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# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Meaning of the Elections.

"Pleasant it is for little tin gods, when great Jove nods; but little tin gods make their little mistakes in missing the hour when great Jove wakes." These flippant words of Kipling might have been written for the special behoof of a certain political organization which has for several years been under lease to Big Business.



Thus far a certain other political organization would doubtless applaud. But if it were asked its own expectations about a lease to that same Big Business, wouldn't it answer in the spirit of the little London street girl when approached by the city missionary with the remark that he was sure she was not a bad little girl? "No, sir; but I 'opes to be."



Is it so very certain, however, that the landslide on election day was in truth a Democratic victory? The Democratic majorities were big, to be sure; but what about the total vote? Isn't it true that this is much lower than in years when the Republicans were victorious? It certainly is in some places; and we shall see if it isn't in all places, when the returns are in. And what if that should prove to be the case? Wouldn't it indicate that the Republican masses are impatient with their own party rather than friendly to the other? Democratic leaders who are preparing to

offer Big Business as good a lease as it ever had from the discredited concern up the street, had better go slow.

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### New Congressmen.

Among the new Congressmen is Henry George, Jr., of New York, a free trader and single taxer, who would leave no vestige of protection or land monopoly if he had the deciding vote, but who not only knows what ought of right to be done in public affairs, but appreciates also that progress is less a matter of long leaps than of starting right and steadily keeping on. From Chicago goes Frank Buchanan, the structural-steel labor leader who justly distinguished himself by putting down Sam Parks in the interest of honest unionism, and who, like Mr. George, is a Democrat of the democratic variety. Milwaukee sends Victor Berger, the first Socialist to be elected to Congress as a Socialist and by Socialists. He goes handicapped with a species of class partisanship which, if literally and rigidly adhered to, would make him ineffective in Congress so long as he lacked enough party associates to make a majority, but whose career in Milwaukee as a Socialist leader has proved him to be a man of too much democracy and too great ability to limit his service in Congress to making speeches for franking purposes. He is withal as sturdy a type of American citizenship as any party can produce. From California there comes William Kent, democratic Republican—and pity it is that Walter Macarthur, democratic Democrat, is not with him,—whose politics and personality cannot but make him a congenial legislative associate of every genuine democrat of whatever party there may be in the body of which he is a member. This is a history-making epoch in American politics—as truly as was that of the middle '50s—and these and such as these are its history-making men. Here is the sentiment inscribed above their cross in the sky: "There shall be no more exploitation of labor!"

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### The Speakership.

More than a year must intervene before the successor to Speaker Cannon will be elected, for there is no probability that President Taft will call a special session of the next Congress. But the campaign for the Speakership may meanwhile grow warm. There can be no better barometer for observing political tendencies. Mark it well, then, that everything that may be said or done to make anybody but Champ Clark the Speaker, is to be looked upon with suspicion. By that sign shall

we best be able to judge whether the Democrats are getting "warm" or "cold" in their distance from Pierpont Morgan's business affairs.

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Already have these signs begun to appear. And in connection with them the statement has been set afloat that Mr. Clark has become an adherent of the Cannonistic doctrine of Speaker's control of committees. If that is true, he ought not to be elected. But we don't believe a word of it. That the movement against Champ Clark springs from no such change of attitude on his part is pretty evident from its sources and his character.

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### Is It to Sidetrack the Illinois Referendum?

Both political parties in Illinois are pledged by their platforms at the recent election to submit to the people a constitutional amendment establishing in this State the Initiative and Referendum. An advisory vote has been taken on the same question, and by a majority of three or more to one, the legislature has thereby been instructed by the people of Illinois to submit such an amendment. When the question was under discussion before the people of the State, the Chicago Tribune advocated the Initiative and Referendum. But now read this from a Tribune editorial of the 14th:

The General Assembly is tied down to the submission of one Constitutional amendment at a time. The one to be submitted at the next general election should be the revenue article.

The reason given in that editorial for the conclusion we quote, is the necessity, outlined by the canny Mr. Forgan to the Tax Commission, for exempting bonds from taxation. But, begging the pardon of the Tribune and Mr. Forgan, the tax amendment is not what the Tribune calls it, "the most needed amendment." The most needed amendment, and no other should be tolerated before it, is the Initiative and Referendum, which the Tribune has professed to endorse, to which both parties are pledged, and for which the intelligent electorate of Illinois has voted three to one.

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That the taxation of bonds should be abolished is true. But not the taxation of bonds alone. It is more important to exempt the wagon of the workman, the farm stock of the farmer, and even the piano of the mechanic's or the farmer's daughter. All personal property should be exempt from taxation, and for that matter all real estate improvements too. In the interest of producer and

consumer alike, all products of industry and all evidences of title to such products should go untaxed. This is furthermore in the interest of equality of taxation; for without that exemption taxes fall most heavily upon the morbidly honest. But it is not desirable to sidetrack the Initiative and Referendum amendment in order to exempt even all kinds of personal property—the farmers' kind as well as Mr. Forgan's kind. If the tax amendment is put first, the Initiative and Referendum amendment would be staved off for at least two years, and the reform in tax laws would be of the canny kind that the canny Mr. Forgan wants. Whereas, if the Initiative and Referendum is put first, as the people have demanded and as the legislature is pledged, and it is adopted, tax reforms can be secured easily and speedily and by the people according to their own wishes.



#### In the Sweat of Another's Face.

The president of the sweatshop corporation of garment dealers around whose inhuman stubbornness a great but pitiful garment workers' strike—great in numbers and courage but pitiful in defensive power—is in progress in Chicago, declares his refusal to yield its employes the right to bargain with it collectively for wages instead of individually.



That is the real issue in the "open shop" policy for which this sweatshop contends. With the usual hypocritical pretense, this sweatshop president objects to the "closed shop" because that would discriminate against garment workers who don't want to join the union of their trade! The false pretense in all that sort of talk is that the employers and the workers are on a fair bargaining level; the hypocrisy consists in professing that the "open shop" contention is in the interest of workers who wish to make their own bargains.



It is far from true that employer and worker are on a fair bargaining level. The big employer, under existing economic conditions, which big employers insist upon maintaining, has a deadly advantage in individual bargaining, over the exploited mass of the men, women and children they employ. Nor is it true that the solicitude of employers is for the individual liberty of their workers. The reason they stand for the "open shop," meaning one-sided individual bargaining with the helpless poor whom they employ, is because it enables them to drive hard bargains.

The exploitative person alluded to above, says that his house would have to go out of its present business if collective bargaining for wages were adopted. This must mean that his house can survive only by jamming wages down to the deadly minimum, through oppressive individual bargaining with impoverished and unsophisticated foreigners, with women on the verge of despair, and with children driven by poverty into the clutches of the kind of men that compose that house. Infinitely better off would the whole community be if all such houses did have to go out of that business—out of all business, out of the city, out of the country. The difference between such business and the white slave traffic is hardly more than that of the difference between the sepulcher full of dead men's bones that is, and the one that is not, whitened on the outside.



#### "BACK TO THE LAND"—THE OUTLOOK.

Let it be remembered what "back to the land" means. It means more than back to the soil, more than back to undeveloped natural resources, more than back to the land in even its widest physical significance, or from cities and towns by a fortunate or exceptionally venturesome few. It means for all the people what business men mean for themselves when they monopolize "good locations," what land speculators mean for themselves when they boast of the "growth of localities," what great capitalists mean for themselves when they scheme with governments for grants of natural resources. It means not alone to the soil for farming, nor to mineral deposits for mining, nor to sites for home-building, but to the land in that comprehensive sense which includes them all, along with common rights to all other natural opportunities. It means equality of right to natural opportunities for every form and phase of industry and trade, from the most primitive to the most minutely specialized and highly organized. It means back from the custom of land monopolization; back from the grinding capitalism that land monopoly breeds and nurtures, back from the exploitation of labor, back from poverty in the midst of plenty—from all this, back to common rights in the land in order to open unlimited opportunities for the full enjoyment by all the people of all the benefits of industrial progress. For it is control of the land that controls all.

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\*See *The Public* of October 21, 1910, page 990; of October 28, 1910, page 1014; of November 4, 1910, page 1036, and of November 11, page 1059.

### I. The Way.

In nine of the principal divisions of "Progress and Poverty," Henry George taught the full meaning of "back to the land" as an *economic* problem, and surveyed the path to its realization. Its meaning with reference to *democracy* he taught in the tenth principal division; and in one brief cheering chapter at the end he suggested a *religious* relationship.

There is nothing sensational or spectacular about the plan he proposed. From the beaten path of land monopoly, his path diverges at an angle so acute as but barely to suggest a different direction. In its beginning it is a slight, an almost imperceptible, modification of familiar taxing methods. He proposed "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values."

So simple is this proposal that large hearted and buoyant social reformers with scant or untrained imaginations, or minds so nicely trained in particulars that generals elude them, "see nothing in it." To them it has no perspective beyond its uninviting portal. Nor is it attractive to thoughtless crowds; which may become an advantage, however, for thoughtless crowds tend to move in straight lines, and once in this path might push on to its democratic goal. But the great monopoly interests readily detect the point of divergence, and they lack no imagination. They can buy imagination as they buy skill, when they need it. The truth is therefore as clear to them as it was to Henry George when he described his proposal as the "simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital,\* extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence, purify govern-

ment and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."\*

Through eighteen years of active leadership, and until the hour of his death, Henry George worked incessantly to turn men's minds into the path he had thus described. He worked with prophetic vision and the sagacity and skill of statesmanship. And now that thirteen more years have passed, what is the outlook along that pathway?

### II. The Viewpoint.

To the value of any judgment on the opportunities for a social or political movement, an understanding of its present status is necessary; and if to this there be added a fair appreciation of its history, so much the better. On the latter score we have already written with reference to the Henry George movement "back to the land";† our purpose now is to indicate its present opportunities.



As Henry George confidently predicted, Great Britain is in the lead. This is easily explained. Landlordism, which in other countries is much obscured, is in Great Britain clear and well defined. Through free trade in land in the United States, for instance, and its consequent "capitalization" indiscriminately with improvements, "capitalism" is here a mask for landlordism; but in Great Britain the survival of feudalistic land tenures has made landlordism there stand out in bold relief as landlordism. To accentuate that difference, land in Great Britain has been exempt from taxation for hundreds of years. Those conditions, in themselves an extraordinary opportunity for the single tax movement, were reinforced by the Irish land league agitation, which provoked general discussion of elementary principles. A further reason is the sensitiveness of the British Parliament to public opinion. And added to the rest is the exhaustion in Great Britain of all sources of public revenue except land values. The first pronounced pressure upon revenue resources, therefore, made a modified form of Henry George's fiscal policy the obvious recourse of British statesmanship.

Meanwhile, however, British workers for the extreme of this reform agitated with steady and thought-out effort as best they could while patient-

\*To "increase the earnings of capital," does not allude to any such increase at the expense of labor. As here used, the term "capital" excludes bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, bank bills, and every other mere evidence of financial obligation; also all kinds of natural opportunities, whether ownership thereof or interest therein be evidenced by individual deeds or by stock in corporations holding such deeds. It includes only such objects as are produced from Land by Labor; and of these only such as are consumed or used up in further production by Labor from Land. In other words, "capital" as here used means those tools and materials which Labor alone can produce, which Labor alone can use; and which Labor alone would own were it not that Labor needs Land from which to produce them, Land on which to use them, Land on which to place or store them, and also that the more profitable lands for all these purposes is monopolized. To "increase the earnings of capital" means, as used above, to increase the earnings of the labor that produces capital.—See "Progress and Poverty," book I, ch. II, especially at pages 35 to 41.

"Progress and Poverty," book VIII, ch. II, pp. 403, 404. For elucidations of this otherwise seemingly extravagant estimate of the results of so slight a deviation from present plutocratic tendencies as the mere abolition of all taxation save that upon land values, read "Progress and Poverty," book VII; also chapter I of book VIII; also book IX; also chapters III, IV and V of book X.

†See The Public of November 11, p. 1059.

ly awaiting the psychological moment for definite political action. When that moment came, they recognized it, seized upon it, and made the most of it. Forming no third parties; fighting for supremacy within the Liberal party; thrusting upon Parliament now and again through sympathetic Liberals measures for municipal authority to tax land values; promoting conferences of municipal officials with single tax tendencies in behalf of what in this country we should call local option in taxation; and latterly securing the promotion of land valuation measures by a Liberal ministry,—in those and related ways they made progress along the British line of least resistance.

But in saying that Great Britain is in the lead, we do not allude to legislation. The land taxes over which British politics are convulsed, are much below the land taxes which the American States impose and actually collect. What really makes the British land tax movement a Henry George as well as a Lloyd George movement, is not the petty tax burdens the Liberal party is imposing on land values, and which the British landed interests have been desperately resisting, but the reasons proclaimed for doing it.

These land taxes are imposed upon the theory that the land belongs to the people and not to the landlords, and that land value is a social increment unearned by its beneficiaries. It is this that has turned Great Britain into a debating society, with Henry George's proposals for the question in dispute.

If in the United States we tax land heavily in comparison with the British land taxes, ours are levied on the theory that land is private property and ought to be taxed uniformly with other private property. But the trifling tax on British landlords makes for proof that they hold their land in trust for the British people. It is the discussion over this implication that puts Great Britain in the lead of the people's movement "back to the land."

Henry George's followers in Great Britain appreciated and wisely availed themselves of his advice regarding practical politics. When the Lloyd George Budget came into Parliament, they could with plausible reasons have turned away from it as not a land-value-tax measure at all. They did point out its defects. They did try to influence more radical measures. But they did not scout it. They welcomed it for what it was—the "thin end of the wedge." Though the measure proposed a trifling tax on vacant land and only while vacant, though it proposed occasional 20 per cent taxes on unearned increments, though it wholly

exempted agricultural land worth as high as \$250 an acre, though it was crammed full of miscellaneous taxes at variance with the single tax principle, nevertheless those British followers of Henry George, realizing that this measure necessitated a valuation of all the land of Great Britain—a necessary preliminary to land value taxation—threw their influence with enthusiasm into the struggle in its behalf. It was not the single tax, to be sure, but it was prerequisite to the single tax. As a result, nearly 140 members of Parliament are in the "land values group," and the question in even its most radical aspects, has for nearly two years, and through one Parliamentary campaign, been under popular discussion from Southampton to the Scottish highlands.

Before it ends this may put Great Britain in the lead in legislation. As Japan has passed from jinrikishas to trolley cars without the intervening carriage, horse car and cable car, so in Great Britain, where land values have been exempt while we of the United States have been taxing land values as part of our general property tax, may, in consequence of those fundamental discussions, completely surpass us. The discussions may cause Great Britain to jump clean over the general property tax to a land value tax so heavy that, while producing ample revenues, it will put an end to land monopoly.



But for the conspicuous position of Great Britain in the eyes of the civilized world, more than one of her dependencies might reasonably claim leadership in the movement "back to the land."

New Zealand, which began this movement in Australasia, has long had general land value taxation; and has permitted local option since the early '90s. Under local option, well on to a hundred taxing districts there have adopted the single tax for local purposes. Among these are both agricultural and urban districts.\* No district that has ever adopted this fiscal policy has receded from it.

In some Australian States the land value tax is to a degree compulsory, and the people may make it exclusive if they wish. This is true of the municipalities in New South Wales, where the compulsory land value tax is about 4 mills to the dollar of capitalized value; and where some of the municipalities have voted it up high enough to leave very little margin for any profit in mere

\*See *The Public*, vol. xii, p. 420; vol. xiii, pp. 1023, 1043; also back references therein noted.

land *owning* as distinguished from profit in land *using*.\*

Other States in Australia have the land-value tax for municipalities, some of which have carried it to the point of the single tax for revenue purposes,† and measures for the entire Commonwealth are now pending in the Parliament of Australia.‡ These taxes are frankly proposed not only for revenue purposes, but also for the purpose of checking land monopoly.



In Canada the lead is taken by the city of Vancouver. A provincial law allows municipalities of British Columbia to make variations in valuing property for taxation, and for years it has been a common practice to appraise land at full market value and improvements at a percentage of market value, the effect of which is of course the same as levying improvement taxes at a lower rate than land taxes. Pursuant to this practice, Vancouver began with 100 per cent valuation for land and 75 for improvements. The latter was then reduced to 50, then to 25, and finally to zero. Consequently, for local purposes, the single tax, as a fiscal measure merely, is in full operation in Vancouver.§ This is probably the only important industrial center in the world where the reform has been carried so far.

On a smaller scale and somewhat less completely, another Canadian city, Edmonton,\*\* has had it in operation for several years; and Prince Rupert, the western terminus of the new Canadian continental railway, has had it from the beginning.†† Oak Bay, British Columbia, furnishes another Canadian example.‡‡



There are other places in which distinct tendencies toward the single tax ideal have found legislative expression, more or less crude in form. One of these is the German colony of Kiauchau, China, where the first colonial experiment with it was made §§ and where it still obtains. In consequence of the fiscal success of that experiment, numerous cities in Germany are now making lev-

\*See *The Public*, vol. xi, p. 636; vol. xii, p. 990; vol. xiii, p. 149. Also back references therein noted.

†See *The Public*, vol. x, p. 81. Also references therein noted.

‡See *The Public*, vol. xiii, p. 1020.

§See *The Public*, vol. xiii, pp. 252, 444, 473, 675. Also citations therein noted.

\*\*See *The Public*, vol. ix, p. 518; vol. xi, p. 787; vol. xii, pp. 277, 1159.

††See *The Public*, vol. xiii, p. 872.

‡‡See *The Public*, vol. xii, p. 323.

§§See *The Public*, vol. ii, no. 63, p. 6.

ies upon unearned increment, and the Imperial government is reaching out for a share.\*



In the United States there is no single tax legislation, distinctively, and under our governmental methods none could reasonably have been expected.

The national Constitution (practically unamendable except through what amounts to revolution), and a Supreme Court to enforce or modify it at will, make land value taxation for national purposes, and even the exemption of industry, impossible. Indirect taxation reduced to its lowest terms, is the best that can be presently hoped for nationally.

In some of the States the possibilities are better. But most State constitutions must be amended by difficult and baffling processes; and in hardly any State can the single tax be adopted either for the entire State or in its municipalities under local option, without the consent of the upper and lower houses of the legislature and the governor, all three acting independently.

Inasmuch as these officials have no responsibility to the people except when they come forward for reëlection at the end of their terms, and inasmuch as they are constantly within the sphere of influence of interests opposed to the single tax, it would be nearly a miracle if a reform so objectionable to special interests could be secured in almost any of our States, though public opinion were strongly in its favor.

The only good opportunities that offer are in those States where the Initiative and Referendum is established. This affords the best possible opportunity, provided public opinion does favor the reform. It also offers the best possible opportunity for awakening and educating public opinion.

In any State of the American Union which has the Initiative and Referendum, and at present in such States only, the single tax reform can be brought into practical politics with the effect that Henry George had in mind when he wrote: "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

\*See *The Public*, vol. xiii, p. 497, and citations there noted.

vote on it, shall be forced to think and talk about it."\*



In many places, and in various ways both organized and unorganized, and with more or less adaptation to local circumstances and opportunities, the single tax is being agitated; and into these agitations there has recently come a tireless single tax promoter in the person of Joseph Fels. He pledges the devotion of himself as well as his fortune, and as many other persons and their fortunes as he can enlist, to the establishment of the single tax, not as a bare fiscal reform except for the first step, but to dry up the unearned incomes of the world by securing to every worker the full value of his work.

A man of large income from the international manufacturing business he has established and the monopoly investments he has made, Mr. Fels prefers this means of spending his income to such diversions as sports, charities, yachts, horses, dogs, or libraries. He contributes to the single tax movement on the basis of a dollar from him for every dollar from anybody else; and in this way he is helping to finance the movement in Great Britain, Denmark, Australia, Canada and the United States.

For the promotion of that purpose in the United States, there has been formed an executive commission. Known officially as the Joseph Fels Fund of America; and organized in 1909, it consists of Daniel Kiefer, of Cincinnati (chairman); Lincoln Steffens, of Connecticut, who is known wherever American magazines are read; Jackson H. Ralston, of Washington, D. C., a lawyer of national and international standing; Frederic C. Howe, of Cleveland, one of Tom L. Johnson's coadjutors in the Cleveland Council and the Ohio Senate through Mr. Johnson's long fight with Big Business in Ohio; and George A. Briggs, of Indiana, a large manufacturer at Elkhart, who has for nearly ten years been well known in and about Chicago as a disciple of Henry George. Besides this responsible commission of five members, there is an advisory committee consisting, for 1910, of James W. Bucklin, of Colorado, several times a member of the Colorado legislature, and sponsor for the "Bucklin bill"; Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, of the District of Columbia, a leading single tax woman of the United States; Edward Osgood Brown, a judge of the Illinois Circuit Court, and Louis F. Post, of Illinois; William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., of Massachusetts; Bishop Charles D. Williams, of Mich-

igan; Dr. Mary D. Hussey, of New Jersey; George Foster Peabody, Fred C. Leubuscher, Bolton Hall, C. H. Ingersoll, Henry George, Jr., and Joseph Dana Miller, of New York; Fenton Lawson, of Ohio; and H. F. Ring of Texas. The treasurer is Tom L. Johnson. Mr. Fels has guaranteed to this Commission, for five years, one dollar a year for every yearly dollar secured by it from any other source. Its preliminary work has been difficult and often perplexing. It had no model and was obliged to pioneer the way. But it is now in shape for aggressive work, not a little of which has been already done. Its second annual meeting will be at New York city (p. 1076), on the 19th of November, 1910, at the Liberal Club, 46 E. 29th street.

This Commission marks a further advance of the single tax movement than has ever before been achieved in the United States, and a greater except by Henry George and his supporters in its early days. The fund collected, besides the Fels contribution, is by far the largest ever before secured; and the principal work the Commission has planned and partly executed is the most encouraging of any ever before undertaken in this country.

### III. Future Progress.

Present opportunities for future progress in the single tax movement in the United States, would probably be comprised in the following enumeration:

1. In national affairs, the only opening on fiscal lines is in connection with tariff questions. American taxation is indirect, and so hedged in with Constitutional limitations as to perpetuate the indirect system until the Constitution is amended, meanwhile giving the preference to customs tariffs.

2. On land tenure lines, the Conservation movement offers opportunities. The proposal to retain public lands still in government ownership, and to conserve such natural opportunities as water power, forests, and mineral resources, though in private hands, involves that deeper purpose of the single tax movement which in Great Britain has found expression in the refrain of one of their campaign songs, "God made the land for the people."

3. In many of our States single tax legislation, whether on fiscal or land tenure lines, necessitates Constitutional amendments; and in nearly all States in which there is no constitutional barrier, the barrier of legislatures elected with reference to other issues or to personal or party considerations, must be surmounted.

4. Tax reform organizations, notably in New

\*"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxix, p. 318.

York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, offer opportunities through the co-operation of business interests dissatisfied with present taxing methods. These opportunities relate chiefly to such fiscal reforms as abolition of personal property taxes, distinct separation of land values from other values in tax duplicates, and local option in taxation.

5. The movement for the Initiative and Referendum, and that for city charters under the new system known as "commission form of municipal government," offer opportunities for clearing the way. In most commission-plan charters there are provisions for local uses of the Initiative and Referendum; but this electoral reform cannot be used in those instances for the adoption of reforms in taxation or land tenure without further legislative authority, nor with that authority in States whose constitutions set up obstacles. State-wide provisions for the Initiative and Referendum are therefore necessary for single tax purposes; and as they are necessary for other purposes also, this is a movement in which single tax advocates can both serve and be served.

6. In nine States the Initiative and Referendum has been established for State purposes; and in those States Initiative petitions for the single tax, whether in minor degree or in its full scope, might establish the single tax regardless of Constitutional limitations or legislative repugnance. That is, if a Constitutional amendment were required, Initiative petitions would enable the people to amend, if they wish to, and without the obstructive red tape now required; or, if there were no constitutional barriers, Initiative petitions would enable them to adopt the single tax for State purposes, and without legislative obstruction; or, if local option were desired, Initiative petitions would enable them to secure it. Wherever efforts to get the single tax were made, if they failed to secure legislation, they would nevertheless compel intense and widespread discussion.

7. Opportunities for the delivery of single tax lectures, and the distribution of single tax literature, are better now than they have ever been; and there is good reason to believe that in the future as in the past, they will become progressively better in so far as lecturers and literature distributors identify their work sympathetically with other progressive work.

8. The Fels Fund has come into the field with the purpose of vitalizing the single tax movement in the United States. If its plans are encouraged, supported and pursued, they may lead to early triumphs in legislation, with object lessons nearer home than Australasia, Great Britain, or even

Canada. Whether successful to that extent or not, they are as certain as anything human can be to provoke popular discussions of single tax principles, with direct interest and vigor in some places and with at least a high degree of reflected interest everywhere else.



In national politics, then, the coming together of the Conservation movement, and the popular reaction against plutocratic Protection, with the prospect of a new alignment of political parties, or possibly the advent of a new party of principle and power, seem almost like a clarion call to those of us who, like Henry George, look to national political agitation for promotion of the single tax cause in the United States locally as well as nationally.\* On the fiscal side, we have now in the tariff question, and more intensely than ever in the direction of the single tax, all the elements for provoking radical discussion that Henry George pointed to in his "Protection or Free Trade."† And as the tariff question is associated with the question of conserving our natural resources,‡ we are nearer now than then to the climax that Henry George saw in 1885, when he wrote: "Property in land is as indefensible as property in man. It is so absurdly impolitic, so outrageously unjust, so flagrantly subversive of the true right of property, that it can only be instituted by force and maintained by confounding in the popular mind the distinction between property in land and property in things that are the result of labor. Once that distinction is made clear—and a thorough discussion of the tariff question must now make it clear—and private property in land is doomed."§

How much clearer the discussions of Conservation along with the tariff question will make that distinction, between property in land and property in things that are the result of labor, who can doubt? Conservation of national natural resources, suggests the substitution of land values for customs tariffs, for national revenues, thereby giving national expression in legislation—without amending the Constitution—to the single tax principle in its double aspect of fiscal reform and land reform.

On the question of Conservation, mark the historical parallel to which Jackson H. Ralston calls attention. In the early '50s there was no wider

\*"Protection or Free Trade," page 321.

†See "Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxix.

‡See "Our Land and Land Policy," a monograph on our public lands written by Henry George in 1871, and published in volume ix of his works.

§"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxix, page 326.

or stronger sentiment for complete abolition of slavery in the United States than there is now for complete abolition of the tariff and land monopoly. But the slavery interests forced the question of extending slavery into new States above the slave boundary line; and that little question compelled discussion of the merits of slavery itself. The arguments for and against extension were of necessity arguments for and against the principle of slavery. Result: weakening of old party ties, formation of new political alignments, a new party, civil war, abolition.

Should history repeat itself, let us hope that the analogy may not extend to civil war, nor to its horrible equivalent in any form; and it may not extend to the advent of a new party. But what about the rest? Land monopoly interests are forcing the little question of further monopoly land grants, and it is further monopoly land grants that opposing statesmen object to. But this comparatively trivial issue is compelling general discussion of the principle of monopoly land grants, whether past or future. And are not party ties weakening and political realignments forming?

Every argument against the Aldrich tariff is potential as an argument against the taxation of industry; every argument against the sale and for the leasing of government-owned mineral deposits in Alaska, is potential everywhere as an argument against land monopoly, and for land values for public revenues. The single tax question is in national politics, whether single taxers know it or not.

But no single tax party is necessary to take advantage of this situation. That policy is more likely to be detrimental than otherwise. It is still true, as when Henry George wrote in 1885, 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."\*

There is forceful wit and genuine good humor, to be sure, in a certain socialist epigram: "Better vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want and get it." But like most epigrams and some dress goods, "it won't wash." When the only voting opportunity is for candidates instead of measures, it isn't always true that it is better to vote for a candidate who agrees fully with you and lose, than to vote for one who agrees partly with you and win—especially if by voting for the one who agrees fully with

you, you elect one who doesn't agree with you at all. Getting what you want in politics is matter of progressive compromise, except at extraordinary intervals when politics are convulsed; and new parties that are then effective spring full armed and ready recruited out of the situation.\*

Of the small side party, however, the manufactured third party, it may be noted that there are two lines of policy open to it, one of them useful to its cause, the other detrimental.

Pursuing the useful course, it could be educational at all times, and might serve a purpose occasionally, though in a small way, by "going through the motions" in practical politics. But it must be considerate. If by any possibility a miniature party could be built up to normal size, it would have to be by great patience and forbearance, through a long time, in spite of many discouragements, and of frequent temptations to be offensive toward those whose co-operation it thinks it needs, but is slow in getting. The one thing it *must* do is to propagate its gospel faithfully and patiently; the one thing it *must not* do is to cultivate unnecessary enmities.

So conducted, a single tax party, for instance, might possibly become the nucleus for the single tax movement in politics when single tax tendencies were strong enough among the people to be an independent factor in politics. Meanwhile it would doubtless do something to help strengthen and accelerate those tendencies.

On the other hand, and this is the alternative policy—and unhappily the almost inevitable one—such a party might be so mismanaged in its "day of small things" as to destroy all hope of a serious political career for it, even if that were otherwise possible. If a single tax party—still using this cause for illustrating what is true of such parties in behalf of any other cause—if such a party in its infancy were to discredit itself by propagating unnecessary antagonisms, it would be an obstacle to be thrust aside when the real fight came on, instead of a medium to be adopted, and with a leadership of proved capacity to be followed. Antagonisms belong to fighting periods, not to recruiting periods.



Apart from the national activities suggested with reference to the Conservation and the tariff questions, which make for the exemption of industry from taxation and the appropriation of land values to public use, there is little opportunity for effective single tax agitation in the United

\*"Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxix, page 321.

\*See The Public of April 18, 1901, vol. iv, p. 3.

States on national lines. This is evident from the summary of opportunities noted above.

For State activities opportunities are open in business circles for conservative agitation along lines that have been quietly pursued for several years. But this work must be done with prudence; and valuable though it is, it is slow and uninspiring. To abolish personal property taxation is to proceed in the direction of the single tax; but active single taxers thoughtlessly discount its value, unless they may label it, which would not unlikely obstruct its progress. The separation of land values from other values is doubtless also useful; but the advocacy of this frankly as a step toward the single tax may impede its progress among those to whom it might otherwise appeal. Opportunities of such a character are rather for men of conservative disposition and conventional business affiliations than for more radical types.

In the distribution of literature and delivery of speeches, there are opportunities for the kind of work which consists in making occasional converts by direct approach or appeal. It is to be observed, however, that opportunities for getting the ear of audiences to listen to expository speaking are very few, unless it be at street meetings. There is a notion abroad that every one understands the single tax. It seems a curious notion, when one listens to the explanations of single tax opponents who think they understand it; but it makes the assembling of audiences for this express purpose exceedingly difficult. Audiences assembled for kindred purposes, however, are interested enough, when single tax principles are presented without hostility to the object of the gathering, and with reasonable appropriateness and simplicity.

Owing to the obstacles to getting this subject into concrete form for political agitation and action in the States and municipalities, the most effective speaking work for the single tax is found to be, and for excellent and almost obvious reasons, in connection with the movement for commission government for cities noted above, and with the Initiative and Referendum movement. These lines of agitation help to clear the way for political action on the single tax, by securing the necessary opportunity. It is as if popular suffrage did not exist, and single tax advocates joined the movement to secure it; or as if the method of voting were so open to corruption as virtually to nullify the suffrage, and single tax advocates joined a movement to purify it, as Henry George and his associates did in the Australian ballot movement of the '80s and early '90s.

Direct legislation and commission government, like the Australian ballot, are methods for strengthening the political power of the people to the end that they may be self-governing. In these movements the influence of the single tax movement manifestly belongs, and into them that influence has almost everywhere gone. One of the most important assets of the single tax movement, an asset of increasing value, is its identification with movements for augmenting the power of the ballot. It is such an asset because this makes for the propagation of single tax doctrines, and also because those movements, as they succeed, open the way for the effective political action to which Henry George looked in his hope for that discussion of the single tax which brings into view the truth, now concealed in a network of custom but which once seen is never forgotten.



Along these lines, both large and small, the Fels Fund can be made a power for the advancement, both in thought and legislation, of single tax principles.

By co-operating wherever it can be of use in getting the Initiative and Referendum, it may secure the means for bringing single tax issues before the people for decisive action, and the good will and co-operation of the progressives with whom it thus co-operates.

Similar opportunities open in connection with the efforts of cities to establish commission forms of government with the local Initiative and Referendum, out of which may soon be developed irresistible demands for local option in taxation.

Its successful work in this connection has already given the Fels Fund a prestige worth to the single tax movement all it has cost. At the election on the 8th, a Constitutional amendment was adopted by the people of Oregon, under their Initiative and Referendum and with the aid of the Fels Fund, which allows county home rule in taxation. Where else has so great an advance been secured? On the basis of that amendment, it has been announced that in 1912, measures will be submitted to the people of Oregon for the total exemption from taxation of all useful business and labor, and the collection of all "the public revenues from the value of land and other natural resources." How better could general discussion be secured?

Meanwhile, and in furtherance of the amendment just adopted in Oregon, the Fels Fund has placed in the hands of every registered voter in that State, as a campaign document, a pamphlet showing with reference to each county, the fol-

lowing comparisons between present taxation and land value taxation: as to farmers' lands, farmers' buildings, etc., speculative lands, improved city lots, improvements on city lots, speculators' city lots, and franchise corporations. The comparison shows a saving in each county by farmers, business, and labor, which aggregates over \$3,000,000 for the State; and an increase in each county on franchise corporations and land speculators aggregating over \$3,000,000.

By prosecuting this kind of work in the future, with the same good judgment, in Oregon and other Initiative and Referendum States, the Fels Fund may score legislative victories in a short time. And though it miss the victories at first, it will compel national discussion and demands for literature to an extent that no other course can rival.

#### IV. The World Movement.

To "see the world" and to "see it whole," is necessary for the best agitation in behalf of any cause. It is especially important for the single tax movement.

This movement does not propose a substitute civilization. If it did there might be no necessity for understanding or caring about the present one. What it proposes is the removal of a barbarous institution which is to civilization what blood poisoning is to the human system. Our civilization itself must therefore be understood by single taxers; and not alone in its history, but also in its daily life.

Minute technical knowledge is of course not required; nor complete information of the sayings and doings of all mankind. But provincialism, whether of city or country, of nation or of section, is a drawback; and ingrowing sectarianism is worse than worthless. Some sympathetic understanding of the world's methods and work and hopes is necessary; the broader and more comprehensive and appreciative the better.



The single tax movement cannot be isolated and win. It is part of a throbbing world movement; and the more in harmony the lesser is with the larger, the more rapid and perfect will be the progress of both—provided the single tax principle is the true social law that those of us who think we understand it believe it to be.

With all its varieties and shades of thought and aspiration, the world movement is itself no narrow cult, and it does not tolerate cults. Broader than the single tax movement, it is broader also than the land nationalizing movement, than so-

cialism at its best, than individualism at its best; and its tendency is to sweep them all—together with the great rushing force of popular sentiment that knows little of any of them, but without which there can be no political progress—along with its rising, rushing tide. This greater movement is driving all before it, drawing all behind it, toward those higher levels of democracy of which "Progress and Poverty" gives us glimpses—economic democracy, political democracy, religious democracy.

Whoever will read, or having read will read again, the tenth book of "Progress and Poverty," in which Henry George indicates the fundamental idea of his philosophy of civilization, namely "*association in equality*," will recognize the real character of the single tax movement as part of the greater movement. And the single tax advocate who does this, will become in consequence all the stronger and more effective for his own phase of the general cause. For he will be able then to co-operate sympathetically, and consequently to better advantage, with every person of democratic disposition he meets; not only with those commonplace folks who haven't yet "seen the cat" and think it a tiger, but also with bumptious "radicals" who are so dull that they think it a kitten under nine days old.

It is neither by accident nor design, but in the nature of things, that distinctive organizations of the single tax movement on a large scale do not flourish, notwithstanding the spread of its ideas. Its function is to vitalize all progressive tendencies with its own fundamental truth. Whatever other progressive movements may do, they can accomplish nothing large and permanent until in some manner appropriate to time and place, equality of right to land is established, and with reference to value rather than area. And this the single tax movement can secure. But only in sympathy with the democratic movement as a whole.



There is no need for quarrels with socialism. The single tax is a method which all but hopeless sectarian socialists must adopt, whether they will or no. They cannot get far with an exclusive program of fighting a privileged class with an impoverished class. If the single tax abolishes the exploitation of labor, as we believe it will, their work is done; if it does not, their further work will be easier and quicker, and its results more secure. The first necessity for the abolition of labor exploitation, whether it be the last one or not, is common rights to land.

Nor is there need for quarrels with individuals who are not impossible sectarians or greedy plutocrats. The single tax principle is a vital force which, in so far as it is true, will promote democratic individualism, and if completely true will bring it to complete fruition. The first necessity for democratic individualism, as for democratic socialism, and for democracy itself, is common rights to land.

For such a cause as this there is no need for quarrels with any economic or religious sect or political party with a democratic disposition. Neither is there need for severing association with bodies as yet unaroused to the necessity for putting an end to social injustice. On the contrary, that policy will best serve the single tax cause which encourages its converts to continue and to establish congenial affiliations in politics, in church, in progressive societies, in social bodies. It is in this way that the leaven of the single tax principle can be made to work most effectively.

As to separate single tax organizations, there is no need for them at all, except for incidental purposes among folk of like mind, or in committee forms for the promotion of such single tax work as gives evidence of value and vitality.

What is necessary—or, at all events, highly desirable—is a thorough appreciation of the virtues of the single tax principle. Not as the god of a segregated cult, or the offensive slogan of enthusiasts “in season and out of season;” but as part of that complex democratic movement of the world, in which its own special function is to stimulate general progress and supply the method for so promoting general progress as to secure advances as they are made.

To this end it should be the part of single tax advocates, as it seems to us, to establish such intelligent, sympathetic, and influential relations as they can with the world movement as a whole. Timid and dainty as in some of its manifestations that movement may often appear, or grotesquely boisterous as in others, it is nevertheless a movement within which the single tax movement must do its work. It is a movement upon which the single tax movement must exert a favorable influence. Unless this is done, complete reaction will come. “A great wrong always dies hard, and the great wrong which in every civilized country condemns the masses of men to poverty and want, will not die without a bitter struggle.”\* Into that struggle, then, every element of progressive force must be enlisted and all be fused.

Let us reserve hostile energy for the movements

and tendencies that make against democracy. Let us recognize and utilize the current of the great democratic movement of the world, in all its phases, even in its disheartening windings and convolutions. As Henry George said in another connection, but not more appropriately, “With the current we may glide fast and far; against it, it is hard pulling and slow progress.”\*

\*“Progress and Poverty,” book viii, ch. ii, page 403.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### THE CAMPAIGN FOR HENRY GEORGE, JR.

New York, Nov. 12.

Henry George, Jr., won his fight for a seat in Congress from the 17th Congressional District of New York after a spirited campaign in which he gained the good will of the voters of his district. In a district normally 6,000 to 8,000 Republican he won by a majority of 1,721 over William S. Bennet. Mr. Bennet has represented the district for three terms. He is popular as a handshaker and vote-getter; he is a “stand-patter” and voted for every increase of duties in the Payne-Aldrich tariff. He stood upon his record as a high tariff man and belittled the arguments of his opponent that the high cost of living was due chiefly to the tariff.

It was one of the few Congressional districts in which the tariff was directly and persistently assailed. It was the only one in which free trade was openly and boldly preached without equivocation. The candidate frankly announced himself as a free trader, and went even further than his enthusiastic speakers in the clear cut radicalism of his utterances.

An analysis of the vote shows that he was cut by Democrats here and there. But this was counterbalanced by many voters who cast their ballots for Stimson and George. Many of these, it is safe to say, were cast by Republican free traders, of whom there are many in this district where the Single Tax and abolition of all tariffs have been preached by the adherents of Henry George for many years at the corner of Seventh avenue and 125th street. This was one of the causes which helped.

Another was the endorsement of the Independence League and the support of John J. Hopper, the League’s candidate for governor. Mr. Hopper is very popular in this district, where he lives, and though he could not, in view of the hopelessness of his candidacy and the rapidly receding wave of Hearstism, receive the full vote of his personal and political admirers, he nevertheless contributed the weight of a support that may have turned the scale.

And it is but just to say that Mr. George received the hearty, full and unquestioning support of Tammany. The leaders of the organization and the speakers from the Tammany trucks and the more pretentious hall meetings, struck telling blows for the candidate. One man should be singled out for special mention in this connection—the man who

\*“Progress and Poverty,” book viii, ch. ii, page 405.

would have been the Democratic candidate if Henry George, Jr., had failed of the nomination. That man is John Jerome Rooney, whose writings on the tariff have done so much to open the eyes of the voters. He was scarcely less effective on the platform in his bold, lucid and witty exposures of tariff iniquities.

In a short speech to his supporters on the night of election, when the returns from a majority of the districts showed that he was elected, Mr. George took occasion to thank Tammany for its loyal support, pointing out that the men of the organization had much more to lose than he, for whatever it was possible to lose by radicalism he had lost long ago. In the same speech Mr. George expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Hopper and the independent Republicans who had supported him.

In the campaign that had been carried on from 101st street to Spyten Duyvil and from Hudson River to Fifth avenue the truck speakers—and there was never any lack of them—preached free trade and administered telling blows to the protection fetish. Among the speakers were Hon. Lawson Purdy, Hon. Robert Baker, Dr. Marion Mills Miller, Joseph Fink, Fred C. Lebuscher, James Macgregor, Geo. Von Auer, Leonard Tuttle, Augustus Weymann, and many others.

Mr. Bennet's failure to accept Mr. George's challenge to debate the causes of the high cost of living was made much of by the George speakers, and undoubtedly influenced many voters. Had Mr. Bennet accepted, the result would have been all the more disastrous, and Mr. Bennet probably knew this. He is not a poor speaker, but he is not entirely devoid of discernment, so the challenge was not accepted.

An interesting feature of this unique campaign were the articles from the pen of Charles O'Connor Hennessey, which appeared in the papers morning and evening in prominent type, paid for at advertising rates, and written in popular style as only such an old and experienced newspaper man could write.

But one of the chief causes of success was the candidate himself. His speeches were strong appeals, manly, dignified and free from the arts of the politician. Something of the loving simplicity of heart and mind that come to him from his great father were manifest to the voters of his district and drew to him the support of independents. In the high minded and honorable treatment he accorded to his opponent, refusing to take advantage of certain openings which a less punctilious swordsman might have eagerly availed himself of, he took to himself the high knightly counsel:

'Tis not in mortals to command success,  
But we'll do more, Sempronius; we'll deserve it.

Mr. George goes to Congress with the prestige of a great name, a world-wide reputation as a student of public questions, and a personal acquaintance with many of the leaders in both parties. He can do much, because of the unique position he occupies, to advance the principles which his father formulated and which in his own best known and admirable work, "The Menace of Privilege,"\* he has

sought to popularize in terms of the latest economic development. It is certain that others of like convictions will follow him into Congress in the elections that are soon to come among a people fast awaking to the need of fundamental revision of prevailing social and economic creeds.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

♦ ♦ ♦

### LABOR IN LOS ANGELES.\*

Los Angeles, Cal., November 10.

The terrible disaster here, which destroyed half a million of property and more than twenty human lives, and was heralded as a labor union outrage, occurred while the Federation of Labor was in annual session here, and preparations were under way for the biggest labor demonstration in this part of the world. The terror, the hysteria, the vicious and unfounded charges against organized labor were paralyzing. These charges were made before any investigation and without any evidence except the hysterical statements of prejudiced partisans. The City Council, the police, most of the press, were alike swept into insane antagonism by sheer force of the accusations. But organized labor behaved with fairness and dignity in the face of the fact that scores of its members were in jail or on bail upon charges under the drastic anti-picketing ordinance passed by the City Council a short time before, and of the unwarranted and insulting conduct of the police department in surrounding the Labor Temple with policemen, thereby subjecting national guests to indignities as if they were dangerous criminals.

More than a month has now passed. The hysteria has given place to returning sanity. The terror is gone. But the Friar Tucks of the Plunderbund still fulminate from their pulpits against "anarchy"—though there are notable exceptions among the churches. The City Council has passed an ordinance permitting any one to run steam boilers and engines without a license or any evidence of fitness, in order to forestall a possible strike of stationary engineers in sympathy with the brewery men and the structural steel workers and metal workers, who are still on strike. The Mayor vetoed this ordinance. But he appointed a partisan committee to investigate the disaster, refusing the labor people any representation; and the District Attorney appointed the most notorious criminal lawyer of southern California to represent the county before the grand jury.

They have found "bombs" dramatically set to clocks that stopped at a safe time, and dynamite that didn't go off. They have chased to the north of the State and threatened the South Seas, and for thirty days have had "arrests a few hours off," but none ever on. All this under the patronage of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association,—labor's chief enemy. It is composed of small business men dominated by "Big Business," big estates, the Southern Pacific, the Harriman and Huntington interests and high class land gamblers, whose prime purpose is to bend every civic movement to enhancing the values of their speculative holdings. Its

\*Published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

\*See The Public of November 11, page 1058.

mouthpiece is "The Los Angeles Times," the most insanely violent Laborphobia paper on the Coast.

In the face of all this the labor men of Los Angeles informed the public that on November 3 they would have the deferred parade. Much apprehension followed. Fears were revived. Advice was given. But the night came and the parade is a matter of history. "The Record" truly said: "The greatest demonstration ever made by organized labor in southern California, and the most impressive parade ever witnessed by the people of Los Angeles, took place Tuesday night, when 15,000 loyal union men and women marched through the down town streets to Fiesta Park, where they were addressed by J. Stitt Wilson, Socialist candidate for Governor, and by Stanley Wilson, Editor of "The Citizen" (labor paper). Every union in the city was represented, and the parade was especially significant as tending to show the strength in Los Angeles of the man who works."

EDMUND NORTON.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, November 15, 1910

### The Elections.

More significant than any individual triumphs at the recent elections (pp. 1035, 1036, 1057) is the steady march of the democratic principle they have shown, in the vote directly on measures regardless of men, wherever there was opportunity for such voting. We shall not attempt to give figures until official returns are reported, but general results may be stated.

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Oregon takes the lead in direct voting. There were 32 questions to vote upon there, some of local and others of general interest. That the people of Oregon are strongly in favor of their system of direct legislation is evident from their vote on the proposal for a Constitutional convention. The intention was to have this convention revise the Constitution and incidentally to abolish direct legislation, but the people have defeated that proposal overwhelmingly. Most important, however, of all the referendum votes in Oregon, were those on questions of taxation. The local option tax amendments are reported as carried. The prohibition amendment was defeated, and so was the amendment giving suffrage to taxpayers regardless of sex.

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In Washington the women's suffrage amendment without limitation was carried. Thus Washington joins Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Colorado, as a State allowing equal suffrage regardless of sex.

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In Oklahoma and South Dakota the women's suffrage amendment was defeated.

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In Colorado, the direct legislation amendment (p. 1035) was carried by about 25,000 majority. Under this amendment, now part of the fundamental law of Colorado, the legislative power of the State is vested in the legislature but with the reservation to the people of the power to propose laws and amendments by means of the Initiative and Referendum.

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The Initiative in Illinois was advisory only (p. 1035), there being no mandatory direct legislation law yet in this State. The questions submitted were for an Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution, a civil service law and a corrupt practices law. All were carried by overwhelming majorities.

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A prohibition law under the Initiative and Referendum was defeated by a tremendous majority in Missouri.

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The county option law for the liquor traffic in Nebraska, on which Bryan was defeated in the Democratic convention (pp. 801, 973), was virtually carried by the election of the Republican candidate for Governor, the Republican convention having adopted the policy that Bryan unsuccessfully urged upon the Democrats.

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The Dupont subway plans were adopted by popular vote in Cleveland. Under these plans subway construction is greatly reduced both as to time, cost, expense of operation and comfort of service.

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Of the 100 representatives and 38 senators composing the Rhode Island legislature, 38 of the former and 13 of the latter were elected on the Democratic ticket. Pledged in writing to the Initiative and Referendum for constitutional amendments are 32 representatives and six senators—most of them Democrats. All of the Democrats are so pledged by their party platform. A few members-elect are committed against this form of direct legislation. The chief advantage of the agitation is that for the first time in Rhode Island the issue has become a live one.

The results on candidates in whom our readers may be especially interested were as follows:

**Elected**—Henry George, Jr. (pp. 991, 1036), to Congress from New York; William Kent (pp. 915, 962, 1036), to Congress from California; John H. Martin (p. 1036), to Congress from Colorado; Frank Buchanan (pp. 1011, 1036), Adolph J. Sabath (pp. 1011, 1036), Henry T. Rainey (pp. 1010, 1036), Martin D. Foster (pp. 1011, 1036), to Congress from Illinois; Edward Osgood Brown (pp. 1010, 1034, 1036), to the Circuit Court of Illinois; William E. Dever (pp. 1010, 1035, 1036), to Superior Court of Chicago; Hiram T. Gilbert (pp. 1011, 1036), Morton D. Hull (pp. 1011, 1036), Rev. Frank G. Smith (pp. 1011, 1036), to the lower house of the Illinois legislature; John Waage (p. 1036), to the Illinois Senate.

**Doubtful**—I. N. Stevens (p. 1036), for Congress from Colorado; Tully Scott (p. 1036), for the Colorado State Senate.

**Defeated**—Walter Macarthur (pp. 962, 1036), for Congress from California; Michael E. Maher (pp. 1010, 1036), John C. Vaughn (pp. 1010, 1036), Frederick H. Gansbergen (pp. 1011, 1036), for Congress from Illinois; Fred J. Kern (pp. 1011, 1036), for Illinois Senate; McKenzie Cleland (pp. 1011, 1036), for Municipal Court Judge in Chicago; A. O. Coddington (pp. 796, 1035, 1036), for Superintendent of Cook County (Ill.) Schools; James O. Monroe (pp. 1011, 1036), and Dudley Grant Hayes (p. 1036), for Illinois legislature; Percy Pepoon (p. 1036), for Missouri legislature; William Mathews (p. 1036), for Washington legislature; and Robert R. McCormick (pp. 1013, 1036), for the Sanitary District of Illinois.



The vote for John J. Hopper, candidate for Governor of the New York Independence League, with William Randolph Hearst for Lieutenant Governor (p. 988), is not yet reported. In Pennsylvania W. H. Berry (p. 949), the third party candidate for Governor, was defeated by the Republican candidate, J. K. Tener (p. 613), by about 30,000. The Democratic candidate fell far behind Mr. Berry.



The successful major candidacies throughout the country were either progressive Republican or Democratic. Dix, Wilson, Foss, Baldwin, Harmon, Shafrroth, Carey and Burke, Democratic candidates for Governor respectively of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Colorado, Wyoming and North Dakota, were elected. Robert Bass, Insurgent Republican, was elected in New Hampshire. Dahlman, the Democrat of Nebraska whom Bryan opposed for his attitude on the liquor question, was defeated. The Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) delegation to the Ohio legislature, is Democratic with two exceptions.—In the election of the Democratic candidate for Governor of Oregon, the political bosses who have attempted to nullify the primary law of Oregon are defeated. This law forbids party conventions for primary purposes. The Republican bosses called an "assembly" (p. 970) and named "rec-

ommendees." At the primaries they were defeated by the popular vote of their own party, except for Governor. The "recommendee" got this nomination because the anti-assembly vote was divided by several petition candidates. Thereupon the anti-assembly elements, encouraged by Senator Bourne, urged the election of the Democratic candidate for Governor as a rebuke to the Republican bosses. The Democratic candidate is elected.

—In New York, the legislature is Democratic and Edward M. Shepard is regarded as the probable successor of Depew in the United States Senate.

—David R. Francis is defeated by James A. Reed, for Democratic candidate for Senator from Missouri; and Champ Clark is re-elected to Congress from that State.—The Illinois legislature has a Republican majority of one.—The Colorado legislature is Democratic but reactionary.—The Socialist vote increased in New York, where Charles E. Russell was the candidate for Governor; also in California, where the candidate was J. Stitt Wilson. In Milwaukee the Socialists elected their county ticket from top to bottom; elected 12 instead of 3 Assemblymen; elected another State Senator, already having one in office; and from the Milwaukee district elected Victor Berger to Congress, the first Socialist ever elected to that body. Mr. Berger's plurality was 323. State Senator Gaylord, the Socialist candidate for Congress in the district next to Berger's was defeated by a plurality so slight that he is hopefully contesting the election.



#### The Next Congress.

The exact balance of party representation in the next Congress—to assemble thirteen months hence, unless the President calls a special session after March 4 and prior to December 4, 1911,—is not yet certain, but the approximations are doubtless close. It is estimated that the Democrats will gain at least eight seats in the Senate and have a majority of 62 in the House. The fact is to be considered, however, that radical Democrats in the next House are in closer sympathy with progressive Republicans than with the reactionary members of their own party, and on the other hand progressive Republicans are in closer sympathy with radical Democrats than with Republican standpatters. What effect this will have upon party lines in the House no one can guess, for it will depend upon the character of issues that arise and the intensity of feeling they generate. If some question that cuts across party lines were to arise in the House, the radical Democrats and the progressive Republicans might be thrown together in an alliance against the reactionaries of both parties; and if this were to occur, party realignments would not be likely to stop with members of Congress. It is out of such situations that new parties spring into politics.

**Women in Office.**

Four women were elected to the Colorado legislature on the 8th. They are Alma Lafferty, Louise U. Jones and Louise M. Kerwin, from Denver districts, Democrats; and Agnes Riddle, Republican, —representing Adams, Arapahoe and Elbert counties.



Miss Adeline B. Pratt, for thirteen years deputy Register of Deeds for Marinette county, Wisconsin, was on the 8th elected Register by a majority of 44 votes over her Republican opponent, Emery D. Galineau. Miss Pratt is the first woman ever elected to a county office in Wisconsin.



Full returns from the election in Texas show that Mrs. Brit Trevathan has defeated W. J. Ivy, the Democratic nominee for County Clerk of Angelina county.

**A Democratic Conference.**

The apparent coming into power in Congress of the Democratic party, has inspired Senator Rayner of Maryland to start a movement for a conference of Democratic leaders. In an explanatory address he is reported on the 13th to have said:

All Democrats must recognize the urgent necessity of party harmony and unity if we are to follow up the great victory of last Tuesday with a triumph in the national election two years hence. My idea is that it should be merely a conference which would bind no one who participated, but at the same time would give opportunity for the biggest Democrats of the country to express their views. Our majority in the next House will be unwieldy. There is danger of a split over minor matters when there should be absolute unanimity on all propositions of party policy. Such a conference would serve as a sort of steering committee to the party's representatives at the short session and cause them to realize the trend of Democratic sentiment.

**Pinchot and the Land Frauds.**

Gifford Pinchot (p. 962) and his brother, Amos Pinchot, have addressed a letter to President Taft regarding the Cunningham claims (owned in part by the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate), in which they ask Mr. Taft not to approve any recommendation by Secretary Ballinger allowing those claims, without first giving them an opportunity to submit a brief in opposition.



The Pinchot letter is written upon the expectation that the Interior Department (Secretary Ballinger's) will soon make a recommendation, and that it is liable to be favorable because Secretary Ballinger's own lawyer argued in his printed

brief before the investigation committee (p. 899) that, quoting from the brief—

an examination of the record of the Cunningham hearings, and which is a part of the record in this case, reveals not only that the statements of Cunningham are true but that the Cunningham claims are not fraudulent but honest claims.

This statement is referred to in the letter of Gifford and Amos Pinchot to President Taft as in all probability representing Secretary Ballinger's own opinion "reached after the evidence was all in, that the claims are valid and should be patented." The letter then proceeds:

According to the testimony of representatives of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate, who have long asserted a half interest in the Cunningham claims, their ultimate value is in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000. But the loss to the people of the United States that would follow the issue of patents is by no means limited to any such sum. Although the government would receive but little more than \$50,000 for claims worth many millions, a decision favorable to the Cunningham claimants would not merely result in an unjustifiable loss to the public at large. It would also establish a precedent which might admit to patent other illegal claims outside of the Cunningham group to the additional value of many millions of dollars. We are advised by counsel retained for the purpose of reporting on the Cunningham record, that the testimony of the claimants themselves shows abundantly and conclusively that the claims are fraudulent. We respectfully request that in case the Interior Department should reach a decision in favor of patenting the claims you will allow us to submit for your consideration a brief before making a decision as to whether or not you will permit your signature to be affixed to the patents.

**The Garment Workers' Strike.\***

The strike of the Chicago garment workers (p. 1070) continues, with but little disorder and an abatement of police interference with picketing. On Sunday ten thousand strikers gathered at Pilsen park and listened to speeches in several languages. The Bohemians and Poles marched there in parade, five thousand strong, with four bands. So enthusiastic was the crowd that, as Miss Gertrude Barnum put it, "They would have cheered you if you had said, 'Mary had a little lamb.'" It is recognized by the leaders that a strike of such poorly paid workers as those in the garment trades must be well financed or it will be broken down by hunger and cold. Appeals for aid are therefore being made to all classes of citizens. Churches are being asked for collections. Actors and singers are being asked for benefits. Workers in other trades are being asked for a small regular amount from their wages each week while the strike lasts. Over \$8,000 was paid out on Saturday to the most

\*For impressions of the strike see page 1098 of this Public.

needy of those on strike, great numbers of the less needy refusing aid.



The Citizens' committee on the strike (p. 1043) issued a report of their sub-committee of investigation, on the 5th, the report being signed by (Miss) S. P. Breckinridge and Geo. H. Meade, for the sub-committee, and Anna E. Nicholes, as secretary of the Citizens' committee. After reciting the flagrant grievances and abuses disclosed by their investigation, the committee thus summarizes some of its conclusions:

We do not believe that we have had any actual evidence presented to us that there is in any of these shops adequate protection for the operatives under present conditions.

We feel that the strike itself has been made possible by the continued irritation arising out of the conditions in the shops, to which we have referred above. We are unable ourselves to find any evidence that the strike was due to organized labor. It seems to us to have been quite spontaneous, and the rapidity with which it spread seems almost conclusive evidence that the attitude of the operatives is not what it should be in the industry.

While there is abundant evidence that many of the operatives have been induced to remain away from the shop through fear of violence, we do not believe that the large number who have left could possibly have been kept out by this cause.

Finally, in the opinion of the members of this committee, the natural method of removing the causes of irritation in the shops and of making a more healthful social life there possible, is some form of organization among the workers in the shop. The industry is so very complicated, the labor so highly subdivided, the dependence, as yet, of the operatives upon the foreman is so great, that it seems next to impossible to bring about normal conditions, unless the operatives themselves are able to express their own views and their own complaints through committees and this without fear of loss of position or the enmity of the foreman.



#### The British Parliament.

A conference between Liberal and Tory leaders in Great Britain, which has been in secret session at intervals for several months (p. 637) with a view to agreeing upon some solution of the veto problem of the Lords, has just dissolved, and it is reported that it has wholly failed to come to any arrangement. That was the situation when Parliament re-convened on the 15th. Expectations of an early dissolution and new elections before the close of this year or early next year, are reported to be general. This would not affect the land question. The valuation and taxation of the land of Great Britain (p. 961) is now as firmly embedded in the British constitution as any recent legislation can be, and the valuation is proceeding. The question at issue would be the abolition of the Lords' power of vetoing legislation by the Commons.

## NEWS NOTES

—The National Municipal League began its sixteenth annual meeting at Buffalo on the 14th.

—Universal suffrage is being demanded in Belgium (p. 492), and a demonstration for it occurred on the 8th.

—At their recent convention at Toronto, the Y. M. C. A. adopted the Initiative and Referendum for that organization.

—Alexander Stephens Clay, United States Senator from Georgia, died of heart disease at Atlanta on the 13th.

—The American Federation of Labor began its thirtieth annual session (vol. xii, p. 1137) at St. Louis on the 14th.

—At the 41st annual convention of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, held at Elgin on the 12th, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart was re-elected president.

—John La Farge, foremost of American mural and stained glass artists, died at a hospital in Providence, on the 14th, at the age of 75 years. He had long had his home in Newport.

—Caleb Powers (p. 902) of Kentucky, several times tried for the murder of Gov. Goebel and thrice convicted, was elected to Congress from Kentucky as a Republican on the 8th.

—The new Republic of Portugal (pp. 1045, 1049) was formally recognized by Great Britain, France, Spain and Italy, on the 9th, and by the United States, Germany, Russia, Sweden and Norway on the 11th.

—Lafayette Young, editor of the Des Moines Capital, was appointed on the 12th by Gov. Carroll of Iowa to the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Senator Dolliver (pp. 989, 1000, 1010).

—A proposition to submit the question of women's suffrage to popular vote in Arizona (p. 1073) was defeated in the Constitutional convention by 28 to 15 on the 11th. The specific proposal was to instruct the first State legislature at its first session to submit the question.

—The week's centennial celebration of Theodore Parker's birth and semi-centennial memorial of his death (p. 1073) began at Chicago on the 13th in various religious assemblies, including The Sunday Evening Club, where the Rev. Charles F. Carter of Hartford spoke, preceded by Jenkins Lloyd Jones. Edwin D. Mead of Boston spoke at Abraham Lincoln Center on "The Influence of Theodore Parker."

—Rioting in Mexico directed against citizens from the United States has been repeatedly reported since the 9th. The demonstrations were incited by the lynching of a supposed Mexican, Antonio Rodriguez, at Rock Springs, Texas, on the 3d. Rodriguez had confessed to the murder of a Mrs. Henderson, and was burned at the stake by a mob. It is claimed in Texas that Rodriguez was born in New Mexico, and was therefore not a citizen of Mexico; and that the race question did not enter into the lynching, a number of Mexicans being in the lynching mob.

**PRESS OPINIONS****The Elections.**

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Ind.), Nov. 10.—Had New York alone gone Democratic, we might say the election of Tuesday squelched Roosevelt, but pretty nearly everything went Democratic. It's Taft who's repudiated. Roosevelt is still on the job and will be called to save the party in 1912. It wasn't a Democratic victory. That party slipped in while Republicans were squabbling. Missouri went Republican because insurgency was smothered. St. Louis saved the State to that party. But Democrats blame the brewers and reprisals are hinted. Reed has wiped up the earth with Francis for the Senatorship, which shows that a bolter can't come back and pluck the choicest party plum. Missouri is wet by a tremendous vote.

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**Unemployment.**

The (Middleton, England) Guardian (radical Liberal), Oct. 1.—Bravo Joseph Fels! Into the midst of the Paris "World's Congress on Unemployment," the other day, he hurled a disconcerting bombshell of common-sense that set some of them thinking. They had spent all the time in interminable discussion on statistics—how to ascertain the number of people out of work,—and the Germans, having muddled their own heads with figures, proceeded to do the same for the delegates from all parts of the world. . . . Only once was the Anglo-Saxon tongue heard, and that was when Joseph Fels mounted the platform. He thundered out: "Mr. President, I protest against this waste of time. You cannot cure unemployment by statistics. What we want is to discuss the cause of unemployment. How can you remedy a disease until you know what the cause of it is? There is only one remedy. I am not ashamed here upon this platform to raise a voice in defense of the teaching of that great man, Henry George!" And then the fat was in the fire. . . . This contempt for statistics seemed to the Germans almost a piece of profanity, and when Mr. Fels pressed the matter to a division, demanding that we should cease to waste time in discussing statistics, a solid phalanx of Austrian and German hands went up, and the motion was lost by a large majority. This is not to be wondered at. We owe to the Germans and Austrians the inextricable muddle into which the great question as to how to earn a living (Political Economy) has been plunged in this country. . . . If we are to seek out the reason why these men will do anything but come to the real point, as suggested by Joseph Fels, we shall find it in the fact that they belong to the House of Have, and as their interests do not lie in the direction of a too close inquiry into the cause of unemployment, they are likely to go in any way but the right one. . . . The cause of unemployment is quite apparent to those whose interests do not lie in maintaining present conditions or are not befogged with the word-spinning and phrase-mongering of the professors. It is simply the denial of access to natural opportunities. If the people of this country determined that

the land should be put to its best use, there would not be an involuntarily idle man to be found. That is not saying that everybody would betake themselves to agricultural and mining pursuits; but sufficient would do so to keep the men of all other trades and callings fully employed.

**RELATED THINGS****CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT****A GRACE.**

Before we taste of food and drink,  
A moment let us pause to think  
How all the time in every land,  
With active brain and busy hand,  
Men toil, that we may eat.

Their number we may never know,  
Nor can we pay the debt we owe,  
With money. Only service given,  
According to the law of Heaven,  
Will render us complete.

Now may we eat, that so we be  
For service strengthened, and may see  
Assurance of that coming day  
When none shall want, when each shall say:  
"To serve, indeed, is meat."

G. T.

\* \* \*

**IMPRESSIONS OF THE GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE.**

Caroline L. Hunt in La Follette's for November 12.

There are certain words and phrases which fall readily from our lips as we speak about the conditions of factory labor. We talk of "speeding up," and its effect upon the workers; of "division of labor," and the consequent "monotony" and the loss of the "joy of labor." I have used all these expressions myself many times and have felt that I realized the misery and the social waste which lay behind the words. But recently as I sat beside a young Russian Jewish girl at a breakfast given in Chicago by the Women's Trade Union League, as I looked at her white, drawn face and heard her describe her work, it seemed to me that all these expressions became linked in my mind with human experience more closely than they had ever been before.

When my neighbor arose she said nothing about "speeding up," but she said; "Four or five years ago when I was strong I could earn \$13 a week by working all the time, always so fast as a devil, like a machine." I am sure that whenever in the future I read those words, "speeding up," I shall see that white face and hear the broken English.

She said nothing about "division of labor," or "monotony." What she did say was this: "Now the work is divided in so small particles that a

pair of pants goes through fifty-one hands. The particles into which it is divided is so small that you could not write them out. One girl is sewing all the time on watch pockets, another on the large pockets, and so on,—on all those little particles. By working all the time now I can make only \$10 a week."

This girl had for two or three years worked sixteen hours a day. That was when she earned \$13 a week. It was before the ten-hour law was passed. Much of the work was done by electric light. "The girls they have all to wear glasses thereby and suffer most terrible with the headaches. Myself have spoilt my eyes, and now wear these glasses all the time." . . .

Two other impressions which have been very much strengthened are, first, that the spirit of co-operation among the workers, the disposition of the stronger ones to help the weaker — of the skilled operators, for example, to protect "those babes" as they called the little girls who do the basting—is one of the most hopeful conditions in our modern life; and, second, that the spirit of antagonism and hostility which is being engendered by the evident partiality of the police and their brutality is most dangerous. After I had been shoved by a policeman and told to move on simply because I was standing beside a photographer who was trying to take a picture of one of the factories, with its quota of policemen and detectives standing around the door, I found myself looking upon policemen as my natural enemies instead of as my protectors and guides, as I had always before thought of them.

\* \* \*

### JOSEPH FELS AS SEEN BY LINCOLN STEFFENS.

Reprinted from the American Magazine for October  
By the Courteous Permission of the Publishers.

Five minutes after meeting Joseph Fels you know him; in an hour you have the illusion that you have always known him; and then, next, you feel the certainty that you always will know him. And the reason for this is that he is all there all the time. There isn't much of him physically. He is just about five feet tall.

"This city will be bigger some day," said a St. Louis judge who was answering a speech by Fels. "You yourself are bigger than you were when you were born, aren't you?"

"Not much," said Fels.

But this tiny body hasn't anything to do with his being. Quick, nervous, eager, glad, his horse-power, so to speak, is that of Theodore Roosevelt. He flies at his work, like an insect; he is gay about it. "It's so easy," he says.

And he has humor and wit. His wit has been sharpened by the heckling he gets while campaign-

ing in England, but it is founded on humor, and his humor is founded on his success in making money; soap, too, but principally money; very much money.

"It is so easy," he laughs. "You get a monopoly. Then you get a lot of people to work for you, and you give them as little as you please of all they make. It's easy, as easy as stealing."



In his speech at the Chicago City Club (March 11, 1910) he said it was robbery. Addressing "the Armours" and other rich men he said:

"We can't get rich under present conditions without robbing somebody. I've done it; you are doing it now and I still am doing it. But I am proposing to spend the damnable money to wipe out the system by which I made it." And he invited all men to match him dollar for dollar in the fund he has established (to "the extent of his swag," as he put it) to "abolish poverty."

And he laughs; not maliciously, but with amusement; and some wonder.

"Isn't it strange?" he says. "They don't see that. They don't think it is robbery; they don't

believe I mean what I say. And yet, the fact that I have money gives me a certain authority, and so my statement has the sensation of news. The truth I utter is old, but it's news because a rich man says it."

And poking you in the ribs, he puts you in the crowd and laughs at you. For he knows that you also think a little more of what he says because he is a rich man. He can see it.

And that's the point about Fels. He sees. He has imagination: he sees the machinery of life as vividly as a mathematician sees a geometric figure, or an astronomer a constellation. Most men see stars. "Or bread," said Fels, helping out the expression, "or soap." Fels sees the economics of soap-making, bread-making and human exploitation.

"Most Jews do," he says. "That's why we succeed so well in business. We see it as a system, as a diagram. And that's why we hate so to work for wages. We can see that that's no way to make money. That is the way to make soap all right, and bread. But the way to make money is to get hold of land or a franchise; water, gas, transportation; or, a food monopoly; any privilege that men must have the use of, and then—then hold 'em up to get the use of it. And most men don't see it; they won't see it; they won't see it when you tell them. Well, we see it, we Jews, and—some others."

It's because Fels' friends see what Fels sees that they know him so well. And they know him so quickly, because with his quick, sharp, explosive sentences he has learned to present his point of view, his philosophy, his vivid picture of the world completely and instantly. Also his feelings about it all.

For Fels cares. He is deeply concerned about the facts he laughs at.

"I didn't use to be," he said once. "I've been a Single Taxer ever since I read George's books. I've seen the cat for years. But I didn't do much till I was converted. And, strange to say, I was converted by a Socialist. Single Taxers and Socialists don't agree; too often they fight. But it was Keir Hardie who converted me to the Single Tax or, as I prefer to call it, Christianity. I came home on a ship with him once and I noticed that he never thought of himself. We were together all the time, all those long days at sea, and we talked about England, America, politics, business—everything; and I talked and I thought of myself. But Hardie didn't talk of himself, and I could see that he never thought of Keir Hardie. He was for men."

Fels paused, recalling those days evidently. Then he resumed:

"Well, that did for me. I saw that I was nothing, and that I was doing nothing, compared with a man like that. He saw and I saw, but he worked. He did things, and I saw that that made

him a man, a happy man and a servant of mankind. So I decided to go to work, forget myself, and get things done. And," he laughed again, "that's easy too. Not so easy as making money; giving it away is harder than getting it. But by careful management I believe it can be given back without doing much harm."

And that is where Joseph Fels may achieve his distinction among rich men. He may prove to be the most successful of the givers of "tainted money." It's a business. Rockefeller has found that out; and Carnegie—they all have discovered that it is harder to redistribute than to collect money. And most of them really fail at it. Naturally. They don't know how they take money. They think they make it. Fels knows that he doesn't make it, that it is made for him. He gets it, and he knows how he gets it, and he sees that the system which makes the rich rich makes the poor poor. Seeing that, therefore, he does not attempt to alleviate the misery he helps to cause. He gives not a penny for relief, either of individuals or classes. He poured out thousands in London to put the unemployed on vacant lands held for the rise, but his mind was not on the destitute; it was on the land. He saw no use in feeding empty stomachs; he was trying to fill the vacant heads of the poor and the overcrowded heads of the rich with the sight of what men could do for themselves if they could but get access to wasted land; land that was owned but not used. And he succeeded in part.

The land is an issue in English politics now, and Fels financed the agitation which made the land tax in the Budget the question of the day. Which is what he is up to in all countries. He is giving in England \$25,000 a year; in Denmark, \$5,000; in Canada, \$5,000, and so on—altogether \$100,000 a year. And he is offering to give \$25,000 (or more) a year for five years (or longer) in the United States on condition that Americans who see the "land cat" will match him dollar for dollar. The money is to go into a fund which is to be spent to finance movements which seem to be making most directly toward the cure of the causes of poverty.

"I want to make me impossible," he says. "I want to spend my fortune to make such fortunes as mine impossible. And that's a serious, worthy, happy occupation for a man of executive ability."

Once when Fels had been stating his proposition at length a listener who was impressed by the genial humor, the profound kindness and the serene wisdom of this little Jew turned to him quietly and said:

"Fels, the Jews call themselves the Chosen People; the world has acknowledged the title, and I, for example, am willing now, in your presence, to admit that they are indeed the chosen. But what are they chosen for?"

"The Jews?" said Fels, with a careless wave of

his arm. "The Jews were chosen to introduce Christianity."

## BOOKS

### OUR RAILWAY LANDLORDS.

**History of the Great American Fortunes.** By Gustavus Myers. Volumes II and III. Great Fortunes from Railroads. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, \$1.50 per volume.

Vanderbilt, Gould, Morgan and Hill are the heroes of Mr. Myers' second and third volumes, with brief accounts of Blair, Garrett, Elkins and the famous "Pacific Quartet." They were all alike. They all stole. Their loot was land. And that land was in large part our public domain. Their methods varied little. They all involved corrupt assemblies and courts and sagacious effrontery. Sage was perhaps the most painstaking and taciturn robber, a contrast to Hill, the magnanimous and talkative highwayman. That, however, is a difference of temperament. Their ideals were alike. The eyes of all were on the same goal—the ownership of the most possible land.

Under the guise of railroad rights of way and with the aid of bought-up legislatures and courts and Congress, enormous blocks of land, timber, mineral, agricultural—the richest treasures of our country were gotten and are still held. In his youth Senator Elkins and a few friends, under the infamous Maxwell grant, gained permanent possession in New Mexico of over 1,700,000 acres, 2,680 square miles of land! And Hill's Northern Pacific railroad "was endowed with a land grant forty miles wide running across the continent west of the Missouri River," including vast "stretches of the very richest timber lands." "Forty miles!" Some of us guileless travelers supposed the railroad's land to be limited by the fences along each side of the track.

If half the book is half true—and the author refers to his sources—many of our "foremost citizens" should be nameless—merely numbered. And our lost property—our land? Returned, of course. What else would common sense do with it? Conservation of the barn is sensible. So is resumption of the horse.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

—**The Gold Brick.** By Brand Whitlock. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 1910. Price, \$1.20 net.

—**The Conflict of Colour.** By B. L. Putnam Weale. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Among Friends.** By Samuel McChord Crothers. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1910. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**My Brother's Keeper.** By Charles Tenney Jackson. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 1910. Price, \$1.50, postpaid.

+ + +

The teacher was telling the story of Red Riding Hood. She had described the woods and the wild animals that live there. "Suddenly," she said, "Red

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Riding Hood heard a loud noise. She turned around, and what do you suppose she saw standing there, looking at her and showing all its sharp, strong white teeth?" "Teddy Roosevelt!" cried one of the boys.—Judge.

\* \* \*

Seaside Visitor (admiring a seagull): "How nice and clean he looks."

Boatman: "Ah, ma'am, if you spent as much time

in the water as he does, you'd look clean, too."—Punch (London).

\* \* \*

"I haven't a word to retract," says Mr. Roosevelt. Not at a dollar a word, anyhow.—Washington Herald.

\* \* \*

At a large political meeting where Gladstone was to speak, the hall was packed and the air was stifling. For some reason, says W. C. Brownell, who

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