

delegation from Illinois," which has long been a standing price for all Hearst favors in this State.

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The Forthcoming Los Angeles Election.

Job Harriman's nomination for Mayor of Los Angeles at the direct primaries last month should gratify every sympathetic reader of *The Public*.* We speak of him alone because he is at the head of his ticket; but we allude also to his associate nominees, for no one could in such circumstances wish for the election of a Council hostile to the Mayor. That Mr. Harriman and his associates may be elected in December we earnestly hope. Not that we stand for Socialism in its class-conscious politics or all its doctrinaire economics. We do not. But we believe that the time is past in this country for opposing Socialists merely because they are Socialists. Practical democratic policies are now so far upon us that tolerance of differences of opinion on particular points—however important those points may be in the abstract, if they are not yet "the question before the house" in our politics—should be the order of the day among those of us who are struggling for democracy. To be sure this is no reason for voting the Socialist ticket where the party is still a political toy. That is the special function of thorough-going Socialists, if it is anybody's. But where Socialist candidates are factors in an election, their opponents must be exceedingly attractive in point of democratic pioneering to deter any fundamental democrat from voting for the Socialists.

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No democrat not a Socialist wants to join the Socialist party; it is too narrowly class-partisan for that—too creed-bound in its terms of membership, too absurdly cock-sure and arrogant not to say domineering in spirit, and too specific in the program it makes for future generations. On the other hand, the Socialist party doesn't want any members who are not thorough-going, creed-bound Socialists. But party membership should not govern in the matter of votes. With genuine democrats the promotion of their cause is all-controlling. What if they do not participate in the councils of a victory they help to win? Only the few can do that under any circumstances, and the ballot is participation enough if there be effective machinery for using it. Not the party but the cause—that is the thing. And how better can genuine democrats promote their cause in Los Angeles at the approaching election than by voting for Job Harriman? Surely not by voting

for Mayor Alexander. He is a "goo-goo," not a democrat; and while some democrats are "goo-goos," and some other "goo-goos" become democrats, the natural characteristics of the "goo-goo" are those of the tory, who would superimpose "good government" from above instead of developing it from within. And if it be urged against Harriman that he stands for "class" in government, shall it be overlooked that Mayor Alexander does also? And that Mayor Alexander's "class" loyalty is to a dominant and more or less parasitical "class," whereas Mr. Harriman's is to the "class" that pays its own way in the world with its own work? Say "interests" instead of "classes," and see where you come out in a comparison of those two candidates.

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We have had some experience in this country now with Socialist Mayors, and there doesn't seem to be much for them to be ashamed of. The blush of shame should be on the other face. Since Tom L. Johnson's administrations in Cleveland there has been no better-governed city than Milwaukee under Mayor Seidel, simply as matter of good government; and the administration of J. Stitt Wilson as Mayor of Berkeley, California, though this is a smaller city, gives promise of equally gratifying results in administration and democracy. Harriman is a Socialist of similar type, a citizen of similar qualities, from whom as much may be expected if he becomes Mayor of Los Angeles. There is no reason why "good government" men who mean good government for all, Singletax men who want land values taxation as soon as possible, and all other genuine democrats who have the conviction and the courage of their democracy, should not vote for Job Harriman. Reasons why they should are abundant.

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GOVERNOR GARVIN'S BIRTHDAY.

This is to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the forty-fifth and forty-sixth Governor of the State of Rhode Island—not because he was twice Governor of Rhode Island, nor merely because he is seventy years old, but because he has for thirty of those seventy years devoted his thought and energies to the service of his fellow men.

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Lucius Fayette Clarke Garvin was born in Tennessee, at Knoxville, on the 13th of November, 1841. Except by accident of birth, however, he was not a Southerner but a New Englander,

*See current volume of *The Public*, pages 493, 899.

his mother having been born in Massachusetts and his father in Vermont. His father was a professor in the East Tennessee University.

After his father's death, Dr. Garvin got his earlier education at a Friends' school in Greensboro, North Carolina, his collegiate education at Amherst College and his medical at Harvard. During his college course he taught school, and upon his graduation in 1862 he enlisted and served two years in the Civil war as a private in the 51st Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. In 1867 he received his medical degree, after one year's service as an interne in the Boston City Hospital. Thereupon he settled down as a family physician at Lonsdale, R. I., where he has ever since lived and practiced his profession.

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Public service as a citizen, no less than private service as a physician, has marked Dr. Garvin's career. Going to the lower house of the Rhode Island legislature in 1883, he has served thirteen terms in that House besides three as State Senator. Four times, also, he was a candidate for Congress and four for Governor. As a Democrat in a strongly Republican State, his defeats for Congress and twice for Governor were not remarkable, but his election for Governor twice is for the same reason a noteworthy fact.

As a Democrat, Governor Garvin belongs to the variety of democrat which we spell with a little *d*. Before he became a Democrat with a big *D*, he had been a Republican; and he was a Republican in his younger days for the same reason that he has been a Democrat in his later life—because he was all the time a democrat with a little *d*—a democratic Republican then as he is a democratic Democrat now.

It was this fact in general that took him into politics at all, and the further fact in particular that his fundamental democracy was vitalized and put into working order by reading Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He read "Progress and Poverty" thirty years ago, and his conversion to its doctrines was immediate and practical. "Deftly and ingeniously for thirty years," said the Providence Journal of July 30, 1911, "he has argued in speech and printer's ink, for the adoption of the single standard of taxation, winning admiration if not always converts by the skill with which he has utilized every variety of current happening, as an entering wedge to expound the doctrine—and, parenthetically, be it observed, there have been converts." This was said descriptively in connection with the report of a speech by Governor Garvin wherein he had predicted, jocularly

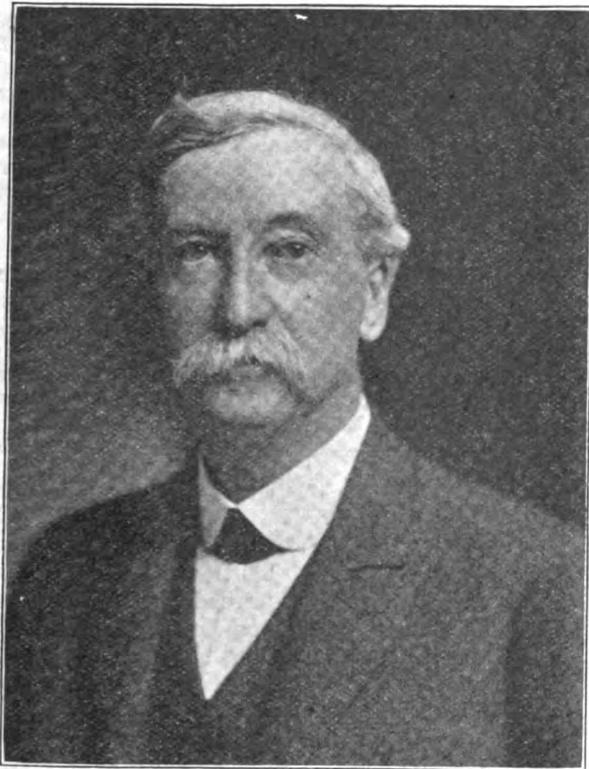
as to the time but seriously as to the fact, that in sixty-six years "nobody will work more than thirty hours a week" and "trolley rides and telephone service and electric lights and all other public utilities will be free."

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The Providence Journal proceeds in this wise with its comment:

There is nothing strictly new or original in the prediction of free utilities as a result of the Single-tax, to be sure. Dr. Garvin is of the Tom Johnson school of Singletaxers, who believe that free trolley fares and all the other things would come inevitably when land alone is taxed, just as modern office buildings provide elevator service and other conveniences as a matter of course. "No city taxing its land alone could afford to do otherwise," Governor Garvin declares, "any more than the owner of an office building can afford to do without the elevator. The conveniences are necessary, and at the same time they increase the rental, just as they will increase taxable values. The city which doesn't provide them will be hopelessly out of pocket." Dr. Garvin's contribution to the discussion is the fixing of a time when all this will be accomplished. Nor is he doubtful of his own prediction because for 30 years the Henry George theories have had a chance to make themselves felt without visible result hereabouts. "The beginning is always slow," he said to the interviewer. "But once tried in this country, as they have been in other countries, they will sweep like wildfire. If one State adopts them, other States will have to in self-defense. If one town in Rhode Island should adopt them, other towns and cities will quickly fall in line. Laws are like inventions in some respects, but they differ in one way. Invent something of real benefit, as the Wrights did with the aeroplane, and you need to interest only one person with capital, and you can put the invention into use. Advocate a law which will benefit society, and you must convince not one man, but many men, most of whom are unwilling to be convinced. So the beginning of such a reform must inevitably be slow. But once it is accomplished, society does not move backward." Nor does Dr. Garvin see any reason to be discouraged because people call him a crank when he looks back over the record of reform movements with which he has been associated since he first took part in political discussions in Rhode Island in 1872. Almost continuously since that time he has been agitating reforms. His agitations led him to the Governor's chair, but they did not stop when he left it. That, as has been observed, was a mere incident to him. The important thing is the added favor it may have brought the reforms for which he stood. "Some of them had to be proposed year after year," he said to the interviewer, "but eventually they made their impression. Thirty years ago we were behind many of the other States, but since that time we have progressed more rapidly than most, till now we are well in the first rank. I hope we may be among the first in adopting the principle of local option in taxation and the Single-tax." Equal suffrage rights furnished the issue with which he first allied himself in Rhode Island affairs, the issue that first sent him to the General Assem-

bly in 1883. Not till five years later was the Constitution amended with a partial concession to the ideas for which he stood. But meanwhile he had



Governor Garvin's two terms in the Governor's chair were mere incidents. He has been singularly devoid of ambition for public office, and has sought it not as an end but as a means to an end which has seemed so much higher to him—the popularization of the reform that bears the name of Henry George. In this work he has been tireless and judicious.

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His first practical victory was in securing, while State Senator, the passage of a law requiring the assessment of land values and improvement values separately. That was in the late eighties or early nineties, when only Massachusetts and California did it, and some ten years before New York City was allowed to do it. It was a very small thing, to be sure, Singletaxically speaking,—small in itself, though necessary; and Governor Garvin's associates in the legislature at that time readily gave him his way in a spirit of legislative good fellowship. But when the next legislature sat, the possibilities of that reform as an entering wedge had been sensed and the Garvin law was repealed in spite of all he could do.

This taught him a lesson, however, which has served him throughout his subsequent work, and ought to be a lesson to us all. You can't "pussyfoot" through any such reform as the Singletax. You've got to have the people behind you, with an understanding of what you are doing and what you mean by it. If you lack that support, the Interests and their political allies will frustrate your purposes as they did Senator Garvin's in Rhode Island twenty years ago. When it comes to the game of "pussyfoot," genuine reformers have no show at all against genuine grafters.

That is the reason why the Initiative is so highly important for Singletax purposes, or for any other good reform. Not only does it make success possible and secure, as soon as the people understand the reform and want it, but meanwhile it educates them to an understanding of it. One vigorous Initiative campaign for the Singletax, such for instance as the laws of Oregon permit, would be worth, even if it ended in defeat, a whole marketful of legislative advances, without popular support or understanding.

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Governor Garvin's instructive experience in this respect in the Rhode Island Senate has served him well in his subsequent Singletax work, both the direct and the indirect. He has taken the people into his confidence and they have begun to listen.

Even in his defeat for election for

taken up other issues, side issues, to be sure, but still stoutly advocated. In 1884 he urged the ten-hour law, which was passed the following year. In 1886 he introduced the measure for a Bureau of Labor Statistics, which was adopted, and although he admits that the office has been more political than he had in view, the principle he holds to be right. In 1891 came the weekly payment bill, in 1893 the plurality election measure he had urged year after year, in 1894 the factory inspection law, while other measures concerning hours of labor have been among his subjects for argument. The Constitutional Initiative proposal was introduced by him in 1899 and has been offered every year since then, and for the last three years he has seen that a bill for local option in taxation was introduced in the Assembly at each session. Not all these measures were introduced by him, but they and numerous others have been numbered among the dreams he has dreamed. And as surely as many of these have come true he looks forward to the reforms whose fulfillment within two-thirds of a century he predicts. "There is nothing impossible in these," he contends. "I estimate the land values of Rhode Island on the basis of census reports issued seven years ago as \$300,000,000. Since then they have increased, of course. We take 1 per cent, or \$3,000,000 of this sum now. Six per cent would still leave some land values to the landlords, and would provide at least a beginning for free utilities."

It is as the Providence Journal states, that

Governor, Garvin's vote proved the hold his open agitation had given him on the people. Although the Republican candidate for President carried Rhode Island that year by a plurality of 16,766, Governor Garvin lost it by only 856. This could hardly have been in recognition of peculiarly good service as Governor, for the Constitution of Rhode Island doesn't allow a Governor to perform any service. Governor Garvin was allowed to nominate men for appointive office, but the nominations were in every instance rejected by the State Senate, which filled all these places with men of its own selection. Except as Governor Garvin was in position to address the people from the altitude of the Governor's chair, the Governorship was no vantage ground. He was not allowed to do anything but appoint his own private secretary. It must have been his genuine democracy, therefore, and not his official service, that almost elected him Governor for the third time, as a Democrat, in a year when the Republican Presidential candidate carried the State overwhelmingly.

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In celebration of Governor Garvin's seventieth birthday, we wish—and may we not feel that in this we are speaking for most of our readers? Indeed, may we not ask all for whom we do speak to honor Governor Garvin with a seventieth-year "letter-shower"—that in the remaining years of his life he may be as useful as he has been in the past, and that his remaining years may be long enough for him to see still more than he has yet seen of the fruits of his once lonesome agitations for the public good.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE COMING ELECTION IN ONTARIO.*

Toronto, Can., November 7.

The new leader for Ontario, though a platform speaker of note, has never before held any office in the Liberal party and has had no Parliamentary experience. But the party is thoroughly committed to the principal of home rule in taxation, and while the most sanguine Liberal does not at the present time expect to defeat the Whitney Government at this election, it is altogether probable that the Liberals will make large gains and will in the next House have a minority constituting a powerful Opposition. A. W. Roebuck, at one time one of our prominent Singletaxers here and for several years the editor of the Singletax paper, is a candidate in New Liskeard and is putting up a great fight with a fair chance of election. Thanks to the Southams of Ottawa, the two Conservative candidates of that city

*See Public of November 10, page 1143.

are pledged to support any measure of tax reform that may be introduced. The plank advocating home rule in taxation was passed at the Liberal convention without a dissenting voice and with much enthusiasm. As nearly every paper in the Province, both Liberal and Conservative, is an advocate of local option in taxation, this, coupled with the strong stand the Liberal party is making on the subject, gives us hope that the present Government if returned to power will not be able to resist the pressure of public opinion. It seems to me that no matter which party is elected, progress will be made along the line of exemption of improvements from taxation.

ALLAN C. THOMPSON.

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, November 14, 1911.

The Elections of Last Week.

In last week's issue of *The Public* we were able to give only a few indefinite reports of election results, the elections having come off on the 7th and most election news not having been received until after that issue had gone to press. We now give such returns as are of special interest with reference to the democratic movement in American politics. [See current volume, page 1146.]

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For delegates to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio a Progressive sweep was made. In spite of the efforts of certain special interests to secure a Convention of unpledged delegates, it appears that 60 out of the 119 delegates are pledged in writing to the program of the Ohio Progressive League, which includes the Initiative and Referendum (so pledged as to prevent trifling compromises), and that 40 more are committed to it by newspaper interviews. From Cuyahoga (the Cleveland county) the following delegates were elected: T. S. Farrell (Rep.), W. C. Davio (Labor), E. W. Doty (Rep.), T. G. Fitzsimons (Dem.), Aaron Hahn (Ind.), D. E. Leslie (Dem.), John D. Fackler (Rep.), Robert Crosser (Dem.), Harry Thomas (Soc.), and S. S. Stilwell (Dem.) All these are pledged to the Progressive League's platform—the League of which Brand Whitlock is president. From Hamilton (the Cincinnati county), the following were elected: Herbert S. Bigelow (Ind.), Hiram D. Peck (Dem.), Henry Cordes (Dem.), George W. Harris (Dem.), John C. Hoffmann (Dem.), Stanley E. Bowdle (Dem.), Starbuck Smith (Rep.), W. P. Halenkamp (Ind.), and William Worthington (Rep.). All but the last, a respectable Conservative, are pledged to the Progressive League's