Great Britain, supposedly as a radical, and gained a seat in the British House of Commons. Yet he recently campaigned against Singletax men—notably Mr. Outhwaite—who were contesting constituencies on Singletax grounds as Liberal candidates. Having been questioned upon the subject, we have learned from

inquiries in Canada that Mr. Martin's attitude in British politics is not strange. Mr. Martin owns a big chunk of land in Vancouver. Until the Singletax got in its work at Vancouver, he held this land for a rise in price without the bother of having to improve it. But the Singletax, which has abolished taxation of improvements in Vancouver and shifted the burden over to land monopoly, has compelled Mr. Martin to "get a move on him." He has had to clear his land, to make streets through it, to put down sewers, to lay water mains, and otherwise to make that land a serviceable part of the planet. If he didn't make these improvements, the value of his land would eat itself up in land value taxes. Mr. Martin's prejudice against the Singletax is therefore easily accounted for.



### Flying Red Flags.

A New Jersey judge—Francis J. Swayze of the Supreme Court of that State—has probably put a quietus, in New Jersey at least, on the police nonsense about Socialist red flags. He decides that the Socialist Party is a party in American politics, that its official emblem under the law is a red flag, and that its members have the same right to make public displays of this emblem that the Democratic or the Republican or the Progressive or the Prohibition parties have to make public displays of their official emblems. None but fools and fire-eaters have thought otherwise.



### HIGH WAGES AND THE TARIFF.

That people believe what they wish to believe was never better illustrated than in the case of the protective tariff. The very word "protection" insinuates itself into one's consciousness without challenge from the understanding. Life at best is a struggle; and to maintain one's self in the commercial world requires vigilance, self-denial, and arduous toil. To be protected from the forces that bear down so hard upon humanity means an easier lot. And so ardent is the wish for this immunity that many do not stop to inquire whether the schemes devised for the purpose really do afford protection. Analysis is waived, the facts accepted, and the conclusion swallowed. The name itself is sufficient to disarm criticism.

But it sometimes happens that the interval between the promise and the fulfillment is so long drawn out, or the result is so meager, that it attracts attention. Sceptically minded persons may ask, Wherefore? They may go so far as to in-

quire into the theory. And now and then one has actually been known to question the results.



When it was proposed to reduce the high tariff enacted to finance the Civil War, action was stayed by the plea that a high tariff was necessary in order to protect the infant industries that had sprung up while foreign goods were so heavily taxed. When this excuse had served until the "infant industries" had reached such colossal proportions that even hardened Protectionists no longer dared use it, the plea was changed to a tariff to maintain high wages and the American standard of living.

Here again is a plausible charge designed to pass unchallenged. Who that is dependent upon the labor of his hands, or of his brain, wishes wages reduced? Who would have the standard of living lowered? No, no, no, let no unhallowed hand touch the Ark of Prosperity!



But are the higher wages of this country really due to the protective tariff? Is the standard of living dependent upon keeping out foreign goods?

If the protective tariff is the cause of high wages in this country, one might well ask why a high tariff does not cause high wages in Spain, in Italy, in France, or in any other European country that enjoys a high tariff. But lest Europe be too far away for a Protectionist's imagination, let the question be asked, What made American wages high before the tariff?

Not only did this country begin without a protective tariff, but it began in spite of tariffs levied against it. In the Colonial times the mother country passed onerous shipping laws, and laid burdensome taxes upon the struggling Colonists. And these oppressive measures of King and Parliament were enacted with the expressed and avowed purpose of preventing the Colonists from competing with like industries in England. Those were the days of real infant industries, and of an unnatural mother that tried to strangle them in their cradle.

Yet what was the condition as to wages and the standard of living in this country as compared with England?

For answer, it is not necessary to lean upon illusive statistics, nor to depend upon "royal commissions of inquiry into the condition of labor." We have a certain and infallible answer in the movement of population. Labor never knowingly goes from a place of high wages to a place of low wages. The fact that men of all races, creeds, and sects continued to emigrate from Europe to this country shows where wages were highest.

where opportunities were greatest, and where the standard of living was best. And in spite of oppressive laws imposed by mother country the condition of labor was so much better in this country that immigration continued in increasing volume.

Nor did this relative advantage of labor cease with the setting up of an independent government. The early tariffs levied by the young government for purposes of revenue were low, yet wages and the standard of living were high, as shown by the steady movement of population. Henry Clay, the great high priest of Protection, said, when pleading for a protective tariff, we must have protection to American factories because wages are high in this country. That is the way he put it, "because wages are high in this country." Men who would engage in manufacturing said they could not do so because the labor of the country was already employed at wages higher than they could afford to pay without Protection. Labor in the fisheries, on the shipping, in the forests and on the farms was earning more than in European countries, and would not voluntarily enter manufacturing until the population was of sufficient density to permit of economical production. But the Protectionists, impatient of delay, disregarding economic laws, and ignoring the advantages of natural conditions, sought to drive Labor into factories by taxing it in other industries.

Now, if American wages and the standard of living were higher than abroad during the struggling Colonial days, and during the early days of the Republic, so that it was necessary to have a high tariff to drive men into manufacturing, at just what time did the metamorphosis take place that changed cause into effect, and effect into cause? Who will name the day, month or year in which the tariff raised wages or elevated the standard of living?



There is a reason why certain persons in this country wish the voters to believe their standard of living depends upon a protective tariff.

In the early days, when population was flowing into the Colonies in spite of the repressive laws of the mother country, Labor fared well, and employers enjoyed reasonable profits; but there were very few rich men. The American millionaire was as yet undreamed of.

But with the advent of a Protective tariff a change came. Labor found conditions hard, and growing harder.

In spite of the utmost that unions can do, the margin of income over outgo is lessening. Men marry later, or not at all. Families are limited to

two or three children, instead of the ten or twelve of former times. Employers find themselves facing a choice between failure and joining a trust. The millionaire is unnoticed, the multi-millionaire is a commonplace, and the black flag of the billionaire is already discernible on the horizon.

Is it really a mark of wisdom on our part to accept without question the claims of these interested persons?

STOUGHTON COOLEY.



## THE TAX AMENDMENTS IN MISSOURI.\*

Generally speaking, under the Amendment relating to the subject matter of taxation, the following Missouri taxpayers will pay increased taxes:

- (a.) Public service corporations, certainly, as long as their franchise values remain capitalized.
- (b.) The owners of vacant and inadequately improved city and town lots, considering their availability, especially such as are located at the very centers of population.
- (c.) The owners of lands speculatively withheld with a view to subdivision for future municipal needs.
- (d.) The owners of idle available lands throughout the State.

The owners of adequately improved and utilized lands, considering their availability, will pay substantially the same taxes as now, the tax on the improvements being shifted to the land value, and the owners of specially well and appropriately improved lands will probably pay less.



But an exaggerated idea of the change involved is apt to creep into the public mind. Let us, then, examine the situation.

The last manual issued by the Secretary of State of Missouri gives us the following figures touching the taxable wealth of the State (using round numbers for mental comfort):

Total real estate values.....	\$1,135,000,000
Total personal property.....	359,000,000
Total public service corporation property .....	181,000,000

Or a grand total of.....\$1,676,000,000

Thus we see that real estate values now furnish about two-thirds of the taxable wealth of the State.

\*This article, somewhat more extended, was originally written for and published in The Republic of St. Louis. It was in reply to a fair editorial in opposition to the land-value-tax amendment proposed by the Equitable Taxation League of Missouri, and financed largely by the Joseph Fels Fund of America, of which Daniel Kiefer, Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio, is the chairman. As the question now before the voters of Missouri for their action at the next election is pre-

and private personal property only a little over one-fifth, so that, taking the burden off of personal property, involves no great change, and if other sources, such as the New York tax upon the recording of mortgages and on inheritances, should be availed of, it may involve no increase whatsoever in the aggregate real estate taxes.

Again, of the foregoing total taxable real estate values:

The City of St. Louis furnishes.....\$440,692,800  
The County of St. Louis furnishes..... 43,993,920  
Jackson County (including Kansas City) 131,059,140

In other words, these three local jurisdictions furnish \$615,695,860, or over one-half of the total taxable real estate values of the State as at present assessed.

How far such assessments and distribution of values are justly uniform remains to be seen. The State Tax Commission of 1901 reported the assessments as varying from 30 to 90 per cent of the selling prices in the different counties. Of course, as long as this assessment of distribution prevails, the jurisdictions mentioned will bear the largest burdens.

We must not, on the other hand, forget that the problem of taxation is almost purely a local one, and could, by a separation of the sources of State and local revenues, be made entirely so. This is so because under our present system nine-tenths of the revenues are for local purposes and only one-tenth for State purposes, and this demonstrates that the exemption from taxation in each county of personal property, or real estate improvements, will practically affect only the real estate in that county, and entirely so when the sources of State or local revenues are completely separated. Both the Tax Commissions of 1901 and 1907 urged such separation.



How much of our total real estate values throughout the State are represented by idle lands and what are termed "washed hillsides and scraggy uplands," we have no means of knowing definitely. Both as to this and to the matter of the assessment and distribution of values above referred to, we may hope for much from the investigations of the Tax Commission called for by the second of the Amendments in question. We may say in passing that the last United States census report gives about 55 per cent of the land of Missouri as well improved and under cultivation.

sent with so much lucidity by Mr. Werner in this article, and as the article is for that and other reasons, of general concern and interest, we adopt it as a signed editorial.—Editors of The Public. [See Public of August 30, page 828.]

One word as to the taxation of franchise values. It is, of course, evident that whatever taxes are paid by public-service corporations are in reality paid by the public. One reason for taxing these is that the corporations themselves capitalize them and insist on earning returns on such values. Eliminate these and it would seem there would remain no franchise values to be taxed, and that these corporations should then be taxed on the same basis as any other taxpayer. Of course their profits will continue to be controlled by charter limitations or State regulation.



Each taxpayer, if interested in the personal application, can figure the whole matter out roughly for himself. He will find nothing cataclysmal in the result.

He must remember likewise two things: First, any increase will only be temporary if increased values lead to decreased rates; and, second, that an increase in a tax is no injury if it bring increased prosperity. The farmer who will pay \$25 instead of \$20 a year in taxes (and it has been figured that among the farmers of the State the actual average increase, where there is any increase, will not be more, the revenue remaining the same), will care little for this increase, if the extra \$5 serves to stimulate the market demands for his products.

And this brings me to the real grounds of my support of the proposed tax amendment, to wit, its social as distinguished from its personal or individual aspect.



The general property tax system is being abandoned by all civilized nations. Hear what Prof. Seligman of Columbia University, New York, says of it: "It puts a premium on dishonesty and debauches the public conscience. It reduces deception to a system and makes a science of knavery. It presses hardest on those least able to pay. It imposes double taxation on one man and grants immunity to the next. In short, the general property tax is so flagrantly inequitable that its retention can only be explained through ignorance or inertia. It is the cause of such crying injustice that its alteration or abolition must become the battle cry of every statesman and reformer."

And Prof. Weyl, in his "New Democracy," one of the sanest presentations of present-day political problems, says: "The prevalent theory in America during the last century was that taxation was to be levied for the sole purpose of raising government revenues. It should, therefore, be as little

as possible, and should be divided among the people according to their ability to pay. In other words, it should leave all citizens in the same relative position as it found them. We are now going over more completely to a conception of taxation as an instrument for the socialization of production and wealth as a means of changing the currents and directions of distribution. In other words, the social as well as the merely fiscal ends of taxation are held in view."

I do not claim that the form of the proposed amendment is the wisest and best that could have been adopted, but I support it in the absence of a better because I believe it offers an enormous advance over our present basis, and promises the following benefits:

First. Justly placing the burden of taxation on socially created values.

Second. Wisely relieving merchants and manufacturers of license taxes, and the products of labor and the accumulations of thrift as represented by personal property from all tax burdens.

Third. Offering a system simple, certain and efficient.

Fourth. Involving a moral uplift of our taxpayers.

Fifth. Educating the social sense of our people.

PERCY WERNER.

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## CONDENSED EDITORIALS

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### A SENSELESS THING IN BOSTON.

Henry Sterling in *The Progressive Workingman* (Boston), of August 31.

There are over 7,000 acres of vacant land within the boundaries of Boston (assessors' figures); enough for an additional population of more than 35,000 at 50 persons per acre.

Yet, it is said that there are as many as 1,000 per acre living in some spots.

Could anything be more senseless, more heartless, than to let all this land lie empty, naked, staring up to heaven, useless, while all these thousands suffer so for a chance to live upon it?

Why not have a city Planning Board, and study how best to utilize our resources for the good of all?

Land is our only material gift from God.

It is essential to all employments, all homes, all necessities, all happiness. Yet we mock God by making merchandise of His gift.

We exploit His children, charging extortionate prices for its use, and they perish for lack of space while half the land is idle.

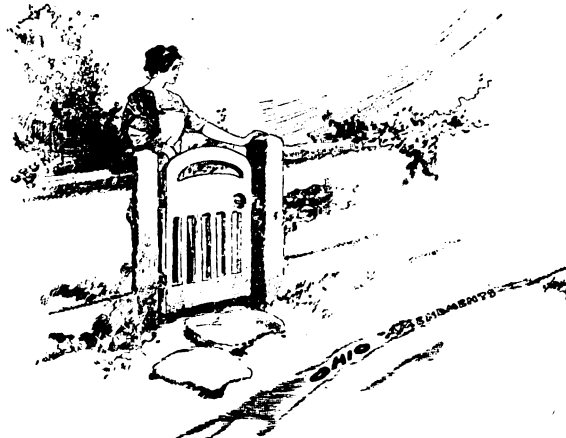
Systematic, well-planned growth, with a heavy tax on land and exemption for buildings, would cure these two evils—congestion and unused resources—and also another Senseless Thing—unemployment.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### Left Behind.



J. W. Donahey in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of September 5, 1912. Reproduced in *The Public* by courteous permission of the Editor of the *Plain Dealer*.



### WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN OHIO.

Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.

The whole country has been watching Ohio to see what she would do on September 3d. She did some splendid things. The Initiative and Referendum, home rule for cities and welfare of employes were among them. But equal suffrage apparently received a black eye.

We say apparently advisedly, for the campaign has revealed some interesting facts with regard to the state of public opinion.

In the first place it was the liquor interests who fought it tooth and nail, their last coup d'etat being the broadcast distribution of a sheet of specious arguments when it was too late to reply. They know the propensity women have for thorough housecleaning, when they get at it, although in fact the suffragists were not mixed up as such with any other issue, some of them even favoring license.

In the second place, two of the counties to vote for the suffrage amendment were in the heart of the conservative Western Reserve region, settled by the descendants of Connecticut and representing the Eastern spirit more nearly perhaps than any other section of our country. Let New England and New York take notice. The women who were the leaders are worthy descendants of Plymouth Rock and Mary Lyon. To those watching the polls on election day it seemed evident also that the best men were on their side, that it was the more ignorant voters and those tied up with questionable business that were adverse.

A third fact is revealed, and that is that there has not been time enough for thorough education, that many men voted No because their wives were indifferent. This is one of the strongest arguments for the political emancipation of women. Let them once feel the responsibility of public questions and they will no longer speak of "your" cause and

"their" laws but it will be "my" cause and "our" laws. However, the summer's campaign has removed much of this childish irresponsibility, and women who never before thought seriously about public issues are doing so now.

The suffragists are especially thankful for the passage of the Initiative and Referendum. It was the most important amendment on the list, and they will be among the first to put it to a test. September 4th, plans were already afoot for placing the question before the people again within two years. Let no man think he is now to have peace. There will be no peace for him, nor for Ohio, until justice is done the women.

LAURA H. WILD.



A little Chinese girl, 16 years old, is taking special work at the University of Pennsylvania preparatory to entering Wellesley, and her name is Miss Mabel Lee. She is an ardent suffragist, and when asked how it came about that the women of China got the vote, she explained that education has always been the greater factor in Chinese life. "When the Chinese men worked side by side with the Chinese girls in American or foreign universities, it was a revelation to them. They came to appreciate the fact that girls could acquire education as readily as they did, and as Chinese always respect educated persons it was only natural that suffrage should have been granted to women as it was to men."—Woman's Journal of September 7, 1912.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### A NEW YORK VOTER'S VIEW.

New York.

I would like to suggest to radical "progressives" who fear to trust Roosevelt with the vast (too vast) powers, and the temptations, of the Presidency, but who desire to help "boom" (now) the several progressive policies which his party (much more reliably than himself) is "standing for," that they help to keep that dangerous "embryo Caesar" in his proper sphere of service, that of "agitation" (in which he is and would be immensely useful), by voting for Wilson for President, but voting for the candidate for Governor of the Progressive Party in each State in which their candidate and platform are distinctly more genuinely "radical" than the candidate and platform of either of the other parties.

In New York the probabilities seem now immensely against either the Republicans or the Democrats offering a candidate or a platform which could "compare," in the eyes of real radicals, with those proposed by T. R.'s Syracuse convention. I fully expect, therefore, to vote for Wilson for President and for Oscar Straus for Governor. (An additional qualification of the latter is that, having been born in Germany, he is ineligible to the Presidency, and would therefore be free from the temptation to try to make of Albany only a "stepping stone to higher things.")

The "protectionism" of T. R.'s party is happily immaterial in the field of State politics. Wilson is

not (yet) half radical enough for me, but then—the alternative is Teddy!

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, September 17, 1912.

### Constitutional Amendments in Ohio.

On the principal proposed amendments to the Ohio Constitution voted upon at the special election on the 3rd, the full vote reported by all the 88 counties to the Secretary of State of Ohio is as follows:

	Yes.	No.	Majority
No. 2. Abolition of capital punishment .....	258,796	303,246	44,450 No
No. 6. Initiative and referendum .....	312,592	231,313	81,279 Yes
No. 8. Limiting Governor's veto .....	282,412	254,186	28,226 Yes
No. 13. 8-hour day on public work .....	333,307	232,898	100,409 Yes
No. 16. Torrens system of land titles .....	345,373	171,807	173,566 Yes
No. 17. Abolishing prison contract labor .....	333,034	215,208	117,826 Yes
No. 22. Restraining government by injunction .....	240,896	257,302	16,406 No
No. 23. Woman's suffrage.....	249,420	336,875	87,455 No
No. 26. Direct primaries.....	249,801	183,112	66,689 Yes
No. 29. Bonds for road building .....	272,564	273,656	1,092 No
No. 40. Home rule for cities.....	301,861	215,120	86,741 Yes
No. 42. Licensing liquor traffic except in prohibition territory .....	272,361	188,825	83,536 Yes



Altogether, 34 amendments were adopted and 8 defeated. Those defeated were the amendments abolishing capital punishment, regulating contempt proceedings on injunctions, allowing woman suffrage, omitting the word "white" from the suffrage clause, providing for voting machines, making good roads by means of bonds based upon general taxation, making women eligible to certain offices, and regulating outdoor advertising. Among those adopted, other than the ones tabulated above, were the amendments for conservation of natural resources, for reform of the judicial system, for organizing boards of education and creating a state superintendency, for regulating insurance, on taxation, for regulating corporations, for a merit system of civil service, and providing a simple and easier method of amending the Constitution.



About 600,000 voters participated in the election, being about 50 per cent of the voting popu-



lation. The largest vote cast was on the woman's suffrage amendment, the total being 586,295. This amendment carried in 19 counties—Ashtabula, Athens, Belmont, Carroll, Columbiana, Fulton, Geauga, Guernsey, Jefferson, Lucas (the Toledo county), Medina, Meigs, Morgan, Morrow, Portage, Trumbull, Summit, Williams and Wood. In the State as a whole, the affirmative vote for woman's suffrage was larger than the entire vote on the question in California, both affirmative and negative, when woman's suffrage was adopted in that State.



Hostile interests at Columbus are reported in the Ohio newspapers as having decided on the 13th to apply to the Supreme Court of the State for an injunction forbidding the Governor's proclaiming the result of the election on the grounds (1) that several of the amendments said to be adopted did not receive a majority of all the votes cast at the election, and (2) that the law providing for the Constitutional Convention was itself unconstitutional because the legislature allowed the convention to fix the date for the special election. On the 14th the Attorney General stated, as reported by the Associated Press, that—

although the contention that the legislature had no authority to delegate power to the Constitutional Convention to fix the date for a special election may be well grounded, it had the power to direct the Convention to submit the matter to the electors of the State. "The legislature did not delegate power to the Convention," said Mr. Hogan; "it merely directed the Convention to submit the matter to the electors of the State at such a time as it might determine. The essence of the matter is submission and not time. Time is a mere incident. The legislature had no power to delegate authority but this was not authority." With reference to the contention that a majority of the vote cast on all of the amendments is necessary for the ratification of any of the amendments, Mr. Hogan said: "I have not investigated that feature, but am inclined to the belief that a majority vote cast on any proposal is all that is necessary for its ratification."

As reported by the United Press on the 14th, Attorney General Hogan said:

I am certain the Convention had power to fix the date and manner of the election. Suit against the amendments on these grounds would be futile. As to the other alleged ground, that 10 amendments should be knocked out because their affirmative vote was not as large as the majority of the total vote cast on the amendment receiving the most votes, woman suffrage, I think the Supreme Court would knock that out also.

Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the Convention, issued a statement on the subject on the 14th, in which he said:

The Constitutional arguments raised now against the successful amendments were raised in the legislature when the law calling the election was passed. Governor Harmon and the Ohio Legislature brushed

these objections aside as too trifling for notice. They are far-fetched constructions indicative of minds that have gone to seed with legal technicalities, or of Bourbon blindness that is beside itself with the fury of defeat. If there are judges of the Supreme Court who can be induced to commit this outrage and set aside on a technicality the will of the people, the responsibility will be upon them for what will follow. It would be a Dred Scott decision that they would repent of bitterly before a year had passed. That one decision would make more converts to the Initiative and Referendum than we have made in 15 years. The judicial Recall would follow that decision as surely as day follows the night. The men in whose petty minds the idea was born to fight these amendments in the courts are fomenters of revolution and dangerous characters. They display that fatal stupidity in the face of changing conditions that has characterized the beneficiaries of special privilege in every crisis in the world's history.



#### Civic Organization in Ohio.

One of the political results of the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum and the municipal-home-rule amendments at the recent election in Ohio, is the organization in Cuyahoga County of a legislative league to secure the election of non-partisan members of the legislature for the purpose of making the new Constitution effective in the public interest. Under the rules of this League each candidate is free to act with any political party in national affairs, but pledges himself to remain free from all political party caucusing or control on matters of State legislation which might conflict with the declaration of principles of the League.



The platform of the League pledges its legislative candidates to the short ballot, the Massachusetts form of the Australian ballot, direct primaries, conservation of child life, supplementary legislation in line with the principles of the Initiative and Referendum, effective legislation under the amendment for home-rule in municipalities, the eight-hour day and other labor demands, tax reform, recall of officials in offices created by the legislature, establishment of the Torrens system of land registration, suppression of the white slave traffic, simplification of court procedure, regulation of public utility corporations with physical valuation as the basis for service rates, merit system of civil service, scientific regulation of insurance, regulation of liquor traffic, legislative information bureau, humanizing of penal institutions, registration of lobbyists, regulation of political advertising, improvement of rivers and harbors, and provisions for using public school buildings as social centers and public forums.



This Progressive League of Cuyahoga County has made the following nominations: For State

Senators, Stephen S. Stillwell, Harry C. Gahn, Abraham Kolinsky, Walter W. Pollock, Anthony B. Sprosty; for Representatives to the lower House, E. W. Doty, Thomas Farrell, William Davio, Hal D. Banks, David Gibson, Dolo E. Mook, Lamar T. Beman, Chester R. Williams, C. C. Bultman, B. D. Nicola, P. S. Grady, Monroe Curtis, and Clayton C. Townes.



#### State Organizations of the Progressive Party.

A full State ticket with George B. Hyson as the candidate for Governor, was nominated by the Progressive Party of Delaware on the 11th. [See current volume, page 874.]



While the regular Republican convention of Maryland was in session at Baltimore on the 11th, removing Roosevelt Electors and nominating a State ticket, many of the delegates were co-operating with the Progressives with a view to naming Electors by petition.



A convention of the Progressive Party for Wisconsin, meeting at Milwaukee on the 11th, adopted the following resolution recommended by the committee on resolutions:

Your committee deems it necessary that there be in the field a complete State ticket which the members of the Progressive Party can heartily indorse and support at the November election. The State Central Committee is hereby directed to hold a meeting not later than Sept. 24, 1912, and if in the judgment of that Committee at that time there is no State ticket in the field which the Progressive Party can consistently support, either in whole or in part, then said Central Committee is hereby authorized and directed by this Convention to make such nominations as shall be necessary to insure a complete State ticket, every candidate of which supports the national candidates of the Progressive Party and is in sympathy with the principles of that party.

Presidential Electors were chosen.



#### Cancellation of the Cunningham Claims.

The Cunningham Alaska coal land claims, which precipitated the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and the retirement of Secretary Ballinger from President Taft's cabinet, were canceled on the 13th by Ballinger's successor, Walter L. Fisher, who is now Secretary of the Interior. The land involved in the claims has been ordered restored to the public domain. The cause for the cancellation is fraud, the charge being that blanket patents were manipulated through "dummy" entrymen, who were to give their land to the Cunninghams later. [See vol. xiv, page 1266.]

#### Mexico.

In spite of prognostications of a new revolutionary uprising to start in the City of Mexico during the celebration of the anniversary of Mexican independence on the 16th, the day passed off quietly, with a big military parade and without disorder. In his message to the Mexican Congress, which opened on that day, President Madero declared that the revolution was practically ended, and ascribed the spread of the belief that the government was weak to a few persons whose ambitions were unsatisfied in the revolution against Diaz, and to certain newspapers, which, he alleged, had given "false and exaggerated news." After stating that almost all of the war loan already had been expended, the President said it would be necessary to authorize another loan. [See current volume, page 876.]



#### Conflict Among British Land Reformers.

In opposition to the Memorial of the "Land-Values Group" in the British House of Commons, to be found in full at page 16 of the Appendix to the first report of the British departmental committee on local taxation,\* and which declares for the taxation of land values in Great Britain, a Manifesto is issued by the "Public-landownership Parliamentary Council." The announced "object of this Council is to establish gradually the public ownership of land by *purchase*, on the basis of the national land valuation" now being officially made; that of the Group is to *tax* on the basis of the same valuation, and to exempt improvements and other industrial products. [See vol. xii, pp. 486, 508, 561, 588, 823; current volume, pages 731, 835, 880.]



Alluding to the controversy between the "Group" and the "Council," the latter makes this statement in its Manifesto:

We are strongly of opinion that public landownership alone can permanently secure for the public the social values which admittedly attach to land. We recognize that land values are a proper subject for taxation, and that the distinguishing characteristic of land—its unalterable position—makes it a peculiarly fit subject as a basis for local taxation. It would be a mistake, however, to exaggerate the social effects which can be produced by a policy of taxation alone, and we believe that it is only when the public is its own landlord, that full advantage can be gained from land from the point of view of public revenue. We do not regard the revenue consideration, important as it is, to be the aim or object of the extension of public landownership. It is to the benefit and economic advantage of the public, rather than to the revenue to be derived from the public, that we look for the main justification of the policy which we advocate.

\*Wyman & Sons, Ltd., Fetter Lane E. C., London, England, or any British bookseller. Price 1 s. 4 d.

Among the members of Parliament who have signed this land-purchase Manifesto are Sir W. P. Byles, Baron DeForest, John Hodge, Murray Macdonald, L. G. C. Money, Sir Henry Norman and Philip Snowden. The Secretary is Joseph Hyder, 96 Victoria Street, S. W.



#### Peace Probable Between Italy and Turkey.

The commission of Turkish and Italian delegates which has been in session at Lausanne, Switzerland, since early in August, has settled upon the principal terms upon which peace can be established. These terms include, according to the dispatches, the tacit acceptance by the Porte of Italian occupation of Tripoli as an accomplished fact, Turkey being permitted to retain a Mediterranean port at one of the extremities of Libya with a strip of territory allowing communication with the Arabs in the interior. Provision also is made for the recognition of the spiritual suzerainty of the Sultan in Tripolitania; for the payment of monetary grants to the Arab chiefs by Italy, which also will pay to Turkey annually a certain amount of the national debt, the payment being guaranteed by revenues derived from Libya; and for the cession to Turkey of some portion of Italian territory in the Red sea as compensation for the loss of Tripoli. A loan to Turkey is one of the subjects of negotiation. [See current volume, pages 757, 780.]



#### The Passing of an Emperor.

The funeral ceremonies of Mutsuhito, late Emperor of Japan, who died on July 30, began at Tokio on the 13th, with ancient solemn rites and with modern military display. Official representatives had come from every great nation to take part in the ceremonials. Mr. Knox, American Secretary of State, represented the United States. After certain services at the palace, the funeral car of the old rulers of Japan was drawn, as by ancient custom, slowly and majestically by great black and white oxen, from the palace to the great Aoyama drill ground, where were held further services, according to the Shinto ritual, before 40,000 invited guests. At midnight the oxen-drawn car carried its burden to a railroad, whence it was transported by train to the ancient capital of Kyoto. On the evening of the 14th the body of Mutsuhito was carried on the shoulders of local farmers, by old privilege, to the Imperial mausoleum at Monoyama, about five miles from Kyoto. [See current volume, pages 733, 780, 860.]



New Japan and old Japan met as they can never meet again, at the passing of this Emperor in whose reign occurred the greatest transformation of a civilization which history has ever recorded.

In no respect was this more remarkably manifested than in the wholly unexpected suicide of the great modern general of the Russo-Japanese war, General Count Marasuke Nogi, and his wife, both of the old Samurai, or noble, fighting class. This double suicide, by self-inflicted stab wounds, took place at the home of General Nogi, at the moment when the gun sounded to indicate that the Emperor's body was just leaving the palace. Letters left by General Nogi showed the acts to have been premeditated. The Japanese Ambassador at Washington has explained that in the days of feudal Japan when the lord of the manor died it was by no means an uncommon practice for his close dependents and friends to commit suicide, in order that the spirit of the deceased should not make the last journey alone. In recent years, and in the new Japan, this custom has been generally abandoned, so that it is of rare occurrence. General Nogi was a national hero in Japan. Twice he captured Port Arthur, once from the Russians in 1904 and once from the Chinese about ten years previously. It was he who assured the success of his country in the battle of Mukden.



#### China.

The private loan to China of \$50,000,000 by the Lloyd's union of London banks, signed for in London by the Chinese minister, as reported last week, has fallen through, in face of the known disapproval of the great Powers, which insist on foreign supervision of Chinese expenditures under loan. Negotiations for a larger loan from the "six Powers" are now once more under way, with consideration of, supervision. [See current volume, page 876.]



The Peking Educational Conference concluded its labors on August 13. Among the measures agreed to by the Conference was the establishment in the next three years of further universities in Canton, Wuchang, and Nanking, in addition to the one existing in Peking. [See current volume, page 876.]



The Republic, according to the London and China Telegraph, is to adopt a gold standard as her currency. For every dollar the gold coin shall contain seventy-five one-hundredths of a gram pure gold. (This is equivalent to the Japanese yen = \$0.498 United States currency.) The silver dollar weighs 26 grams. Subsidiary coins are of seven denominations, namely, 1 cash, 5 cash (apparently, ½ cent), 1 cent, 5 cents, 10 cents, 50 cents.



The Peking government, according to Associated Press dispatches of the 11th, has authorized Dr. Sun Yat Sen to establish a corporation to

carry out a system of national railways, covering territory 70,000 miles in extent. Mixed Chinese and foreign companies will be granted concessions throughout China proper, for periods of about forty years, after which time the lines are to revert to China. Dr. Sun Yat Sen's proposals, which, however, are thus far without government sanction, include the opening of the whole of China proper to foreign residence enterprise, foreigners to be amenable to Chinese laws, through special courts.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The revolution in Nicaragua is on the wane. [See current volume, page 849.]

—Three persons were killed and 50 injured by a tornado in New York State near Syracuse on the 15th. [See current volume, page 852.]

—The Eucharistic Congress has just held its sessions at Vienna, closing on the 15th. The Congress will hold its next meeting at Malta on April 24, 1913. [See vol. xiii, p. 880.]

—The 73d birthday of Henry George was celebrated at a banquet in Omaha on the 2d, at which Wm. F. Baxter presided as toastmaster and L. J. Quinby and C. J. Cunningham were the speakers.

—The 73d birthday of Henry George was commemorated on the 29th at Adelaide, Australia, at a social meeting over which W. H. Stafford presided and at which Edward McHugh made the commemoration address.

—The Forty-fourth convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is officially called to meet at Philadelphia from the 21st to the 26th of November, both dates included. [See vol. xiv, p. 1099.]

—Presidential elections in Cuba come off the second week in November. Alfredo Zayas is the Liberal candidate and General Mario Menocal the Conservative. Feeling between the parties is very intense. [See current volume, pages 640, 659.]

—The Panama Canal is to be opened to traffic in the fall of 1913, according to official announcement from the navy department on the 14th. The original date set for the opening was January 1, 1915. [See vol. xiii, p. 1115; current volume, pages 827, 841.]

—Keir Hardie, M. P., one of the Socialist leaders of Great Britain, spoke at the City Club, Chicago, on the 17th, explaining the present political situation in Great Britain. He described Lloyd George as being now alone in the British cabinet in advocacy of social reforms, and predicted a probable break in the Liberal Party at an early day.

—Wm. D. Haywood, principal organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, having been indicted by the Essex County (Mass.) grand jury for "conspiracy to intimidate" in connection with the Lawrence strike of last winter, was arrested on Boston Common on the 15th. He had just finished a speech to 15,000 persons on the Common, in which he urged a "general strike" as a protest against the prosecu-

tion of Ettore and Giovannitti. [See current volume, page 877.]

—At the meeting of the American Bankers' Association at Detroit on the 16th, a committee was elected on motion of Andrew J. Frame to revise the constitution of the Association, Mr. Frame charging that 10 men have held 150 prominent offices in the Association during the past ten years.

—The 73d birthday of Henry George was celebrated on the 7th by the Manhattan Singletax Club of New York with a dinner at Coney Island, at which Mrs. John S. Crosby presided as toastmaster and Francis Neilson, M. P. of London, was the guest of honor. James F. Morton, Jr., was the other speaker.

—Henry George's 73d birthday was celebrated at Los Angeles on the 2d at a banquet at which the speakers were Edmund Norton, George Ringo, Wm. H. Knight, Frank Peltret, Dr. J. E. Pottinger, R. W. Ready, Sam Wall, Richmond Plant, Bernard Hartley, Dr. Petter, George Slocomb and Dr. Adah Patterson.

—In a political speech at Dundee, Scotland, on the 12th, Winston Churchill advocated a British federation like the United States; but not stopping with local parliaments for England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, he advocated one for Yorkshire, one for Lancashire, one for London, etc. His argument for the Irish home rule measure included an assurance of the purpose of the Liberals to establish a genuine system of self government in all the four countries of the United Kingdom.

—The famous mosque of Santa Sophia at Constantinople was considerably damaged by the recent earthquakes, it is feared. Two years ago it was discovered that the line of the dome was changing and that the supporting columns were being forced outward. Lately indications of further movement have been noted. This metropolitan church of the Greeks was built by Justinian in the sixth century. Since 1453 it has been used as a mosque by the Mohammedans. [Current volume, pages 779, 804.]

—Sidna Allen and Wesley Edwards are the last of the Allen clan of the Virginia mountaineers who shot the judge at the trial of one of them a year ago, to be arrested. They were traced to Des Moines last week and arrested there. Two have been sentenced to the electric chair—Floyd Allen and his son Claude. Two have been sentenced to long prison terms—Friel Allen (another son) and Sidna Edwards. One was acquitted on the 13th—Victor Allen. [See current volume, pp. 491, 730, 804.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Rooseveltian Ratiocination.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), Sept. 12.—Here is a Roosevelt syllogism delivered at the Minneapolis State fair in St. Paul: "In most cases the Democratic primaries were carried by Mr. Clark; in no case in the primary vote was a Democratic boss beaten in his own State; therefore, Woodrow Wilson is the candidate of the bosses." In his political career Mr. Roosevelt has "got away with" many preposterous declarations—that is, he has

made the people accept his version—but the task of persuading anyone familiar with the Baltimore convention that Wilson was the choice of the bosses is beyond all capacity for bluffing. The rank and file of the delegates dictated that nomination, and were ready to camp out as long as might be necessary to achieve their purpose. Wilson was the man for the crisis. The country saw it, and the bosses in the convention were forced to yield to the inevitable.



#### Ohio on Harmon.

The (Dubuque) Telegraph Herald (dem.-Dem.), Sept. 6.—Ohio leaves no room to doubt that she is progressive. The verdict of the people is a rebuke to Gov. Harmon, who set himself in opposition to the initiative and thus decided the progressives to resist his nomination for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket.



#### Postal Savings Banks.

(Philadelphia) Farm Journal (agricultural), September.—The postal savings bank scheme has hardly had a fair trial, and it is therefore too early to criticise it; but there is one feature of the plan which does not commend itself to the masses. The money placed in these postal savings banks by the people may be loaned only to banks at two and a half per cent interest, yet the people who find it necessary to borrow from these banks are obliged to pay from six to seven per cent interest. The ideal working out of the postal savings bank scheme would include the loaning of the savings of the people direct to the people at a favorable rate of interest, while safeguarding the principal. This would doubtless be a difficult plan to work out, but there should be a man in this country with brains enough to do it.



#### So are We a Strange People.

The (Winnipeg) Grain Growers' Guide (agricultural), July 31.—The foreign land speculator is welcomed with open arms to western Canada by all the powers that be. "He brings in capital." Verily he is a useful man. He buys up a large tract of land, prohibits anyone from using it and retires to a life of ease. The toiling masses on the prairie sweat for their daily bread and increase the value of this land. The speculator shortly pockets the \$500,000 or more that he has "made" out of the land. Then he returns to his native land and laughs at the foolishness of the Canadian people who thus quietly hand over the proceeds of their labor to anyone who comes along. But if the foreigner should bring with him a stock of the necessaries of life and offer to sell them to us at a low price our "Canada for (2,600) Canadians" law would drive him from the country. He would be a dangerous man trying to ruin the Canadian people by giving too much value for their money. Truly we are a strange people.



#### Another Vindication for Tom L. Johnson.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), Sept. 10.—When the late Tom L. Johnson made a fight over the State in 1902 declaring that railway property in Ohio was escaping its just share of taxation, he was abused

and called a mischief maker. He said then the railway companies were paying taxes on less than one-quarter of the real value of their property. At that time the total sum on which the railways paid taxes was \$117,000,000. . . . Today a Democratic administration points to the record of the State Tax Commission which shows that for 1912 the railways of Ohio will pay taxes on a total value of \$632,078,590. Mr. Johnson said \$117,000,000 was not one-quarter enough. The Tax Commission found it was not one-fifth enough. The Commission increased the figures of last year by over \$50,000,000, which means another \$500,000 of taxes this year. The railway companies are making complete detailed reports to the Commission and paying the taxes without going to law. The proof of the correctness of Tom Johnson's statement comes nearly eighteen months after his death, but it comes.



#### The Hobo.\*

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), July 8.—The comic artist is largely responsible for the popular misunderstanding of the "tramp" or hobo. Those who know him do not share the simple and presumably humorous theory that the gentlemen of the road never work and abhor effort. An interesting correction of this conventional fallacy is given by Mr. E. R. Lewis, division engineer of the Michigan Central railroad. "There is life and reserve energy in a gang of hobos that is difficult to detect among other classes of railway laborers," says Mr. Lewis. "The hobo will often soldier if he can, as will every other laborer at times. But the hobo can be reasoned with. He is an intelligent, independent working unit. Each man is a real American man, full of comprehension, guile, and a certain amount of energy." The hobo is good in emergencies, when the ordinary European laborer is likely to be a "quitter." Moreover, the hobo is good for at least five months of work a year. The hobo seems to be a higher type than some other better disciplined classes. It is not work he abhors, but humdrum. He has a touch of imagination and there is something within him that beckons him on. He is not willing that life should have no adventure. He refuses to be a brother to the ox. Of course, he is selfish and wasteful. But at least he has a soul to challenge and rebel. He is not a model citizen, but neither is the slave of habit or circumstances. Men are not coral zoophytes.



#### Sensible Advice to Missourians.

St. Louis Star, August 31.—It is always a mistake to undertake too much. Humble classics have described the error as "biting off more than you can chew." This is quite what the new Missouri Anti-Singletax League has done. It is quite a formidable task to fight the Singletax itself, and will become more so as intelligence and democracy spread; but it is a crushing burden to add to this a fight against the Initiative and Referendum. . . . We have the Initiative and Referendum—and some day we shall have the Recall—because the people believe they offer a means of preventing bad legislation—of which we have had a plethora, and much of it harmful to these very farmers who are now fighting

\*See The Public of March 1, page 200.

the Singletax and being told that the Initiative and Referendum are bad, because the tax proposition comes up by the Initiative—and because it enables them to start legislation corrupt or politically bossed legislatures refuse to enact. Those earnest and honest men who have combined to fight the tax amendments should not burden themselves with opposition to these means of popular government, because they are sure to alienate many voters who, while having no real estate to be taxed, might be inclined to vote against the Single-tax proposition, but who would not do so if it included hostility to what they consider the greatest movement forward in the progress of genuine popular government the generation has made. As to the Singletax itself, more can be learned about it and its actual effect upon farmers and the people generally, by studying its workings where it has been tried, than by reading perfervid resolutions against it or purely theoretical arguments in its favor.



#### "Seeing the Wheels Go 'Round."

The Chicago Daily Press (Ind.), August 24.—The common, non-office-holding citizen does not stand to lose anything by reason of the Penrose-Roosevelt-Archbold controversy. He stands to win. He is learning a lot of things that ought to help cut him a fine eyetooth or two. He learns that from the Standard Oil standpoint much, very much, can be forgiven a politician so long as he is "sound on the tariff." Even the strenuous Teddy passed muster—though Archbold didn't like him—when Bliss assured him that T. R. would be "conservative on the tariff." The common citizen learns that Standard Oil is really a secret government department to which Senators and Congressmen report and from which they take orders. He learns that Standard Oil claims credit "for saving West Virginia to the Republican party in 1904." He learns that men who have been held up as models of civic virtue went to Standard Oil and came away with a fist full of \$1,000 bills to be used to persuade the common voters of the country to vote against their own interest and in the interest of Standard Oil. And as Penrose "got it" in Republican Pennsylvania, so Bailey "got it" in Democratic Texas. . . . And as Standard Oil works, so works the wool trust, tobacco, sugar, steel, beef and the rest of the trusts and railways. Millions of dollars are spent through political parties, lobbies, legislatures and secretly in newspapers to fool the people and fatten the trusts. All of which goes to show why "representative government" is so sacred and why real popular government is "dangerous." Meantime, let the quarrel go on and let the secrets of the trusts and the politicians be laid bare. It can't hurt us common folks and it may jolt some sense into us. We are seeing the wheels go 'round as we never saw them before.



Mother: "Why have you left the others? What do you want, dear?"

Little Girl: "I've come here because Ella's so agglavatin' (a pause). At least, she will be when she finds I've broken the leg off her new doll."—Punch.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE NEIGHBOR.

For The Public.

I live across from her back yard,  
A shining, shaded, grassy sward.  
Just by the fence are hollyhocks,  
Of course the gate is closed and locks,

Yet high above the fence they bob,  
And smile with such a social nod.  
The lady never bows to me,  
And if I'm well comes not to see.

But she must be my friend, I know!  
For me she makes the flowers grow;  
Because before the blossoms come  
She leaves the town and locks her home.

FLORENCE CROSS KITCHELT.



#### "TAY PAY" ON THREE MORE SINGLE-TAX MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Special Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune of  
September 1 and 8, from T. P.  
O'Connor, M. P.

Alderman Raffan, the Liberal member for the Leigh division, is a curious combination. He is a Welsh Scotchman. Born over the border, he went in search of fortune, after the manner of his bold and nomadic race, outside his own country, settled down in Wales, became a newspaper proprietor, and soon became as Welsh as the Welsh themselves, forming part of their local political life and being an ardent advocate of all their ideas and aspirations. A short robust man with a penetrating and almost fierce voice, he looks the dour, determined man who brings to his cause something of the spirit of the John Knoxes of the world. There is no attempt at conciliation or concession in his speech. Straight, blunt, almost rasping, his words are like stones hurled from a Balearic sling. He has an immense influence over his constituency. I know the Leigh division well. Three times I have spoken at the three great elections on the night before the poll, and a finer audience than an audience at Leigh I do not think any Radical could ever wish. One of the peculiarities of all Lancashire constituencies, and I know most of them by personal contact, is that the women take as keen an interest in politics as the men. It is perhaps partly due to the fact that the women do so much of the hard work of the great manufacturing county. There is no more appealing figure in the labor world than the Lancashire woman. As a class bright, fair haired, rosy com-

plexioned, like all Lancashire people, full of the joy of life, the patron of Blackpool and the Isle of Man, their gigantic palaces of amusement and of the dance, she has to start life in the hot atmosphere of the mill while she is still a girl, and often she leaves there much of the brightness of the eye and the lightness of the heart with which she begins existence. You see her later on in life when she has become the matron with her large brood of robust girls and boys, staid, serious, but yet with the remnants of her girlish light heartedness in her passionate interest in politics. How well do I remember those meetings in Leigh, crowded with women all wearing the red ribbons of the Liberal party, full of enthusiastic faith in their principles, and giving to those who defended these principles an affectionate greeting that might well move the most impassive of men. This is the kind of constituency which it is worth representing, and Alderman Raffan is to be congratulated on holding such a seat. He has to fight not only the Tory but also a Labor candidate—one of those fratricidal conflicts which every friend of progress must always deplore.

I pass from the Liberal to the Labor benches. Here opinion is divided. Ramsay Macdonald and Keir Hardie have pronounced against the Single-tax theory, I believe, but it has strong advocates in George Barnes and some other of the Labor leaders.

Henry George found some ardent friends among the Irishmen in Great Britain. One of the first was Edward McHugh, then associated with the dockers of Liverpool and one of the leaders in the great strike that took place many years ago. I may now reveal the secret that it was he who was largely responsible for that uprising among the crofters of Scotland which has wrung from Parliament so many crofter acts within the last twenty-five years. Few realized that it was the quiet, soft spoken, almost fugitive figure of the Irish agitator which set the fuse to the magazine.

Richard McGhee was a companion and fellow official of Edward McHugh in the days of the dock strike. The two men are alike and yet different. They are both Scotch by birth, but the one is a Catholic and the other a Presbyterian, and, in spite of their fervid agreement, this difference of origin reveals itself in their temperaments. The kindest hearted of men, filled with the enthusiasm of humanity, he is the fiercest of controversialists. Like McHugh, all his passions go out into politics; he has never taken a drink throughout his whole life. But unlike McHugh he is an inveterate smoker. I have been his traveling companion more than once in the devastating labors of an American tour and a better traveling companion I never knew nor could know. Travel by night was the same to him as travel by day; a journey of a thousand miles no more fearsome than a journey of a hundred. He could rise at

any hour of the morning; he could stop up till any hour of the morning, smoking, it is true, innumerable cigars, but leaving the drinking to others—the drinking, but not the talking. McGhee, though, is not a man to be frightened or even worried because a few panes of glass are sacrificed to the rowdyism of those blind tools of the landlords, the "sweaters" and office seekers, who are lending themselves to the campaign against the emancipation of Ireland, and especially of the Irish workers. At by-elections McGhee has done splendid work. When this sturdy ultra-Protestant Ulsterman comes to deal with the ridiculous fears of religious persecution, which have done such hard work for the Orangemen in British elections, everybody is made to understand how grotesque the whole cry is, how grotesque and how insincere. The man addressing them, with his fierce words, his fearless aggressiveness, his strong Scotch accent, is not the man to lend himself to an arrogant and persecuting clericalism from any church or from any creed.

One figure finally I must describe briefly in this review of the leaders of the land tax movement. The Lord Advocate cannot be counted among the Singletaxers, but he is certainly an advanced land tax reformer. Alexander Ure is one of the marvels of our times. Head of a great and laborious department, an active member of the legal profession, whose work cannot be reached by a taxicab to the law courts in London, but involves a long journey to Edinburgh; an assiduous attendant at the House of Commons, he has yet found time to attend more meetings during the last few years than any man of his time. When he speaks he does not spare himself. What is important also is that the audiences do not spare him. As with the combined lucidity and keen analysis of his splendid Scotch intellect Ure unfolds the philosophy and the economics of land reform his audiences listen spellbound. It is to them the breaking of a new dawn and a new light, and they insist on his going on and on till sometimes he has spoken for two hours at a stretch and left his audience not tired but crying for more.



## AN OPEN LETTER TO REVISERS OF CITY CHARTERS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

As you are investigating different charter plans with a view to recommending one for your city, I venture to address you in behalf of the plan advocated by some of the members of the American Proportional Representation League. The plan is clearly outlined in the recommendations of a group of Proportionalists who recently met at Tamworth, N. H. These recommendations are printed on page 117 of "Equity" for July, 1912. The plan is compared with the "commission plan"

in a short article of mine which was printed first in the English periodical "Representation" and which was reprinted in The Public of May 10, 1912.

According to this plan the city is governed by a truly representative council of, say, seven to fifteen members. This council determines policies itself directly, and it executes policies indirectly through administrative experts.

This plan is better than the "commission plan," in my opinion, (1) because a truly representative council is better fitted to determine policies than a commission elected as commissions ordinarily are, and, (2) because such a council is better fitted to choose and dismiss—to "hire and fire"—administrative officers than the whole body of voters is.

The plan is truly democratic, because the people's will is carried out far more accurately under it than under even the "commission plan." Democracy consists not in the *apparent* but in the *real* responsiveness of the government to the people's will. And the government would be more completely responsive to their will, in my view, under the plan I advocate than under any "commission plan," even one with the initiative, referendum and recall in their best forms.

The reason is really very simple: it is the same reason, essentially, as that which accounts for the fact that the general run of people can have their plumbing and doctoring done more nearly to suit them by engaging plumbers and doctors than by undertaking the plumbing and doctoring themselves. The general run of people can choose pretty well between a good plumber and a poor one, and between a good doctor and a poor one. Likewise, they can choose representatives pretty well, to undertake the rather delicate and experience-requiring business of legislating, if provided with an electoral mechanism by which they can choose the men they really want. Once these men the voters really want compose the council, that council is as much better fitted to "hire and fire" the chief administrators, and to legislate, than the voters are, as a doctor is better fitted to set a broken leg than a farmer is.



But perhaps you are skeptical about the possibility of providing a mechanism by which the people can choose representatives who will really represent them. If so, I think that skepticism would be dispelled at once if you saw a single election on the "Hare plan." I will try to describe such an election.

For the sake of vividness, let us imagine that all the voters are collected in a hall and that they number one thousand, exclusive of the candidates; let us also imagine that the voting is to be done without ballots and that the thousand voters are to elect ten representatives.

The chairman of the meeting, we may suppose,

requests each candidate to take his stand by one of the pillars of the hall, and requests every voter to vote by standing beside the candidate of his choice. The result is the formation of several groups of voters around as many candidates.

The chairman now announces that the voters may change their votes as often as they want to, and that when all are satisfied he will declare elected the candidates who are surrounded by the ten largest groups of voters. On hearing this announcement some of the voters who are supporting a popular candidate, say Mr. Root—I take well-known names, as they make the significance of the transfers clearer—discovering that his group will still be one of the largest in the hall even without their own votes, leave him and join the groups of their second favorites, Mr. Lodge and others.

As the group of Mr. Roosevelt also is unnecessarily large, some of his supporters leave him, a few to support Mr. La Follette, a few others to support Mr. Beveridge, and so forth. One of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters, going to aid the man of his second choice, Mr. La Follette, arrives after the latter's group also has become clearly more than large enough to elect him, whereupon the voter passes on to support the growing group of his third choice, Mr. J. R. Garfield.

At this point the chairman, perceiving that not all the voters understand just how to make their votes effective, announces that as there are 1,000 voters in the hall there cannot be more than ten groups as large as 91. He therefore ventures to suggest that voters who find themselves in any group in excess of that number, instead of remaining to swell that group uselessly, transfer their support to somebody else whom they favor and whom they can perhaps really help. And as for voters who find that the groups to which they have attached themselves are hopelessly small, they, he adds, would do well to transfer their votes likewise, so as to make them effective.

This announcement makes the matter quite clear to all, and there follows a brisk passing to and fro until all are satisfied. Then, when it is evident that no voter wants to change his position again, the several groups are counted. It is found that they are composed as follows: Root's, 91; Lodge's, 91; Roosevelt's, 91; La Follette's, 91; Beveridge's, 91; Dalzell's, 91; Bryan's, 91; Champ Clark's, 91; John Sharp William's, 91; Victor M. Berger's, 94; those of all other candidates together, 87. The ten men first named are then declared by the chairman to be elected as the ten representatives.

Such a system as this will be admitted, by anyone who thinks about it a little, to elect men who truly represent the voters. Its deepest point of distinction from our present system of representation, so called, is that the constituency of each representative is unanimous, whereas that of a



so-called representative under our present system often contains from forty to ninety per cent of voters who do not at heart support him at all. "Forty to ninety" sounds large; but in fact it does not exaggerate. Not only are our representatives at present actually voted against by all the voters at the polls except a plurality—which may be no more than thirty or forty per cent of the voters—but they *would* be voted against by many who vote for them, if voters were not afraid of "throwing away their votes" by voting for the man of their first choice. Under our present system a vote for any candidate does not necessarily indicate a desire on the voter's part to elect that candidate above all persons; it indicates only that, not being free to express his real preference without fear of throwing his vote away, the voter supports the candidate in question as being that one of *those who have any chance* whom he either likes best or dislikes least. It is not at all improbable that ninety per cent of the constituents of a councillor or of a member of the State Legislature, under our system of single-member constituencies defined geographically, may prefer someone else to him.

I myself have never but once so much as cast a vote for that person who was my first choice as representative in any legislative body, city, State, or national; and on that occasion the person for whom I voted was not elected. Under the Hare system I should always vote for the man of my first choice, and frequently I should actually help to elect him. Moreover, when I did not help elect him, I should help elect someone else whom I positively wanted to see elected, and should at the same time—quite nine times out of ten—have the satisfaction of seeing the man of my first choice elected by the ballots of others. The truth of these assertions is clearly proved to anyone who witnesses a Hare election and sees the votes counted.



I will now call attention to the differences between the election in the hall just described and a municipal election under the Hare system according to such rules as those arranged by Mr. Wm. Hoag, of Boston. The chief differences, indeed the only differences worth mentioning, are that whereas the voting in the hall is open and is indicated by the position of the voter, the voting at the polls in a municipal election would be secret and by ballot.

The advantages of secret voting over open voting need not be presented; that question is fairly well settled in this country, in favor of secret voting.

The advantages of voting by ballot over voting by standing in groups and changing position to make votes effective, require a few words of explanation. Even if the method of the hall were

not destructive of secrecy, it would not be nearly so satisfactory as voting by ballot. The method of the hall requires the voters themselves to understand the significance of the "quota," as it is called, of 91—to grasp the idea that they may make their will more rather than less effective by leaving a candidate of their first choice whom they cannot help and going to one of their second choice whom they can help, whereas the ballot permits them simply to record their preferences by marking the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., against the candidates of their choice and then to leave the making up of quotas or constituencies to election officers who do the transferring. In short, voting by ballot on the Hare plan, though it gives considerable clerical work to election officials, makes the work of the voter himself exceedingly easy.

This brings me to comment on the only objection that is likely to be made to the Hare plan for a large city by anybody who really understands the plan. The objection is that the scrutiny of the ballots, at the central point to which they must be taken after the count of the first choices at the precincts, will be a somewhat elaborate process where the number of ballots and the number of candidates are large. My comment on this is that even if it took many clerks two or three days to find out from the ballots who were elected, the bother and expense involved would be a bagatelle in comparison with the advantages of securing thereby a government at once sensitively democratic and extremely efficient.

Upon this matter of counting Hare ballots, the opinion of the British Royal Commission on Electoral Systems in 1910 was as follows: "It is probably safe to say that in a constituency where 60,000 or 70,000 votes are cast . . . the results should be declared, with efficient arrangements, in the course of the second day after the poll." And it should be borne in mind that this opinion was expressed of the Hare ballot as in force in Tasmania, not of the far simpler method embodied in Mr. William Hoag's rules.



A word about nominations. Nominations should be made as easy as possible, provided only that their number is kept down to convenient proportions. If fifteen candidates are to be elected, the rules about nominations should be framed with the intention of keeping the number of candidates down to, say, thirty or forty.



If your Board is wise it will, in my opinion, decide the question of what sort of charter it is to recommend on the merits of the plans considered rather than on the prestige of the persons who advocate any plan. Nevertheless it will do no harm for me to give you the names of some people who would sanction, if I understand their views cor-

rectly, what I have written in support of the Hare system of Proportional Representation as the key to good city government. Here are a few:

The Acting Town Clerk of Pretoria, South Africa, where the Hare system is used for the election of the council which rules Pretoria; John Stuart Mill; Earl Grey, until last winter Governor-General of Canada; Hon. William Dudley Foulke, President of the National Municipal League; Richard S. Childs, founder and secretary of the Short Ballot Organization; ex-Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale, R. I.; Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Boston; The Rt. Hon. Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury); The Rt. Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith; Earl Cromer (formerly British ruler of Egypt); Professor Henry R. Seager, Columbia University; Robert Tyson, of Toronto, Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League; Professor John H. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University; W. S. U'Ren, Oregon City, Oregon; Hon. T. S. Malan, Minister of Education, South African Union; John S. van Reesema, J. P., recently Town Clerk of Pretoria, South Africa.

John Stuart Mill, in his Autobiography, referring to the Hare system, writes thus:

This great discovery, for it is no less, in the political art, inspired me, as I believe it has inspired all thoughtful persons who have adopted it, with new and more sanguine hopes respecting the prospects of human society, by freeing the form of political institutions towards which the whole civilized world is manifestly and irresistibly tending [i. e., democracy] from the chief part of what seemed to qualify and render doubtful its ultimate benefits. . . . I can understand that persons, otherwise intelligent, should, for want of sufficient examination, be repelled from Mr. Hare's plan by what they think the complex nature of its machinery. But any one who does not feel the want which the scheme is intended to supply; any one who throws it over as a mere intellectual subtlety or crotchet, tending to no valuable purpose and unworthy the attention of practical men, may be pronounced an incompetent statesman, unequal to the politics of the future. ("Autobiography," edition of 1873, p. 259. Quoted in J. H. Humphreys' "Proportional Representation," Methuen & Co., London, 1911.)

John S. van Reesema, J. P., formerly Town Clerk of Pretoria, South Africa, says in the South African Municipal Year Book for 1911 (pp. 400 and 404):

The single transferable vote has been adopted and successfully applied for the election of the Senate of the South African Union, the members of the Executive Committees of the Provinces, and during the last two years to the election of the Municipal Councils of Pretoria and Johannesburg. . . . There is no difficulty in carrying out the elections and the counting of the votes under proportional representation, and the elections in Johannesburg and Pretoria have shown that the voters readily understood the filling of the ballot papers.

Here are comments by Bloemfontein papers on the election of the Senators of the Union of South Africa in 1909:

From the Bloemfontein "Friend"—

The result has demonstrated the absolute fairness of the Single Transferable Vote.

From the Bloemfontein "Post"—

The system proved in practice as simple and accurate as it was scrupulously fair in character.



The plan of city government here advocated means the "Short Ballot." Indeed, it means the shortest ballot conceivable, for each voter's ballot is effective towards the election of only one person, namely, one councillor. All the chief administrative officers are "hired and fired" by the Council.

The plan here advocated conduces to maintain the interest of the voters. It tends to do away with the political apathy which shows itself in the conduct of many otherwise excellent citizens. Political apathy is manufactured by our present system of elections. Suppose you are a Democrat in a district which usually elects a Republican to the Council with 2,000 votes to spare. If you vote, you will reduce the plurality of the Republican to 1,999. But how much difference in the legislation of the Council does that make? On the other hand, if you are a Republican in the same district your vote swells the Republican plurality from 2,000, say, to 2,001. But what good does that do you? It has no perceptible effect on legislation. Moreover, three times out of four, perhaps, no one of the candidates who has any chance of being elected is the man you prefer above all others as your representative. And how much satisfaction do you get from helping one man who cannot really represent you against another worse one who cannot really represent you? The Hare system makes voting a pleasure, because it allows every voter to make his ballot *count one* towards the election of a man he *does want*.

The plan here advocated cannot be manipulated by politicians so as to thwart the people's real desires. It eliminates all the tricks of capturing nominations, dividing the decent public-spirited vote, etc., etc. How? By making perfectly useless the nomination of more men than the spoilsmen can actually elect with their own ballots. If the spoilsmen really have ten per cent of the vote of a city, they will elect ten per cent of the councillors. *And they ought to elect their fair share.* More than their fair share they cannot elect. The Hare plan will certainly result in the election of councillors truly representative of all considerable opinion groups and interest-groups in the city; it will also be pretty sure to result in the election of persons superior to the ordinary run of voters in general ability and political experience.

The Hare plan makes primary elections unnecessary; for what primary elections do only partly and very faultily the preferential voting feature of the Hare plan does completely and almost perfectly.

The Hare plan makes the Recall unnecessary.

Initiative and Referendum provisions should be adopted as part of a city charter; but in any city with a council elected by the Hare system—or by any other of the better proportional systems—the Initiative and the Referendum would seldom if ever be used.

Bribery, whether by money, jobs, or favors, is made unprofitable by the plan here advocated. Under our present system, or under the "commission plan," where the vote between two parties is close it often pays to give large inducements for a few crucial votes that will turn the scale. Under the proportional or "effective vote" system it is necessary to bribe a whole quota of votes to elect corruptly one member.

C. G. HOAG.

Tamworth, N. H., September 1, 1912.

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## BOOKS

### PEOPLE'S POWER.

**Government by All the People: or the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, as Instruments of Democracy.** By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., author of "The American City," "Municipal Franchises," "Great Cities in America," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book may be considered as supplementary to Oberholtzer's\* on the same subject. The collection of facts by Oberholtzer furnishes a solid historical basis for Wilcox's treatise; and for the reactionary arguments in Oberholtzer, Wilcox supplies the antidote. Taken together the two books make a compact library—a very complete one with the addition of Beard and Schultz's "Documents"—on the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, each of which Dr. Wilcox explains and approves. His judgment of approval is not, however, of the "slapdash" order, as is Dr. Oberholtzer's judgment of condemnation. Wilcox takes up all the plausible objections, one by one, explains them fairly, allows for their weight fully, and answers them directly and convincingly. Nor are his arguments wearisome. He has brought not only his proved powers of cogent reasoning into the making of this book, but also his attractive literary style. In spirit, the work is that of a man who lays no claim to neutrality, but leaves the force of his argument to speak for itself, and who looks upon right government as representing both the want and the will of all the governed. Dr. Wilcox does not shrink from the difficulties, nor minimize them. He follows his argument for the Recall straight up to the judicial bench, and carries the whole subject into the domain of Federal government.

\*See Public of May 3, 1912, page 426.

## REASONS FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION.

**100 Reasons for Taxing Land Values.** By Chapman Wright and Arthur Withy. Price twopence. Published by the Midlands Land Values League, 20 Canon St., Birmingham, England.

A stanch old time Singletaxer writes: "You think there is but one cause for poverty; I know that poverty is a social disease." As proof he went on to show how comparatively little the whole sum of rent amounts to!

There are many such, who have been so busy working that they have not studied. To this their inexpensive volume will be more than useful. It shows, in some four hundred words each, the effect of taking the rental value of land upon Employment, Wages, Slums, Temperance and ninety-six others.

John Stuart Mill in "Liberty," a book perhaps more needed now by reformers than when it was written, says: "In general, opinions contrary to those commonly received can only obtain a hearing by studied moderation of language and the most cautious avoidance of unnecessary offense." Such is the character of the arguments presented in this little book. Vancouver, however, would have furnished a more modern instance of "Absolutely Satisfactory in Practice" than Senator Bucklin's report on New Zealand cited by the authors.

The profits of the sale of the booklet go to the Midland Land Values League.

BOLTON HALL.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

—One of the Multitude. By George Acorn. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Primitive Christianity and Early Criticisms. By A. S. Garretson. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Elementary Principles of Economics. By Irving Fisher. Third Edition. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The Control of Trusts. By John Bates Clark and John Maurice Clark. Rewritten and Enlarged. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

**The Darrow Case.**

Plea of Clarence Darrow in his own Defense to the Jury that exonerated him of the charge of Bribery at Los Angeles, August, 1912. (With portrait. Los Angeles and San Francisco: Golden Press. Price 25 cents.) The classic jury speeches were stately in style, this is nervous; they were oratorical.

this is dramatic. It is a brilliant specimen of forensic pleading, and the spell is intensified by the pleader's personal relation to the case. In addition to its brilliancy and its extraordinary setting, the speech is interesting for its revelations regarding the McNamara case.



#### From the Fels-Fund Conference.

A dainty souvenir pamphlet contains the portrait of Susan Look Avery, and her address at the Singletax banquet in Chicago last November—a never-to-be-forgotten incident of a memorable occasion.

A. L. G.



#### Pamphlets Received.

Appendices to the First Report of the British Departmental Committee on Local Taxation, as presented to both Houses of Parliament. Volume I, containing the Minutes of Evidence concerning Land Values Taxation, taken before the Committee from Witnesses representing Various Interested Groups and Associations of Citizens. Volume II, containing the submitted Memoranda of these same Groups of Citizens on Local Rating and Land Valuation. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1912. To be purchased from Wyman & Sons, Fetter Lane, E. C., London, Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court, Edinburgh, or E. Ponsonby, 116 Grafton St., Dublin. Prices, 4 shillings, and 1 s. 4 d., respectively.



"Mr. Roosevelt is the best friend the Socialists have ever had in this country."—New York World.

The Socialists say not, but what do they know about Socialism?—Chicago Tribune.

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## PERIODICALS

### The Japanese Character Again.

The Outlook of September 14 prints the third and last of George Kennan's opinions on Japanese character—this one entitled, "Are the Japanese Moral?" citing several instances to prove the loving remembrance of the Japanese for their friends, and their magnanimous recognition of the manly virtues in their enemies. Some extracts from the Fukuzewa code of morals as taught in the public schools of Japan are given to show how in keeping they are with America's best ideals.

A. L. G.



We note that the New York Chapter of the Catholic Knights of Columbus have: "Resolved, that Socialism in its fundamental principles and doctrines is a religious, not a political question."

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in this campaign unless it can overcome this resolution.

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