

with all State legislatures, except where the people have the initiative and referendum antidote.

To know what is done by the political machine of Special Privilege is important; it is far more important to know "how it is done." It is necessary to know that, in order to make a successful fight against the machine. And every man interested in smashing the machine, in putting it out of business and then putting Special Privilege out of business, should know what Hichborn has told and what Judge Lindsey is telling.

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Judge Lindsey's story and Hichborn's book have come at the opportune moment. The latter deals with the political machine in a new way; the former promises to deal with it in another new way.

Hichborn does not tell a detailed story of all the work and jobbery of the California legislature, but selects a few important measures, tells what was done with them and "how it was done." In that way he puts the political machine on the stage, in several acts; and the man who has reported a State legislature with his eyes open sees the whole thing, including the scene shifters and machinery behind the curtain and in the wings.

One of the most important lessons of Hichborn's book is found in his explanation of how a machine minority in each chamber of the California legislature controlled the anti-machine majority by getting possession of the organization of the Legislature and thus controlling the committees. Very few voters understand how this is done, or how it can be done.

Hichborn shows very clearly how the political machine of Special Privilege reaches from the voting precinct in a State to the central government at Washington, touching and tainting everything political between the two.

Judge Lindsey's story begins to show how that machine corrupts the individual.

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Since Special Privilege has declared war on the people, it is of the greatest importance that the voters know what is fighting them, and how it fights; how it crushes opposition; how it cajoles, wheedles, threatens, blackmails; how it flatters and bribes; how it buys some men in order to ruin other men.

The unwritten lesson of Hichborn's book and of Judge Lindsey's story is that we, the voters, are subjecting our representatives and other public servants to a terrible moral over-strain. We are permitting Special Privilege to tempt them, when

it is our duty to shield them from temptation and to shield men from the temptation to tempt them. We, Society, prepare the crime, which is committed by men we fail to save from temptation.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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AN IDEAL CHICAGO, AND THE COST OF IT.

V. Further Consideration of the Fund for Meeting the Cost.

The constant upward tendency of land values in progressive cities, of which we gave illustrative examples (p. 1060) in our preceding editorial on this general subject, is a natural law. Richard M. Hurd, president of The Lawyers' Mortgage Insurance Company of New York so explains it, purely as a business problem, in his invaluable work on the "Principles of City Land Values."

The operation of the principle is observable all over the world. It seems to vary in effect according to the wealth, the character of the industries and of the inhabitants, the topography, the transportation, the platting, the climate, and the population. Mr. Hurd estimates that each additional 1,000 of population—other factors being the same—normally adds from \$10 to \$12 to the front-foot value of the best business locations, and from \$1 to \$2 to the front-foot value of the best residence locations.

The history of land values in Chicago confirms Mr. Hurd's statement of general principles. Land values in Chicago have steadily risen in the past in accordance with those principles, and obviously in accordance with the same principle they are under the influence of the same rising tendency now.

Our question, however, is whether they will continue to rise, and if so to what extent their rise may be influenced by the realization of an Ideal Chicago.

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Intelligent real estate experts have no doubt about the rise. One of them—Mr. Bonney, in his article in the Chicago Economist of July 24, 1909, from which we have already quoted—makes an extraordinarily lucid statement of the tendency, disentangling it from the confusing fact that normal increase excites speculative tendencies which generate abnormal increases and corresponding exactions. "Real estate in Chicago," he says, "is now selling about on the 1889 basis. It reached high figures in the early seventies, too high for that time, and it required some fifteen or twenty

years for the city to reach the values fixed in 1873; but while the city was growing to these values, the values themselves were falling back, so that somewhere about 1885 real estate was selling at about what it was worth. Another upward movement in the early nineties carried values some ten years ahead of real conditions. The city began rapidly to overtake these values while the values themselves began to fall back to meet real conditions. This process has gone on now for fifteen years. Since the World's Fair a new city has been added to each of the three sides of the river, wealth has accumulated, public improvements have been made, every token which goes to make a great metropolis has come into evidence, but the real estate pendulum has only begun to swing upward."

And why shouldn't it swing upward, and continue to swing upward except for temporary reactions from speculative attempts to anticipate the normal upward tendency? Doesn't Chicago answer "present" to the conditions which real estate experts describe as the factors of rising land values in cities?

According to Mr. Hurd, writing as an expert in city land values, an expert of long experience and profound general study of cities, "the total value of a city's site is broadly based on population and wealth, the physical city being the reflex of the total social activities of its inhabitants."

Isn't Chicago growing in population, and won't the idealization of the city tremendously augment its population?

Will not her social activities increase and intensify with increase of population?

And won't this increase and intensification be mightily accelerated by such a reconstruction as that proposed by the Commercial Club for an Ideal Chicago?

These questions were anticipated thoughtfully and forcefully by George J. Scharschug, the real estate editor of the Record-Herald in a review of real estate conditions in the issue of that paper of June 20, 1909, when he said:

1. Chicago has the geographical location that is bound to make its real estate increase in value year by year.
2. The city has grown rapidly and to-day is growing more rapidly than ever before.
3. Chicago is growing in all directions and has lots of room to spread out.
4. Chicago realty of every kind and in every section of the city is advancing.
5. Chicago real estate is still the cheapest, safest and best investment, an investor can make.

Isn't all that true? Doesn't every intelligent observer know it to be true? And doesn't Mr.

Scharschug prove that he is not merely boasting, but is really thinking, when in the same article he explains:

With the population growing, 10,000 or more each month, with outside manufacturers crowding in and about the city because of the unexcelled facilities for manufacturing and transportation, with steam and electric transportation conditions being enlarged and improved upon each day, and with the possibility of an actual development of Chicago's wonderful yet long neglected harbor, confidence in the future predominance and stability of Chicago real estate asserts itself more convincingly than ever before.

That statement is significant of the tremendous influence the Ideal Chicago would have upon the upward tendency of land values, for the idealization would vastly improve facilities for manufacturing. Mr. Scharschug's prophecy that follows is well within the bounds of reasonable expectation:

At the rate our population has increased the last half century, the 28,000,000 now tributary to Chicago will have become 252,000,000 within the present century. This rate at which we are now growing may not last. But even if we adopt the rate at which old and stable Germany has increased, the Chicago area will have at the end of the present century a population of 100,000,000. A very modest estimate for the end of the present century would make Chicago a city of 10,000,000 inhabitants. This is the city and this is the future it is our plain duty to plan for now. The possibilities are fascinating. Chicago's manifest destiny is plain. It is to be the world's greatest entrepot, importing from every foreign port, exporting to the ends of the earth; with fleets of her own river and canal boats of the Rhine type plying on a grander net work of waterways than even Germany has yet planned; with other fleets of ocean going steamers free to go on three different routes to the sea; on a par in the world's trade with New York, London, Antwerp, Hamburg, the magnitude of her trade limited only by the possibilities of her hinterland, the richest on earth. Our future is as great as we are wise enough to make it. Our limitations are human and social, not in the opportunities nature has given us.

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Since we have no wish to obtrude Henry George or the single tax into these editorials, nor even John Stuart Mill with his "unearned increment," but are intent only upon finding a practical business solution of the problem of cost for the Ideal Chicago, we shall for present purposes make two preposterous concessions. We shall preposterously concede that owners of land where that destiny is to be worked out may rightfully claim all the resulting land values that are due to the development of that destiny. We shall also preposterously concede that the still larger land values which the Ideal Chicago would produce is likewise theirs.

But shall the municipality have nothing at all, except the ordinary tax rate, for making the Ideal Chicago?

Any one who thinks so need read no further. For what we propose is that the cost of making the Ideal Chicago, the plans for which the Commercial Club has launched, shall be paid for with a share—not the whole, but a share—of the increased value which may reasonably be estimated to have been given to the land area of Chicago by the realization of the Commercial Club's plans.

Observe that we do not propose taking for this purpose the whole increase. Neither do we propose taking any more of the ordinary increase than ordinary taxes. All we propose is that a good share of so much of the increase as may reasonably be attributed to the idealization of the city shall be devoted to the cost thereof.

If any one sees any unfairness in that proposition—except unfairness to the city—we shall be glad to hear from him with his reasons.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PREFERENTIAL VOTING IN THE UNITED STATES.

Grand Junction, Colo., Nov. 3.

The Grand Junction system of voting was on trial on November 2d, and the test proved it to be the most democratic method of electing officials ever adopted. All of the five commissioners elected are strong men, among the best of the city, and all were indorsed and supported by the friends of the charter.

It took the third choice to elect the Mayor; the second choice to elect the Commissioner of Highways; the second choice to elect the Commissioner of Health and Civic Beauty; and the other two commissioners were each elected on the first choice.

The total number of votes cast in the election was 1,848, and 925 constituted a majority.

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Of the six candidates for Mayor, neither of the two receiving the largest number of first choice votes was elected.

Under the old system, Mr. Bannister, who received the largest number of first choice votes, would have been elected, although three other candidates had more electors behind them than he had. He had a total on all choices of only 737, while one of them had 753, another 912 and the third 1,051. Under the Berkeley and Colorado Springs plans of second elections, the two candidates, Aupperle and Bannister, who received the largest number of first choice votes, would now be pitted against each other in a bitterly contested second election, although neither of them had behind him a majority of the people of Grand Junction—the former having of all choices

753 and the latter 737, whereas a majority of the votes cast was 925.

Mr. Todd, who was elected on third choice, had no large faction for him and no faction whatever against him; but he had behind him, as shown by the results of the ballot, an aggregate of 1,051 first, second and third choice votes, or 126 more than an absolute majority of the voters of Grand Junction. He is clearly the actual choice of the people of this city by the majority test.

Mr. Todd is a friend of the charter, and the only candidate for Mayor who was a member of the charter convention which drafted it. He was supported by the anti-saloon people. A fundamental democrat in principle, he is by party allegiance a Socialist.

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Of the five candidates for Commissioner of Highways, Mr. Scoville received an absolute majority on second choice, and was consequently thereby elected. He also received the largest number of votes on each choice. Mr. Rader was the only candidate who received a majority vote on the aggregate of all three choices and yet was not elected; but he fell short of a majority on first and second choices, and even on all three his majority was less than Mr. Scoville's.

Mr. Vorbeck, the candidate for Commissioner of Finance and Supplies, was the only candidate elected and by less than a majority of all the votes cast. As there were only two candidates for this office, and his adversary was lowest on first choice, the adversary was dropped out, thereby leaving the office to Mr. Vorbeck.

Mr. Holmburg, candidate for Commissioner of Health and Civic Beauty, received a majority vote on first and second choices and was elected,—he having also the largest number of votes on all choices.

Mr. Vedder, the Commissioner of Water and Sewers, was the only candidate for that office, and was elected by a very large majority on first choice vote.

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The general result of this election is to demonstrate beyond peradventure the superiority of the Grand Junction system of voting. By no other method could the real will of a majority of the people of this city have been realized. Any voting system which has been adopted by any of the other charter cities would have resulted in a defeat of the will of the people of Grand Junction as shown by an investigation of the ballots cast at this election.

It has been strenuously charged that this system would not abolish politics, nor political machines. The opposite has been proven. Of the five commissioners elected, two are Democrats, two are Republicans, and one is a Socialist. This nominally partisan result, however, was purely accidental and incidental. No sign of any of these parties entered into the campaign, or appeared on the ballot. The contest turned upon local and personal questions only.

Prior to the entrance of the charter question into the first campaign, all the political parties were preparing to nominate tickets on national party lines, and the charter-plan question squelched that action even after primaries and conventions had been called.