

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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The Sleeper Awakes.

"You're a liar," said the Colonel; and then they knew that consciousness had returned.

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Governor Wilson of New Jersey.

Governor Wilson smiles genially at the thought that he should ever have been regarded as the Wall street candidate for the Presidency. So, no doubt, *did* the Wall street men who thrust him forward, though *they* smile no longer.

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It was about the middle of the early half of last July, that inspired newspaper dispatches went westward from New York (vol. xiii, p. 662) reporting plans to nominate Dr. Wilson for Governor of New Jersey with a view to securing him the Presidency in 1912, the persons named in connection with the movement being Roger C. Sullivan of Illinois, George Harvey of New York and ex-United States Senator Smith of New Jersey. Not less than two of those men doubtless had designs upon Dr. Wilson's civic conscience or his political sagacity. Against one of them Gov. Wilson now testifies positively, circumstantially and convincingly.

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Later dispatches were to the effect that (vol. xiii, p. 674) Dr. Wilson's nomination for Governor was decided upon at a conference between

him and a dozen or more prominent New Jersey Democrats at the Lawyers' Club in New York. We took occasion at that time, in commenting upon the later dispatches, to say that "when a dozen prominent Democrats of New Jersey meet in New York to adjust a political program, the event is likely to mean much the same thing to the public interest, though in enormously greater degree, that a midnight meeting of prominent connoisseurs of poultry under a henroost would mean to the owner of the hens." In the light of subsequent events, such is precisely what that meeting did mean.

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Governor Wilson is sure that his friends in Wall street never supposed for a moment that he would be serviceable to any interest opposed to the people and to the country at large. We agree with him heartily, but with a reservation. We do not believe that they supposed he would be untrue to the public interest consciously. He thinks he is not now surprising them, but only such persons as did not understand him. Again we agree, with a reservation. Although we think he is now surprising only such persons as did not understand him; we include among those persons, some at least of the Wall street group that grasped the strings at the New York Lawyers' Club last July for his nomination for Governor of New Jersey.

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It is altogether probable that among those promoters of Governor Wilson's New Jersey candidacy, some had friendly and honorable expectations of making his election a stepping stone to the Presidency. It is probable, also, that none had any expectation of "using" him after his election as Governor or as President. The "crooks" wanted him in politics, not as a tool of the Interests, but as a stalking horse *for* the Interests.

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It was as their stalking horse that they secured Dr. Wilson's nomination for Governor, and a right fine stalking horse did he make for them during the campaign, after they had assured him that he wasn't a stalking horse. In the trail of his popularity the New Jersey legislature was packed with obedient tools of the Interests, packed so full that ex-Senator Smith, who had assured Dr. Wilson that he would not be a candidate for the Senate, was so surprised by his popularity in the legislature after the election, that he changed his mind! But Governor Wilson has turned out to be an unruly stalking horse. Having secured the confidence of the people of his

State, he refuses to be silent, like Governor Dix of New York, while the Interests that used his popularity to pack the legislature work their will with it. Even if he has no legal power to interfere, he has the ear of the people to expose, and this he is doing (vol. xiii, p. 1179) with a sense of political honor, a degree of political sagacity, and in a spirit of genuine democracy, that are lifting him in public estimation everywhere to a high level as a Democrat of national size and of the democratic variety.

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It is impossible to follow the course of Governor Wilson since his nomination without a growing confidence in his political astuteness and democratic genuineness. His campaign speeches, though they rang true, were open of course to the criticism that they might be only glittering generalities. There was nothing concrete with which to test them. But since his election he has been subjected to the testiest kind of a test—a square issue and a bitter fight between the democratic Democracy, represented by Martine, and the Interests, represented by Smith. On that test the following quotation from Gov. Wilson's speech at Newark on the 14th leaves nothing to be desired:

The issue is perfectly plain. It is between two systems of government. Under the one, party managers privately arrange both election to office and the course of legislation. Because they make these arrangements in private they make them in alliance with whom they please, serving such interests as it is profitable to serve. In recent times this system of private management has included nothing more conspicuous than the selection of United States senators. A glance at the newspapers will show what the ignoble results have been. Under the other system of government, the system we are striving to restore, everything is done in public and everything is done through the action of the people themselves. This is the system which we once had but have lost, and which we must regain, whatever the cost to individuals or to such interests as set themselves against it. In this particular case we must ask ourselves whom Mr. Smith represents. No one will contend that he represents the people of New Jersey. He does not even represent a State machine. He represents, I do not know how many persons, let us say 1,000 at a liberal guess, and over against these are set the 200,000 and more Democrats who voted at the polls and who insist upon genuine representation in the conduct of the government. I am not presuming to suggest a man for Senator. I am supporting the popular choice; and the popular choice has fallen upon a genuine man of the people.

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The New Jersey Senatorship.

It makes no difference, as Gov. Wilson truly says, whether the Interests are represented in the

United States Senate by a Republican agent like Senator Kean, or a Democratic agent like ex-Senator Smith. The point is that they must not be represented there at all. This is a people's government; and the people, not the Interests, must rule. Taking that genuinely democratic view of the matter Governor Wilson has called upon the Democrats of New Jersey to demand of their representatives in the legislature that they send to the United States Senate the man whom the members of the Democratic party chose at open and law-established primaries instead of a man chosen at secret confabs of the Interests. The contest, therefore—and it involves the integrity of the Democratic party in New Jersey—is between James Smith, Jr., the Democratic representative of the trusts, of which Senator Kean is the Republican representative now, and James E. Martine, a democratic Democrat and the choice of the Democratic party at primaries held regularly in pursuance of a law of the State. If Smith is elected, we shall be one step nearer a reorganization of parties across present party lines; if Martine is elected, a guaranty of democratic Democracy will have been given by the Democratic party of New Jersey.

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The New York Senatorship.

In New York as in New Jersey, the Senatorial contest narrows down to two men, unless a "dark horse" may be in training; and it is significant that the Newark newspaper which belongs to James Smith, Jr., and is supporting him against Martine, has been supporting William F. Sheehan of New York against Edward M. Shepard. Smith and Sheehan are political birds of the same Big Business feather. Their candidacies also are very much alike. Smith didn't let anybody learn of his candidacy, not even Dr. Wilson, until the legislature had been duly packed; and so with Sheehan, if Smith's paper, the Newark Star of December 30, is right. The Star says that "until yesterday afternoon Mr. Sheehan did not indicate a purpose to be a candidate."

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In the same editorial ex-Senator Smith's paper attacked Mr. Shepard in this fashion:

An eminent corporation attorney who has had intimate relations with great special Interests like the sugar trust that are now receiving the attentions of government.

The basis for this statement is that Mr. Shepard was once a member of a law firm, the head of which, John E. Parsons, a leader of the New York bar, had been employed to organize the

sugar trust; and that Mr. Shepard has been employed by the Pennsylvania railroad company in connection with its tunnelling operations to and through Manhattan Island. No whisper of bad faith to the public has been raised against Mr. Shepard in either connection. That these connections, especially the latter, which he still maintains, weaken him as a candidate before the people for any office at a time when "corporation lawyer" is a synonym for corporation tool, is true enough (vol. xiii, pp. 938, 1182); but that Mr. Shepard in office would be a corporation tool no one who knows him believes. Least of all the corporations, else they would not have thrust "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan into the contest. They would rather trust Shepard's ability, but they don't like him at all in other respects. And isn't it to laugh, that "Billy" Sheehan's candidacy in New York is supported by "Jim" Smith's New Jersey newspaper on the ground that Sheehan's adversary is a "corporation lawyer"?

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Edward M. Shepard in the Senate would not be as likely as James E. Martine to co-operate in many respects with Republicans like La Follette, or Democrats like Owen and Gore. But he would not be with the imperialists nor the protectionists, nor the land grabbers, nor any of the plutocrats. He is a Democrat whose democracy is too much under the influence of tradition in some particulars; but he is not a protectionist, as Sheehan is; nor a lackey for the Interests, as Sheehan is; nor a Senatorial protegee of ex-Senator Smith of New Jersey, as Sheehan is.

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A term in the Senate, where he could devote his abilities exclusively to the service of the public interests would in all probability identify Edward M. Shepard as one of the great fundamental democrats of the country. No man can be very far behind the standards of democratic Democracy of whom Congressman-elect Henry George, Jr., could say this, as he has done through the New York papers in an open letter to the business manager of the Democratic party in New York city:

Mr. Shepard's corporation affiliations are alluded to as constituting a bar to his selection. I assert of my own knowledge that the corporation argument and the implications that arise from it are most unjust to Mr. Shepard, with whose opinions and character I have been well acquainted for a number of years. I can testify that Mr. Shepard's instincts are fundamentally democratic, and that he holds opinions that are both brave and broad.

as has been shown in recent years by his unqualified public utterances on many occasions. In sentiment he is a hater of injustice, a lover of his kind, a believer in equal rights, and an enemy of privilege.

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Democracy in Massachusetts.

Governor Foss of Massachusetts turns out to be a better bargain for the people than most of us had suspected. If Wilson is coming fast to the front as a democratic Democrat, he is certainly no more than "neck and neck" in the race with Foss; and unless Gov. Harmon helps the Initiative and Referendum measure this winter in Ohio, he will find himself covered all over with rubber stamp cancellation marks long before the national convention meets. Governor Foss has accepted, intelligently and unreservedly, and not only accepted but specially proclaimed his acceptance of the test of genuine democracy—the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Send for a copy of his inaugural address and read it. There are no weasel words in it, no backing and filling, but a straightforward and manifestly sincere pronouncement.

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Listen to these quotations: "Government does not exist for special interests or their agents,—it exists for the people; it belongs to the people." But "government by the people is coming to be only a name; representatives of the monopolistic interests have usurped the prerogatives of the people." and "this usurpation of power can be ended only by the people taking into their own hands the direction and control of their government." And to this end "the first step is to abolish the boss and all his agencies: the caucus, the nominating convention, and all political machinery which intervenes between the people and their government." Then Governor Foss proceeds with his truly democratic recommendations:

Establish the Direct Primary, choose your own public servants without reference to any machine or faction, make them accountable only to yourselves, and popular government will be established. To the Direct Primary must be joined the power of Recall; so that any public servant who proves recreant to his trust may be immediately dismissed. Important as these steps are, it is of far greater importance that the people keep their power over legislation through the Initiative and the Referendum. Under the conditions which exist today, as I see them, these are the only true safeguards of representative government. There can be no valid objection to these measures if we believe in the capacity, and therefore the right, of the people to govern themselves. If the people are competent to exercise the power of the franchise, then they are competent to advise their public servants and Re-

call them if they are not true to their trust. The Referendum provides that an important legislative measure shall be submitted to the people upon their request before it becomes a law. The Initiative provides that the people themselves may prepare and pass a Constitutional amendment or an important law if the legislature persistently refuses to enact it. Both these measures have great influence for good, not so much in the actual exercise of the power by the people as in the potentiality of that power. Its very existence, and the realization that it may be exercised, renders useless the lobbyist, and nullifies the great resources which the special interests have employed for improperly affecting legislation. Public servants who deem that they represent themselves and not their constituents naturally object to these measures; and yet a measure which is contrary to the will of the majority has no justification. I urge upon you a resolve for a Constitutional amendment to provide for the Initiative and the Referendum.

Farther on in his address, and after recommending other progressive measures, Gov. Foss recurred in these words to the question of people's power: In spite of all Opposition, the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall are already at hand. They represent popular government in its highest conception. We who know the town meeting should recognize the value of the principle when it is proposed to extend it to the State; it is democratic to the core. The intelligence of the people, of the press and of legislators will be heightened by the study of specific measures; better men will enter public life; class legislation will be discouraged by the united vote of all classes; the farmers and laboring men will secure the full measure of their influence in public affairs; restraints upon needed reforms will be removed, and respect for law will be increased when every statute represents the will of a majority of the people. The ignorant and indifferent will have less weight in such decisions, and the people can exercise their intelligence better in voting for certain measures than for uncertain men.

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The democratic Democrats of Massachusetts made no mistake in choosing this man for Governor. The candidates who would have been "just as good" or "maybe a little better," have an opportunity now to prove themselves by coming out in support of Gov. Foss's program.

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An Object Lesson in Municipal Ownership.

Early in the year there was a firemen's strike on the municipally owned and operated Staten Island ferry (vol. ix, p. 657), the fact of which and the inconveniences it entailed on the public, have been published as an object lesson against municipal ownership and operation. One paper, the Wall Street Journal of January 4, referred to it as "an admirable argument for leaving development

to private capital." It goes even so far as to imply, with some lack of prudence we should suppose, that this strike has a bearing of great importance on subway extension (vol. xiii, pp. 1071, 1154), which is needlessly delayed by "an obstinate but intransigent minority," that "wants municipal ownership and operation at any cost." That kind of comment goes far to confirm the opinion of President Healy, of the National Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, that the ferry strike was instigated by the agents of the Interests in order "to aid the people who are fighting against municipalization of the subways."

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One might suppose that the Wall Street Journal had never heard of a strike on public utilities developed by "private capital." Why are those strikes of so little importance in comparison with strikes on public utilities publicly operated? Is there a difference? Indeed there is, and it was illustrated in that Staten Island ferry strike. When there is a strike on privately operated public utilities, the owners refuse to arbitrate, refuse to confer, refuse to be "dictated to," by anybody in any way; and so the strike drags on, be it a fair one or not, week after week, to the great annoyance of the public.

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Contrast that situation with the Staten Island ferry strike. When the firemen complained, the Commissioner of Docks, Calvin Tompkins, arranged with them for a conference. Without waiting for this, they abandoned their posts, thereby causing a few hours' interruption to the service. Temporarily adjusting the difficulty as soon as he learned of it, Mr. Tompkins addressed a committee of the men, explaining the situation fairly as man to man and declaring it to be the policy of his Department "to freely and at reasonable notice at all times confer with its employes regarding all matters," adding: "I believe that many mistakes and misunderstandings are the consequence of precipitate action which may be obviated by publicity and freedom of intercourse." At a subsequent conference he dwelt upon the importance of discipline, and the desirability of justice, instead of "privileged generosity," and on the necessity for mutual confidence and loyalty, he said:

If there shall be free and frequent opportunity for conference, and if both public and private interests shall be accorded full public consideration—with the City ready and willing to establish fair and reasonable conditions of employment at good pay—there should be no misunderstandings and no

hasty, ill-advised action. To place the Commissioner in the position where he can secure for the men conditions at least as favorable as those existing in outside private or public employment, he must be able to assure the public that they are dealing with loyal and efficient public servants.

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Not only was there no long stoppage of service, but the incident and the attitude of Commissioner Tompkins brought out this assurance from the national president of the labor organization concerned, he who had intimated that the strike was instigated in the interest of subway development by "private capital":

As a representative of organized labor, and one who has taken a deep interest in municipal ownership, I thoroughly agree with your sentiments as expressed here. We are going to have municipal ownership. We must have discipline and the employes must be allowed to assemble. I regret very much that the stokers took the step that they did the other day. They did it not knowing the enormity of the thing themselves. I have talked with many of them, and they all realize that they owe something to the public; that they should not have tied up thousands of people over in Staten Island that morning. It has been hinted here and there that the like is going to occur any time on these ferry boats. I don't think that is so. The men I talked with assured me that there would not be any other strikes. If they have any grievance, real or otherwise, they will take it up with you.

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Which is preferable, so far as the convenience of passengers is concerned when employes in public service have grievances—such a disposition of the matter as that of the Staten Island ferry under municipal ownership, or the stubborn conflicts that arise in similar circumstances under private ownership? As an object lesson, the Staten Island ferry strike is an argument for, not against, municipalization of subways.

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Human versus "Property" Rights.

Very significant is the recent utterance of the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church on the Relations of Capital and Labor:

Property is a trust held for the benefit of the community. The church must throw her chief emphasis upon the value of human life. The property right is merely one conferred upon the individual by the community. Morally it exists only in return for social service. It must in every case yield to the needs of humanity. No business interests, no profit, however great, can warrant the deliberate deterioration of human life.

That is obviously a well-intended utterance. But there is a confusion as to the meaning of the term

"property." If the individual cannot rightfully hold any property until the community confers the right upon him, what right has the individual to produce property without a permit from the community? If all property is a trust for the benefit of the community, isn't it unwise to permit an individual to hold it without bond, and to control and enjoy it until starvation threatens the beneficiaries of the trust? If the individual produces property, by his own exertion, for what social service is he indebted to the community to the extent of that property? How can it be said that the exclusive ownership of a house, a barn, a horse, chickens, a cow, and furniture bears any relation to the deterioration of human life? The Episcopal Joint Commission is probably confused by the custom of regarding one's earnings and one's privileges as equally property. Though the producer cannot fairly be said to hold his product in trust, this may be fairly said of a mere legal privilege. But why not discriminate?

* * *

A Ballingerial Compromise.

There seems to be doubt as to whether President Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger, has been "vindicated" or "whitewashed." Why not compromise on "vindicquashed"?

* * *

AN OBJECT LESSON IN LAND MONOPOLY.

It is matter of court record, that there is held in California a single landed estate of 14,500,000 acres. As that acreage amounts to 22,656 square miles, the area of this one holding equals one-seventh of the entire State of California.

Although held in California, the land is not all within the boundaries of that State. Lying partly in Nevada, it extends through California and far up into Oregon. It is known as the "Miller and Lux" estate. Miller is the man of whom it is told that an old acquaintance, meeting him in a Western barroom, exclaimed: "Why, hello, Miller! I used to know you in San Francisco when you had to peddle sausages for a living, didn't I?" "Yes," said Miller, "and if I had been such a fool as you are I would be peddling sausages yet."

Fifteen years ago, more or less, Lux died, and the probating of his estate established by court record the magnitude of this holding. Reputable persons assert, moreover, that semi-legal holdings of the same estate comprise three million more acres from which the public is excluded. So we have an estate of over seventeen million acres.

I could tell fascinating things about that great holding, for I have traveled over thousands of miles of it. For hours I have sat in the fast moving train speeding through strips of it said to be fifty and seventy miles long, and twenty and thirty miles wide. Far as the eye could reach have I looked at some of the richest land made by God for His children—hours and hours of it in the great San Joaquin valley—with nothing on it but cattle, distant barns, pump houses, and herded tramp-men to reap the alfalfa fields.

It is the proud boast of this company that it can drive cattle from Nevada to Oregon through the great State of California, without ever stopping over night on any land but their own; that nowhere in the Golden State, some eight hundred miles long, is there a break in their land-strips more than a day's cattle journey between the ends.

As Rockefeller and Morgan are emphasized because they are at the apex of their particular forms of public plunder, and not because they are necessarily the greatest or worst, so this great estate should be emphasized. Its value as an object lesson is its hugeness.

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And there are other big estates on this Pacific slope.

Besides this one of 14,500,000 acres with its 3,000,000 acre fringe, there are those that range from 10,000 to 40,000, 100,000, and many more thousand acres. The totals would startle thinking people.

Some of these I have been investigating. There are many difficulties in the way of getting exact information, but the facts are coming.

EDMUND NORTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PROGRESSIVE CANADA.

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Calgary, Alberta, is a rapidly growing city of 40,000 population. Three years ago the municipality decided to build a street railway system. This has been in operation a little more than a year. Last month the net profits were \$5,766.61. This brings the city's profit for the year 1910 up to the handsome sum of \$57,539.97. Question: Since this profit can be made under municipal ownership in a city of 40,000 population what is the value of a franchise in the ordinary city of 200,000 population? What of a city of half a million?

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With a view to the adoption of the municipal single-tax the City Council of Regina (population

10,000, the capital of Saskatchewan) will at the forthcoming session of the legislature ask for an amendment to the city charter providing for the exemption from taxation of all improvements and the concentration of all taxation upon land-values?

Regina is the third city in Saskatchewan to apply to the legislature for this power. Prince Albert and Saskatoon led in the movement last year. Your correspondent is advised from private sources that as a result of these requests it is the intention of Mr. Turgeon, the Attorney-General of the Province, to introduce legislation at the next session of the legislature to enable all the cities and towns of the Province to adopt the single-tax at their own discretion.

ROBERT L. SCOTT.

+ +

Winnipeg, Canada, Jan. 12.

Royalistic Canada is slowly but surely becoming democratic. Remnants of repression still remain in political forms and practices. Property still rules in municipal politics, although manhood suffrage prevails in Dominion and Provincial politics; and plutocracy persists in Dominion and Provincial governments.

The seat of trouble, of course, is in the old royalistic East, near the seat of the Dominion government and of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The middle west—otherwise, the "Prairie Provinces"—is a boiling cauldron of democracy; while the far West—British Columbia, with Vancouver and Prince Rupert leading the continent in land value taxation—is by all accounts democratic in city and town, but still royalistic or torystic in Provincial affairs.

According to reports in the dispassionate trade journals, Vancouver seems to be reaping the benefits so long expected by the disciples of Henry George to result from the taxing of land values or exempting of improvements. Rev. Prof. Anderson Scott, M. A., of Cambridge, writing to the Manchester Guardian, has the following among other things, to say of conditions in Vancouver under "Single Tax":

"There are nearly a thousand motor cars in Vancouver, and probably not a score of private chauffeurs. That gives a measure both of the abundance of money and the scarcity of labor. The labor offices are advertising for laborers at a wage of ten shillings per day, and skilled workers in many trades can get more. . . . If one were to ask some of the leaders of local politics what were the further causes of its prosperity, they would at once refer to the 'single tax' and the principle of taxing unearned increment on land. . . . The benefit to the city is seen in part in the determination of the owners of land to put it to the best possible use. Undeterred by the fear that the capital cost of improvements will become the basis of future assessment, they build with a new freedom! They readily 'scrap' old buildings, and already much of the old property in the heart of the city has been replaced by structures of a very different kind. On the other hand, those who are not prepared to make economic use of their sites are discouraged from 'holding them up.' Urban land that is unproductive to the community soon becomes too expensive for the owner to keep."

Just about what the Single-Tax doctor ordered,

isn't it? Employment plentiful, wages higher, vacant land put into use, freedom in production, industry encouraged, idleness discouraged. And yet, Vancouver, not at all jealous of its prosperity, nor afraid of its leaking out, as it were, not even afraid to match its just conditions with other cities' unjust conditions, invites all the world to come in and share its bounties; the only injunction being: Work!

What a contrast this "unprotected" free city of our time makes with "protected" "free" cities of the Middle Ages—the logical ideals of the Free Trader and the Protectionist respectively! No walls or moats to protect it from the outside; no towers or parapets or men in armor armed to the teeth, on the inside; it invites all men to it, and the more that come the more it prospers. Is not Vancouver an object lesson to all unbelievers and partial believers in the potency of natural freedom and justice—the impotency of mere artificial protection?

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With its direful consequences—enthroned wrongs and gibbeted rights—Manitoba still maintains property qualifications and plural voting in municipal and city elections. In spite of this—perhaps on account of freer economic conditions—progressive measures have for the last seven years been slowly coming to the surface in a whirlpool of land speculation, which has overshadowed all things else. An instance of this is the lowered assessment on real estate improvements. The assessment is understood to be 60 per cent on the improvements while the land is supposed to be assessed at its full value.

I use qualifying words because the separate valuations do not appear in any printed report from the assessor's office. The reduced improvements assessment was recommended by a tax commission three years ago, and is supposed to be now in force, it having been endorsed by the legislature.

This "assessment value" tax is but a part of the city's revenue, the rest consisting of "special taxes," a "business tax" and various kinds of license taxes.

The above mentioned reduction in the improvement assessment, and a recommendation by the commission to further reduce it to years to come, was due, in the first place, to objections raised to the business tax, which was consequently reduced, and, in the second place, to the logical justice of land value taxation, as presented by correspondents to the newspapers, and single tax advocates who appeared before the commission.

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Alberta and Saskatchewan are the six-year-old members of the Canadian Provincial federation, if I may so express it. They should not be confused with Manitoba, which is much older. It is undoubtedly due to their more liberal charters that their progress has been more rapid. The Western Municipal News, an otherwise lovable journal, in summing up the progressive movement of the year does not make this distinction clear enough to the unsophisticated, although it may be evident enough to its subscribers—the members of the Municipal Unions of the three Provinces above mentioned. It is in Alberta and Saskatchewan that the commission form of government for cities is steadily growing in

favor. "Edmonton, Calgary, Red Deer, High River and Regina," says this journal, "are among the cities that have adapted the commission plan to suit their own local needs. . . . Interest in the single tax system is growing keener. Again Edmonton is the leading exponent in the West"—excepting Vancouver and Prince Rupert, of course—"in fact, the whole of the Province of Alberta leans favorably towards single tax. Saskatchewan is more conservative on this point, but the heaven is at work there, too. . . . Municipal ownership is still a favorite plank in civic platforms. The failures are either inconspicuous or else the fault is not with the principle, but in some maladministration, or because of putting faith in manufacturers. And the successes are conspicuous and many. Street cars, electric lights, water works, hospitals, public utilities of all sorts are more and more being controlled by the municipality. One very important and commendable feature is that these municipally owned public utilities are also more and more being put under the management of experts."

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Organization seems to be the watchword here. Each Province has its Union of Municipalities, consisting of the officers of the various municipal bodies. These unions at their annual conventions pass upon various resolutions or recommendations to the Provincial parliaments, and recommendations so passed are regarded as mandatory upon the legislatures. Among the 26 resolutions passed upon at the last (fifth) annual convention of the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities, I find the following: "Resolution 19.—Resolved: That the Provincial Government be asked to amend the land tax in towns and villages so that land shall be assessed at its fair actual value, and the buildings and improvements thereon at not more than 60 per cent, but that no greater reduction than 15 per cent shall be made in any one year."

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"Granges" and Grain Growers' Associations afford another example of organization. There is a Grange and Council of Agriculture for the entire Dominion, and each Province has its grain growers' association or grange. Known to the outside world up to the present, as well behaved, "industrious farmers," diligent in grain, hay and stock raising, minding their own business only, and, above all, conservative mossbacks, these farmers, through their organizations, are at this moment rousing the entire Dominion with a monster delegation to Ottawa, demanding from the government, no half-way measures, but a complete change of tactics. It is a well known fact that the Laurier government, securing its lease of power on the promise of "free trade as they have it in England," has during its seventeen years in office not done much to lower the tariff. The demand by the farmers' delegation to fulfill its promises was significant: "E. A. Partridge of Sinaluta, Sask., seconded the resolution. He pointed out that under free trade conditions, manufacturing could be carried out more cheaply than at present, and also discussed the question of raising a revenue under free trade, declaring himself in favor of direct taxation on the basis of land values." Who said the

farmers are opposed to the taxation of land values? That the best of us may be mistaken some of the time, would now, I am sure, be admitted by that great and good man, were he still with us, Professor Parsons, in his too great a zeal for another good cause wrote: "The single tax would be a blow to the farmers and home owners all over the land, a blow at the friends of democracy and progress." The farmers in Manitoba have had a measure of the single tax for twenty-five years or so, and now, through this delegation, they vote for its extension into Dominion affairs. Does that look like a "blow" at the friends of democracy and progress"? That this was a representative demand may be seen from the fact, as reported at the time, that "the resolution was supported by representatives from each of the Provinces, S. C. Parker of Berwick speaking for Nova Scotia; S. C. Hathaway of Fredericton for New Brunswick, Robert Seller of Huntington for Quebec; Johnston Simcoe for Ontario and Jas. Spealman of Penhold for Alberta. R. McKenzie of Winnipeg, Thos. McMillan of Seaforth, and L. Brown of Pilot Mound of Manitoba also spoke in support of the resolution. A number of others rose to speak in favor of the resolution, but a delegate moved that no one else be heard in favor of the resolution, but that an opportunity be now given for those opposed. This was agreed to, and the chairman invited any person who did not approve of the resolution to take the platform. The invitation was repeated several times but there was no response, and the resolution was then carried unanimously, the delegates cheering enthusiastically."

It was feared that the Eastern farmers would not be entirely in accord with the radical measures proposed, but the reverse proved true.

P. M. CLEMENS.

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PROGRESSIVE SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Adelaide, So. Australia.

Harry Jackson, Crawford Vaughan, and I are Labor party representatives in the South Australian parliament. All of us are also members of the South Australian Single Tax League, of which Mr. Vaughan was for several years secretary and then president. Mr. Vaughan is Treasurer and Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Verran (or Labor party) government of this State, which came into power last June. Several other members of our parliament are believers in the teachings of Henry George, while a number who do not go all the way are prepared to support the taxation of land values in large degree.

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In South Australia at the present time we have a half-penny tax upon every pound's worth* of unimproved value as assessed for taxation purposes; while holders of over £5,000 worth of values are subject to another half-penny tax on every pound over the £5,000. For a short period—during a financial shortage—an additional farthing on the pound was imposed on the "all round" basis, but

*One cent tax on \$5.00 worth of land.

was not re-enacted (as it should have been) when the time for which it was imposed lapsed.

The half-penny tax on values above £5,000 represents the "first step" in what is termed the progressive land tax. This scheme of taxation was brought forward with the intention of "bursting up" large estates, and was graduated so that values held by one owner above the amount of £100,000 would have been subject to a tax of three pence in the pound* but our Legislative Council† (elected on a property franchise qualification) refuses to take more than the "one step."

While the object of the progressive land tax is very desirable, the principle that every owner should contribute in proportion to the land values he holds, is lost sight of; also, it fails to recognize that in the aggregate a number of small estates held out of use for speculative purposes, is as bad for the community as one large estate. However, the Federal Parliament is proposing this form of taxation, and with a Labor party majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, its passage is assured. That will remove this "bone of contention" between our popular House and our House of "Land-Lords."



From the enclosed "fighting platform" of the South Australian Labor party‡ you will see we propose certain exemptions from income tax, reduction of railway freights, and increased road grants, the deficiency in revenue resulting therefrom, to be made up by an increase of the land tax on the "all-round" basis. This will probably mean at least another penny in the pound, in addition to the existing half-penny.

We have a majority of Labor members in the House of Assembly, but only four members in the Legislative Council out of a total membership of eighteen. Two other members of that House may possibly support the proposals.

Friends and foes of land value taxation both recognize in the Legislative Council the only barrier to a further installment of the tax. Our position

*Six cents in \$5.00.

†Similar to the senate of an American State.

‡The platform enclosed is as follows:

FIGHTING PLATFORM.

Franchise.

Adult Suffrage for the Legislative Council, with the object of its ultimate abolition.

Industrial.

Compulsory Arbitration.

Land Settlement.

Progressive Land Tax on the lines of New Zealand. The State will drop this proposal if adopted by the Federal Parliament.

The right of the Government to Resume Land for Land Settlement and Public Purposes on the valuation accepted by the owner for taxation purposes, plus 10 per cent.

Finance.

Cessation of Borrowing, except for (1) Conversion of Loans, (2) Completion of Public Works already authorized, (3) Works which will show interest on Capital borrowed and provide for a Sinking Fund.

Taxation.

(1) Abolition of Income Tax on incomes derived from land or produce of land; (2) Raising Exemption on Incomes derived from personal exertion to £300 per annum; (3) Reduction of Railway Freights; (4) Increased Road Grants to Districts not served by Railways; (5) Deficiency to be made up by an all-round tax on Unimproved Land Values; (6) Increased Taxation of Absentees.

here in respect to the Legislative Council is worse than the position between the Commons and the House of Lords.

We have no effective dead-lock provisions in our Constitution. For years there has been a "dead-lock" between the two Houses on the question of effective dead-lock provisions. Bills are rejected or mutilated every session. It is largely on our policy of adult suffrage for the Council that we have secured a majority in the lower house; but the will of the majority has been ignored for years. A bill for an extension of the franchise for the Legislative Council to Adult Suffrage passed the House of Assembly in August last. Every constitutional means will be exhausted by the Labor government to secure reform of the Council; and if these fail and the Labor party survive the appeals to the constituencies (which will be necessary), other means than those within the four corners of our cast-iron Constitution will have to be resorted to in order to give effect to the people's will.

With the reform of the Council, the way will be made clear for many other reforms, the greatest of which is "land reform" per the medium of the tax on unimproved values.

CLARENCE GOODE.



BRITISH POLITICS.

London, Jan. 3.

We have just got through the throes of another general election, with sufficient success fortunately for the Liberal party. No doubt if the Liberal party had a fuller grasp of the importance of the land question, they would have shown the true position of the House of Lords in their capacity to control the use of the land and to bolster up land monopoly. But the party's education has not gone quite so far. Mr. Lloyd George was the only prominent statesman who emphasized the importance of the land question, and what he could do was surely not out of place for other Liberals to do. But it seemed that the "machine" decided it was to be an election on the one issue of the House of Lords, in order that no one might turn around afterwards and say that the people were beguiled by other cries.

The size of the majority does not matter much. It is sufficiently strong to carry democratic measures; and it is for advocates of the taxation of land values to do their utmost to make the pace for land reform. The whole question of local taxation will probably come under review in the present session. Mr. Asquith long ago said that the relationship between Imperial and local finance must be radically overhauled, and the system of what is known as "doles" to local authorities be put a stop to. How exactly the Government will carry out this readjustment, we don't know; but if they would only act on the Memorandum of the Land Values Group in Parliament,* they would speedily get things in order.

Very often the language of politicians is clothed in ambiguity, and when our leading men speak about adjusting local burdens one does not know whether they mean readjustment of local and Imperial taxation, or readjustment of local taxation itself. We

*See The Public, vol. xiii, p. 779.

hope that when Parliament assembles, the Land Values Group will be very active, and hold the Government to the many pledges they have made to tax land values locally, and to fulfill all the promises of the bills that have been repeatedly balked by the House of Lords.

A. W. MADSEN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

WHY BONDS AT ALL?

Denver, Colo., Jan. 9.

A rumor is afloat of a project to make "a popular loan" of the \$292,000,000 Panama bonds. Secretary MacVeagh's proposition, as I saw it set forth, was to issue the whole amount in 3 per cent bonds of such small denominations that they would be widely distributed—no one person to be allowed to have more than \$500, and national banks not to be permitted to use them as a basis for circulation.

That would be better than giving them over to a banking syndicate, but why have any bonds at all?

Why not save the 3 per cent by issuing currency as needed and using it in paying running expenses?

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Such a currency, bearing the government's promise, not to "pay" but to "receive" for all debts due the government, would help us all. Nobody but the bankers would object, and if they should act ugly about receiving the notes of the first issue the rest could be made "a legal tender for all debts public and private" without any "except."

It is hardly probable that that would be necessary. The national banking system, alias the U. S. Money Trust, keeps the fingers of one hand on the public's pulse (while the other is in the public's pockets), and it knows very well that that pulse is being stirred as never before by a dangerous question: Why should we, the people as a government, give our national credit to the bankers, and then as individuals be compelled to borrow it back and pay interest on it?

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Until recently only a few, comparatively, have seemed to realize that the foregoing question contains the essence of the national banking system, which "saved the country in the war of the Rebellion." A good many know it now; and they know, too, that the dreadful roaring monster in the Wall Street caverns is only a bogey-man to frighten timid legislators and government officials into doing Wall Street's bidding. Show him a bold face and he becomes as gentle as a sucking dove.

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Now is a good time to establish an open road between the government and the people, so that every dollar which comes to us need not travel over the bankers' turnpike and pay toll at their gate—6, 8 or 10 per cent.

Who runs this country, anyway—we, or the bankers?

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, January 17, 1911.

The New York Senatorship.

At a caucus of the Democratic members of the New York legislature at Albany on the 16th, William F. Sheehan was nominated as the Democratic candidate for United States Senator to succeed Senator Depew. But so many Democrats refused to attend the caucus that Mr. Sheehan's nomination was made by a minority of the legislature. Only 91 attended. Of these 22 voted for Edward M. Shepard (p. 51), 7 for D. Cady Herrick, and 62 for Sheehan. The caucus then made Mr. Sheehan's nomination unanimous. The Democrats who refused to attend issued an explanatory statement in which they are reported to have said that they had—

refused to go into caucus as distinguished from a conference, for the reason that they believed the vote of those who represented the people should not be smothered in a caucus, that the people should know first how their representatives vote untrammelled by any caucus action, and that a majority secured for any candidate should be credited to the representatives of the people in the legislature, not to some one outside the body.

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Also on the 16th the Republican caucus nominated Chauncey M. Depew to succeed himself, giving him 58 votes to 2 for Roosevelt, 1 for Seth Low and 6 scattered.

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Voting began in the two houses of the legislature sitting separately on the 17th. The vote in the Senate was as follows:

Democrats—Sheehan 25, Shepard 2, Herrick 1, Gerard 1, Littleton 1. Republicans—Depew 206, absent 1. Necessary to elect, 26.

The vote in the House was as follows:

Democrats—Sheehan 66, Shepard 12, Parker 6, Herrick 1, Gerard 1, Littleton 1. Republicans—Depew 59, absent 4. Necessary to elect, 77.

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The Strike of the Chicago Garment Workers Nearing an End.

With the signing of an agreement between Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the largest clothing manufacturing concern in Chicago, and the rep-

representatives of the striking garment workers, the hundred and seven days' strike was practically brought to a close on the 14th (p. 35). The agreement is in effect the same as that arranged with Sturm, Mayer & Co. on the 7th (p. 36), and is thus given in the Tribune:

All former employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx now on strike shall be taken back and shall return to work within ten days from date hereof.

There shall be no discrimination of any kind whatsoever against any of the employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx because they are or are not members of the United Garment Workers of America.

An arbitration committee consisting of three members shall be appointed. Within three days from date hereof, the employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx shall select one member thereof; the firm shall select one member within three days, and the two members thus selected shall proceed immediately to select a third member.

Subject to the provisions of this agreement, said arbitration committee shall take up, consider and adjust whatever grievances, if any, the employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx shall have, and shall fix a method for the settlement of grievances, if any, in the future. The finding of the arbitration committee, or a majority thereof, shall be binding upon both parties.

Beginning with the 2,000 employes who returned to work on Monday the 16th, it is expected that their full complement of 10,000 workers will be back in the shops of Hart, Schaffner & Marx in a few days, and that 2,000 more will be needed to handle the work waiting to be done. This will leave 18,000 workers still on strike, but it is not believed that the other clothing-makers can long hold out under such conditions. "From the strikers' standpoint," says the Inter Ocean, "the strike has cost \$55,000. More than \$48,000 has been used in the relief fund for food, rent and coal. The milk bill for furnishing strike babies with nourishment totals \$7,126. Twenty-two hundred quarts are being supplied daily. The loss to the clothing industry in Chicago is conservatively placed at about \$5,000,000."

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Merriam's Municipal Policy.

Complying with his promise, Alderman Merriam has made specific declarations of his policy as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Mayor of Chicago (pp. 26, 35), to the effect that—
graft is treason to the city; that administrative efficiency comes next to honesty; that the price of gas, telephones, electric lighting, and other public utility services should be the lowest that allows a reasonable profit; that the Sanitary District should establish an outer harbor; that through traction routes should be established more rapidly, and the "loop" system be broken up; that a subway should be built at the earliest date; that an adequate water supply should be provided; and that Chicago should have home rule. Also that the streets should be well cleaned

and well lighted, that recreation facilities should be furnished, that the law and the police departments should be improved, that the civil service law should be enforced without hypocrisy or evasion, and that wasteful contracts and padded payrolls should be abolished.

A conservative suggestion preparatory to public ownership of public utilities should this policy come to be adopted, is as follows:

A bureau of public utilities should be created, to constitute a standing body for putting into practical effect the provisions for the protection of the public in the ordinances of the city respecting gas, telephone, electricity and traction service. Additional and adequate power to regulate public service corporations should be conferred by the State legislature upon the City of Chicago.

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Socialist Nomination for Mayor of Chicago.

There is but one Socialist candidate for the Chicago primaries. He is W. E. Rodriguez, who was named for the nomination on the 14th.

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Report of the Illinois Tax Commission.

The Illinois Tax Commission (vol. xiii, pp. 902, 1082), of which John P. Wilson of Chicago is chairman, and Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois, is secretary, has made a report in two printed volumes, one of which codifies the tax laws of the State with the interpretations of the courts, and the other deals with the subject on its political and economic side. Personal property taxation is exposed, and the classification of property for purposes of exemption is recommended. Prof. John A. Fairlie, of the department of economics in the University of Illinois, and Prof. Albert Kales of the Northwestern University Law School, were the experts with whose assistance the reports were made.

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Taxation in Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania tax commission (vol. xiii, p. 1106) has reported recommendations that a new tax be imposed upon the production of anthracite coal; that a new tax be imposed upon the capital of manufacturing companies; and that a new tax be imposed upon the insurance business. There is no recommendation for the repeal of the mortgage tax; but the continuance of the mercantile license tax laws is recommended with an amendment to increase its inquisitorial powers. No remedy for loss of public revenue and unjust distribution of the tax burden is proposed. A movement is consequently under way in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Northwest Business Men's Opposition for opposing the tax commission's report in the legislature on the following grounds:

(a) A tax should not be levied upon the production

of coal; (b) a tax should not be imposed upon the capital of manufacturing companies; (c) a tax should not be levied upon the insurance business; (d) the tax upon mortgages should be abolished; (e) the mercantile license taxes should be abolished; (f) legislation should be enacted with a view to effecting equalization of real estate assessments; (f) the assessments owned by public service corporations should be taxed at the same rate as other real estate.

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The Recall in Seattle.

Commenting upon the decision of the Federal judge, Hanford, in issuing an injunction (p. 34) forbidding the payment of Recall election expenses in the case of the Mayor of Seattle, upon the suit of a citizen of Illinois who owns a vacant building lot in Seattle, the issue of the 7th of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, the most influential daily paper of the Pacific Northwest, has this to say:

If the "equity" jurisdiction of the Federal court can extend so far that one non-resident citizen can prevent an election duly authorized by law, and one in its preliminary stages, which proceeds according to the terms of the law, then the States possess no power which Federal courts are bound to respect. Such a doctrine is revolutionary, and its announcement by any Federal judge is alarming to the last degree. . . . The sober, temperate public opinion of this city has declared in favor of the principle and of the application of the Recall to unworthy public officers. The Post-Intelligencer knows that it stands for the people in this.

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In behalf of Mayor Gill, whose recall is sought, the Seattle Mail, a new publication which describes itself as "an independent weekly newspaper"—standing for "civic affairs, clean politics, good government, finance," and "the upbuilding of a better and greater Seattle," and which is edited by C. H. Baily, explains the Recall petition as a movement in opposition to the policy on which Mayor Gill was elected. Under the editor's signature, it said in its issue of December 26 that—

Mr. Gill, before he was elected openly guaranteed a restricted district, so located that it would be away from the course of travel and so arranged that it could be well watched and policed, so that boys could be kept out, the inmates examined, robbery stopped, and generally all but the inevitable social vice eliminated. This suited a majority of the people, for the majority of the people of this city believe that the most common-sense way to handle the social evil is to keep it where it can be regulated. So the people elected Gill by an overwhelming majority. Before Gill could relocate his new district where it would bother no one, the Public "Welfare" League went into court and enjoined the city from allowing the district to run at all, and the earmarks of such action all showed that in this action, and behind the League, were men who were "sore" because they

could not "get in" on the new district. And Mayor Gill had no desire to turn over a new district to any prospective landlords who wanted to charge unfortunate women tremendous rentals.

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Organization of Women Voters.

Under the call of Gov. Brady of Idaho (vol. xiii, p. 1212) the women voters of the United States were organized on the 14th at Tacoma into the "National Council of Women Voters." The meeting was at the home of Mrs. John Q. Mason. It was composed of delegates appointed by the Governors of the five suffrage States. The regular delegates from two—Utah and Wyoming—were snowbound on their way to the meeting, and the respective Governors telegraphed proxies to Tacoma. An organization was perfected with the choice of the following officers:

President, Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe of Washington.
First Vice-president, Harriet G. R. Wright of Colorado.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Leonee Cartel of Idaho.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Bertha K. Kittleson of Washington.

Treasurer, Mrs. Frank Shiek of Wyoming.
Auditor, Mrs. McMann of Utah.

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An address by Gov. Brady of Idaho was read to the Council. In the course of this address, Gov. Brady said:

The National Council of Women Voters, composed of delegates appointed by Governors of the five suffrage States, is convened for the purpose of forming an organization with a representation of 400,000 women voters, which makes this the most representative body of delegates that ever has met for such purpose, either in this nation or in the world. A President has said to you that after five States had adopted equal suffrage it would then be proper for the nation to take up this great question. Today five sovereign States have accomplished that result. Will the nation recognize you? Will it give the motherhood, wifehood and womanhood of America the equality they ask? That is the question that now confronts the American people.

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The People and the Land.

A law suit involving fundamentally important legal considerations with reference to land monopoly, has been decided by Judge Walter Bordwell of the Superior Court of Los Angeles. His decision is not final, but his opinion lays down broad principles. The law suit in question relates to the tide lands of San Pedro Channel—about 1,150 acres of harbor front worth from \$5,000 to \$50,000 an acre, and controlling the harbor. There are 18 such suits. They were begun October 19, 1908, by the City of Los Angeles in the name of the people of the State against the Southern Pacific

Railroad Company, the Pacific Electric, and the Banning interests, into whose hands had been concentrated certain "tideland patents" issued at various times since 1865. Judge Bordwell overruled demurrers, April 22, 1909, and trial began in a test suit on October 5, 1909. The trial was concluded several months ago, and decision on the merits was made on the 3d against the defendants by Judge Bordwell, who bases it upon a voluminous opinion.

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Judge Bordwell's opinion is a strong one in support of the legal doctrine of non-alienability of the people's title to navigation lands; and in common reason, though not within the reason of the law, it applies forcibly to the moral doctrine of non-alienability of the people's title to any kinds of land. As summarized by the Los Angeles Express of January 4, Judge Bordwell's opinion holds that—

As a general proposition tidelands which are immediately, or in the future, useful for navigation are not the subject of private ownership. They are held in common—the State is vested with title as trustee. The State ought not to, and cannot without violence to the purposes for which it exists, alienate into absolute private ownership such lands. Such alienation would be an infringement upon the natural rights of the individual, and, therefore, subversive of the purposes of organized government. It would also be a surrender of an attribute of sovereignty, an abrogation of a vital political function. It is, therefore, forbidden.

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Fortifying the Panama Canal.

President Taft sent a special message to Congress on the 12th asking for an appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the fortification of the Panama Canal (vol. xiii, p. 1,115), transmitting therewith a report of the special army and navy board recommending fortification.

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In opposition to President Taft's fortification policy, a statement was issued from Boston on the 15th to this effect:

The Panama Canal should be neutralized, not fortified, because (1) the Canal would be safer in war time without fortification; according to the agreement signed by The Hague conference in 1907, unfortified coast places cannot be bombarded. (2) The original intention of our government, as distinctly expressed in 1900 and previously, was to prohibit fortifications on the Canal. Though this prohibition was omitted in the finally revised Hay-Pauncefort treaty, signed in 1902, this in no wise implies that we ought to fortify it, nor was its construction proposed as primarily a military undertaking. (3) Though the Suez Canal was built with English money, England agreed to its neutralization; the Straits of Magellan are also neutralized, and the

Interparliamentary Union in 1910 declared in favor of the neutralization of all interoceanic water ways.

(4) The United States in all its history has never been attacked; it began every foreign war it ever had, and is too important a customer for any great nation at this late day wantonly to attack. (5) With the experience of nearly a century's peace with England, insured by our undefended Canadian border line, until we have asked for complete arbitration treaties will all possible future enemies and have been refused, we should be insincere in increasing our war measures. (6) In the words of David J. Foster, chairman of the committee of foreign affairs in the House of Representatives. "The initial expense of the necessary fortifications would not be less than \$25,000,000; in all probability it would not be less than \$50,000,000. The annual expense of maintaining such fortifications 2,000 miles from home would probably amount to \$5,000,000." (7) With all the fortification possible, it is still apparent that in order that the Canal might be of military advantage to the United States in time of war a guard of battle ships at each of its entrances would be an absolute necessity. It is equally apparent that with such a guard the fortifications would be unnecessary, if not entirely useless.

The foregoing report is signed by Richard Olney, David Starr Jordan, William Dean Howells, Bishop Charles P. Anderson, William H. P. Faunce, Jane Addams, Judge George B. Holt, and George Foster Peabody.

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Progressive China.

The Chinese Imperial Senate (vol. xiii, p. 1231), or national assembly as it is frequently called in the dispatches, which met for the first time in the history of China on October 3 (vol. xiii, p. 948), was dissolved on the 11th. The Senate proved during this short and stormy session to be far more radical and progressive than was expected. Not all of its demands have been met, but the Throne cannot have failed to learn during this first tentative constitutional experience that the people are determined to have a voice in the government. Among the memorials offered by the Senate which were turned down was the request that the Emperor and the Prince Regent have their queues cut off and decree that others should follow their example. Though not decreed by the Imperial government, the abolition of the queue is proceeding, however, as a popular movement, as heretofore reported (vol. xiii, p. 1231). Mr. Wu Tingfang, our former ambassadorial friend at Washington, has had his queue cut off, according to the reports; and within a month the Chinese scattered over the world, as well as vast numbers of those at home, are expected to discard this sign of subjection to the Manchus, worn by the subjugated Chinese for two hundred and sixty odd years. The Manchus are still on the throne, but the Chinese are peacefully freeing themselves from their autocratic rule.

NEWS NOTES

—Charles F. Johnson (Democrat) was elected Senator from Maine on the 17th.

—The exact vote on the Des Moines plan charter for Spokane was 6,350 to 4,113.

—The Nebraska legislature elected Gilbert M. Hitchcock (Democrat), a United States Senator on the 17th.

—The Connecticut legislature elected George P. McLean (Republican), as United States Senator on the 17th.

—Moses E. Clapp (Republican), was re-elected United States Senator on the 17th by the legislature of Minnesota.

—The twenty-second Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is in session at New York City.

—Charles J. Hughes, Jr., United States Senator from Colorado (vol. xii, p. 85), died on the 11th at Denver at the age of 58.

—Lieutenant Governor Atlee Pomerene, Democrat, was elected United States Senator (p. 26) on the 11th at a joint session of the Ohio legislature.

—Senator Owen's resolution in the Lorimer case (p. 34) was referred on the 11th by Vice-President Sherman to the Senate committee on privileges and elections.

—A strike of the railway employes in Portugal (vol. xiii, p. 1214) begun on the 11th, with the mediation of the government reached peaceful settlement on the 14th.

—Among the smaller towns of Illinois to adopt the commission form of government is Rochelle in Ogle county. It has a population of 2,500, and adopted the plan by 265 to 256.

—The Single Tax Information Bureau (134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn, N. Y.) reports for the past eight months 251 applications for literature, and a total of 5,398 documents distributed.

—Former Gov. George P. McLean was nominated for the United States Senate from Connecticut on the 10th over United States Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley in the Republican caucus by a vote of 117 to 63.

—Representative Merriman, a Democratic member of the lower house of the Indiana legislature, introduced in that body on the 12th a resolution for amending the Constitution of Indiana by providing for the Initiative and Referendum.

—The legislature of Illinois has adopted a rule to divest committees of their absolute power. It provides that 77 members can take a bill out of committee and place it on the calendar. Only two such attempts can be made on any one bill.

—On joint ballot of the California legislature on the 10th John D. Works of Los Angeles, progressive Republican, was elected to succeed Senator Frank Flint in the United States Senate. Judge Works received 92 out of the 120 votes cast, while A. G. Spalding, the San Diego millionaire, got 21. The

former had received a majority of the popular vote at the November election.

—Negroes of Chicago during ten days have raised \$66,026.93 to meet \$50,000 promised by Julius Rosenwald and N. W. Harris early this month for a Negro Y. M. C. A. building in Chicago, provided a like amount could be raised by the Negroes themselves.

—The report of the United States Senate committee on the judiciary, recommending an Amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of Federal Senators directly by the people of the several States (p. 35) was submitted to the Senate on the 11th by Senator Borah.

—Senator Perley presented in the South Dakota Senate on the 16th, a bill to obtain a vote of the women of the State on the question of suffrage when the proposition is again submitted, the vote to be taken with women inspectors and in a separate ballot box at the regular election places.

—A letter to every member of the Illinois legislature reminding him of the pledge of his party platform and the great majority demanding it, in favor of a Constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum (vol. xiii, p. 1214) has been mailed by the Chicago Single Tax Club under the signature of George V. Wells as president and A. Wangemann as secretary.

—President Taft decided on the 10th that Commander W. S. Sims, a United States naval officer who, at a recent dinner given in London by the Mayor of that city, declared that if Great Britain ever were seriously threatened, she could depend on "every man, every dollar, every drop of blood in this country," should be publicly reprimanded. "His offense has been so conspicuous," said the President in his letter to the Secretary of the Navy, directing the reprimand, "that the action of the Department in reprimoving it should be equally so."

—The tenth annual conference of The Women's National Single Tax League (vol. xiii, p. 540) will meet at the Ebbitt House, F and 14th streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of February. Among the speakers announced are Mrs. John S. Crosby, Mrs. E. M. Murray, Jackson S. Ralston, Frederick L. Siddons, Mrs. Daniel Paul, Hon. Scott Ferris, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Hon. Charles B. Carter, Mrs. Gertrude E. Mackenzie, Hon. Robert Baker, Bolton Hall, Congressman-elect Henry George, Jr., and Charles Nesbit. Requests for information may be made to Mrs. Gertrude E. Mackenzie, 31 Tea street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

—A Joint Commission on Social Service, consisting of five bishops, five presbyters and five laymen, with power to add to their number, was authorized at the recent convention of the Episcopal church at Cincinnati (vol. xiii, p. 1,022), its duty to be "to study and report upon social and industrial conditions, to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interest of social service, to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions to encourage sympathetic relations between labor and capital, and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters." Among the members of this Commission are Bishop Williams of Michigan, Dean Sumner of

Chicago, John Howard Melish of Brooklyn, N. Y., Frederick Deknatel of Hull House, Chicago, Gifford Pinchot of New York, and Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia.

—Restitution to the amount of \$1,300,000 and the surrender of warrants aggregating \$200,000, upon which payment had been stopped, were made in the Dauphin county court, Pennsylvania, on the 10th, by the men convicted or otherwise implicated by the State of Pennsylvania in the capitol frauds (vol. x, p. 1,213). In consideration of the return of this money and the surrender of the warrants, the commonwealth agreed to drop all further criminal action against the defendants indicted, and with the exception of the case of Joseph M. Huston of Philadelphia, who is under an indeterminate sentence of from six months to two years and who has an appeal in the Superior Court, the capitol fraud cases are declared to be ended and the State satisfied.

—William Horan, one of the speakers and "prisoners for free speech" in the Delaware single tax campaign of the middle 90's, and afterwards active in the same movement in Oregon, Cincinnati, and other single tax fighting points in the United States, a painter by trade and a unionist, died at Amsterdam, N. Y., on the 17th, at the age of 45. His wife had died three weeks before. Mr. Horan was a speaker of such gifts that the Schnecktady Evening Star of December 27th was able to quote ex-Judge Hastings of that community as saying "he would give every cent of his fortune if he had the persuasive oratorical powers with which nature had gifted William R. Horan." Mr. Horan is reported to have delivered an impressive sympathetic lecture on Henry George at the "People's Forum of Troy a week before his death.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Failure of Woman's Suffrage in Colorado.

The (Grand Junction, Colo.) Daily News, January 1 (quoting the Pueblo Chieftain).—In what way has woman's suffrage failed of its purpose? "The best women," it seems, are disgusted with it. Who are the "best women"? Certainly it would seem that much progress has been made of late years in Colorado towards the adoption of more progressive laws and also towards independence in voting. And there is abundant evidence that, if the women have not contributed more than their proportion of the untrammelled and intelligent votes of the State, that they have at least contributed their fair share. It was reported that in the recent campaign in Grand Junction against the saloons and for the Commission system of government that the women took fully as much interest in the study of the questions submitted to them as did the men—and voted intelligently and progressively. In Denver the recent defeats that have been administered to the old machine ring have had the hearty support of the women—many of them supposedly "the best women." What was expected of the women that has not been realized? It could hardly be expected that the political millennium would be attained at one jump by

the giving of votes to women. Even now the men of Colorado, after years of corporation rule, are just getting their eyes open to the facts. It should be to the credit of the women that, new to the franchise, they have not held back this political progress, but, on the contrary, have helped it forward. The motives of all those who are now engaged in raising the cry against woman's suffrage are not clear. Is it possible that they are of those conservative souls who think Colorado, with its newly-adopted Initiative and Referendum, is drifting too fast towards that "radicalism" that consists in letting the people rule themselves? And do they figure that, with the women's vote eliminated, the progressive movement would not move quite so fast?

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Land Value Taxation in Oregon.

The (Portland, Ore) Labor Press (Labor), January 11.—The biggest question that the Oregon voters have had to deal with by their direct vote since the adoption of the Initiative, will be an issue in each county in this State commencing with next Monday. The question of exemptions and taxation is to go to the voters of each county of the State separately by Initiative petition at this early date, and after an educational campaign will be disposed of at the general election in 1912. . . . This movement is made possible by the labor tax amendment adopted by the voters of Oregon at the last general election, which give the voters of the counties the exclusive power to say how they shall be taxed for any purpose whatsoever and what property if any shall be exempt from taxation. . . . Specifically, the proposed law will exempt labor products such as orchards, houses, fences and all such improvements on and in land, live stock, farm implements, personal property, buildings, etc., while franchise values, water power, the values in land ownership and monopoly created by our ever growing population will be taxed.

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A Peep at What Many Having Eyes Yet See Not.

The Neepawa (Manitoba) Press, December 13.—A recent issue of the Saskatoon Phoenix announced the sale of R. W. Caswell's 300 acres on the west side of that city for \$80,000. This property changed ownership five years ago at \$11 per acre, and was improved by cultivation and buildings to the extent of (let us be generous and admit) 400 per cent. The additional \$200 per acre increase of value was due to the construction of government subsidized railways, the investment of millions of dollars in various enterprises, and the assembling together of thousands of people to build up a city. In other words, Mr. Caswell (who is a brother of A. W. Caswell of Neepawa) profited over \$60,000 in five years by the enterprise and investments of other people by which he was subjected to no risks whatever. This is a fair average illustration of the way of the world. Men can, and do, prosper by their own labors and enterprise; they get wealthy by reaping the reward of other's toil and enterprise. The whole people of Canada contributed to the conditions (and future generations must pay the debts incurred) which have put money into the pockets of Saskatoon investors. It

is only fair and just, therefore, that the millions of values created by the people as a whole should be, in an equitable manner shared by them. They can so participate by just methods of taxation of the values they created.

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The (Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (Labor), January 11.—Recently a lease changed hands on an inside 50 by 100 lot facing on Fourth between Stark and Washington that indicates a value of \$300,000. The owners and original lessees together obtain \$15,000 a year for the use of the ground, and a building falls into the hands of the owners in a few years in addition. One of these inside lots is assessed at \$65,000, and another at \$58,000. The owners pay no taxes. They draw the money clear. In the past five years it has doubled in value. Who created that value? Did the owners?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

ACHIEVEMENT.

For The Public.

A striving mortal wrought of proud and towering size

His life's ambition, where, unheard, a million fell.
His soul and human virtues all for this dear prize
He coldly thought above the law of love to sell.

And men bowed down in hopeless chains before his fame,

Without the heart he had, indeed, much need to claim.

A fellow of misfortune came the bankrupt's way.
With failure for his guide and hunger for his guest,

And meeting want gave his unmortgaged heart to pay

The tears and sorrow of the heavily oppressed.

His one poor crust with sympathy he brought to mend

The fallen faith that dearly hailed and held him friend.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

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THE BEES AND THE HORNETS.

Ellis O. Jones in Puck.

Once upon a time a swarm of busy Bees made and stored a large quantity of honey in order to provide for their wants during the long winter. But it so happened one day, when the Bees were not watching, a swarm of Hornets came along, pre-empted the honey, and claimed it as their own by right of discovery.

Then ensued a great dispute lasting for a long time. Lawyers were called in, and the more they talked the more confused grew the issue, until even some of the Bees thought that the Hornets had the best claim to the honey.

At length they decided to leave the question to the Wasp as judge. The Wasp stayed awake as well as he could and listened while the contesting parties presented their respective arguments.

When they had finished, the Wasp said he would take the question under advisement and render his decision as soon as compatible with a careful examination of the law and the facts.

Several years later the Wasp handed down his decision in favor of the Hornets. He said that it had been an exceptionally difficult case to decide, because common sense seemed to favor the Bees. On the other hand, he declared, everything else, such as the Constitution, the statutes, and the welfare of business, was on the side of the Hornets. He explained that, while the Bees may once have had rights, they had slept on them so long that they had them no longer. Furthermore, inasmuch as the Hornets had been in possession of the honey for so long, a period of time amply covered by the Statute of Limitations, the honey must be viewed, not in the light of stolen goods, but rather as unearned increment, to deprive them of the veriest tithe of which, even for purposes of taxation, would be nothing less than confiscation, a process which is especially abhorrent to people who have things to which they are not entitled.

The Hornets were so pleased with this decision that, a year or two later, they had Wasp appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

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MUNICIPAL CONSERVATION.

From an Address of William Dudley Foulke, Successor to Charles J. Bonaparte as President of the National Municipal League, Delivered at the 1910 Convention of the League at Buffalo.

There is a kind of conservation that lies at our own doors—it is the conservation of our municipal resources. Every city, every county, every township in America is the possessor of property which if it were in the hands of private persons would give large returns. Now no one will claim that it ought to be used in exactly the same way by the public, that it ought to be used for profit to the same extent as if it were private property, yet at the same time we have been immensely wasteful of those municipal resources, just in the same way as we have been of our national resources. The streets of our city are immensely valuable and their value grows year by year. The parks of our city, many of our public edifices, the roads in the country, all these things have a very great and constantly-increasing value, but we have wasted them in the same way that we have wasted much of our national domain. We needed some new improvement—an electric line, a railway through the streets, new waterworks—we were anxious to have that at once, and the result was that we improvi-

dently placed in private hands, the hands of some private monopoly, these possessions, which increase year by year in value, whose power to earn increases year by year, which ought to have been kept for our benefit or leased out upon short terms for the benefit of the whole people. That is the problem of municipal conservation.

Not long ago my wife said to me, "A city ought not to require taxes from its citizens, it ought to be able to pay dividends on the property it owns." Well, that seemed to me at first something like a will-o'-the-wisp, well adapted to the pursuit of the feminine mind and I wanted to dismiss it, but the good lady argued the case with me and the more she argued it the more she convinced me. Her argument was an application to purely municipal questions of a theory very similar to that set forth by Henry George in his "Progress and Poverty"—the single tax. She said: "Take this city where we live; the land which underlies it would be worth for farming purposes a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars an acre, that is all; now it is worth, parts of it, many thousands of dollars for a small fraction of an acre. How did that value arise? Why, it arose because the city has come, because people built houses close to each other and started industries. That is the value that the city gives. Where the city gives value it has the right to take value, it has the right to draw its income from this increased value of the land. So that if a city were taken sooner and the property of that city were conserved for the common benefit there would be no need of levying any other tax upon its citizens; but, upon the contrary, the city would pay dividends to those citizens, not only to those who own land but to all of them. That seems extravagant, but in that case the city simply taxes the value that it gives, taxes nothing else, does not tax the produce of labor.

I saw not long afterwards in the newspapers an account of a town here in our country, the town of Fairhope, on Mobile Bay, not a large place; it was settled by some immigrants from Iowa; they determined to start their town that way; they took the town young, they leased the land from the municipality and they built their city and they have been running it for about fifteen years; they are able to carry on their government without any taxes, paying themselves the State and county taxes, to have a telephone system, to have schools, public libraries and a free public dock and the town is said to be prosperous. Now I think that this town would be a very good object for investigation by the National Municipal League. If towns and cities are to be established hereafter it may be a good thing to know the best way to do it.

That is one example. But the examples in this country are comparatively rare by the side of those abroad. There is in Sweden a town by the name of Orson which did not own all the land upon which it was built, did not lease it all, and yet that

town, without any taxation upon its inhabitants, supports a street railroad for the free use of all, supports a library, and a public school and pays its own taxes to the government. How does it do it? It does it from the product of the trees which are grown in and around the town. The citizens of the past generation were provident, they planted these trees, of good sort, valuable for timber, and now their descendants are cutting the trees down, replacing them as fast as they are taken (the forests are not denuded) and there is enough profit from their sale to pay all the taxes of that town and to give it a free street railway. That is an extraordinary incident, but that is only one. Mr. Ockel, in the *Westminster Review*, if I recollect right the periodical in which it appeared, mentions the fact that in Germany there are now 1,500 villages that are supported from the produce of communal lands, without taxation upon their inhabitants, and that in a considerable number of those towns and villages there is a dividend actually paid to these inhabitants.

A great deal can be done here from the mere use of the streets themselves, for there is just as much unearned increment in a street as there is in a town lot. What do you mean by unearned increment? If I buy a lot out in the suburbs, that has very little value today, and get it for almost nothing, and people go out in that direction and build around it, it becomes a great many times, sometimes scores of times or hundreds of times, of its original value. That value is not conferred by any effort of mine, I am not entitled to any return on it, yet I get the return, and the city, which confers the value, gets no return except the very limited taxation each year upon the value of the lot. What remains to a city today? The streets of the city have an unearned increment, increasing in value all the time, just the same as the lot has—the street railroad, increasing its traffic as the town grows, the waterworks increasing the connections with the different houses as the towns grow, always supplying more and more water as the town increases in size, the telephone always with more connections as the town grows, so that prudent investors invest at a very low rate of immediate return because they know there is this constant rise in value in a growing city. That rise in value ought to be kept for the city, not for the stockholders. It ought not to be given for long terms upon a certain fixed basis, so much per year. Least of all it ought not to be conferred gratuitously, as nearly all of our cities have in the past conferred their franchises. When a term is fixed, that term ought not to be too long and the return ought always to be graduated with the rising value of the thing conferred. That is, that as the value of the waterworks system or of the street railway or lighting plant, or whatever it may be—as that value grows the return should grow also.

If our cities had been conducted upon that basis

at the beginning the present taxes would be very greatly reduced. And one of the very best ways to do that is, where it is possible, to have the municipality both own and control the plant. Most of us used to be opposed to municipal ownership, and with very good reason, because, we said, "Why, a city doesn't know how to transact business; the council is always elected as a mere matter of politics; the government is corrupt; if it can't make a good contract with anybody, how can it run a plant?" But there is a brighter day dawning even for American municipalities. By a process of gradual evolution the necessary business sagacity to do this thing is becoming more and more the possession of the municipality.

More and more intimate becomes the relation of the city to the individual, for with all the complexities of modern civilization we see that it is not so much the independence of the citizen and of the individual as the interdependence between the individual and the city—the city, the municipality and the State going more and more into men's lives. Whatever we may think of the new nationalism, however we may feel as to the centralization of power in the Federal government, I think we can have but one view of that new municipalism which shall control and make more intimate the relations of the individual with the immediate community in which he lives.

BOOKS

THE LAND QUESTION.

In the year 1873 there was published in London by Macmillan & Co. a book entitled, "The Land Question," by John Macdonell, containing much information in regard to the land laws of Great Britain, and showing a clear perception of the injustice they legalized. As the volume is now difficult to obtain, and as it shows a remarkable grasp of principles destined a few years later to find supreme expression in "Progress and Poverty," the following extracts may not be without interest to your readers:

"The Land Question—a question which begins to overshadow all other political problems set before the country; one, perhaps, of that rare kind which, with no rhetorical flourish, we may say that states must, in good time and in a wise fashion, solve or decay. A people are what their land system makes them; the soil that they till is stronger than they; and the essence of their history records the changes in the ownership of their land. . . . Few things exhaust men's immense capacity for misery more nearly than a bad land law. . . .

"It having been shown that 'economical rent' is paid for differences in quality and situations of land, created by no man, or that it originates in

circumstances not to be credited to the land-owner, it would naturally have been expected that from Ricardo's principles would have been unanimously and instantly deduced the conclusion that economical rent should not become the subject of private property, that no private individual should be permitted to monopolize 'the original and indestructible properties of the soil,' and what no man had created or earned by labor of his no man should own. It would have been only natural for all who accepted the preceding account of rent to hold that rent which proceeded from common labors of the community should belong to it, that wages were not more fitly the reward of the laborer, or profits the reward of the capitalist, than was rent, as Ricardo understood it, the appanage of the community or state, and that, to quote the popular phrase, 'the land was the property of the people.' . . .

"Since the state, ever needy, is compelled at present to draw its revenue from taxes which are a hardship to all, and a grievous burthen to the poor, it is no paradox to affirm that the maintenance of the state should be provided, as far as may be, out of those funds which Nature herself seems to have appropriated to public purposes, arising as they do out of common or public exertions. . . . That which presses on no man, yet benefits all, is on the face of it a better mode of obtaining a revenue than that which mulcts all, it may be, unequally, and to the grievous injury of some. That which, taking from no man's just earnings, yet provides for the just common wants, is conspicuously superior to a system of which the true principle, according to Mr. Lowe, is that you must pinch every class until it cries out. An offer is made of a mode of raising revenue, which takes from none what they have rightly earned, which need rob no man of what he has rightly bought, and which will replenish the Treasury. No man being mulcted, no man wronged; and are we to reject this offer, and for ever allow so many private interests to gather round this public domain that it shall be useless and perverted? To a like question the answer once made was a decided negative. For a time the revenue of this, as of every other state of Europe, came from rent. But the answer was revoked: the feudal duties incident to property fell into desuetude, and ultimately they were abolished; much of the Crown land was squandered; and for centuries the nation has been reaping the harvest of its errors, each sheaf whereof has been some tax, often vexatious and cruel. . . . We vex the poor with indirect taxes, we squeeze the rich, we ransack heaven and earth to find some new impost palatable or tolerable, and all the time, these hardships going on, neglected or misapplied, there have lain at our feet a multitude of resources ample enough for all just common wants, growing as they grow, and so marked

out that one may say they form Nature's budget. . . . Just as we should seek to replace loans by taxes, so should we seek to substitute for the latter rent drawn from natural monopolies, and it would seem not unreasonable to hope, that as loans have ceased to be the regular resources of all solvent governments, so may taxes. Thus only shall we have the benefits of government without the burthens. . .

"Let those . . . who regard the advent of democracy as inevitable, and who do not desire to see governments ruling by largesses extorted from the wealthy by the proletariat, welcome a revenue system which seems to set natural limits and barriers to the demands of potent and rapacious poverty. . . It may prove well hereafter if the share of the state is defined almost as sharply as the portion of the capitalist or the laborer. . . We see, then, the possibility of government, local and imperial, with out taxation. To no transcendental motives does the project appeal. It demands no miraculous draught of administrative talents or public virtues. It is simple and intelligible. It is nothing but giving the body politic the blood which it has secreted. . . I know how far out of the path we and others have strayed, how hard it is to hark back, and how easy it is to speak in three words that which generations of strong minds will not accomplish. We have been putting hills and seas between us and this principle. Not in our time, perhaps never, will they be wholly cast down and utterly dried up. But I still presume to think that it is good to contemplate a splendid possibility, some dim similitude of which may one day be realized, to the unspeakable benefit of society."

F. W. GARRISON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—What Diantha Did. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Published by the Charlton Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00.

—A History of the United States and Its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In 16 volumes. Volume VI. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

—Land Values Taxation in Practice. A Record of the Progress in Legislation of the Principles of Land Values Taxation. By Max Hirsch. Obtainable at The Single Tax office, 312 Flinders street, Melbourne, Australia.

PAMPHLETS

How To Choose and Cook Vegetables.

If every housekeeper-cook should be inspired to read *Farmers' Bulletin*, Number 256, on "The Preparation of Vegetables for the Table" (United States

Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.) all talk for a Federal Department of Health might cease and the Meat Trust be transformed into vegetable hash. There are five "delicate and digestible" ways of cooking cabbage and "the general principles underlying vegetable cooking" are a page of revelations. The ignorant cook is actually given some idea of time required for cooking the various vegetables, information which all ordinary cook-books are at pains to conceal. Maria Parloa and Uncle Sam were able collaborators.

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

Following are among the pamphlets we have received:

Cornell University Librarian's Report (1909-10).

Analytic Summary of the Papers Presented to the Free Trade Congress of 1910 at Antwerp.

The Story of Owned Land. Published by "The Square Deal," Toronto. Price 10 cents.

Report of Council Committee of Chicago on Telephones. December, 1910. City Clerk, Chicago. Free.

"Abundance and Hard Times," by Jas. C. Smith. Published by Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., London.

"Institute of Municipal and Social Service in Milwaukee," published free by the State University at Madison.

"The New Cycle, or The Message of The New Dispensation," published by Mrs. H. M. Barry, 1277 West 23d St., Los Angeles, for 35 cents.

"The Tariff Board and Its Work." Speech by Henry C. Emery, chairman, at Chicago December 3, 1910. Published by the Government Printing Office, Washington.

PERIODICALS

"Progress and Poverty" in Spain.

The "Journal des Etrangers," published in Sevilla, Spain, in the Spanish and French languages, announces in its issue of November 30 that it will begin in its January number the publication of "Progress and Poverty" in French, Spanish and English. The "Journal," a copy of which comes from Mr. Antonio Albendin, is a twelve page monthly paper devoted to economic, industrial, commercial and general news.

C. L. L.



Land Monopoly In Spain.

In the Madrid Herald of December 10, Mr. Antonio Albendin, of San Fernando, Spain, criticizes efforts to colonize foreign lands with Spanish emigrants. He shows that if natural resources were freed to labor, Spain could easily support ten times her present population. No other European country, he proceeds, has such extensive areas of land lying in the natural state, used as game preserves, in which only wild animals are to be found. In the province of Andalucia great tracts of fertile land lie idle, which under the Moorish occupation was under cultivation; and the Province in those remote days contained twice its present population. The Spanish Congress approves a system of indirect taxation on the grounds set forth by William Pitt, that its payment is not realized by those upon whom it

falls. The economic condition of the Spanish laborer is deplorable, the daily press, frequently reporting deaths from starvation among the workers in the cities and in the country. As a cure for this condition Mr. Albendin implores his countrymen to familiarize themselves with the works of Henry George.

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C. L. LOGAN.

Australian Single Tax Almanac.

The "Standard" of Sydney, New South Wales, issues a broadside calendar for 1911 with quotations appropriate to land value taxation; also with halftone portraits of Henry George, Leo Tolstoy, Joseph Fels, Tom L. Johnson, Alexander Ure, Max Hirsch, the Rev. W. H. Beale, H. J. Fletcher and A. G. Huie.

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Conservation.

The National Conservation Association, of which Gifford Pinchot is president, announces an illustrated magazine to be called "American Conservation," at two dollars a year. It is to present "not only articles covering the varied field of natural resources, but with them it will report systematically the progress of Conservation legislation, both Federal and State, and will present notes of important administrative action affecting the natural resources, besides additional information of special value to students, speakers, librarians, members of clubs, and others who are studying any phase of the Conservation question."

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Periodicals Received.

The periodicals for January that have come to our desk are—

Current Literature (New York), 25 cents.
 The American Magazine (New York), 15 cents.
 Life and Labor (Chicago), 10 cents.
 The Crisis (New York), 10 cents.
 The American Review of Reviews (New York), 25 cents.
 Sunset (Los Angeles), 15 cents.
 McClure's (New York), 15 cents.
 Everybody's (New York), 15 cents.
 The Free Comrade (Wellesley, Mass.), 5 cents.
 The Progress Magazine (Chicago), 15 cents.
 Popular Electricity (Chicago), 10 cents.
 The Survey (New York), 25 cents.
 Moody's Magazine (New York), 25 cents.
 The Pacific Monthly (Portland), 25 cents.

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"What do you know about this Atlee Pomerene of Ohio? I see by the papers—"

"I've heard the name several times; I think it's a variety of winter apples they raise in that State."
 —Chicago Tribune.

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"Do not sneer at the juvenile intellect," said John J. Chickering, district superintendent of schools. "Sometimes a boy can ask questions that a man can't answer." And he went on to tell of an experience he had when he was principal of one of the New York schools. He was called on by a teacher to come to her aid.

"It's all right," said she, "until natural history hour comes. Sammy Jones lives on a farm and he thinks he knows more about natural history than

the man that invented it. He keeps asking me questions—and if I answer them Sammy laughs, and if I don't the children do. Discipline is simply gone to pot. The children would give up their recess if I would lengthen the natural history hour by five minutes."

"So," said Mr. Chickering, "in the pride of my manhood I told her I would come to her rescue. 'One short, sharp answer will denote to Sammy that the matinee is over.' The teacher welcomed my aid. That afternoon I dropped in and took charge

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CHICAGO

The Werks of Henry George

Progress and Poverty.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Anniversary Edition. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Our Land and Land Policy.

By HENRY GEORGE.

This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come." Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

The Land Question.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Social Problems.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 55c, postpaid.

Protection or Free Trade.

By HENRY GEORGE.

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of the exercises. I told the children I would allow just one question each. And Sammy stumped me. I had hardly made the announcement before his hand was up.

"What is it, Sammy?" I asked.

"Has a duck eyebrows?" asked Sammy."—Cincinnati Times Star.

+ + +

Father Moriarty: "Glory be to goodness, she's bolted! Sure we'll be in the river in a jiffy!"

Pat O'Hagan: "'Deed an' we will, your riverence.

An' 'tis a dale of clanin' the blessed harness will take in the mornin'." —Punch (London).

+ + +

Captain: "Coward, will you run? Remember, your country is watching you."

Private: "Y-y-yes, but my country can't see a — of a lot through this smoke."—Puck.

+ + +

"Yes, sir," said a garrulous barber, "I was a ship's barber on a Pacific steamship for five years and was

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The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filling.

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wrecked and cast away on an island in the South Seas. I lived there for two years and never saw a human being, but when I was rescued I flatter myself I was a better shampooer than ever. I kept in practice all the time."

"How did you manage it?" asked the patron.

"I shampooed the cocoanuts."—London Tit-Bits.

+ + +

Jonah had just been deposited on the beach.

"Back to the land!" he exclaimed.

Meanwhile the whale, making its way back with

great difficulty to deep water again, merely charged the whole transaction up to prophet and loss.—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"Where can I hide?" gasped the mining stock promoter as he burst into his office. "The police are coming!"

"Get into the simplified card-index case," cried the chief clerk. "I defy anyone to find anything in there!"—Puck.

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THIS personal interest of yours, and this personal introduction, is sure to make your friend read it—he comes to THE PUBLIC predisposed in its favor and therefore reads it more carefully than he otherwise would. He is sure to become a permanent subscriber, unless—well, unless. We are bound to strike a "stand-pat" intellect once in a while.

NOW then, to enlarge this excellent propaganda we are ready to apply the same ratio of discount to half-year subscriptions. It makes more work for us—but we eat work down here at this shop—and the slight added expense taking care of them is more than compensated by the extra good.

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DON'T bust the bank trying to help in this, and be sure to keep enough to buy shoes for the children, but if you have a few dollars that are not busy, and want to boost THE PUBLIC and its kind of democracy—we're ready at this end.

EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

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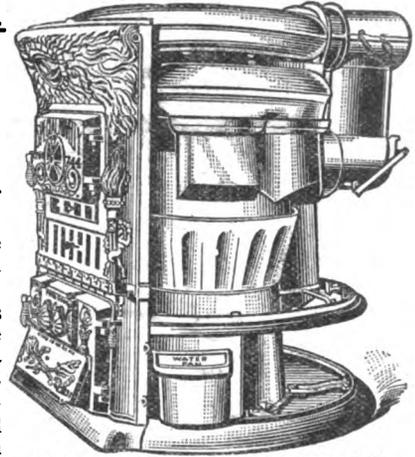
We desire each one of these 750 Public readers to send us his name and address so that we may show him how his new house can be healthfully ventilated and perfectly heated at no extra cost over that of direct-radiation heating *without* ventilation. Delay not but write us immediately upon reading these words.

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