

haunts one with its spirit of physical strength in union—with its hint of what is, in man's conflict with physical nature, of what may be in a conflict of classes, and of what might be with universal brotherhood. The same sculptural power appears in Mr. Haag's "Immigrants," one of those wonderfully unified groupings, suggestive of individuality in solidarity, which he appears to have pioneered. In his "Haybearer" and in his peasants ploughing, the work is as vital, but individual physical strength at labor is dominant. None of these statues may appeal to the sophisticated in art, as Haag's more conventional work does; but they appeal tremendously to observers of modern industrial life.

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"SLAVISH OBEDIENCE" TO CONSTITUENTS.

It is inevitable that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall should cause a division between those who really believe in government by the people and those who do not; but there is danger of an unnecessary division of the former, owing to an honest difference of view as to the powers that should be delegated to "representatives" in what is agreed upon as the only practicable method of securing such government.

Some advocates of representative government can see only that the essential function of the representative is to give effect to the wishes of his constituents; others hold that he should act as he thinks right even though it be contrary to their wishes. Here is a distinct and important difference of view; but respectful consideration of the opposing arguments is worth while before assuming that any division on the Initiative, Referendum and Recall issue is involved.

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The argument that the people cannot and do not get what they want when their representatives are free to act effectively contrariwise, is met by the argument that without vesting such powers in their representatives the people cannot benefit by the special abilities which presumably justify their selection and without which good government cannot be attained. These arguments show that the full problem before us is how to secure government by the people without sacrificing the benefits of special ability in their representatives.

Faith in democracy cannot be reasonably based on the theory that the majority view is certainly right, for majorities frequently shift from one side to the other. It can rest only on the belief that it is right that majorities should control for

the time whether they happen to be in the right or not, and that a minority in the right must be changed to a majority before the right can prevail.

This procedure is apt to appear distressingly slow to the minority individual of strong convictions, but if he admits that there is no authority to appeal to which is less fallible than the people, or whose support is equally essential to real success, he accepts the situation and persistently appeals to the people. The only thing that can be done to help him is to provide every facility for such appeals.

Right here should be opened an honorable way of escape for public men from what has been termed "slavish obedience to the demands of their constituents" in disregard of their own convictions; a way of escape that will not involve such misuse of representative power as would be more dishonorable and repugnant than "slavish obedience."

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The people do not want to make mere puppets of their representatives, even though they alone could control the strings. Can they not, then, safely permit any representative to support or oppose measures as he thinks right to do, in view of the conditions of his appointment, providing only that appeal to them *may* be taken before his actions become effective?

Let him take the risks of having his action condemned, even of being recalled as a *misrepresentative*, and his conduct would not only be justified in any event as honorable, but would be made effective or ineffective by the people themselves, on whom the responsibility would be properly thrown.

Moreover, if an issue be distinctly drawn and full opportunity given to convert a majority to his views, he would be likely, even if he failed to convert them, to retain their confidence as an able and conscientious representative; and he would certainly have compelled such public attention as is essential to the forming of intelligent public opinion.

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Do not the Initiative, Referendum and Recall properly provide for such appeals on all important questions?

It seems clear that they safeguard the fundamental right of the people to control, and that they also provide for making good use of honest conviction and courageous leadership in their representatives without in any way sacrificing democracy.

Conviction as to these facts would apparently

leave no ground for reasonable opposition by any who really believe in government by the people.

WALTER G. STEWART.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SINGLE TAX IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

Portland, Oregon, March 25.

"Have you been to the single tax city, Vancouver? If you have, what news do you bring?" This question I heard many times as I traveled through our northwestern States; for keen is the interest in the growth and material progress of the four western Canadian provinces, and especially of British Columbia, of which Vancouver is the metropolis.

American labor and American capital have latterly been flowing fast over the northern boundary line. As a consequence, one of the things that people through Oregon, Washington, and the other northwestern States most want to know about is "the working of the single tax", which report says is making magical opportunities and individual fortunes in Vancouver.

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I was fortunate enough to obtain an interview with Mayor L. D. Taylor soon after reaching Vancouver. Vancouver itself is a lively-looking city. It reminds one of both an English and an American city, with many fine buildings and many more in process of erection. But on the way from the Vancouver hotel (run by the Canadian Pacific Railway) to the City Hall, about a mile distant, I noticed many building lots that were vacant and many that were cumbered with wretched little hovels.

The City Hall itself is perhaps an adequate but not a large or pretentious building. What to me was the most remarkable thing about it was the wording on the outer door of the Mayor's office, to wit: "Walk In". It contrasted with the atmosphere surrounding most executive chambers, which in effect says, "Keep Out".

Mayor Taylor is a man of middle age, alert carriage and penetrating gaze. He has the directness and brevity of a railroad executive, and indeed he impressed me more as a railroad man than as a politician, or as a newspaper man, though he is the proprietor and active manager of the *World*, a very prosperous daily which is building or is about to build one of the finest newspaper establishments in all the Northwest, either north or south of the line. Moreover, it may be interesting to know that the Mayor is American born, hailing from Michigan.

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When I asked Mayor Taylor as to the truth of Vancouver's prosperity, he presented the great growth of building and other land improvements in proof of it.

But right here it is necessary to correct what may be a common misapprehension. It is true that within the past year there has been 86 per cent. increase in improvements. But this does not mean 86 per cent. of the total amount of improvements, but 86 per cent. above the improvements made during the year preceding. Yet that preceding year

showed a considerable advance over the year before; and each year for a number of years has shown large increases over the improvements made in each preceding year. Nevertheless, if these advances are not so great as some may have supposed, they are really remarkable when compared with the rate of building increase in cities elsewhere, especially in the United States.

Mayor Taylor attributed this building growth to the single tax; and he does not evade the plain words, "single tax". He flatly avows himself a Single Taxer. On that issue he was elected to the chief magistracy of the city. In a statement published not long since, he put the case in this way: "Fifteen years ago the city government concluded to encourage building by reducing the improvement tax 50 per cent. The effect was immediate. Huge buildings began to rise up where shacks had stood. In 1906, as a result of the success of the first experiment, an additional decrease of 25 per cent was made in the improvement tax. At once building operations showed another startling increase—an increase that when compared with the increases shown in the statistics of other cities was wholly out of proportion to the increase of population. At the beginning of 1910 it was decided to eliminate the building tax altogether, and, in consequence the single tax (taxation of ground values alone) was adopted in its entirety."

All that Mayor Taylor has here said is true. Building has been encouraged by exemption from taxation, and has jumped in consequence.

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But concurrently something else has jumped. The value of land has gone up enormously.

Mayor Taylor is too loyal to Vancouver's prosperity—to too anxious to see her grow in population and wealth—to admit any undue speculation in land within the city's limits. To the observant visitor, however, it is most obvious and threatening.

That there should be such speculation accords with the circumstances and common reason. The tax on land values is very low, not high enough to discourage speculation; whereas, in addition to the encouragement to such speculation arising from tax exemption of buildings, there are two other important factors of speculation. One of these is the entrance into Vancouver of the Great Northern Railroad, thus making direct connection with Seattle, Portland and the more populous portions of the north-western States. The other is railroad building and general "development" to the north of Vancouver. The land-selling or promotion companies are extensively advertising British Columbia grain, fruit and timber-lands. Such advertisements are appearing in the principal Washington and Oregon papers. So that, because it exempts buildings from all taxation, and because it has better railroad facilities, and is attracting a larger surrounding country population by elaborate "promotion" processes, Vancouver is seen to be a superior place to live and do business in. Hence, up goes the price of its land.

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Now, the tax rate on land values in Vancouver is nominally 20 mills, or 2 per cent. It in fact is much lower. For, although land is supposed to be