The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

James H. Dillard, Louisiana Henry F. Ring, Texas Herbert S. Bioblow, Ohio Herbert Quice, Ohio Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio Brand Whitlock, Ohio John Z. White, Illinois Llewellyn Jones, Illinois Stoughton Cooley, Illinois HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
LINCOLN STEPPENS, New York
PREDERIC C. HOWE, New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New York
MRS. LONA INCHAM ROBINSON, IOWA
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL. Missouri

W. G. Eggleston, Oregon
C. E. S. Wood, Oregon
R. F. Pettigrew, South Dakota
Lewis H. Berens, England
J. W. S. Callie, England
JOSEPH Fels, England
JOHN PAUL, England
BRNEST BRAY, Australia
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1912.

No. 758.

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

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

CONTENTS.

Edward F. Dunne and the Traction Question9	6
For Governor of New York	6
Authentic Forgeries	ĕ
The "Quid Pro Quo"9	θ
Senator Dixon and Campaign Funds9	6
Legality of the "Closed Shop"	6
William Brothers	6
	U
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE: Singletax Campaign in Missouri (J. R. Hermann and	
Robert Cumming)	6
Taxation Home Rule in California (Edward P. E.	
Troy)	6
	u
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS: A Correction (Herbert Adams Gibbons)9	6
NEWS NARRATIVE:	_
The Presidential Campaign9	7
Campaign Funds 9 Sulzer for Governor of New York 9	ż
Referendum Voting in Colorado	7
Leasing Instead of Selling Public Lands9	7
Taxation in Illinois	7
American Intervention in Nicaragua	7
British Conference on Land Values Taxation9	7
News Notes	
RELATED THINGS:	•
Richard F. George (Joseph Dana Miller)	7
The Riddle of the Sphinx (Harlan Eugene Read)9 Land Values in China (W. E. Macklin)9	7
"Scum o' the Earth" (Robert Haven Schauffler)9	7
BOOKS:	_
City Problems Poems of the "Sixth Estate"	7
Pamphlets9	7
Periodicals9	17

EDITORIAL

Edward F. Dunne and the Traction Question.

Another of the outcries against Edward F. Dunne as candidate for Governor, is that as Mayor of Chicago he did not redeem his pledges for municipal ownership of the street car system. But that is not the question. The question is whether he tried, and why he failed. If he didn't try, or trying failed from his own fault, the outcry against him now is reasonable and just; but if he did try, and failed without fault of his own, the outcry against him on this ground is unreasonable and unjust.



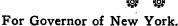
The fact is that Mayor Dunne did all that any man could do to redeem his pledges for municipal ownership in Chicago. He did more than most men similarly situated would have done or tried to do. He stood by his pledges to the last hour and second of his term of office; and he sacrificed his re-election rather than ensure it by an agreement to abandon those pledges. What more could be asked?



Mayor Dunne's efforts for municipal ownership were frustrated by a combination of corrupt interests in Wall Street. These were backed by newspapers and big business houses in Chicago. They were backed by the political bosses and the slums. They were backed by a majority of the City Council. They were backed by some of the

Fifteenth Year.

Democratic bosses. They were backed by both the Deneen and the Lorimer factions of the Republican Party. And most unfortunate of all, they were backed by a small majority of the people at the referendum on which Dunne made his last stand in support of his pledges. To charge Dunne with responsibility for the present Morganized traction system in Chicago is intolerable meanness, in so far as it comes from intelligent sources. It is impenetrable ignorance in so far as it comes from elsewhere. The responsibility lies with those interests and influences and voters who made his pledges impossible of fulfillment.



When "Boss" Murphy was forced to give up the unit rule at Syracuse, all possibility of Governor Dix's renomination was at an end. A revival of Mr. Murphy's power, however, may be inferred from the nomination of William Sulzer, inasmuch as Sulzer has for years been a Tammany man. But this would be estimating Sulzer without reference to his political history.

That he came into politics years ago through Tammany is true; that he has always affiliated with the Tammany organization is also true; and so is it true that his many successive elections to Congress have been upon Tammany nominations. But Mr. Sulzer ceased long ago to obey the commands of Tammany bosses, either express or implied.

On more than one occasion he has been able to defy the bosses, and has in fact done so. His continuance in Congress has not depended upon them. Tammany has needed him more than he has needed Tammany. He has got his nominations and elections not by favor from Tammany bosses, but from his own popularity with the people—men, women and children—in his own Congressional district. Although in the course of his political career Mr. Sulzer has stood for some measures that should be opposed on democratic grounds, he has not on the whole stultified the fundamental democracy he professes and which we believe he feels. On the contrary, he has frequently, and not by any accident, stood for democracy when the breakers ahead of him for doing so were audible and visible.

One of those occasions was in Bryan's first campaign. It cost something at that time to be for Bryan in public life in New York. But Sulzer did

not count the cost. Such tests have been borne by him on several occasions. That he has been nominated for Governor of the State he has represented these many years in Congress, represented it at times when to do so he had to defy the Tammany bosses, goes to show that Tammany bossism may have gone to the wall for good at the Syracuse convention, as Thomas M. Osborne predicted that it would. It is inconceivable to those who understand his political career, that Mr. Sulzer would be a boss's tool as Governor. To all such his election would come as a guarantee of an unusual extension of democratic Democracy at the Albany capitol.

Religion and Politics.

In approving the example of an Illinois religious congregation for using their auditorium for the orderly discussion of live political questions* under their own supervision, we mistakenly located this religious body at Evanston. But the "North Shore Congregational Church," the body in question, is located, as we now learn, at Wilson avenue and Sheridan Road, a spot within the limits of Chicago. The experiment appears to have been as successful in truly relating religion to politics as we had hoped it might be.

Authentic Forgeries.

When Hearst published the Standard Oil letters in fac-simile, it was universally supposed that they were genuine reproductions in form as well as substance. Not only did they purport to be so, but there was no legitimate object in printing photographic copies instead of copies in printers' type unless they were genuine photographs of originals. Hearst did not then explain that these were photographic copies of renovated imitations of blurred originals, nor that the signatures to the copies were forged. That explanation would have spoiled the effect. He reserved it until Collier's proved beyond dispute that five of the photographs as published are forgeries. "Ah!" exclaims Mr. Hearst's paper at this embarrassing juncture, "but it does not say that the five letters in question are spurious." A forged document which is not spurious is one of the handiest discoveries Hearst has ever made. May it be out of place, however, to suggest that when a document is admitted to be a forgery, the burden of proving that it is not also spurious rests so heavily upon the publisher thereof that more than his mere word is needed to support his case? This curiosity in ethics—a forgery that is not spurious—may be of little importance

^{*}See current volume, page 914.

