

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 Elections.

In the excitement of the Democratic sweep, the only election news of interest to our readers everywhere that we are able now to give and they may not get from other sources before the next issue of *The Public*, is the election to Congress from New York of Henry George, Jr., from Chicago of Frank Buchanan, and from Milwaukee of Victor Berger, the opportunist Socialist; and the election to the bench in Chicago of William E. Dever and Edward Osgood Brown.

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No reports are available upon any of the referendum voting, except that the Initiative and Referendum amendment in Colorado is probably adopted, and that the advisory referendums in Illinois are probably carried by stupendous majorities. The landslide is a hopeful sign of protest against plutocracy; and Mr. Taft's thump at the bottom of the toboggan slide is hardly more musical than the sibilant sounds of Mr. Roosevelt's swift descent. Whether the Democratic victory is a subject for congratulation remains to be seen, but in a few weeks there will probably be signs.

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Chicago Slave Drivers.

We urge a careful reading of the extracts we make in our news columns this week from the report, signed by Katharine Coman, chairman of

the Grievance Committee of the Women's Trade Union League, on the merits of the garment workers' strike in Chicago. That report tells its own story, and an awful story it is. In the worst days of chattel slavery in the Southern States, and in its darkest lurking places, there was no greater cruelty than this of the Chicago "sweat shops"—respectable "sweat shops," too. Respectable, mind you, and wealthy.

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Big Business in Los Angeles.

Several weeks ago a dynamite explosion was reported from Los Angeles. It occurred in the establishment of a newspaper of that city whose owner is one of the most blatant of plutocrats. His conception of American liberty is the liberty of his class to do as it pleases with every weaker class and interest. In consequence of his dictatorial theory of the relations between employers and workmen, he was involved in a labor strike with printers at the time of the explosion on his premises; and forthwith he and his plutocratic coadjutors, organized as the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, spread the report that the striking printers had caused the explosion. There was no foundation for this charge, nor probability to it. There is no certainty that the explosion itself was different from that which occurred in the Iroquois theater in Chicago several years ago when more than half a thousand people were killed. But this made no difference to the Big Business interests of Los Angeles; they are still hounding the printers' union through their own union, with unfounded and improbable charges of crime.

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Of such a crime, if it was one, or such an accident, if it was an accident, a thorough investigation should be made. But it should be made disinterestedly. There are other crimes as bad as this; and it is a worse crime to use grand juries for making false accusations. Is it not significant of the worse crime, when hired lawyers of special interests are authorized to control grand jury investigations in which those interests are concerned? This is what is being done in Los Angeles. The lawyer for the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, the bosses' union, has been appointed special prosecutor for conducting the grand jury investigation. Since President Cleveland appointed as special attorney-general of the United States at Chicago in the Debs strike, the general counsel of the railroad companies centering here, no more flagrant abuse of legal ma-

chinery than that at Los Angeles noted above has come to our attention.

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Statesmanship.

A "safe and sane" statesman is one who objects to theories of reform as "untried" and to adopted reforms as "experimental."

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Another "Tainted News" Output.

When in San Diego, California, a movement for the municipal ownership of the local gas service was recently made, the people there were victimized, as in many another place they have been, with "tainted news." The paper that supplied the "news" but probably not the "taint"—that being furnished free by some "tainted news" bureau—was the San Diego "Union." It published daily what it called an "epitaph" on municipal ownership of some kind in some place far enough away from California to make verification difficult. Among these epitaphs was one on what it called "the late municipal lighting plant of Elgin, Illinois." Another was on "the late municipal lighting plant of Toledo, Ohio." This is the "tainted news" we alluded to in an editorial (p. 891) on "Tainted News from Topeka."

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Of the Elgin plant the San Diego Union's "epitaph," No. 4 in its series, said that "after only six years of 'letting the Peepul run their own affairs,'" Elgin "sold out her pretty municipal lighting plant at a loss of over \$100,000;" that Elgin had "had enough of it in a very short time, and so her nice municipal lighting plant also went the way of all such." Now, the truth is that Elgin did not get "enough" of her municipal lighting plant. It was taken away from her through a deal between certain members of the City Council and the local traction company, secretly; it having been rushed through a special meeting of the Council in the form of a ten-year contract with the traction company. The officials who engineered the deal have ever since been under a cloud in Elgin in consequence; and Elgin has appropriated funds and is about to let contracts for the preliminary work of re-establishing its municipal lighting plant in connection with its municipal water works plant. The San Diego Union's "epitaph" on the Elgin lighting plant was an inexcusable lie—using those words, as Mr. Roosevelt would say, "scientifically and descriptively and because no other terms express the fact with the necessary precision."

Likewise of the San Diego Union's "epitaph" No. 2, on the "remains of the late municipal lighting plant of Toledo, Ohio." According to the tainted veracity of that "epitaph," "the municipal lighting experiment" of Toledo, costing \$1,500,000 in bonds, "of which \$1,050,000 still remain unpaid," was "unsuccessful from the start," and, "after seven years the plant was leased to a corporation, and the mains outside the city limits were sold for \$102,000." Now, what do you suppose the city of Toledo's municipal lighting plant wanted of "mains outside the city"? The "tainted news" bureau sayeth not. If it had explained that mystery, the taint would have exposed the putridity of the lie. For the Toledo plant was not an artificial lighting plant at all; it was a natural gas plant, drawing its supply from a field adjacent to Toledo. Hence "the mains outside the city." The reason the city gave up this plant was not because municipal ownership was a failure, but because the field from which it drew its natural gas began to give out. It is now entirely exhausted, unless for the supply of small quantities to private companies and farmers on their own lands. The natural gas now consumed in Toledo is pumped from West Virginia fields. This is done by private companies, not because Toledo wished it that way but because she was so tied up with legal red tape that the companies were at a great advantage. They could supply communities along the line, while Toledo could sell only to Toledo; and if this disadvantage had been out of the way, or other fields near Toledo had been available, the companies could get options secretly, whereas Toledo could do nothing without making her intentions public in advance. While the Toledo natural gas field held out—that is, during those "seven ruinous years" of the San Diego Union's epitaph—the city of Toledo had a lower rate for natural gas than any other large city in the country. But Toledo never had a municipal lighting plant in any such sense as the San Diego Union's "epitaph" implies.

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Of course the San Diego Union did not work up those "epitaphs" itself. They were supplied by one of the bureaus for the manufacture of "tainted news" which Big Business patronizes and bright young newspaper men with a mouldy sense of honor work for. The "epitaphs" supplied to the San Diego Union included the Philadelphia (Pa.), the Hamilton (Ohio), the Norwich (Conn.), the Lowell (Ind.), the Galena (Ill.), the Brunswick (Mo.), the Bowling (Ohio), and

the Casselton (N. D.) lighting plants—every epitaph doubtless wholly false or grossly misleading, as those we have investigated were—Elgin and Toledo.

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"BACK TO THE LAND"*—A RETROSPECT.

Through corporation stocks and bonds, land monopoly is confusingly capitalized with labor-produced capital. This makes abolition of land monopoly less simple than it might be in primitive times or places. Neither so practicable nor so desirable is it to make land common property in form, as to make its value a common fund.

Whether that be done through public leasing, as is proposed regarding Alaskan coal deposits and other natural opportunities still in government ownership, or through taxation of land values, exempting industrial values, is largely a question of local or temporary policy. But the taking in some form of land values by the public for public use, as being justly a source of public and not of private revenue, has clearly become a world-wide tendency.

In the politics of Great Britain,† this tendency appears with resounding emphasis. It is manifest in varying degrees in certain colonial and municipal policies of Germany,‡ in the Cottagers' movement of Denmark,§ in the politics of Japan,|| in the British administration of Northern Nigeria,** in the policies of local taxation in New Zealand, New South Wales and other States of Australasia, and in the general policy of the Australian Commonwealth.†† Manifestations nearer home may also be observed. The fiscal reforms of Vancouver

*An editorial study of this question in its ECONOMIC aspects appeared in The Public of October 28, 1910, at page 1014. Of its DEMOCRATIC relations, there is an independent editorial study in the issue of November 4, at page 1036. For a concise editorial explanation of the meaning of the phrase "BACK TO THE LAND," as it was understood by Bishop Nulty, with whom it originated, and by Henry George, who gave general currency to Bishop Nulty's address on the subject, and also as the phrase is here used, see The Public of October 21, 1910, at page 990.

†See The Public, vol. ii, no. 87, p. 5; vol. xii, p. 1253; vol. xiii, pp. 53, 63, 65, 77, 101, 126, 150, 164, 174, 242, 245, 410, 683, 996, 997. Also back references there noted.

‡See The Public, vol. ii, no. 63, p. 6; vol. xii, pp. 183, 1066; vol. xiii, pp. 348, 486, 497. Also back references there noted.

§See The Public, vol. xii, pp. 183, 787, 954; vol. xiii, pp. 372, 438, 586, 635. Also back references there noted.

||See The Public, vol. xii, p. 641.

**See The Public, vol. xiii, p. 580.

††See The Public, vol. iii, p. 629; vol. xii, pp. 420, 990, 1066; vol. xiii, pp. 148, 149, 1020. Also the back references there noted.

and other Canadian municipalities* are notable; and in their effect upon public opinion in neighboring municipalities on our own side of the national boundary,† there is impressive proof of the spread of this tendency. The Conservation movement, which is deeply stirring American politics,‡ seems in a broader though less definite form, to be another expression of the same tendency,—the more especially as it is coupled with reaction against Protection, whereby the principle of exemption from industrial and commercial taxation is united nationally with the principle of common ownership of land.

That progress along those lines has everywhere been influenced by the agitation which began with the appearance of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" in 1879,§ and which for many years its author led in person, is probably as mild a statement of the fact as the most hostile critic would insist upon. Certain it is that this man's leadership is a worthy subject for retrospective consideration with reference especially to the lessons it may have in store.

I. Henry George's Leadership.

In "Progress and Poverty" Henry George had cast his theme in the threefold form of economic necessity, democratic principle, and religious ideal. The *religious ideal* appeals to that sentiment universal which Dr. McGlynn expressed as "the fatherhood of God and the consequent brotherhood of man." The *democratic principle* bases civilization upon that law of human progress which Henry George himself phrased as "association in equality." The *economic necessity* is rooted in the doctrine of common rights to land.

Not that any of the three is first or last, except in philosophical sequence. Historic periods of religious readjustment, or of political upheaval, or of economic reform, have been periods of emphasis rather than distinction. Essentially, too, as well as historically, the three seem to be introactive rather than successive.

Religion cannot fully develop before *democracy*, nor *democracy* ahead of *economic* opportunity and justice.

And justice ignored, is prophetic of retribution to be endured. The Justice that is "grander than Benevolence," "more august than Charity," "that

*See The Public, vol. xii, p. 1159; vol. xiii, pp. 243, 252, 434, 472, 473, 540, 635, 675, 732, 777, 872, 949. Also back references there noted.

†See The Public, vol. xiii, p. 434.

‡See The Public, vol. xiii, p. 653.

§See The Public of October 28, 1910, page 1014, and November 4, 1910, page 1036.

will not be denied," "that cannot be put off,"—this noblest of all concepts of Justice, is it not true that she, also "with the scales carries the sword"?* Religions will assuredly sink into fetishisms and democracies revert to despotisms, if common rights to land be not established.† For common rights to land are the basic condition of unhindered opportunities for wealth production, and of even-handed justice in its distribution; and upon those economic processes depend that "association in equality" which is democracy, and that brotherly intercourse among the children of God which is religion.

It was those threefold forms of the message Henry George embodied in "Progress and Poverty," that Bishop Nulty grouped in his memorable slogan—"Back to the Land!" As old as history, the three of them? Aye; but also as new as the irrepressible conflict of the centuries!

This conflict, what has it been or is it now? Is it not the "growing pains" of civilization in its evolution from the savage selfishness of social infancy toward that democracy which is at "the heart of all religions,"‡—the democracy of common brotherhood from common Fatherhood? And the "growing pains," why these in our day but for the ligatures of slavery that survive in land monopoly?

His work of preparation over, Henry George began his career of active leadership.

In some respects this was pure agitation, teaching, preaching, propaganda. But there was soon constructive work also to do.

Opportunities came for getting a leverage here or promoting a tendency yonder, for sweeping away some legal obstacle or gaining more conspicuous or influential platforms for reaching larger audiences or audiences more earnest to know, or for gaining legal vantage grounds for easier or more effective political action. All such opportunities that drifted within the range of his eager and wide-seeing vision, he keenly sensed and promptly used.

Observing reflectively the differences of opportunity, educational or political, which time developed or localities afforded, he used his wits as industriously and conscientiously in adapting policies to varying circumstances, as he used both wit and conscience in testing principles by unvarying natural law. He was diligent,—with insight and thought, with pains, care and discrimination. Preaching, it was the gospel as he saw it that he

*"Progress and Poverty," book x, ch. v, p. 546.

†"Progress and Poverty," chapters iv and v of book x.

‡"Progress and Poverty," page 562.

proclaimed. Teaching, it was the whole truth he tried to lay bare. Planning political action, it was as the general plans a battle, or the politician a campaign; for he held the political art and the military art to be alike in this, that they consist "in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance."*

Thence came arduous and perplexing experiences. But he was no fair-weather leader, no dainty preceptor, no social hermit or political recluse. He lived within, not apart from, the life of his time.

II. "The Day of Small Things."

Though not indifferent to "the day of small things," Henry George was seldom more than amiably tolerant of small methods in times of large ones. What concerned him at all times, and exclusively at seasonable times, were the tendencies of thought among men in the mass.

He consequently had to endure his full share of criticism. There were friends who, seeing no difference between purpose and method, urged him to be "true to principle" "in season and out of season"; and they were quick to read him moral lessons when his policies suffered what to them seemed defeat. Yet his defeats were victories. For the struggles he advised were either to clear away obstacles or to provoke discussion; and they were always big enough for their purpose. If they did not clear away the obstacle, they jarred it loose; and the discussions they provoked were far reaching and intense.

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Among the critics of his policies at first were old time land reformers and utopian socialists, who had risen with enthusiasm to his ideals but were chilled by his fiscal proposals. To others, "Progress and Poverty" was so perfect that they shuddered when they learned its author was writing "Protection or Free Trade." There were others later on who gasped at the thought of his having a bout with so formidable an adversary as Herbert Spencer. There were those also who, though they appreciated the simplicity and effectiveness of taxation for abolishing land monopoly by taking land values for public revenues, insisted upon "all or none" and "now or never." And when the telegraph strike of the early '80's paralyzed New York, converts were lost by George's speaking for the strikers; for had he not taught that strikes are frail weapons for labor, and that the land question is the only question?

*"Protection or Free Trade," chapter xxix, "Practical Politics," page 819.

Then there were the fastidious intellectuals. They had placed George's image in a glass case, as it were, and his doctrines in cotton wool, where dust could not soil nor the coatless intrude. The sensibilities of these friends were shocked by that London speech from the roof of a cab to a vast street audience of workingmen, in which George "incited class to rise against class" by saying that the Lord hadn't made the land of England for the lords of England but for her people. They called him "demagogue" for this; and when a little later he plunged into "the dirty pool of politics" as Labor candidate for Mayor of New York, they smashed the glass case, melted his image, threw their cotton wool and all its contents into the sewer, and "walked with him no more."

His encouragement of movements among business men for tax reforms such as repeal of personal property taxes, and separation of land values from other values in tax duplicates, exposed him to criticism from "middle of the road" converts who would probably not appreciate even now the value to the larger movement of the agitation for those "pottering reforms" or the "trifling results" they have secured. Plutocracy, though, has not considered them trifles. When Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, while a State Senator, secured a law in 1890 which required the separate valuation of land for taxation, the privileged interests soon realized its import and it was repealed at the very next session of the legislature.

Another kind of criticism finds example in the prejudice excited by Henry George's speech at New York on the use in Illinois of Federal troops at the time of the Debs railroad strike and against the protest of Governor Altgeld. "I yield to nobody," he said, "in my respect for law and order and my hatred of disorder; but there is something more important even than law and order, and that is the principle of liberty. I yield to nobody in my respect for the rights of property; yet I would rather see every locomotive in this land ditched, every car and every depot burned and every rail torn up, than to have them preserved by means of a Federal standing army. That is the order that reigned in Warsaw. That is the order in the keeping of which every democratic republic before ours has fallen. I love the American Republic better than I love such order."* Converts who thought of democracy as outside the single tax movement felt that a long time must elapse before the ill effects of this attack upon "law and order" would pass away.

*"The Life of Henry George," by his son, Henry George, Jr., p. 577.

Extremely tolerant, as a rule, of all friendly protests that did not obstruct at critical moments, Henry George was sometimes obliged to listen to complaints with which he had no patience—those against himself or his followers for “degrading the cause by seeking office.” Perhaps no one ever cared less than he to hold office. But the narrowness of such complaints annoyed him. Possibly he detected streaks of jealousy in them. At any rate he made it sharply clear that the single taxer in office honorably performing his duties there, or seeking office honorably though actuated by personal ambition, is none the worse citizen or single taxer for that; and if a known believer in the single tax, so much the better, since his fame in office or as a candidate strengthens the single tax movement.



So in those “days of small things” Henry George often found enthusiastic converts only to lose them, or to have them turn upon him when they found that he went too far, or didn’t go far enough, or wasn’t a political recluse, or was an opportunist in action, or regarded judgment as well as enthusiasm, and sometimes without enthusiasm, as a necessary part of the single tax advocate’s equipment.

III. Single Tax Parties.

In any cause with political purposes, few tendencies are more characteristic, especially of “the day of small things,” than impulses for a separate political party* to carry the ark of its covenant into the battles of the ballot. This subject was one on which Henry George had very definite opinions. He expressed them often in conversation, occasionally in public speech, and with characteristic deliberation in his essay on “Practical Politics.”†

In that essay he explained that “important political battles begin with affairs of outposts, in themselves of little moment, and are generally decided upon issue joined not on the main question, but on some minor or collateral question;”‡ and he added: “To bring an issue into politics it is not necessary to form a party.”§ Continuing, he argued that “parties are not to be manufactured,” but that “they grow out of existing parties by the bringing forward of issues upon which men will divide.”

*For an editorial discussion of Permanent Side Parties in Politics, see *The Public*, vol. iv, p. 3; also vol. i, no. 31, page 6.

†Chapter xxix of “Protection or Free Trade.”

‡“Protection or Free Trade,” page 319.

§“Protection or Free Trade,” page 321.

That essay defines the true principle of practical politics, and describes the art, in so far as political promotion of a cause is concerned; it does both with exceptional keenness, clearness and force. Whether its conclusions be accepted or not, they cannot be wisely ignored. No promoter of political action for a cause is likely to be competent for leadership, unless he has familiarized himself with that essay,* and either rejected its conclusions with good reason, or made them his own.

The excellence of Henry George’s advice regarding practical politics has been proved on a large scale in Great Britain. Without a hopeless single tax party at any time, but with thoughtful, steady, long and patient work inside the Liberal party, his British followers now find their cause in the very center of British political discussion and on the highway to legislative acceptance. Temptations were frequent and enticing to break away from the Liberal party when loyalty was irksome but necessary, and there were not lacking impatient ones to urge it; but the present state of British politics demonstrates their error.



It is not to be understood, however, that in his political leadership Henry George opposed separate parties rigidly. Quite the contrary. He favored

*The context from which the excerpts are taken is as follows: “How men vote is something we need not much concern ourselves with. The important thing is how they think. Now the chief agency in promoting thought is discussion. And to secure the most general and most effective discussion of a principle it must be embodied in concrete form and presented in practical politics, so that men, being called to vote on it, shall be forced to think and talk about it. The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fullness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal. But the zeal of the propagandist needs to be supplemented by the skill of the politician. While the one need not fear to arouse opposition, the other should seek to minimize resistance. The political art, like the military art, consists in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance; and, to bring a principle most quickly and effectively into practical politics, the measure which presents it should be so moderate as (while involving the principle) to secure the largest support and excite the least resistance. For whether the first step be long or short is of little consequence. When a start is once made in a right direction, progress is a mere matter of keeping on. It is in this way that great questions always enter the phase of political action. Important political battles begin with affairs of outposts, in themselves of little moment, and are generally decided upon issue joined not on the main question, but on some minor or collateral question. . . . Now to bring an issue into politics it is not necessary to form a party. Parties are not to be manufactured; they grow out of existing parties by the bringing forward of issues upon which men will divide. We have, ready to our hand, in the tariff question, a means of bringing the whole subject of taxation, and, through it, the whole social question, into the fullest discussion.”—“Protection or Free Trade,” pages 318 to 321.

a separate party whenever and wherever the circumstances made it useful. With him it was not a question of separate party or no; it was a question of in season or out of season.

An example of a separate party in season was the United Labor Party of New York city in 1886. It sprang up in organized labor circles spontaneously out of the oppressive judicial treatment of a labor union strike-committee. Members of that committee, honest men, were sentenced to prison as felons for three years for extortion—a high degree of robbery under New York law—although their offense consisted only in having received \$1,000 for the strike fund (which they turned over to their unions), in part payment of strike expenses and as a condition, approved by arbitration, of terminating the strike. This was treated as extortion (robbery) because the circumstances made it coercive. The consequent bitter feeling among labor unions led to a request from the Central Labor Union to Henry George to become the Labor candidate for mayor at the election then three months off. Unwilling to lead “a toy party in a toy campaign,” he conditioned his acceptance upon a petition of 30,000 voters. This was promptly got, and then he made the campaign. In the count he fell only 22,442 behind Abram S. Hewitt, and ran 7,675 ahead of Theodore Roosevelt.*

So large was the vote for Henry George at that local election that the demand for a permanent organization of the party throughout the State of New York was irresistible. Efforts at extension over the country were also hopefully made. But the response outside of New York city was feeble, and only upon Dr. McGlynn's urgent insistence that it was his duty, and much against his own judgment, Mr. George became in 1887 the candidate of the State organization for Secretary of State, the highest candidacy of that year. At the election the organization went to pieces. The vote for George was barely more in the entire State than it had been in New York city alone the year before; and in New York city itself his vote fell from the 68,000 of the preceding year to less than 40,000. Nor was this “slump” accounted for by loss of the Socialist vote; for the Socialist party polled only about one-fifth of the number that George lost.

His own sense of general political tendencies admonished him then that the useful career of the

*“An Account of the George-Hewitt Campaign in the New York Municipal Election of 1886. Prepared by Louis F. Post and Fred C. Leubuscher. New York: John W. Lovell Company, 14 and 16 Vesey street.” Out of print. At page 168, this pamphlet gives the aggregate vote as follows: Theodore Roosevelt, 60,435; Abram S. Hewitt, 90,552; Henry George, 68,110.

United Labor party was at an end. He therefore advised its abandonment; and when, a few weeks later, President Cleveland's tariff message looked toward free trade, he urged the course in practical politics which he had indicated in “Protection or Free Trade” before the Labor campaign of 1886 seemed to open a more direct pathway to the object of his leadership. “The gate to one path has hardly closed against us,” he said, “when another opens.” But protectionists among his associates opposed this policy, and they were honest. Support came to them, however, from allies who were not honest. The management of the party was subsidized by the Republican machine to go through the motions of a national campaign for the Presidency. Nominally this was to be done as a Labor party demanding the taxation of land values, but secretly in the interest of the Republican candidate and his Protection policy. Its more vigorous operations were to be confined to the doubtful States—New York, New Jersey, Indiana and Connecticut.* In the campaign that followed, the United Labor party collapsed ignominiously.

Henry George had withdrawn from it, however, as soon as he realized its object from admissions of its managers. With upwards of 10,000 others in the United States whose intentions and opinions were backed by their signatures, he supported President Cleveland. They did so expressly as voters to whom free trade is an essential part of the single tax, and who saw in Cleveland's opposition to protection the thin end of the free trade wedge.†

Nearly ten years afterwards Henry George again led a reasonable third party in local politics; but thousands scattered to other candidates when his death took his personality out of the campaign.

It was in connection with the United Labor party that the Anti-Poverty Society flourished. A word about that pioneer of the single tax movement is needed, because in retrospect it seems to many who were moved by its enthusiasms to have

*“The Life of Henry George,” by his son, Henry George, Jr., pages 505-506, 511-512.

†Of professed single taxers who were not free traders Henry George wrote in 1889 that they had “only half seen the cat.”—Henry George's “Standard,” June 15, 1889, page 2, column 2. “Seeing the cat” is single tax slang for perfect understanding of the single tax principle. It comes from an illustrative reference in “Progress and Poverty” (book v. ch. II, page 293) to concealed pictures, from which James G. Maguire built up a picturesque description of a landscape in which the picture of a cat was concealed.

reached a further stage of progress than the present. This is a mistake. Useful as the Anti-Poverty Society was in its day, its enthusiasms were pretty closely confined within the four walls of its meeting place. The general public were unaffected.

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Apart from a recent movement in New York City,* only two distinctive single tax parties have attempted to raise the single tax issue in the United States. One was at Chicago, the other in Delaware.

The Chicago movement lasted through three local elections (1901-1903). Its votes were trifling and it produced no general discussion.†

But the Delaware movement, beginning in 1895, "set the State by the ears," although its vote greatly disappointed its promoters. It originated in Philadelphia, on the plan in embryo which is now proposed for Oregon, that of concentrating upon a State; but it had none of the advantages of direct legislation or local interest which Oregon offers. It threw the little "Blue Hen" into convulsions, however, and many of its speakers were imprisoned, nominally for speaking to crowds on the streets, but really for the cause they espoused. At that time *The Public* had not yet been born and no citations from its columns can be made; but the movement itself had an organ, "Justice,"‡ in which the news of the movement was faithfully chronicled.

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One important single tax movement in politics calls for mention here. Although it was not a separate party movement distinctly, it is suggestive of the value of a separate single tax party, not to make nominations, but to promote the principle by direct voting upon measures, where direct legislation facilities make this possible. We allude to the movement in Oregon in 1907-1908,§ for the adoption of the single tax under the People's Power laws of that State. Although the proposed measure may have been imperfect, a point upon which we pass no opinion, the fact is, nevertheless, that the discussion throughout the State hinged upon the single tax question. Despite the election result, and this was far from discouraging, seed was then sown that makes Oregon one of the best States in the Union now for that localized political effort which Henry George looked forward

*See *The Public*, vol. xiii, pages 442, 515, 538, 988.

†See *The Public*, vol. iii, p. 825; vol. iv, pp. 3, 321; vol. v, p. 10.

‡The editor of "Justice" was Arthur C. Pleydell, now of New York city.

§See *The Public*, vol. x, pp. 468, 827, 1229; vol. xi, pp. 28, 110, 122, 170, 226, 250, 420. Also references there noted.

to when he said that the most direct method for the single tax movement is through local taxation, and that this "is doubtless the way in which the final and decisive advance will be made."* The Oregon movement was led by the Oregon Tax Reform Association, of which H. D. Wagnon was president and Alfred D. Cridge was secretary; and while the proposed measure was defeated at the election in June, 1908, the vote for it was large throughout the State and phenomenally large in Portland.

IV. Free Trade.

His support of Cleveland on the tariff reform issue in 1888, and again in 1892, Henry George regarded as being in accordance with his view† that a principle is brought most quickly and effectively into practical politics by measures which present it so moderately "as (while involving the principle) to secure the largest support and excite the least resistance;" for "when a start is once made in a right direction, progress is a mere matter of keeping on." It was in harmony also with the single tax principle. For this contemplates not only the relation of men to the land, through freeing it from monopoly, but also their relation to one another through freedom of trade.

Some sympathetic critics have regarded the policy of resorting to national instead of local agitations in politics as a mistaken one for this country, where questions of taxation and land tenure naturally proceed from localities up to the general government, instead of extending from the general government down to localities. But George never denied or overlooked the merits of that point. Three years before the first Cleveland campaign he wrote: "In the United States the most direct way of moving on property in land is through local taxation, since that is already to some extent levied upon land values. And that is doubtless the way in which the final and decisive advance will be made. But national politics dominate State politics, and a question can be brought into discussion much more quickly and thoroughly as a national than as a local question."‡

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Always recognizing the wisdom of promoting his cause by different methods in different countries and sections, according to the customs and habits of thought of the people, always and everywhere making the "line of least resistance" his test for immediate practical proposals and move-

*"Protection or Free Trade," page 321.

†"Protection or Free Trade," page 319.

‡"Protection or Free Trade," p. 321.

ments, Henry George favored the continuance of national agitation after Cleveland's defeat; and additional sympathizers with the single tax were consequently brought into touch by means of a petition secured by William T. Croasdale and formally presented to Congress in 1892 by Congressman Tom L. Johnson. It was out of this petition gathering that the New York Single Tax Conference of 1890 and the Chicago Single Tax Conference of 1893 were organized. But attempts to make permanent national organizations failed.

Although a single tax measure was voted on in the lower house of Congress in 1894, it had no direct connection with that petition. The single tax measure was presented by James G. Maguire, a Democratic Congressman from California, as an amendment to the income tax bill. The members who voted for it were James G. Maguire of California, Charles Tracey and John De Witt Warner of New York, Jerry Simpson of Kansas, and Michael D. Harter and Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, all elected as Democrats. Harter was a believer in the taxation of real estate and to that extent a single taxer; Tracey is said to have used this means of evading a vote on the income tax, which he opposed; but Maguire, Warner, Simpson and Johnson were single tax men as well as Democratic members of Congress.

V. Local Option in Taxation.

Concurrently with the national movement through the tariff controversy, movements for opening the way to local applications of the single tax were adopted under George's leadership. The immediate object was State legislation authorizing municipalities to levy local taxes on land values exclusively.

New criticisms came in this connection. "Middle of the road" single taxers denounced the movement as alien to the single tax. Of course it wasn't the single tax; but without this authority there could be no adoption of the single tax locally. Nor could there be much effective local discussion. The local option movement was therefore in line with Henry George's views regarding free trade agitation: "The chief agency in promoting thought is discussion; and to secure the most general and most effective discussion of a principle it must be embodied in concrete form and presented in practical politics, so that men, being called to vote on it, shall be forced to think and talk about it."* In campaigns for members of the legislature, whose elections turn upon personal, national, State, and other considerations,

there could be but poor opportunities for effective discussion of the single tax principle. But local option in taxation, a necessary prerequisite to effective single tax discussion locally, seemed comparatively easy to force upon reluctant legislatures and against interested opposition, because it appealed to many to whom the single tax idea would not appeal at all.

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No State having yet given municipalities the right of local option in taxation, its value in this country is not demonstrated. But its use for single tax purposes in Australasia, beginning in the 90's in New Zealand, and the growing popularity of this use of it in Canada, are highly encouraging, both as to the fact that it offers opportunity for single tax adoption, and the fact that its use in that way is beneficial and popular locally and an example for other municipalities.

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Extended and patient efforts to secure a local option law in the State of New York, where the agitation for it began, at the suggestion of Thomas G. Shearman and with the whole hearted approval of Henry George, have thus far failed. Although the New York Constitution permits such legislation, her legislatures have firmly resisted the innovation. All that has yet come out of the movement definitely there, is a law requiring the city of New York to distinguish land values from other values for taxing purposes; but under the administration of Lawson Purdy, the head of the New York city tax department, this law has produced valuable results.*

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It was in Colorado about ten years ago that the most pronounced and systematic effort to secure local option in taxation was made. The leader there was James W. Bucklin, of Grand Junction, then a State Senator. Senator Bucklin secured legislative authority to investigate this fiscal method in New Zealand, and made the investigation at his own expense. The immediate result was one of the best reports upon the subject yet produced. This was followed by a measure, known as the "Bucklin bill," for so amending the Constitution of the State, which forbids local option in taxation, as to allow counties to tax only land values for local purposes should their voters decide to do so. The proposed amendment, after a long and bitterly fought contest, with but little outside financial aid, and in which Senator Bucklin sacrificed health, business, time and money, was defeated at the

*"Protection or Free Trade," page 318.

*See The Public, vol. xii, pp. 1162, 1203; vol. xiii, pp. 33, 157, 691. Also back references there noted.

election. It is believed, and there are good grounds for it, that this result was accomplished by false election returns under defective electoral laws. At all events, the Bucklin episode in Colorado may well be regarded as the most interesting, instructive and encouraging of all the struggles in this country for legislation tending toward the single tax.* Not only did it aim at "clearing the way," but it brought the whole subject under general discussion among the people of a State.

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The solitary instance of a local application of the single tax in the United States was brought about by Jackson H. Ralston in the village of Hyattsville, Maryland, some twenty years ago. Among the laws of Maryland was one allowing local authorities to exempt industrial improvements, the object being to enable communities to offer local inducements to industrial enterprises. It was an old law, which had been used in that way; and Mr. Ralston, an eminent lawyer of Washington, D. C., and at that time a member of the governing body of the suburban village of Hyattsville, where he lived, took advantage of it to secure from that body the exemption of all improvements and the concentration of local taxation upon land values. Economically, the experiment was successful. Householders found their taxes less; land monopolists found theirs more. But legally the experiment was a failure, for the Supreme Court of Maryland declared, in the Hyattsville case, that the old statute under which Mr. Ralston and his associates had acted was unconstitutional—not merely in their use of it, but in itself.

VI. Bryanism.

President Cleveland having thrust aside the tariff question, on which he was elected in 1892, for the money question, which had not entered into the campaign, and thereby split the Democratic party, the Cleveland part of it appeared in the next campaign in co-operation with the plutocratic elements of the country and their dependents, while the other part appeared as the regular Democratic party with free silver coinage as its slogan and William J. Bryan as its Presidential candidate.

All who knew the country as a whole,—caring neither for East nor West nor for gold standard nor silver coinage, in themselves,—foresaw this outcome two years before the Presidential campaign of 1896 began. Bryan, whose free trade speech in Congress was recognized even in New York as

one of the best ever made on that subject in the capitol, laid down the tariff question temporarily and set about advocating free coinage of silver as the dominant issue of the time. But quite as early, possibly earlier—as early at any rate as the summer of 1894,—the Reform Club of New York, organized out of and successor to the Free Trade Club, had put its splendid tariff reform work behind it, and its tariff reform committee completely out of commission, and was devoting the energies of its members and the money of its supporters exclusively to campaigning for the gold standard. Both East and West dropped the tariff question long before Bryan's first nomination for President; and not by preconcert of leaders, but as the inevitable result of the money policy which President Cleveland in office substituted for the tariff policy that had elected him.

Henry George had already revolted against Cleveland for his abandonment of the tariff question; and in this campaign he supported Bryan. So did the single taxers who sympathized with his decision or trusted his leadership. Few of them did this because they cared about the money question in itself. Both they and he looked upon Bryan as representing that tendency of political thought in the mass, on which the democracy of this Republic depends and through which its march "back to the land" must be accomplished.

Their explanation could not be better stated than in George's words. A group of his Eastern converts had issued a circular letter in opposition to Bryan's free silver doctrines, which, as Mr. George's biographer says, "they raised above all other considerations."* In his reply he wrote: "Of those friends of mine, the few single taxers who, deluded, as I think, by the confusion, purpose to separate from the majority of us on the vote, I should like to ask that they consider how they expected to know the great struggle to which we have all looked forward as inevitable, when it should come? Hardly by the true issue appearing at first as the prominent issue. For all the great struggles of history have begun on subsidiary, and sometimes on what seemed at the moment irrelevant issues. Would they not expect to see all the forces of ill-gotten wealth, with the control of the majority of the press, on one side, and on the other a reliance upon the common people—the working farmers and the artisan bread-winners? Is not that so today?"

Here was another instance of a failure of George converts to realize that democracy was his supreme

*See *The Public*, vol. iii, p. 629; vol. iv, pp. 100, 107, 136, 324, 722, 746, 761, 776, 792, 810; vol. v, pp. 11, 85, 116, 211, 322, 376, 391, 466, 486, 498, 548, 595, 664.

***Life of Henry George*, by Henry George, Jr., page 582.

purpose. While he taught that the corner stone of democracy is equal rights to land, he had no such fatuous notion as that single taxers must stand aside until the corner stone is being laid, though plutocracy meanwhile pull down the democratic structure as far as it has gone or put social dynamite into the place where the corner stone ought to be. He realized that society does not arrange itself nor submit to arrangement with geometric nicety or philosophic progression. He saw that it evolves through a constant interplay of economic, democratic, and religious forces, and that labels do not always identify.

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What governed Henry George and those single taxers who followed him in supporting Cleveland in 1892 on the tariff question, and Bryan in 1896 regardless of the money question, was their recognition of a conflict of tendencies among men in the mass, and not some childish expectation of winning party leaders over to the single tax propaganda. To infer, then, from its failure to make a single taxer of Cleveland, that George's policy failed, as some single taxers in the West have done, or of Bryan as have some Eastern single taxers, would be to confess misapprehension of the purpose of George's policy in practical politics, if not to exhibit a certain lack of acuteness in comparing little policies with larger ones.

As to the effect of his policy along its larger lines, no one can speak with exact knowledge, any more than one can positively assert that American liberty would now be greater or less if Washington had surrendered to Cornwallis at Yorktown, instead of Cornwallis to Washington. But whereas the people then were almost wholly blind to single tax principles, they are now beginning to see. Whosoever imagines that widespread and profound single tax sentiment, and forceful and ramifying or progressive tendencies toward it, were not engendered and fostered by Henry George's single tax leadership, both for Cleveland and for Bryan, must be singularly oblivious to general impulses and influences.

VII. Socialism.

It was in the attempt to project the United Labor party of New York into State politics that the George movement and organized socialism were estranged. The circumstances make a story by itself. The bare fact is all that need be stated here, and this by way of prelude to a brief explanation of the attitude toward socialism of George himself.

Many of his followers were early distinguishable

as "individualistics" and "socialistics"; that is, as persons who believed the single tax would keep government out of the industrial field, and those who believed it would extend government widely into the industrial field. Outside of single tax groups, the former have usually found intellectual companionship with philosophic anarchists, and the latter with opportunist socialists.

The two classes reflected George's composite view. It might be inferred from "Progress and Poverty;"* but he stated it explicitly in another book: "I myself am classed as a socialist by those who denounce socialism, while those who profess themselves socialists declare me not to be one. For my own part I neither claim nor repudiate the name, and realizing as I do the correlative truth of both principles can no more call myself an individualist or a socialist than one who considers the forces by which the planets are held to their orbits could call himself a centrifugalist or a centripetalist."†

While thus recognizing what are loosely called "socialism" and "individualism" as balancing forces in society, Henry George always refused to draw a fixed functional line between them. He held that socialistic and individualistic functions vary with circumstances. Water supplies, for instance, may be individualistic in primitive conditions or in country life, but socialistic in advanced conditions or in city life; the farmer's well, for example, in contrast with municipal reservoirs and distributing mains. This was his reason for opposing the substitute which the Single Tax Conference at Chicago in 1893 made for the final paragraph in the platform drawn by him and adopted by the Single Tax Conference at New York in 1890.

The original paragraph read: "With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, State or national as may be." By that paragraph free play was contemplated for variations of function, from individualistic to socialistic or the reverse. But at Chicago three years later the following substitute was adopted: "In securing to each individual his equal right to the use of the earth, it is also a proper function of society to maintain and control all public ways for

*See *The Public*, Oct. 28, page 1014; Nov. 4, 1910, page 1036.

†"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxviii, page 302, note.

the transportation of persons and property, and the transmission of intelligence; and also to maintain and control all public ways in cities for furnishing water, gas, and all other things that necessarily require the use of such common ways." The point of divergence, it will be observed, was over the comparatively inelastic form of the substitute. It made the question of highway the determining factor, whereas in the original, which Henry George had drawn, the determining factor was free competition.

Although the substitute was a compromise more to his liking than the rigidly individualistic substitute that had been fought for and of which this was an amendment, George was nevertheless opposed to identifying his leadership with any fixed restrictions at all upon the details of either socialistic or individualistic tendencies.



His opinions regarding those apparently conflicting but really correlative tendencies were outlined at length in his essay on "Free Trade and Socialism,"* in one paragraph of which† he made this homely but pointed illustration regarding Labor: "Here is a traveler who, beset by robbers, has been left bound, blindfolded and gagged. Shall we stand in a knot about him and discuss whether to put a piece of court-plaster on his cheek or a new patch on his coat, or shall we dispute with each other as to what road he ought to take and whether a bicycle, a tricycle, a horse and wagon, or a railway, would best help him on? Should we not rather postpone such discussion until we have cut the man's bonds? Then he can see for himself, speak for himself, and help himself. Though with a scratched cheek and a torn coat, he may get on his feet, and if he cannot find a conveyance to suit him, he will at least be free to walk."

This is not altogether unlike that idea of socialism which contemplates putting the "labor class" in power as the first thing to do, and refuses to make a program for it in advance. The idea departs much from George's, if we consider the term "labor class" in its usual narrow meaning; but in socialism the term "labor class" alludes to all working interests. In that view the difference between the class conscious socialist and George, except in method, is inconsiderable.

In method, the socialist would give governmental power to the "labor class" (meaning all the people except industrial parasites), and expect it to decide and act in its own interest for itself

upon coming to power; whereas George would remove the land monopoly and trade obstruction ligatures that prevent "Labor" (meaning all the people except industrial parasites) from getting the power to decide and act in its own interest for itself. The difference in method may therefore be regarded as very great; though George's would seem clearly to be the wiser one for such countries as ours and Great Britain. Essentially, however, the point with each is much the same: Release the bound and blindfolded and gagged giant whom we personify as Labor, and leave it to him to see for himself, speak for himself, help himself, and with self-intelligence and self-power make and execute his own program.

VIII. People's Power.

Because Henry George regarded the abolition of land monopoly as the primary reform, narrow sighted indeed would it be to infer that he was therefore indifferent to other economic reforms. The facts are against the inference. Did he not, for instance, stand for public ownership of public utilities when the demand for it was emphatic, without waiting for land reform or tax reform? He knew, of course, that the financial benefits would go from franchise interests to landed interests; but he rightly regarded this in itself as a long step toward showing the people "the robber that takes all that is left."*

Narrow too would be the inference that he would have been indifferent to assaults upon democracy, or to democratic movements along less fundamental lines than those relating to land reform or tax reform. It is unthinkable, for example, that he would have turned from the Abolition struggle because freedmen with no right to land would as a class be as helpless as in slavery. He did, indeed, write that the putting of "political power in the hands of men embittered and degraded by poverty is to tie firebrands to foxes and turn them loose amid the standing corn;" that giving "the suffrage to tramps, to paupers, to men to whom the chance to labor is a boon, to men who must beg, or steal, or starve, is to invoke destruction."† But could any one with the slightest knowledge of the man, of his writings, of his leadership, or of the context of those quotations, understand him so vaguely as to suppose he would have been indifferent to attempts to limit the suffrage, or would have held aloof from movements to extend it?

Two motives urged him into the heat of such fights. For one thing, he was a democrat, and

*"Protection or Free Trade," chapter xxviii, pages 298 to 312.

†"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxviii, page 300.

*"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxv.

†"Progress and Poverty," book x, ch. iv, page 529.

the clarion of democracy always aroused him. For another, though he realized that every defense of democracy would in time be seized by the enemy, and that every weapon of democracy, even popular suffrage itself, would be turned against democracy, if the great vantage point of common rights to land were not secured, he also realized the importance, if not the absolute necessity, of democratic methods in securing that point. Not to kings or oligarchies, but to the people themselves, did he make his appeal for recognition of common rights to land.

He knew well that the freer the people are to speak, that the simpler and more direct the political mechanism through which alone they can speak, the greater is the certainty of gaining that impregnable and indispensable fortress of democracy, common rights to land. But again inferences are unnecessary. His words and his acts speak for him.

Was not Henry George intensely interested in the creation of the London County Council? And not merely as an observer, be it noted, but as the leader of his cause. Good in itself, as a democratic advance, he saw also that it cleared the way for the fundamental reform.

And did he not lead the movement in this country for the Australian ballot? Consult the record. In an article on "Money in Elections,"* the first presentation of the Australian ballot question in this country,—and it was speedily followed by a successful movement, promoted largely by land value taxationists and participated in actively by Henry George himself,—he expressed his views on that subject. "The election," he wrote, "is the initial point in our political system." "Popular government must be a sham and a fraud unless the popular will alone tells in elections." Exposing, then, the cost to candidates, at that time so great that "only a rich man or a man who expects to make money illegitimately out of the position can afford to run for office," he referred to the impossibility of finding a cure "by mere improvement in administrative machinery," for "the disease is deeper seated." His allusion here was to growing inequality in the distribution of wealth, which naturally begets a tendency, as he wrote, that can be cured by nothing that does not go to "the causes of inequality." Every intelligent reader knows what he meant by that. But he went on to say, and herein is the practical lesson, for our day as well as it was for his, regarding people's power: "Nevertheless any reform that can be made in the administration of political machinery

is not only good in itself, but clears the way for more radical reforms."

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Such further improvements in political machinery as direct primaries and direct legislation, being as remote from public sentiment in the United States in Henry George's life time as the single tax itself, his views regarding them were not publicly called out. But whoever understands direct legislation well enough to realize that it is "good in itself" as an improvement in democratic mechanism, or to appreciate its effectiveness as an electoral device that "clears the way for more radical reforms," will hardly doubt that Henry George, were he living now, would be with those of his followers who are urging the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum as a step toward the single tax.

That is a consideration, however, which belongs more properly in an outlook toward the future than in a retrospect. Enough be it here to anticipate the objection to George's argument for the Australian ballot, that it has not rid us of the money power in elections.

He did not prophesy that it would. The disease was deep seated and he saw no complete cure short of the fundamental reform he hoped to reach with the aid of electoral reforms. But the effect of the Australian ballot in lessening expenses to candidates and purifying elections, has been so great that only those of us who know somewhat of both in the days before that reform, can appreciate the difference. Were single tax sentiment ripe for legislative action, the possibilities of its winning at elections would be vastly better with the Australian ballot, despite all the remaining imperfections of our political mechanism, than it would have been under circumstances precisely the same except for the Australian ballot.

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Justitia slapped Vox Populi,
And old Vox hit him in the eye;
Then Veritas picked up a chair
And threw it at One Who Was There.
Pro Bono Publico arose
In wrath and smashed Inquirer's nose,
While Fair Play doubled up his fist
And whaled away at Suffragist.
In bold defiance of the law
Vindex slugged Nemo on the jaw.
Then Pax Vobiscum, with a roar,
Slammed Old Subscriber to the floor.
And Quidnunc, quicker than a wink,
Put Constant Reader on the blink.
Then Many Voters took a hand,
And soon had all the others canned.

—Chicago Tribune.

*North American Review, March, 1883.

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 text 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, November 8, 1910.

The Strike of the Chicago Garment Workers.

But few disturbances and little disorder have marked the progress of the strike of the 40,000 garment workers of Chicago (p. 1043). An agreement with the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the manufacturers in whose shops the strike originated, was signed and presented to the strikers on the 5th by Thomas A. Rickert, international president of the United Garment Workers of America (p. 1043). This agreement arranged for a committee to consider grievances, but declared that this should not be construed as a recognition of any union; nor should the question of union shop or open shop or shop organization be submitted to or passed upon by the committee to be appointed; nor should the question of open shop be considered as a grievance on the part of the former employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. This agreement was everywhere repudiated and denounced by the strikers, who insist that their condition cannot be ameliorated without the full unionization of their industry, and the closed shop. At their regular meeting on the 6th, the Chicago Federation of Labor indorsed the strike and promised their moral and financial aid.

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The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago issued a statement on the 7th, as to the grievances of the strikers, signed by Katharine Coman, chairman of the Committee of Grievances. Of the character of the trade as a sweated industry the statement says:

The clothing trade is recognized in every country as one of the sweated industries. This is due in a great measure to the seasonal character of the work which is the direct consequence of the unorganized status of the trade. The burden of all of the disadvantages that attend seasonal work falls mainly upon the workers whose ranks are largely recruited from the latest arrived immigrants and whose experience of American industrial conditions helps to create the competition of the ever present sweat shop. In England the recognition of this fact has found expression in the establishment by law of the Minimum Wage, which vests the adjustment of rates in a non-partisan committee. In America without any such legal protection the workers are dependent upon the

power of collective bargaining to regulate wages and shop conditions. Where this right is denied them and with no power to present their demands to their employers, conditions invariably become intolerable, and it is therefore not difficult to understand that the spontaneous social uprising of the unorganized garment workers of Chicago, representing nine nationalities, is due to grievances that vary with the individual conditions of the many shops of the fifty firms involved.

Of the grievances the statement says:

Reduction of Wages.

The price of piece work has been systematically reduced a few cents at a time, operations have been combined or complicated and the price for the same work lowered by this artifice, thus bringing about in proportion to output, a reduction of wages amounting from fifteen to twenty per cent. By similar artifices the wages of the week workers have also been proportionally lowered. In this connection it may be well to note that there are fifty-six divisions to a pair of pants, over sixty to a coat and twenty to a vest.

Tyranny of the Foreman.

The petty tyranny of the individual boss in charge of each operation is a source of bitter complaint. In many of the shops the foreman receives a bonus for all work he can produce above a stipulated amount; and being in a position of authority, with no responsibility for the welfare of the workers, and primarily concerned for an increase of profits, the result is that in demanding top-notch speed from the workers he inevitably becomes a slave driver. A further result of this is that the girls in the same shop, doing exactly the same work, may be receiving a different piece rate in accordance with their ability to bargain for their labor. Further it is commonly demanded of the workers that they begin to produce without a definite statement of the piece rate to be paid for their work. Abusive and insulting language is frequently used by those in authority in the shops. This is especially intolerable to the girls, who should have the right to work without surrendering their self-respect. No woman should be subjected by fear of loss of her job to unwarranted insults.

Unjust Fines.

A system of unjust fines has also prevailed. The loss of spools, bobbins, needles, failure to punch the time clock and even a liberal use of soap in washing hands may all be the occasion of reduction of the weekly earnings, and are comprehensively classified under the euphonious term of "merchandise." By way of illustration, a worker is fined for a spot on a garment when this may have previously passed through ten pair of hands, or he may be compelled to purchase the garment outright at retail prices. A fine of 60c is imposed for a lost spool whether full or empty, and on entering shops workers have been charged 25c for oil cans procurable wholesale at 5c.

Trade Organization the Way Out.

One common ground on which all the workers unite is a demand for some means of presenting their grievances to their employers instead of being individually at the mercy of petty bosses who may or may not be just. It is on the face of it absurd that

a girl of sixteen years should be left to bargain as an individual with a shrewd and powerful firm.

The only practicable method of presenting general grievances is through the trade union organization, and the recognition of the union is therefore the fundamental demand underlying all other demands made by the workers.

Protection of the union is essential to secure for today and to guarantee for tomorrow reasonable working conditions.

All intelligent and fair minded Americans must understand the helplessness of the individual worker to maintain his rights. Many employers throughout the country believe in industrial democracy and willingly meet with the accredited and elected representatives of their workers, while through all ages the autocrat has denied to all the right of self-expression and self-government politically or industrially.

Without the trade agreement and the right of conference between the employers and the workers on an equal basis, there is no certain justice or peace. The workers regard the right to organize and to have the education from their shop meetings and the protection and support of their union as of the first importance. This is a primary and essential right without which all other rights are mere words and incapable of being enforced.

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France Faces the National Strike Question.

The French cabinet, under the leadership of the Premier, Mr. Aristide Briand (p. 1045), resigned on the 2nd. President Fallières then asked Mr. Briand to form a new cabinet. The new ministry was announced on the 3rd. Beside the Premier four ministers were retained. Mr. Millerand, minister of public works, posts and telegraphs, who has insisted that the principle of compulsory arbitration between companies and employes should not be abandoned, and that the unionization of public servants should not be restricted, was replaced by Mr. Puhé. The dispatches state that the new ministerial program includes legislation in regard to trades unions which will make impossible a repetition of the situation brought about by the recent railroad strikes (p. 1045); and that the government will seek to obtain extended powers for the militarization of railroad employes, with severe penalties for those who provoke insubordination.

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Municipal Ownership in New York.

A critical point regarding municipal ownership of the new subways in New York city, is pointed out in a public address by Edward Polak, as chairman of the Rapid Transit Association of Bronx Real Estate Brokers, under date of November 2. Following is the explanation of the address:

The Public Service Commission has obtained a large number of bids from responsible contractors to build the subway with city money. In a few days contracts signed by the Public Service Commission,

representing the city, and by the contractors, will be submitted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for its approval. If the Board of Estimate approves these contracts, the work of building the Tri-borough can commence in a very short time. The Interborough officials, made desperate by the thought of the Tri-borough being built by the city has used all its powerful influence to prevent the city from building this road. It has been for some time, and is now, straining every effort to influence the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to reject the contracts about to be submitted to them by the Public Service Commission. Failing in that, it is trying to bring about a disagreement in the Board. If it succeeds in having the Board of Estimate and Apportionment reject these contracts, then the chances of the city building the subways will be remote, and the Interborough will have complete control of the situation.

After considering the various questions at issue, Mr. Polak continues:

It seems all this talk against the city building the Tri-borough route has been inspired by the Interborough itself. It has befogged the issue to such an extent that the average man has been unable to clearly understand the subway question. Many well meaning people have been so taken up with the Interborough's specious arguments that they have taken up the cause of the Interborough from its own viewpoint. The facts are, that the Interborough does not want competition, it has fought against this for many years, it has tried to prevent the legislature from giving the city relief. It has attempted to tie the city's hands so that it would be compelled to accept its unfair terms. It brought the McClellan administration under its influence so that for seven long years practically nothing was done towards promoting rapid transit, it has "accelerated" public opinion through civic and public bodies in order to make it appear that there is an "uprising" of the people in favor of its plan. It has been sowing seeds of doubt and mistrust everywhere for many years. It has seemingly caused a doubt in the minds of some of our highest city officials. It has caused dissensions in our public service board. And now it designs to cause dissension in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It has assembled, and used as "swift witnesses" some well known engineers, some of whom were formerly in the pay of the city; and it is playing one borough against the others, appealing to selfishness and borough pride.

In its conclusion Mr. Polak's address says:

It is said the city owns the present subway and should not compete with itself—that the stockholders must be protected. Even if their present earnings would be cut in half by the new route, they would still make 9%; but with the increase of population they will make more than that. The city owns the subway in form only. As far as this generation is concerned, the lease given to the interborough might as well be in perpetuity. There must finally be a monopoly of rapid transit in New York City. It is only a question as to whether the city will own and control this monopoly or whether private individuals will own the monopoly and control the city's transit for all time to come. The

most important part of the subway question is that of city control.

* *

The Constitution of New Mexico.

Notwithstanding the pledges of insurgent delegates to the Constitutional convention of New Mexico (p. 948), which seemed at first to represent the corporate interests by 49 delegates and the public interests by 51, the convention passed so completely under the control of the corporations, that the minority cannot even secure a roll call except on the question of final adoption of the Constitution as a whole.

*

Party lines were strictly drawn from the beginning, with 71 Republican members and 29 Democrats. In Republican caucus the Insurgents could rally but 18; and all these voted with the corporation representatives for the caucus candidate for president of the convention—Charles A. Spiess, a railroad lawyer locally notorious. It would have made no difference, however, for these Republicans together with the Democrats could not have elected the Democratic candidate, H. B. Fergusson, a universally respected man. The corporations would still have had a majority of 6.

*

In the make-up of important committees, every chairmanship was given to a corporation man; and in framing the rules, the number of members necessary to demand a roll call was fixed at 30—one more than the Democratic membership.

*

On the question of provisions for the Initiative and Referendum in the Constitution, a compromise was made so as to secure unanimity; for all the delegates fear giving cause for the defeat of their Constitution when it comes before the people of the Territory for ratification. The compromise consists in adopting the Referendum, but not the Initiative; which means that the people may veto the legislation they object to, but cannot secure legislation that they want.

* *

Tom L. Johnson in Ohio Politics.

His delicate health made it impossible for Tom L. Johnson (p. 853) to take an active part in either the Cleveland or the Ohio campaign; but on the 1st he attended one of the large tent meetings at which Governor Harmon was the principal candidate and speaker, and made a brief speech. Following is from the Cleveland Plain Dealer's report of the occurrence:

The applause with which the Governor was received had scarcely died away when the former Mayor appeared. For a second only there was a hush. Men who had followed Mr. Johnson for years

with exceptional devotion leaned forward to make certain their eyes did not deceive them. Then as the former Mayor mounted the platform there was a demonstration such as is seldom seen at any time. As the Governor and Mr. Johnson clasped hands the tent fairly rocked with applause. Almost the entire crowd rose to its feet to cheer. Among portions of the crowd the cheering nearly approached a frenzy. John H. Clarke, chairman of the meeting, announced that Mr. Johnson had insisted upon being present and had consented to say a few words. In the moment or two that the former Mayor spoke he showed his old time vigor. The tent, the crowd and the flood of recollections seemingly inspired him. "I am here tonight against the command of my physicians," said Mr. Johnson. "I had made up my mind, however, that I would appear here for a few moments no matter what the weather or the conditions. I am here to greet Gov. Harmon and to express my deep conviction that the people of Ohio are going to honor themselves by re-electing a man who has made the record of Governor that he has, rather than a man who boasts of his loyalty to George B. Cox and his unspeakable organization. I am glad to be here tonight whether my physicians will it or not. And I want to say that we are going to win this fall, as in the past, because our cause is just." As Mr. Johnson concluded, the tent again rang with applause as Chairman Clarke presented Gov. Harmon. "The demonstration we have just witnessed has stirred me to the depths of my soul," said the Governor. "I can only say that if at any time after my service as Governor has expired and I appear before a body of citizens of my State and there, without the powers of office, without the possibility of bestowing favors, I shall receive such a testimonial as you tonight have given your old fighting leader, I will consider that life certainly has been well worth the living." With the passing of this tribute there was another tumult of applause. Gov. Harmon had scarcely entered upon his speech before the former Mayor rose to go. The Governor turned and again clasped his hand. "God bless you and restore you to health," he said. The hand clapping had ceased. Instead of shouting, many under the big stretch of canvas gave way to tears in the play of their emotions.

The report of the Cleveland Press was to the same effect, as also was that of the Cincinnati Enquirer. The latter differed slightly in detail:

Intensely dramatic and even thrilling was the unexpected appearance of former Mayor Tom L. Johnson at one of the meetings, that at Nineteenth and Payne avenue. When the merest shadow of his former self and a pathetic figure, he was helped feebly into the tent, the 4,000 spectators broke into a frenzy of applause that lasted for 10 minutes. The crowd cheered until it was hoarse, and, resting, cheered again. With visibly painful efforts the old lion came to the edge of the platform to say: "It stirs my blood to be out again and in the old tent. I came here against the advice of my doctors to speak for Governor Harmon. The people of Ohio will do themselves an honor to elect a man like him instead of a creature of George B. Cox." After a few more sentences Mayor Johnson sat down and a moment later was helped out into the stormy night

to a waiting automobile. Governor Harmon, who was deeply affected by the demonstration, said: "If, after I shall have retired to private life and have no favors to bestow, an Ohio audience shall give me such tokens of affection, I shall thank God that I lived." This tribute to the old idol, now more than ever popular, caused the crowd to tender Harmon an ovation.

NEWS NOTES

—The spread of cholera in Italy (p. 1021) has been checked.

—The committee on suffrage and elections of the Arizona constitutional convention (p. 873) voted on the 5th against giving the ballot to women.

—Under the Socialist administration of Milwaukee (p. 518), a municipal ball is to be given on the Saturday following Thanksgiving, the price of tickets to be five cents.

—The first parliament of the Union of South Africa (p. 901) was formally opened on the 4th by the Duke of Connaught as the representative of his nephew the King of England.

—General elections in Cuba (p. 948) for both houses of the Cuban Congress, and for provincial and municipal offices, were held on the 1st. The Conservatives made gains, but the Liberals still control. Congress convened on the 7th.

—"The Woman Suffrage Party of the City of Chicago and County of Cook" was formally organized at Chicago on the 1st, by a delegate conference of all the local suffrage organizations. The movement is described as having already been launched in New York.

—Extension of the region in Russia in which the Jews have been segregated, called the "Pale" (p. 948), has been sanctioned by the Czar. Twelve districts have been added to the Pale. These districts are suburbs of towns within which Jews have been permitted to live.

—John F. Dietz, "the Cameron Dam defender," as he is called (p. 972), was released on \$40,000 bail on the 7th upon the charge of shooting Oscar Harp at the recent battle with deputy sheriffs on Dietz's reservation, but was immediately rearrested upon the charge of shooting Patrick McGin in 1904.

—The Senate of the Spanish Cortes, on the 4th passed the "padlock bill" which prohibits the creation of further religious establishments in Spain until the revision of the "concordat" with the Vatican has been completed (pp. 780, 804). As the bill was adopted by a vote of 149 to 58, it is expected to pass the lower house.

—The promised Imperial Parliament is to be convoked in China in 1913. This hastening of the constitutional program which set the date for the parliament at 1915, is in response to popular demand which found its latest voice in the recent memorial of the new Imperial Senate, the forerunner of the Parliament (p. 1022).

—Contracts for advertising in Sunday papers were declared null and void by the Court of Appeals of

Missouri on the 7th, upon the ground that they are contracts for Sunday work, which is forbidden by the Missouri statutes. The court was unanimous. Their decision was made in a suit by the St. Louis Republic against Jeremiah Culbertson.

—The first prison sentence under a recent act of the Pennsylvania legislature for selling eggs unfit for food was passed by Judge Barratt in the Quarter Sessions court at Philadelphia, on the 3d. It was imposed on George D. Ellis, a commission merchant and Abraham Staples, an egg dealer, each of whom was sentenced to three months in the county prison.

—Prof. Frederick Starr, head of the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, is preparing to make a scientific excursion to Corea, with side journeys into Japan and northern China. He plans to start on December 22, and his journey will occupy six months, of which time between four and five will be spent in Corea. He will be accompanied by Manuel Gonzales.

—The Theodore Parker memorial gatherings at Chicago (p. 1046) will be formally opened at Sinai Temple, on the 15th, under the chairmanship of Emil G. Hirsch, who will deliver the address of welcome. The meetings of the 16th and 17th will be at the Woman's Club, the Commons, Hull House, and Abraham Lincoln Center. On the 17th there will be a banquet at the Auditorium Hotel, where Booker T. Washington will be the principal speaker.

—The Filipino Assembly (vol. xii, pp. 512, 1095) unanimously elected on the 4th Manuel Quezon as delegate to the Congress of the United States, but refused to re-elect Benito Legarda, who had been named as the second Congressional delegate by the Philippine Commission (answering to the upper house). This deadlocks the representation to Washington as it has been customary for each house to name one delegate (vol. x, pp. 828, 852).

—General J. J. Estrada, who became acting President of Nicaragua upon the successful termination of the recent revolution (p. 828), is to continue as Provisional President for two years, under a convention signed on the 5th by Thos. C. Dawson, Special United States Commissioner; General Estrada; General Mena, Minister of War; Adolfo Diaz, Minister of the Interior; Fernando Solarzano, Minister of Public Works, and former President Cardenas.

—The case of Dr. Crippen (p. 1023) came before the court of Appeals in London on the 5th, which decided against him and confirmed his sentence of execution by hanging, at that time set for the 8th. There were three grounds of appeal: (1) lack of direct proof of the fact of murder; (2) temporary and unguarded retirement of one of the jurors on the panel during the trial; and (3) improper admissions of evidence for the prosecution. Dr. Crippen's former employer, Dr. J. M. Munyon of Philadelphia, believing that Dr. Crippen's wife, whom he is convicted of murdering, is still alive, offers \$50,000 to any person who will produce her, and to herself if she will come forward in time to save her husband's life. Reports of her being alive and secreted near Chicago are circumstantially made. The execution has been postponed until the 23d.

PRESS OPINIONS

Friends He Has Made.

Milwaukee (daily) Journal (ind. Rep.), Nov. 2.—The Tories are readjusting their opinion of Senator Cummins. A few days ago he was numbered among the "dangerous." He was a "ghost dancer," a "howling dervish," a "blatant demagogue" and several other things besides. In the wink of an eye he has become a sober-minded statesman, concerned only in his party's welfare and his country's good. The Racine Journal, Tory, concludes a violently appreciative review of Cummins' Chicago speech with the assurance that "the country at large will accept his as a type of open minded, square dealing partisans, and desirous of securing for his countrymen the best and highest type of effective and fair regulative legislation."

* * *

"Back to the Land" in Great Britain.

The (London) Morning Post (Tory), Oct. 3.—His Majesty's ministers, if they are to be judged at all by their published utterances, are rapidly advancing to that state of mind which has already been reached by the disciples of Mr. Henry George. Just as no one took the crudities of that particular view of finance seriously until Mr. Lloyd George went half-way towards taking them up at Limehouse and Newcastle, so the optimists of the moderate Liberal party are endeavoring to persuade themselves that Mr. Ure meant nothing in particular when he declared in favor of the Single Tax. For once in a way the Lord Advocate's views are likely to prove both accurate and prophetic. It would be insulting to pretend that His Majesty's Ministers really believe in the Single Tax theory, but that fact will not prevent them adopting that theory in practice under the pressure of a double necessity. They must find money to recoup them for their extravagances, and they must discover some cry to distract the attention of the people from the struggle between Cobdenism and Tariff Reform [tariff protection]. Until, then, their precarious grasp on power is finally loosened by the growing revolt of the millions of voters who have a direct or indirect interest in land, and whose views were put forward in Lord Onslow's speech at York last Saturday, Ministers will be pressed forward in the direction of the Single Tax. For if to advance on a policy of universal land expropriation is to court a resentment which must spell an eventual defeat, to hold back is to be overwhelmed immediately by the rush of the Tariff Reform wave. The Unionist Party is in this matter free of these alternative difficulties which have entangled its opponents. On the contrary, the policy of small ownership, while it will shatter the doctrines of land socialization to pieces, is part and parcel of the scheme of Tariff Reform. If the Single Tax is to be put forward as the salvation of Cobdenism, that tax will be defeated by the creation of a body of peasant proprietors.

* * *

"I don't suppose there is anything gets out of date quicker than a woman's hat?"

"Unless it is a battleship."—Age-Herald.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

DIGNITY OF WORK.

For The Public.

I dignify work?
No! Work dignifies me.
For what am I? A nonentity
Until I have accomplished something
Or produced something of use.
The divineness of life works—
Works through me.
it is that which prompts me to work,
And to work in orderly fashion.
Work demands order,
For its issue is Truth Expressed.

EFFIE F. KINGSBURY.

* * *

AN ALLEGED INTERVIEW.

For The Public.

"It has been suggested, Colonel," said the Interviewer, "that if airships should come into general use, custom houses will become practically useless, and in order to prevent smuggling it will be necessary to roof the country in."*

"Roof the country in!" said the Colonel, contemptuously. "The idea is absurd!"

"And what would be your plan for meeting the emergency?" asked the Interviewer.

"My plan?" said the Colonel, without the slightest hesitation. "Why, I should denounce the airships!"

"Bully!" said the Interviewer, who could not restrain his emotion.

W. E. M.

* * *

WHEN THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE'S EDITOR WENT ON HER VACATION.

From the Union Labor Advocate for September.

"Say," a high pitched childish voice was heard saying at the further end of a crowded street car, "say, I hear that Miss Henry has gone away; I don't see how they can run the office with her gone and Miss Steghagen gone too."

"What's Miss Henry gone for?"

"Oh, she has gone on her vacation to sew."

"To sew! I didn't know she could sew. I thought she could only write."

"You bet she can sew and cook too. She can sew beautifully. I guess there ain't anything she can't do. I wonder if she ain't related to Patrick Henry."

*See "The Balloons and the Tariff" in Public of November 4, page 1050.

"Patrick Henry, he's been dead a long time."

"Sure, but I don't mean related today, I mean ain't she descended from him."

"But Patrick Henry was an American and Miss Henry is an Australian."

"Well, sometime both families was in England. Anyway if they are not family related they belong together—they are both great fighters—and when a woman fights it is harder on her than it is on a man when he fights."

"Sure, but a woman she gets more love; I just bet Miss Alice Henry is loved by more people than ever Patrick Henry was."

* * *

AS OTHERS SEE US.

For The Public.

I. The Monroe Doctrine and Latin-America.



The caricature is taken from the *Diario del Hogar* (Fireside Daily) of Mexico for September 12, 1910. This paper is perhaps the most conservative of the independent Mexican periodicals; it has a wide circulation. The sentiment expressed in the picture is today deeply rooted in all Latin-America. Our sister republics now consider the Monroe Doctrine a warning to European nations to keep their hands off of Latin-American countries, that we alone may exploit them and direct their internal affairs. Uncle Sam is represented as assaulting one after another of them, subjugating and drowning them, depriving them of national sovereignty. Panama, Cuba, and Nicaragua have been hurled from their seats into the deep. The rest of the sisterhood—Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Mexico, sit uneasily—not knowing when their turns will come. They do know that the slightest pretext will be seized upon for interference; that any day some unfortunate incident may precipitate intervention. And any nation which is not permitted to conduct its own internal affairs, with a primary view to its own advantage, is lost. The fate of Nicaragua has made an unfortunate impression. *The Mexican Herald*, distinctly American in viewpoint and

somewhat divided in regard to Nicaragua, lately printed this squib: "Estrada and Knox won, is the way some American papers sum up the Nicaragua situation. We should say that it was Knox and Estrada." This of course is jocular and funny, but the same thing is being said throughout Latin-America most seriously. What did we gain at the Fourth Pan-American Congress just ended at Buenos Ayres? We sought the indorsement of the Monroe Doctrine as a Pan-American principle. We failed. The fact is that Latin-American lands begin to feel that they have less to fear from Europe than from us.

FREDERICK STARR.

BOOKS

MOTERING IN FRANCE.

The Motor Maid. By C. N. and A. M. Williamson. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.20 net.

In the early days of autos, years ago, the Williamsons caught up the new spirit and began to write gasoline romances. Today their real hero, regardless of expense, is still the motor car. The story? It all comes out right. He was not a real chauffeur, but a gentleman in exile. She was not truly a lady's maid, but a real lady in disguise.

But the scenery's the thing. Up the Rhone Valley and across into the Cevennes Mountains, the motor spins along—a fairy flight in a magic land—unpeopled. For the swifter the vehicle, the fewer the chance road companions. The motorist may behold nature's big beauties, but he loses the slow traveler's democratic joy in the human intimacies of a foreign land. These very Cevennes were once traveled with a donkey, and some old-fashioned readers even now prefer Stevenson's way.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*The Qualities of Men.* By Joseph Jastrow. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—*The New Democracy.* By Louise Downes. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

—*The Captain of the Amaryllis.* By Stoughton Cooley. Boston: The C. M. Clark Publishing Company. Price \$1.50.

—*In the Footprints of Helne.* By Henry James Forman. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

—*Gold Production and Future Prices.* By Harold H. Brace. Published by the Bankers' Publishing Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—*An American Citizen.* The Life of William

Henry Baldwin, Jr. By John Graham Brooks. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Confidences. Talks with a Young Girl Concerning Herself. By Edith B. Lowry, M. D. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, postpaid, 50 cents.

—American Railway Problems in the Light of European Experience. Or Government Regulation vs. Government Operation of Railways. By Carl S. Vrooman. Published by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, London and New York. 1910. Price, 6 shillings net.

PAMPHLETS

An Esperanto Grammar Free.

The editor of "Amerika Esperantisto" (Arthur Baker, 700 E. 40th street, Chicago) offers free to all applicants enclosing stamp for reply, a brief grammar of Esperanto (p. 823) in pamphlet form.

* *

Harvard's Natural Domain.

The out-of-door courses of study which Harvard offers are spread out enticingly in a pamphlet on the Department of Landscape Architecture (Register of Harvard University. Vol. VII. No. 44, Cambridge, Mass.). There is described Harvard Forest at Peter-sham—which includes three miles of the Swift River Valley and the slopes of Prospect Hill, largely covered with trees in all stages of growth. There is the Arnold Arboretum, 220 acres big, a living museum of Massachusetts trees and shrubs supplemented by a library and herbarium; while across in New Hampshire, near Lake Winnepesaukee, and in the foothills of the White Mountains, 700 acres of varied landscape lie ready for surveying practice, and back again in Cambridge the old Botanic Garden, founded in 1807, grows 5,000 species of flowering plants. Study at Harvard sounds like beautiful luxury.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Hampton's.

"The Tottering Political Machine," by Judson C. Welliver, and "The Passing of Pills and Powders" by Dr. Woods Hutchinson, are two articles in Hampton's (New York) for November, which suggest the same disease at the same time in two professions—politics and medicine. Rheta Childe Dorr writes in "The Child's Day in Court" of how much easier it is to make than to unmake a criminal.

* *

The Pacific Monthly.

This magazine of the Pacific Slope (Portland) for November, a fine type of periodical for the American empire to the west of the Rockies, and one that would make your Easterner less provincial were he to read

it as he reads the monthly products of New York printing offices, gives us one of the best "impressions" that C. E. S. Wood has yet put into its pages. In his sketch of Theodore Roosevelt's temperament and character Col. Wood makes a plea for the other Colonel that should appeal to all the latter's judicious friends. It accounts for Roosevelt. "Great egotism" and "great human sympathy" are his supreme characteristics, as this judicial critic sees them, the one generating his faults and the other his virtues.—Stephen S. Wise writes of another Easterner, Ex-Gov. Hughes; and Helen Clark tells the story of Chief Tshishat.—In "The Narrative of a Shanghied Whaleman," Henry A. Clock exposes a criminal seaport industry of which he was made a victim in San Francisco.—On the trail of Dr. Cook up Mt. McKinley, is a contribution at first hand by C. E. Rush, to exploration history; and James Rhoderick Kendall has something to say worth saying on public school education, and he says it convincingly.—"The Awakening of Central Oregon," by Randall R. Howard, is precisely what the Oregon bound emigrant from the middle West is looking for.

* *

The Outlook.

The November monthly issue of The Outlook (New York) makes a confession of faith from which we extract the following: "The sympathies of The Outlook are with free trade. We should like to see all taxes for the support of all governments collected from the land and its contents, and from the great franchises, and trade between the nations of the world as free as it is now between the States of the Union. And we believe that even now America could afford to give to any European power as free a trade as that power would give to America. We need not fear labor competition with Christendom. The readjustment would involve some temporary hardship, but it would be only temporary. But to compete with the wages paid in India, China, and Japan would be impossible." A good statement if it were not over weasel-worded. But why need our countrymen "not fear labor competition with Christendom," yet fear it with India, China and Japan? The wages of Europe are lower than our wages, if measured by time, but higher than ours if measured by product; and isn't that the reason our workmen need not fear European competition? That is to say, isn't it wages relative to product and not to time that counts in labor competition? Are

The Joseph Fels Fund of America

The Joseph Fels Fund Commissioners will meet at the Liberal Club, 46 East 29th St., New York, on Nov. 19th, at eleven o'clock, A. M. Individual invitations have been sent those who have shown special interest in the work and are near the place of meeting. But all contributors to the fund will be welcome.

JOSEPH FELS FUND COMMISSION:

Jackson H. Ralston Lincoln Steffens Frederic C. Howe
Geo. A. Briggs Daniel Kiefer, Chairman

we then to understand that the workers in India, China and Japan produce more for their wages than American workers do for theirs, in the lines of work American workingmen wish to pursue?

* * *

"Why do you weep over the sorrows of people in whom you have no interest when you go to the theater?" asked the man.

"I don't know," replied the woman. "Why do you cheer wildly when a man with whom you are not acquainted slides to second base?"—Washington Star.

* * *

There would seem to be no limits to the influence of Mr. Lloyd George. A telegram from Capetown referring to the forthcoming Royal opening of the new wing of Parliament House states, "It is expected that

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hotel and house accommodation for visitors will be taxed to the utmost."—Punch (London).

* * *

"I wonder what this means?" said Mrs. Hornbeak, who had encountered, in the midst of her perusal of the village newspaper, one of the many examples of the perversity to which the linotype is particularly prone. "It says here that Nathan Trilligan is walking with a cane because he spreighknaiehd hrisdtpkin ankzhlddddskliurzzzzzzkzl."

"Aw," replied honest Farmer Hornbeak, "prob'ly

The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, November 13, 3 p. m.

In Federation Hall, 275 LaSalle St., 2nd Floor

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e slipped down and stepped on his own tongue."—
'uck.

+ + +

"Lots of these 'reforms' you hear so much about,"
aid Uncle Allen Sparks, "consist merely in muf-
ling the alarm clocks, so you can sleep on undis-
urbed."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

Irishman (as someone knocks at his door):
Shure, if I don't answer, it's some wan to give me a

job, an' if I do it's the landlord after the rint."—
Punch (London).

+ + +

A Sunday passenger on a Staten Island ferry-boat
studied out a complaint sufficiently important to
make the commissioner of docks and his assistants
take notice. She hunted up a deckhand and directed
his attention to the life preservers stored in the
deck ceiling.

"Just look at these things!" she said.

"What's the matter with 'em?" he asked.

"Matter?" she said. "They're dirty. They ought

Can we Interest You in a Gold Mining Property?

Not in a stock speculation proposition,
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Our company owns 200 acres of rich
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the mills are in operation no more stock
will be issued. The stock is now selling at
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If you would like to become part
owner of what we believe will prove to be
one of the greatest gold and silver mines
ever discovered on this continent, let us
show you. Call or ask for illustrated
booklet.

The Ancient Gold Mining and Milling Co.

203 Essex Building, St. Paul, Minn.

GEO. H. PRUDDEN, President

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to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only
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to be washed. If a woman with a nice summer dress on had to put one of those dirty things on over it it would never be fit to wear again."—New York Sun.

* * *

"The Hallowe'en boys had a lot of fun with old Hunks."

"What did they do to him?"

"Not a thing. Didn't go anywhere near his premises—and he'd spent two hours nailing everything down."—Chicago Tribune.

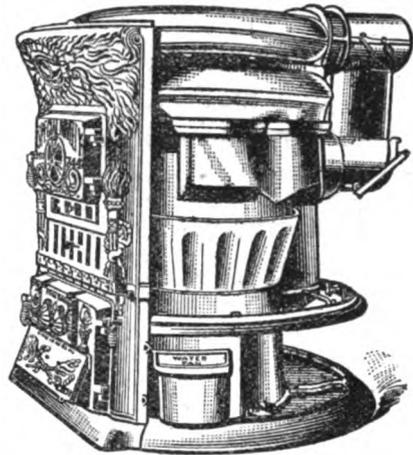
Wash day used to

mean a long day's drudgery with hot fires and steam and nasty smells. Fels-Naptha has changed all that. Fels-Naptha has made wash day as pleasant as any other day, because Fels-Naptha has made washing easy.

More than a million women are washing clothes with Fels-Naptha in cold or luke-warm water, without boiling or hard rubbing. Wash day has no terrors for them. And the drudgery of household cleaning is lightened, too, by Fels-Naptha. It whitens floors, brightens paints, brings out the colors in linoleum, takes dirt off varnished surfaces without dulling the varnish, removes grease spots and stains in carpets, rugs and upholstery.

Be sure to follow directions on the Fels-Naptha red and green wrapper.

The Novelty System of Heating and Ventilating



Novelty Warm Air Heater and Ventilator

"Rouse yourselves! Consider that God has given us an atmosphere of pure, salubrious, health-giving air—ventilate your houses."

PROF. A. J. DOWNING, in "Rural Essays."

There is nothing else so vitally necessary to the preservation of health as pure air. And it is coming to be more and more recognized and acknowledged by physicians as well as by laymen, that in nearly all diseases there is no other curative agent so potent for good as pure air. And pure air is even more valuable in preventing sickness than it is in curing it.

Other things being equal, unquestionably the child growing up to maturity, or any other person living in a house which is filled with pure air the whole year around, will have more vitality, will enjoy more robust health and will be far better able to resist disease than one living in unventilated rooms and breathing an unwholesome atmosphere.

It is not difficult to ventilate a house in summer; but during the winter months, when artificial heat is required, any house without adequate provision for systematic ventilation is an *unhealthful abode for human beings*.

The architect
The builder
The owner
The heating contractor

who are implicated in the installation of a steam or hot water system of direct-radiation heating in a residence are fellow-conspirators in a crime against the health and the happiness of the future occupants of that house.

The Novelty System provides a perfect method of ventilation in connection with perfect heating at no greater cost than that of the unhealthful plan of heating alone by direct steam or hot water.

Send for the most interesting book ever issued in the heating business, "One Hundred Healthfully Heated Homes."

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