

municipal purposes. Their petition will probably be granted, and then you will see in Johannesburg another Vancouver.

It seems funny to me to be writing in this strain, for I am a Socialist, and the Singletax was to me only a year ago a harmless and perfectly useless fad. But there must be some virus in the idea, for I feel quite enthusiastic about it now.

GEORGE C. MOSSES.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LOS ANGELES AND THE McNAMARAS.

In the California Mountains.

It may be interesting to have a few of the comments of the Sierra mountaineers on this remarkable affair. They are very plain, hard-working, out-spoken men and women. Many are Socialists, Singletaxers, supporters of trade unions, believers in La Follette and Woodrow Wilson, in Governor Johnson and in Right Things.

Until the McNamara confession there was a general disbelief that any man or men, in any union, would commit such atrocious crimes. There was a universal desire to see fair play, and to have the McNamaras clearly proven guiltless. The subject was very widely discussed, and quite generally with regret over the historic attitude of Los Angeles and especially of the Los Angeles Times toward organized labor.

Then came what seems to most of us one of the most surprising events of the century, and we could not but feel profoundly grateful to Lincoln Steffens, and to all who supported his suggestions. Nor could we fail to note the opportunity offered for the amelioration of class-feeling in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

I have never yet found a Socialist, a union man, an insurgent or any sort of reformer in these mountains who believes in dynamite or assassination. Plain, honest Americans will not stand for crime, nor for that ancient doctrine of evil—that "the end justifies the means." Perhaps, however, it is time for some re-reading of "Put Yourself in His Place," that great novel of 40 years ago, in which Charles Reade sets forth the blind and wicked terrorism which some trade union men have sometimes practiced.

That was a terrible book, but in its time it helped to clarify men's thoughts. Reade saw, as we are seeing to-day, that only by the words of education, argument and the ballot-box, can labor organizations come to their own.

It is gratifying to observe how general and widespread is the comment: "I am mighty sorry for the thousands of honorable union men who put up so much money and so much devotion for those fellows. Now let them weed that element out of all their organizations." Further, one finds among our more thoughtful citizens a very earnest hope that the people of Los Angeles will not fail to seize the psychological moment to grant to organized labor its rights, and so unite all classes in a common civic patriotism. For to us in the mountains it appears that Los Angeles has been as far wrong in one direction as San Francisco has been in another. Especially do we wish to have an end to class-feeling of the bitter sort

which has prevailed in Los Angeles, and we want more of the Golden Rule.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



DYNAMITE VS. REASON.

Whitefish, Mont.

Labor is guilty. Yes, certainly. But do not think for a moment that Capital does not have to shoulder a share of the responsibility.

We read about the conflict between Labor and Capital. I prefer to consider it as a conflict between Labor and Dividends. The percentage of accidents in our industrial establishments is appalling; and a very large proportion of them are avoidable by the use of proper safety appliances. Unfortunately the furnishing of proper safety appliances cuts into Dividends.

Again and again we read of Labor stepping into the cage and going down into the mine where with light hearts and willing hands they dig the dusky diamonds which furnish the power to turn the wheels of our industrial system and warm our homes. Boom! Crash! and scores of them are dead in the dark depths of the mine. Their wives and children, mothers and sweethearts gathering in weeping groups around the mouth of the mine, know full well that proper safety appliances were not provided by the owners of the mine because they cost money; know that their loved ones are dead and that they must face the cold world as widows and orphans, in order that the stockholders of the mine may receive dividends.

We shudder at the enormity of the McNamaras' crime—we could not believe it until they confessed—but we shudder again when we read of scores of funerals occurring at one time in some little mining camp, the result of some clearly avoidable accident.

Labor spends its youth, manhood and womanhood laboring in the cotton mills. Old age, ill health and many other causes, avoidable and otherwise, impair their earning capacity, and to keep the wolf from the door the little innocent children are taken from play and school and put to work in the mill. Day by day their tender lungs are filled with the lint of the mill, their cheeks grow pale, their bodies thin. The helpless parents see these conditions and they know that the bone and sinew, the brain and nerve of the young and growing generation are being ground into factory of Dividends.

I might write of the avoidable railroad accidents, the sweat shops of the great cities, the fire traps of the big factories,—but our whole industrial system tells the same story of human sacrifice in the interest of Dividends.

Do these conditions warrant Labor in the use of dynamite to destroy the life and property of their so-called enemies? Certainly not.

The noble army of patriots under Washington were nearly all from the ranks of the working classes. In the face of untold suffering and hardships they fought and won for themselves and future generations a measure of liberty and freedom hitherto unknown in the annals of history. They placed in the hands of every freeborn American the all powerful, universal and unlimited ballot. The world at large will yield a certain amount of excuse for the serfs of Russia in the use of force and bombs to in-

duce their autocratic government to recognize their rights. But there is no excuse for the American who, refusing to make intelligent use of the liberties he possesses to right his wrongs, resorts to dynamite. If Labor is ever to remedy the evils under which we live and toil, it must do so by intelligent reasoning. It can never succeed by brute force. The little paper ballot falls as noiselessly as snowflakes on a grassy lawn, but it expresses the will of a freeman more eloquently than the roar of cannon. The intelligent use of it is Labor's only hope. In the proper use of the ballot the workers are invincible.

G. W. AVERY.



'WITHOUT ANY VERY GREAT CONSCIOUS MORAL TURPITUDE.'

Denver, Colo.

The above phrase is quoted from this apology by Mr. Roosevelt in his "Murder Is Murder" article, an apology for men engaged in Big Business:

We are not here dealing with any of the kinds of offenses incidental to the sudden and sweeping changes brought about by modern industrial conditions into which capitalists and labor men are sometimes drawn without any very great conscious moral turpitude on their part.

Observe how carefully modified is "moral turpitude."

To see the "offenses into which capitalists are drawn" without any very great "conscious" moral turpitude on their part is easy. Doubtless the tragedy of the Triangle Shirt-waist factory in New York is one of these "offenses." The bursting of a dam in Pennsylvania, the explosion of a mine in Tennessee, the numerous railroad accidents all over the country, the frequent disasters in Colorado mines where men perish by scores—were these in Mr. Roosevelt's mind when he wrote of "offenses without any very great conscious moral turpitude" on the part of the offenders?

Such offenses are capitalistic, but what offenses are "the labor men" guilty of that can be excused on the ground that they lack consciousness of moral turpitude?

Legally considered, to destroy human lives without "conscious moral turpitude" is not murder; but for Mr. Roosevelt to touch the matter so jauntily in one sentence and in the next froth at the mouth over the McNamara case is one of the signs of the times that he who runs may read. What else can we expect of one who has lauded and magnified the "Captains of Industry" so persistently and vociferously? Material progress has been glorified to the setting aside of all that makes for human brotherhood, and by none more than the writer of "Murder Is Murder." If class hatred is the result who is to blame?

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.



CLEVELAND TRACTION.

New York City.

As a stockholder in the Cleveland Railway Company I have received a proxy to be made out in favor of "John J. Stanley, L. C. Hanna or _____." I find myself in doubt as to what to do about this, and there must be others of your readers who are

in the same predicament. I do not know whether by signing this proxy I shall be strengthening the hands of those in sympathy with Tom L. Johnson's ideas or those opposed to them. Could you not in time (the meeting takes place January 30th) give us a pointer?

FRED J. MILLER.

[The persons named above as proxies will be opposed to Tom L. Johnson's ideas if a question arises at the meeting. Proxies to Charles W. Stage (Cleveland, Ohio) would be used in support of those ideas. —Editors of The Public.]

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, January 9, 1912.

Senator La Follette's Speaking Tour.

Senator La Follette spoke at Chicago on the 3d. Here he was questioned, in the midst of his speech, about ex-President Roosevelt. He replied that in the last four years of the Roosevelt administration more trusts were formed than under all preceding administrations, a total of 10,020 plants having been merged in trusts, with a total capitalization of \$31,672,180,754; but that more legal proceedings had been instituted against trusts in the same period. Senator La Follette also criticized the Aldrich central reserve scheme. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1169.]



In speaking at Joliet, Illinois, on the 4th, he directed attention to the difference in the judicial application of the Sherman anti-trust law to commercial trusts and to labor organizations, and made this a basis in part for an argument for the recall of judges. His words on this point were:

There is one class of so-called restraints of trade that was not intended, or at least not understood, to come under the prohibition of the Sherman anti-trust law. These are labor organizations. It is a curious fact about the enforcement of the law that, while the courts have carefully protected investors in trusts against loss of values, the only instance where the extreme penalty of three-fold damages has been imposed is in the case of a labor organization. A law which treats investors as innocent if they form a trust, and guilty if they form a labor union, does not command the respect, nor appeal to the sense of justice, of the American people.



Senator La Follette's speeches on the 5th were at Springfield and East St. Louis, with short ones at many intermediate points. In Springfield, demanding that "corrupt leadership" be driven out