

history when a group of men and women on their way to execution provided its own band of music."

AT THE LABOR CONVENTION

Arrived at the Convention of the Laborites at Carmen's Hall, animated now by little more than a languid interest in what was to follow, the Single Tax Party men entered the hall. Mr. Hopkins was chosen chairman. An inexplicable confusion marked the proceedings. Members of the Labor groups were rising from their seats and going from place to place without any apparent purpose.

Amos Pinchot was called upon and tried to speak amid the extraordinary, motiveless and unexplainable confusion that prevailed. He had not removed his clothes for fifty hours, so he said, and looked drawn and haggard. With splendid courage he told this Labor Convention that there was "no place in this country for a class-conscious labor party."

On conclusion of his remarks the noise was redoubled. It developed into a pandemonium. Mr. Hopkins, the natural pallor of his face greatly increased, was unable to continue his efforts to restore the Convention to order, and resigned the chair to Mr. Christensen.

Oh, they are ruthless, these Laborites! They know what they want and how to get it. They are students of parliamentary tactics, and no amateurs at this sort of thing. As for the rank and file, their discipline was splendid. Like a German army they marched to the goose step without so much as winking an eyelash. Mercilessly they did their work.

The motion that finally clamped down the lid on the coffin of the Forty-Eighters was to the effect that all resolutions adopted by the Labor Convention and all the resolutions adopted by the Committee of 48 stand as adopted by the joint Convention. The invisible "joker" in this mo-

tion was that the Convention of 48 had adopted neither platform nor resolutions.

The Labor Party had swallowed up the Committee of 48. The political climbers, the earnest minded men and women along with the self-seekers and political nondescripts comprising the Committee of 48, had all become victims of the amalgamation. Another socialist party was born.

Charlie Erwin, editor of the *Socialist Call*, passed through the back of the hall. One of the Single Tax Party men said to him, "There is another socialist party in the field," and the genial Erwin replied, "We don't care who does our work."

Mr. Hopkins showed the terrible strain under which he was laboring. Mr. Allan McCurdy said to a Single Tax Party representative, "This is terrible. Will you stand by us?" To whom could he appeal save to the men who had stood like a stone wall in that Convention, the undefeated, undefeatable phalanx who alone among all the groups of the Forty-Eighters had remained unbroken and undismayed?

To Messrs. Hopkins, Pinchot and McCurdy who had striven so unselfishly for a new party that should represent the aspirations of those who hope for better conditions and purer politics, our cordial sympathy may well go out. In no spirit of exultation at their misfortunes do we say this. They are indeed humiliated, but not disgraced. They have no reason to regret anything but their mistaken judgment. Their hands are clean, they wrought worthily for what seemed to them a good cause, and they maintained throughout their character as gentlemen of fine and scrupulous bearing through a trying ordeal.

The Single Tax Party men too had deserved the compliment paid to them by Amos Pinchot, who said: "I like you fellows. When you lose you smile, and when you win you do not crow over the other fellow."

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

A Review of Our Course at Chicago— The Reasons Therefor

WHY did the National Executive Committee of the Single Tax Party decide to hold the Annual Convention in the same city and at the same time that the Convention of the Committee of Forty-Eight and the Labor Party were called for?

The newspaper reports would lead one to believe that the object was to effect an amalgamation. This is not so. And in order that those who were not present may understand the firmness of purpose that animates the Single Tax Party, the reasons that resulted in the selection of Chicago, and the dates of July 10th to 14th, should be now given.

First, of course, was the desire to make it easy for the unorganized Single Taxers to meet with the Party members of the East, so that the work of organization might be

extended. This object was successfully carried out. Twenty-one States were represented in the Convention, whereas only seven were organized previous thereto. Organizations were effected in several of these new States, the representatives of the others promised to do so as soon as they returned to their homes.

The second object was to prevent, if possible, the bringing before the public of an emasculated form of Single Tax by the proposed "third" party. The Executive Committee was determined that this latest attempt to lead Single Taxers up a "blind alley" should be frustrated. The plan of action was this: To write a straight Single Tax plank into the Platform of the Committee of Forty-Eight, or to make a fight on the floor of their Convention which would demonstrate to the Single Taxers taking part in it that their only

hope was the Single Tax Party. To carry out this plan "48" credentials were secured for every member of the Single Tax Party. On the first day members of the Party secured control of the delegations from seven States, which meant that we had seven members on the Platform Committee. On this committee were several other Single Taxers, not members of the Party, who favored our fight for a straight Single Tax plank. We also had the co-operation of a member of the "48" Executive Committee; it was he who suggested that we present a minority report on the floor of the Convention if our fight in the Platform Committee were lost.

It is well to mention here that in any case we had no intention of fusing with the proposed "third" party. It was evident from the very beginning that the "48-ers", were doomed to disintegration; for they were the most conglomerate mass of dissatisfied that had ever been gathered together, with no set purpose to bind them and lacking even the cohesion that might come from loyalty to a great leader. We were not going to sacrifice our organization or our great principle for the votes that the money back of this new party might be able to secure. But, we felt that if the right Single Tax plank were written into the "48" Platform we might endorse their candidates, provided these were willing to run on our Platform, which would contain nothing but Single Tax. In this way our movement would gain from an association with the new party without running the danger of being lost in the ultimate and inevitable disintegration of the proposed political organization. With this co-operation in view we urged, in such ways as were available, the nomination of Amos Pinchot for President.

But the nominee was of less importance to us than the Platform. The plank we urged was, in effect, the Platform that had already been adopted by the Single Tax Party Convention: The collection by the government of the full rental value of land in lieu of taxation. Barnum, of Ohio, Bourgeois, of New Jersey, and Macauley, of Pennsylvania, delivered masterful arguments in favor of this plank before the Platform Committee, which had previously agreed to allow us a total of forty-five minutes for three speakers. Dr. Kelly, of Iowa, was granted the floor apparently to oppose our plank; but in his homely Western style he supplemented the good work done by the Party spokesmen. The result of this effort will never be known, simply because the Platform Committee never had a chance to report to the Convention. An account of what transpired appears elsewhere in this issue.

We do not know, therefore, whether or not we could have forced a straight Single Tax plank into the report of the Platform Committee. It is significant, however, that Mr. Record told one of the men on our Conference Committee that they "could not give us a better plank than was contained in the St. Louis Platform." The significance of this is that the Platform Committee was debating the Single Tax plank at the very time this definite statement was made by the chairman of another committee.

However, we had anticipated some such move, and had

prepared a minority report. This minority report, asking for the substitution of our plank for the innocuous land plank in the Record Platform, was signed by the Platform Committee members from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Montana, North Dakota, Connecticut and Oklahoma.

It might be asked why we voted to refer the minority report to the joint Convention instead of moving to substitute. Here is the reason for our action.

Previous to the reading of the Record Platform a motion to recess at 1.30 p.m. and to reconvene with the Labor Party at 2.30 p.m. had been carried. When we started our fight it was nearly 1.30 p.m. It was about 2 o'clock when the motion to refer was put. We realized that there was not enough time to argue the question. We felt, too, that any Platform adopted in this Convention was subject to change in the joint Convention. Under the circumstances there was nothing to do but put the "48" Convention on record as favoring a consideration of the straight Single Tax plank. If we had had another hour for debate, or if the motion to merge with the Labor Party had not carried, we would surely have written our plank into the "48" Platform. The general opinion was that Single Tax could not be kept out of it.

After this fight we went over to the joint Convention mainly as observers, for it was evident from the Record Platform that the joint Convention would adopt a Socialistic programme, and we wanted nothing to do with it. Five minutes after it convened the "48-ers" were sorry for their hasty action; the Labor Party had swallowed them. While the Convention was in progress a committee was in another room trying to fix up a Platform that would meet with the requirements of Senator La Follette. The Labor Party continued with their proceedings, as begun before the appearance of the "48-ers," and carried them on in spite of the efforts of the latter to start a new Convention. Allan McCurdy pleaded in vain for fair play. Amos Pinchot, awakened from his slumbers on a chair, made a speech in which he advocated an American party instead of a "class conscious" party. Both received scant hearing. "The cat had swallowed the canary."

We watched the proceedings with amusement. In the evening we continued with the main business that had brought us to Chicago, to hold a Single Tax Party Convention. The morning papers announced the fact that we were and had always been an independent organization. Our candidates were the first to be nominated.

Our success was due to the fact that we knew what we wanted. We were the only group in that conglomeration of "48-ers" that had a set purpose.

We have won a great political and moral victory. Amos Pinchot said to us; "You people have some sense of solidarity." Indeed we have, for such is the power of a great truth.

FRANK CHODOROV.

OF course I must have the REVIEW.—MRS. CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER, Toronto, Canada.