

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR

ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
LINCOLN STEFFENS, Connecticut
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HAWK, New York
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New York
HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
W. G. ECCLESSTON, Oregon
LEWIS H. BERRNS, England
J. W. S. GARNIE, England
JOSEPH FEES, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
GEORGE POWSON, New Zealand

Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1911.

No. 711

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Newton D. Baker's Election to Tom L. Johnson's Chair.

Personally, politically and in all other ways, Newton D. Baker, just elected Mayor of Cleveland by the stupendous majority of 18,000, is a man after Tom L. Johnson's own heart. For nearly ten years he was Mayor Johnson's beloved friend and able and trusted legal adviser and political coadjutor; and it is no depreciation of Mr. Baker's individuality and independence to say of him that his election seems like Tom L. Johnson come again. For Mr. Baker holds in his own right to the same civic aspirations and the same economic and municipal policies that Tom L. Johnson held, and accords them the same full measure of independent personal devotion that Johnson gave. With Baker's accession to the Mayor's chair in Cleveland, that city will resume its pilgrimage toward the goal of Johnson's ambition of "a city set upon a hill."

✦ ✦

The Ohio Constitutional Convention.

In their first fight with the electric-power monopolies of Ohio and their allied interests, the Progressives have achieved a great victory. With a majority of two-thirds of the Constitutional convention committed to the Initiative and Referendum, Allen Ripley Foote's Ohio State Board of Commerce (the civic agency in Ohio for the electric-power interests, and

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Newton D. Baker's Election to Tom L. Johnson's Chair	1161
The Ohio Constitutional Convention.....	1161
The Aldrich Monetary Plan.....	1162
Hearst for President.....	1162
The Forthcoming Los Angeles Election.....	1163
Governor Garvin's Birthday (with portrait).....	1163

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Coming Election in Ontario (A. C. Thompson).....	1166
--	------

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Elections of Last Week (portrait).....	1166
Senator Aldrich's "Democratized" Banking Scheme.....	1169
Ontario Politics	1170
Balfour's Resignation of Leadership.....	1170
Adult Suffrage in Great Britain.....	1170
Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.....	1170
The Singletax in South Africa.....	1170
The Revolution in China.....	1171
Singletax Conference at Chicago.....	1171
News Notes	1172
Press Opinions	1173

RELATED THINGS:

Our Heroes (Anne W. Rust).....	1173
The United Labor Party (Louis F. Post).....	1173

BOOKS:

An Inside View.....	1179
Periodicals	1179

through which the opposition was managed), has been deeply snowed under; and in Cleveland the election of Newton D. Baker by the tremendous majority of 18,000, with a heavy majority in the Council to support his policies, is a sign that the end of electric-power monopoly in Cleveland has begun. In Cleveland it is difficult to see how this monopoly can save itself; but the Constitutional Convention, to be followed by a referendum vote on the Constitution it prepares, will offer a double opportunity for the kind of political work that Allen Ripley Foote enjoys and in which, exceptionally proficient, he is not as a rule so unsuccessful as in the Ohio election last week. Against this kind of work, the members of the Constitutional Convention who genuinely believe in the Initiative and Referendum must be on their guard from first to last. There may be members committed to the Initiative and Referendum who do not care for these bulwarks of representative government, and if there are the unobtrusive Mr. Foote will find them out. Those, therefore, who do believe in these reforms, pledge or no pledge, must keep a neighborly but vigilant eye upon the others if others there be.

+

It is announced by the Cincinnati Enquirer that Herbert S. Bigelow, who made a vigorous and highly successful campaign for delegate from Hamilton county, will be a candidate for president of the convention. His election is highly to be desired. In the Initiative and Referendum movement he has been a State leader, if not *the* State leader, through more than one campaign. His choice for president of the convention would therefore be at the outset a guarantee to believers in the Initiative and Referendum throughout Ohio and the country, that at least a majority of the convention believe in their pledges and are standing by them. Happily, too, Mr. Bigelow has the natural aptitudes, the training in the school of experience, and the knowledge of men and affairs in Ohio for precisely such public service as will be most needed in that convention.

+ +

The Aldrich Monetary Plan.

Secretary MacVeagh's Chicago speech in support of the Aldrich "Reserve Association" is not as disquieting as it might be if "gold brick" men were still abroad in the land. They might find the opportunity propitious for selling a job lot cheap to the Treasury. This Association is democratic, quoth the Secretary; and it is not a central bank, though it may do pretty much every-

thing that banks wish to do and more than they ought to. Why is it not a central bank? Because, so the Secretary explained, it does not compete with other banks and it makes no profits. Of course it doesn't compete with other banks, it swallows them; and as to making profits, if this Association isn't to make profits then no bank makes profits.

+

To be sure, the government is to get the surplus, should there be any after the Association and its stockholders are fairly well gorged; but in the gorging process the stockholders get a minimum of 4 per cent on their stock if the second half of their stock subscriptions is called in, and of 8 per cent if not. That it won't be called in is not an unfair inference. The concern could hardly be managed so badly as ever to need more than half the subscribed capital, for its opportunities for profit rather than loss would be phenomenal. The government *must* deposit all its funds in this Association without interest, and the Association may issue a legal tender currency to the extent of \$900,000,000 without the slightest expense, without even loss of interest on two-thirds of it.

+

Waiving all other questions for the present—there are several important ones—we should like somebody to explain, what nobody seems to have explained yet, why an organization "of bankers and for bankers," as Senator Aldrich called this Association in his Chicago speech—perhaps inadvertently—should have so great a privilege granted it by Congress as the one it seeks with reference to government funds. *All the receipts of the United States government for fifty years to come, must be deposited with this Association. Why?*

+ +

Hearst for President.

William Randolph Hearst has now declared himself in the field for Democratic candidate for President. "*Mr. Hearst, during the recent campaign, has again demonstrated his fitness for the leadership of the Democracy of the United States.*" This quotation is from Hearst's Chicago Examiner of November 12. It appeared in a full page broadside, accompanied with declarations by ten Chicago Democrats of the leadership class, who refer (and The Examiner prints this part of what they say in black type for special emphasis) to Mr. Hearst in such manner as to enable his manager, Andrew Lawrence, to feature them as if they were Hearst's Presidential supporters. This is Mr. Lawrence's first unmasked move for "the

delegation from Illinois," which has long been a standing price for all Hearst favors in this State.

+ +

The Forthcoming Los Angeles Election.

Job Harriman's nomination for Mayor of Los Angeles at the direct primaries last month should gratify every sympathetic reader of *The Public*.* We speak of him alone because he is at the head of his ticket; but we allude also to his associate nominees, for no one could in such circumstances wish for the election of a Council hostile to the Mayor. That Mr. Harriman and his associates may be elected in December we earnestly hope. Not that we stand for Socialism in its class-conscious politics or all its doctrinaire economics. We do not. But we believe that the time is past in this country for opposing Socialists merely because they are Socialists. Practical democratic policies are now so far upon us that tolerance of differences of opinion on particular points—however important those points may be in the abstract, if they are not yet "the question before the house" in our politics—should be the order of the day among those of us who are struggling for democracy. To be sure this is no reason for voting the Socialist ticket where the party is still a political toy. That is the special function of thorough-going Socialists, if it is anybody's. But where Socialist candidates are factors in an election, their opponents must be exceedingly attractive in point of democratic pioneering to deter any fundamental democrat from voting for the Socialists.

+

No democrat not a Socialist wants to join the Socialist party; it is too narrowly class-partisan for that—too creed-bound in its terms of membership, too absurdly cock-sure and arrogant not to say domineering in spirit, and too specific in the program it makes for future generations. On the other hand, the Socialist party doesn't want any members who are not thorough-going, creed-bound Socialists. But party membership should not govern in the matter of votes. With genuine democrats the promotion of their cause is all-controlling. What if they do not participate in the councils of a victory they help to win? Only the few can do that under any circumstances, and the ballot is participation enough if there be effective machinery for using it. Not the party but the cause—that is the thing. And how better can genuine democrats promote their cause in Los Angeles at the approaching election than by voting for Job Harriman? Surely not by voting

for Mayor Alexander. He is a "goo-goo," not a democrat; and while some democrats are "goo-goos," and some other "goo-goos" become democrats, the natural characteristics of the "goo-goo" are those of the tory, who would superimpose "good government" from above instead of developing it from within. And if it be urged against Harriman that he stands for "class" in government, shall it be overlooked that Mayor Alexander does also? And that Mayor Alexander's "class" loyalty is to a dominant and more or less parasitical "class," whereas Mr. Harriman's is to the "class" that pays its own way in the world with its own work? Say "interests" instead of "classes," and see where you come out in a comparison of those two candidates.

+

We have had some experience in this country now with Socialist Mayors, and there doesn't seem to be much for them to be ashamed of. The blush of shame should be on the other face. Since Tom L. Johnson's administrations in Cleveland there has been no better-governed city than Milwaukee under Mayor Seidel, simply as matter of good government; and the administration of J. Stitt Wilson as Mayor of Berkeley, California, though this is a smaller city, gives promise of equally gratifying results in administration and democracy. Harriman is a Socialist of similar type, a citizen of similar qualities, from whom as much may be expected if he becomes Mayor of Los Angeles. There is no reason why "good government" men who mean good government for all, Singletax men who want land values taxation as soon as possible, and all other genuine democrats who have the conviction and the courage of their democracy, should not vote for Job Harriman. Reasons why they should are abundant.

+ + +

GOVERNOR GARVIN'S BIRTHDAY.

This is to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the forty-fifth and forty-sixth Governor of the State of Rhode Island—not because he was twice Governor of Rhode Island, nor merely because he is seventy years old, but because he has for thirty of those seventy years devoted his thought and energies to the service of his fellow men.

+

Lucius Fayette Clarke Garvin was born in Tennessee, at Knoxville, on the 13th of November, 1841. Except by accident of birth, however, he was not a Southerner but a New Englander,

*See current volume of *The Public*, pages 493, 899.

his mother having been born in Massachusetts and his father in Vermont. His father was a professor in the East Tennessee University.

After his father's death, Dr. Garvin got his earlier education at a Friends' school in Greensboro, North Carolina, his collegiate education at Amherst College and his medical at Harvard. During his college course he taught school, and upon his graduation in 1862 he enlisted and served two years in the Civil war as a private in the 51st Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. In 1867 he received his medical degree, after one year's service as an interne in the Boston City Hospital. Thereupon he settled down as a family physician at Lonsdale, R. I., where he has ever since lived and practiced his profession.

+

Public service as a citizen, no less than private service as a physician, has marked Dr. Garvin's career. Going to the lower house of the Rhode Island legislature in 1883, he has served thirteen terms in that House besides three as State Senator. Four times, also, he was a candidate for Congress and four for Governor. As a Democrat in a strongly Republican State, his defeats for Congress and twice for Governor were not remarkable, but his election for Governor twice is for the same reason a noteworthy fact.

As a Democrat, Governor Garvin belongs to the variety of democrat which we spell with a little *d*. Before he became a Democrat with a big *D*, he had been a Republican; and he was a Republican in his younger days for the same reason that he has been a Democrat in his later life—because he was all the time a democrat with a little *d*—a democratic Republican then as he is a democratic Democrat now.

It was this fact in general that took him into politics at all, and the further fact in particular that his fundamental democracy was vitalized and put into working order by reading Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He read "Progress and Poverty" thirty years ago, and his conversion to its doctrines was immediate and practical. "Deftly and ingeniously for thirty years," said the Providence Journal of July 30, 1911, "he has argued in speech and printer's ink, for the adoption of the single standard of taxation, winning admiration if not always converts by the skill with which he has utilized every variety of current happening, as an entering wedge to expound the doctrine—and, parenthetically, be it observed, there have been converts." This was said descriptively in connection with the report of a speech by Governor Garvin wherein he had predicted, jocularly

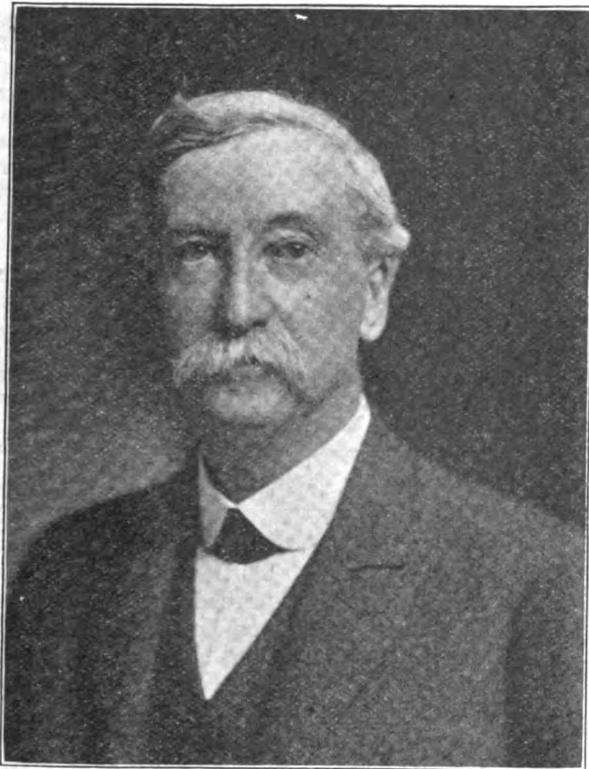
as to the time but seriously as to the fact, that in sixty-six years "nobody will work more than thirty hours a week" and "trolley rides and telephone service and electric lights and all other public utilities will be free."

+

The Providence Journal proceeds in this wise with its comment:

There is nothing strictly new or original in the prediction of free utilities as a result of the Single-tax, to be sure. Dr. Garvin is of the Tom Johnson school of Singletaxers, who believe that free trolley fares and all the other things would come inevitably when land alone is taxed, just as modern office buildings provide elevator service and other conveniences as a matter of course. "No city taxing its land alone could afford to do otherwise," Governor Garvin declares, "any more than the owner of an office building can afford to do without the elevator. The conveniences are necessary, and at the same time they increase the rental, just as they will increase taxable values. The city which doesn't provide them will be hopelessly out of pocket." Dr. Garvin's contribution to the discussion is the fixing of a time when all this will be accomplished. Nor is he doubtful of his own prediction because for 30 years the Henry George theories have had a chance to make themselves felt without visible result hereabouts. "The beginning is always slow," he said to the interviewer. "But once tried in this country, as they have been in other countries, they will sweep like wildfire. If one State adopts them, other States will have to in self-defense. If one town in Rhode Island should adopt them, other towns and cities will quickly fall in line. Laws are like inventions in some respects, but they differ in one way. Invent something of real benefit, as the Wrights did with the aeroplane, and you need to interest only one person with capital, and you can put the invention into use. Advocate a law which will benefit society, and you must convince not one man, but many men, most of whom are unwilling to be convinced. So the beginning of such a reform must inevitably be slow. But once it is accomplished, society does not move backward." Nor does Dr. Garvin see any reason to be discouraged because people call him a crank when he looks back over the record of reform movements with which he has been associated since he first took part in political discussions in Rhode Island in 1872. Almost continuously since that time he has been agitating reforms. His agitations led him to the Governor's chair, but they did not stop when he left it. That, as has been observed, was a mere incident to him. The important thing is the added favor it may have brought the reforms for which he stood. "Some of them had to be proposed year after year," he said to the interviewer, "but eventually they made their impression. Thirty years ago we were behind many of the other States, but since that time we have progressed more rapidly than most, till now we are well in the first rank. I hope we may be among the first in adopting the principle of local option in taxation and the Single-tax." Equal suffrage rights furnished the issue with which he first allied himself in Rhode Island affairs, the issue that first sent him to the General Assem-

bly in 1883. Not till five years later was the Constitution amended with a partial concession to the ideas for which he stood. But meanwhile he had



Governor Garvin's two terms in the Governor's chair were mere incidents. He has been singularly devoid of ambition for public office, and has sought it not as an end but as a means to an end which has seemed so much higher to him—the popularization of the reform that bears the name of Henry George. In this work he has been tireless and judicious.

+

His first practical victory was in securing, while State Senator, the passage of a law requiring the assessment of land values and improvement values separately. That was in the late eighties or early nineties, when only Massachusetts and California did it, and some ten years before New York City was allowed to do it. It was a very small thing, to be sure, Singletaxically speaking,—small in itself, though necessary; and Governor Garvin's associates in the legislature at that time readily gave him his way in a spirit of legislative good fellowship. But when the next legislature sat, the possibilities of that reform as an entering wedge had been sensed and the Garvin law was repealed in spite of all he could do.

This taught him a lesson, however, which has served him throughout his subsequent work, and ought to be a lesson to us all. You can't "pussyfoot" through any such reform as the Singletax. You've got to have the people behind you, with an understanding of what you are doing and what you mean by it. If you lack that support, the Interests and their political allies will frustrate your purposes as they did Senator Garvin's in Rhode Island twenty years ago. When it comes to the game of "pussyfoot," genuine reformers have no show at all against genuine grafters.

That is the reason why the Initiative is so highly important for Singletax purposes, or for any other good reform. Not only does it make success possible and secure, as soon as the people understand the reform and want it, but meanwhile it educates them to an understanding of it. One vigorous Initiative campaign for the Singletax, such for instance as the laws of Oregon permit, would be worth, even if it ended in defeat, a whole marketful of legislative advances, without popular support or understanding.

+

Governor Garvin's instructive experience in this respect in the Rhode Island Senate has served him well in his subsequent Singletax work, both the direct and the indirect. He has taken the people into his confidence and they have begun to listen.

Even in his defeat for election for

taken up other issues, side issues, to be sure, but still stoutly advocated. In 1884 he urged the ten-hour law, which was passed the following year. In 1886 he introduced the measure for a Bureau of Labor Statistics, which was adopted, and although he admits that the office has been more political than he had in view, the principle he holds to be right. In 1891 came the weekly payment bill, in 1893 the plurality election measure he had urged year after year, in 1894 the factory inspection law, while other measures concerning hours of labor have been among his subjects for argument. The Constitutional Initiative proposal was introduced by him in 1899 and has been offered every year since then, and for the last three years he has seen that a bill for local option in taxation was introduced in the Assembly at each session. Not all these measures were introduced by him, but they and numerous others have been numbered among the dreams he has dreamed. And as surely as many of these have come true he looks forward to the reforms whose fulfillment within two-thirds of a century he predicts. "There is nothing impossible in these," he contends. "I estimate the land values of Rhode Island on the basis of census reports issued seven years ago as \$300,000,000. Since then they have increased, of course. We take 1 per cent, or \$3,000,000 of this sum now. Six per cent would still leave some land values to the landlords, and would provide at least a beginning for free utilities."

It is as the Providence Journal states, that

Governor, Garvin's vote proved the hold his open agitation had given him on the people. Although the Republican candidate for President carried Rhode Island that year by a plurality of 16,766, Governor Garvin lost it by only 856. This could hardly have been in recognition of peculiarly good service as Governor, for the Constitution of Rhode Island doesn't allow a Governor to perform any service. Governor Garvin was allowed to nominate men for appointive office, but the nominations were in every instance rejected by the State Senate, which filled all these places with men of its own selection. Except as Governor Garvin was in position to address the people from the altitude of the Governor's chair, the Governorship was no vantage ground. He was not allowed to do anything but appoint his own private secretary. It must have been his genuine democracy, therefore, and not his official service, that almost elected him Governor for the third time, as a Democrat, in a year when the Republican Presidential candidate carried the State overwhelmingly.

+

In celebration of Governor Garvin's seventieth birthday, we wish—and may we not feel that in this we are speaking for most of our readers? Indeed, may we not ask all for whom we do speak to honor Governor Garvin with a seventieth-year "letter-shower"—that in the remaining years of his life he may be as useful as he has been in the past, and that his remaining years may be long enough for him to see still more than he has yet seen of the fruits of his once lonesome agitations for the public good.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE COMING ELECTION IN ONTARIO.*

Toronto, Can., November 7.

The new leader for Ontario, though a platform speaker of note, has never before held any office in the Liberal party and has had no Parliamentary experience. But the party is thoroughly committed to the principal of home rule in taxation, and while the most sanguine Liberal does not at the present time expect to defeat the Whitney Government at this election, it is altogether probable that the Liberals will make large gains and will in the next House have a minority constituting a powerful Opposition. A. W. Roebuck, at one time one of our prominent Singletaxers here and for several years the editor of the Singletax paper, is a candidate in New Liskeard and is putting up a great fight with a fair chance of election. Thanks to the Southams of Ottawa, the two Conservative candidates of that city

*See Public of November 10, page 1143.

are pledged to support any measure of tax reform that may be introduced. The plank advocating home rule in taxation was passed at the Liberal convention without a dissenting voice and with much enthusiasm. As nearly every paper in the Province, both Liberal and Conservative, is an advocate of local option in taxation, this, coupled with the strong stand the Liberal party is making on the subject, gives us hope that the present Government if returned to power will not be able to resist the pressure of public opinion. It seems to me that no matter which party is elected, progress will be made along the line of exemption of improvements from taxation.

ALLAN C. THOMPSON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, November 14, 1911.

The Elections of Last Week.

In last week's issue of *The Public* we were able to give only a few indefinite reports of election results, the elections having come off on the 7th and most election news not having been received until after that issue had gone to press. We now give such returns as are of special interest with reference to the democratic movement in American politics. [See current volume, page 1146.]

+

For delegates to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio a Progressive sweep was made. In spite of the efforts of certain special interests to secure a Convention of unpledged delegates, it appears that 60 out of the 119 delegates are pledged in writing to the program of the Ohio Progressive League, which includes the Initiative and Referendum (so pledged as to prevent trifling compromises), and that 40 more are committed to it by newspaper interviews. From Cuyahoga (the Cleveland county) the following delegates were elected: T. S. Farrell (Rep.), W. C. Davio (Labor), E. W. Doty (Rep.), T. G. Fitzsimons (Dem.), Aaron Hahn (Ind.), D. E. Leslie (Dem.), John D. Fackler (Rep.), Robert Crosser (Dem.), Harry Thomas (Soc.), and S. S. Stilwell (Dem.) All these are pledged to the Progressive League's platform—the League of which Brand Whitlock is president. From Hamilton (the Cincinnati county), the following were elected: Herbert S. Bigelow (Ind.), Hiram D. Peck (Dem.), Henry Cordes (Dem.), George W. Harris (Dem.), John C. Hoffmann (Dem.), Stanley E. Bowdle (Dem.), Starbuck Smith (Rep.), W. P. Halenkamp (Ind.), and William Worthington (Rep.). All but the last, a respectable Conservative, are pledged to the Progressive League's

platform. James A. Garfield, reported to have refused the pledge, was defeated as a delegate from Lake County, notwithstanding his being a Progressive, the delegate elected having made the pledge. [See current volume, pages 1113, 1146.]



When the Convention meets on the 9th of January it will, according to precedent, be called to order by its oldest member, and in this instance the oldest member is Dennis Dwyer of Dayton, a Progressive, who is 80 years of age. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati will probably be elected president of the Convention, the Progressives being heavily in the majority and John D. Fackler and Robert Crosser of Cleveland, the other strongest possibilities, having announced that they will vote for Mr. Bigelow if he is a candidate.



In Cleveland, Newton D. Baker was elected Mayor by the phenomenal plurality of 17,815. Mr. Baker declared: "The overwhelming victory is a vindication of the ideals and ideas that Tom L. Johnson taught us, and I shall do my best to carry out those ideas." The new Vice-Mayor of Cleveland is C. W. Lapp, another of Mayor Johnson's trusted lieutenants, who held the same office during several terms of the Johnson regime. Mayor-elect Baker has named W. J. Springborn, Johnson's director of Public Service, to that office; and Harris R. Cooley (Johnson's director of Charities) to his old place, where he is to have his old secretary, J. B. Vining, as his associate. In Cincinnati, Henry T. Hunt, the Democratic and good government candidate, defeated the Republican candidate of the Cox "machine" by a plurality of 3,928. Brand Whitlock was re-elected Mayor of Toledo by a plurality of 3,040. [See current volume, pages 945, 953, 1146.]



Socialist candidates for Mayor were elected at Schenectady, N. Y., at Lima, Salem, Lorain, St. Mary's, Barberton, Cuyahoga Falls, Mount Vernon, Toronto, Fostoria, Mansfield and Martin's Ferry, Ohio; at Crookston, Minn.; at Newcastle, Pa., and at Manti, Wilka and Murray, Utah. Although the Socialist vote was heavy in Columbus, Ohio, and in Reading, Pa., the Socialist candidates were defeated. Besides electing several Mayors, the Socialists elected a majority of the Council in Schenectady, and members of City Councils in several other places; they very nearly elected the Mayor of Canton (where the vote was a tie between Socialist and Democrat and the Democrat won on the toss of a coin) and the Mayor of Conneaut, Ohio. They came in second (with the Democrat first and the Republican third) in the Mayoral contest in Sacramento, and largely increased their vote in many other places where they

lost, including the State of Mississippi. In St. Louis, at a special election to fill a vacancy in the City Council, the Socialist candidate ran 1,311 votes ahead of the Democrat and came within 3,379 of election—the vote being Republican 19,385, Socialist 16,006, and Democrat 14,695. [See current volume, page 1146.]



In Massachusetts Governor Foss was re-elected by a plurality of 7,734. The legislature will stand as follows: Senate, Republicans 27, Democrats 19; House, Republicans 148, Democrats 92, Socialist 1, Independent 1. [See current volume, pages 1070, 1146.]



The Grand Junction charter plan, submitted by the Massachusetts legislature to the people of Cambridge (the seat of Harvard University), was defeated by 6,070 to 5,272, an adverse majority of 798. The influences that defeated it were the Democratic "machine" in combination with "Standpat" Republicans. Its chief strength turned out to be in the residential wards, supposed to be extremely conservative. Professor Lewis J. Johnson, who has led this movement in Cambridge from the beginning, announces: "The movement will not be abandoned; victory is merely a matter of more civic education." Prof. John R. Nichols, an associate of Prof. Johnson in the movement, declares: "The 'machines' of both parties fought for their lives, but the result is not at all discouraging; this is only the beginning." [See current volume, page 537.]



The defeat of the Grand Junction plan in Cambridge gives added interest to the second election under the plan in Grand Junction itself. All of the old Commissioners were re-elected with one exception. James H. Rankin is the new man for Highway Commissioner. He is a business man, reputed to be strong in his citizenship qualities and is known as a Singletax man. Following is a tabulation of the voting:

	1st Choice.	2d Choice.	3d Choice.	Totals.	Result.
Finance:					
Olson	307	912	1,219	Elected
Vorbeck	1,405	227	1,632	
Wentworth	1,123	114	1,237	
Highways:					
Blackstone	1,174	119	52	1,345	Elected
Goodman	330	558	278	1,166	
Rankin	1,011	326	81	1,418	
Scovill	255	513	488	1,256	
Health:					
Crawford	535	265	64	864	Elected
Holmburg	975	241	70	1,286	
Thompson	631	169	42	842	
Weigmann	353	653	229	1,235	
Woods	221	297	549	1,067	

This method serves the purpose of a direct primary and of a majority choice all in one elec-

tion. The persons elected were Progressives, and the Reactionaries of Grand Junction are reported to be bitter against the method. Three referendums in favor of restoring saloons were defeated by 1,542 to 1,180, 1,592 to 1,180, and 1,557 to 1,142 respectively. In Pueblo, which has adopted the Grand Junction plan, the "machine" was defeated and a Progressive council elected. [See vol. xii, p. 1092; current volume, page 1003.]

+

Advices from Seattle are to the effect that at the recent municipal election in Everett, Washington, a Singletax amendment to the charter was adopted.

+

The Philadelphia election for Mayor was carried by Rudolph Blankenburg, the Keystone party's candidate, over the candidate of the Republican "machine," by a plurality of 4,364. [See current volume, pages 1091, 1146.]

+

The Republican candidate for Governor of Maryland, Phillips Lee Goldsborough, was elected over Arthur Pue Gorman, Democrat; and the Constitutional amendment disfranchising Negroes was defeated. [See current volume, page 957.]

+

Kentucky was recovered by the Democrats—both Governor and legislature. The election of Congressman Ollie James as United States Senator is reported as thereby assured.

+

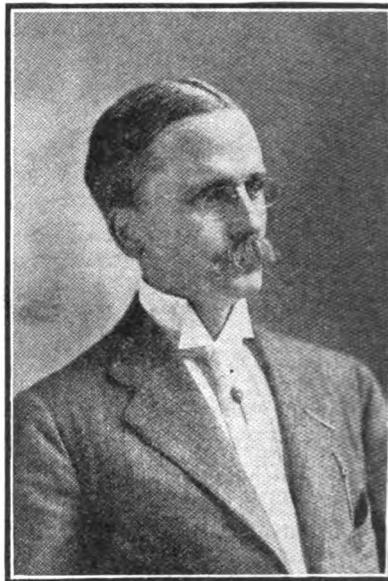
In New Mexico, the first State election was carried by the Democrats, and the "blue ballot," for a Constitutional amendment making amendments easier, was adopted by a heavy majority. [See current volume, page 875.]

+

Newspaper dispatches have pointed to the defeat of Democratic candidates in New Jersey as showing that Governor Wilson has lost ground in his home State. This inference is not necessarily a true one. The defeat of the Democrats may have been a rebuke to the Democratic "machine." One indication of this is the election of so pronounced a democratic Democrat and Wilson man as Charles O'Connor Hennessy to the legislature from Bergen County. Under the circumstances of his own personality and standing in New York and New Jersey, of the relations of Governor Wilson to national politics, and of misleading dispatches regarding the result in New Jersey, Mr. Hennessy's post-election address is of general interest and importance. In the course of this address he says:

Newspapers in New York and elsewhere, which

have been conspicuous in their leaning to Democratic politics of the reactionary or plutocratic kind, seem rejoiced over what appears to them to be the



Charles O'Connor Hennessy.

setback to Governor Wilson's policies and ambitions that is revealed by the general trend of the New Jersey vote. Honest and discriminating observers of the political game, however, will be unable to see either the facts or the implications that are relied upon in some quarters to discredit the rising tide of real Democracy. It is true that the Governor has lost the support of a Democratic majority in the Assembly, but every enlightened person knows that this is due chiefly to the fact that the reactionary "machine" organization in Essex County, controlled by ex-Senator Smith and his nephew, ex-State Chairman James R. Nugent, is responsible for having subtracted 12 names from the Democratic roll-call in the lower House besides defeating a Progressive Democratic Senator who sought re-election. They succeeded in nominating 12 gentlemen for the Assembly in Essex whose chief merit seemed to be their cheerful and unashamed subservency to a leadership which Governor Wilson had made odious in the eyes of the decent Democrats of the State. It will not be forgotten that Essex, the largest County in the State, was the only one which Gov. Wilson declined to enter this year in advocating the election of a Democratic legislature, a course which self-respect and political consistency compelled him to follow. The result was as might have been expected. The people of Essex, which handsomely endorsed the Governor last year and which, I believe, is a Progressive county, being compelled to make a choice between 12 anti-Wilson Democrats and 12 "machine" Republicans, took the latter. Had the Essex Democracy nominated 12 straight-out Progressive Democrats I believe they would have been elected, in which event the next House of Assembly would be made up of 35 Democrats and 25 Republicans instead of, as will now be the case, 23 Demo-

crats and 37 Republicans. That this surmise is not unreasonable may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Osborne, the defeated Essex County Democratic candidate for the Senate, who was endorsed by Gov. Wilson and known to have incurred the hostility of powerful elements in the Smith-Nugent organization, ran from 1,000 to 2,000 votes ahead of the "organization" Assembly ticket. The election of Davis, a Wilson Democratic Senator in Salem County, and of Barber in Warren County, reduce the Republican lead in the Senate from 3 majority to 1; and the election of a solid delegation of 12 Democrats from Hudson County, at least 9 of whom are out-and-out Wilson men, are other indications that the election returns, when rightly read, do not spell rebuke to the Governor or repudiation of his policies. Had Osborne been elected in Essex along with a Democratic Assembly delegation from that county, the legislature would have been Democratic in both branches. The responsibility for turning the legislature over to the Republicans is therefore squarely up to the Smith-Nugent "machine."



Senator Aldrich's "Democratized" Banking Scheme.

At the second Conference of the Western Economic Society, the first having been devoted to Reciprocity, the subject was "Currency and Banking Reform." Like the first, the second Conference was held at Chicago. There were three sessions, the third being a banquet at which the only speakers were Franklin McVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury; A. C. Bartlett of the National Citizens' League, and Nelson W. Aldrich, chairman of the National Monetary Commission, which proposes the Aldrich "National Reserve Association." Among the speakers at the other sessions were Professor Kemmerer of Cornell University, E. D. Hulbert of Chicago, and ex-Governor Folk of Missouri. [See current volume, pages 529, 535.]



The discussions oscillated about the Aldrich plan, the banquet addresses being devoted exclusively—probably by some accident of arrangement—to a defense of it. Secretary McVeagh approved the plan as "purely democratic" in monetary control and urged it as necessary to prevent "a self-organized monetary oligarchy." The plan is not open, he said, to the objections to a central bank, for, although the Association "will receive deposits and pay checks," "will issue currency," "will buy and sell gold" and "exchange," and "will lend money," it will not be "a bank in any sense in which a central bank is objected to," because "it will not be privately owned" and "will not be a competitor of the banks." Governor Folk had objected at an earlier session that instead of a National Reserve Association with stock owned by the banks and a board of directors controlled by them, there should be a Department of Finance with directors named by the President, one from

each of the proposed fifteen Reserve Districts. Senator Aldrich objected on the ground that "even so wise a President" as the present one could not be trusted to control so great and delicate an institution. He made no response to Governor Folk's point that "if the President can be trusted to appoint the judges of the Supreme Court" he can "be trusted to appoint a supreme court of finance," and that though he were to appoint "men recommended by the banks and thus his appointees would be the ones the banks would wish," yet "a director appointed by the banks direct would owe his allegiance to the banks," whereas one "appointed by the President would be a public servant." Neither did Senator Aldrich reply to Professor David Kinley's objection that the evils coming from "the confusion of our commercial and financial banking" are not obviated by the Aldrich plan. Among the other speakers at the sessions of the Conference, were Professor Sprague of Harvard, C. J. Frame, Senator Newlands, Professor Laughlin of the Chicago University, and Carl Vrooman. Mr. Vrooman described the Aldrich plan as one to give "complete control of the currency of the nation" to bankers, just at a time "when in response to the people's demands the government is perfecting its own control of railroads."



According to the Aldrich plan as revised to date of October, 1911, it is in its larger features as follows:

Congress to charter the National Reserve Association for 50 years, with 47 directors, all but three to be chosen by the banks, the three being government officials.

Any bank may hold a proportionate share (at the rate of 20 per cent of its own stock) of the stock of the Association, the same to be non-transferable.

Half of the stock so held must be paid for in cash (remainder subject to call), and 4 per cent dividends are allowed out of profits on the stock subscribed for. Five per cent under certain circumstances.

Surplus above dividends to go, one-half to the government and one-half to the Association, and after stockholders get 5 per cent dividends and the Association's surplus amounts to 20 per cent of "paid-in capital," all excess earnings go to the government.

Subscribing banks are formed into 15 District Associations, which supervise the banking affairs of their respective localities under the general supervision of the National Association.

The National Association may receive deposits only from its constituent banks and the government, and shall pay no interest on deposits.

The government must "deposit its cash balance" and all its receipts with the Association.

The Association may re-discount loans for its depositing banks and in some circumstances may discount direct obligations of the banks; may purchase acceptances and sell checks and bills of exchange, domestic and foreign; may invest in United States bonds and in one-year bonds of the United States, the

States, our dependencies and foreign governments; and may deal in gold coin or bullion, and make loans thereon and contract for loans thereof.

Reserves of 50 per cent of its demand liabilities must be kept by the Association in gold or other lawful money, the penalties for deficiency of reserve being a tax at the rate of 1½ per cent per annum for each 2½ per cent of deficiency.

Reports of the Association are to be made to the Comptroller of the currency and published.

Provisions are made for substituting Association currency for national bank currency and for adding to the amount thereof, the currency of the Association to be secured, to the extent of one-third its volume, by gold or other lawful money; of the other two-thirds, by bankable commercial paper.

For a currency volume exceeding \$900,000,000 the excess must be secured by 100 per cent of lawful money under pain of a tax at the rate of 1½ per cent per annum up to \$300,000,000 excess and a 5 per cent tax on any excess above \$1,200,000,000. This currency is to "be received at par in payment" of all public obligations, except gold obligations. Currency must be sent by the Association to any depositing banks "against its credit balance."

The Association may purchase from the banks "the 2 per cent bonds bearing the circulation privilege" and may compel the government to redeem them with 50-year "3 per cent bonds without the circulation privilege," paying a tax of 1½ per cent annually "upon an amount equal to the par value of such bonds transferred to it by the subscribing banks." After five years the Secretary of the Treasury may permit the Association to sell not more than "\$50,000,000 of such bonds annually," the government reserving the right "at any time to pay any of such bonds before maturity or to purchase any of them at par." The stated object of this provision is "to enable the United States to provide permanently for a large part of the public debt at a net interest charge of 1½ per cent."

* *

Ontario Politics.

N. W. Rowell, the new Liberal leader in Ontario, issued the Liberal campaign platform on the 6th in which it is declared that

social justice demands the removal of existing inequalities in taxation, and we propose the amendment of the Assessment Act to permit municipalities to exempt improvements from taxation either in whole or in part. . . . We believe in and will support the public ownership and operation of public utilities, and especially the utilization of waterpowers throughout the Province for the generation and distribution of electricity; also the acquisition and operation of telephone lines.

[See current volume, page 1143.]

* *

Balfour's Resignation of Leadership.

A. J. Balfour was reported on the 8th as having resigned leadership of the Conservative (Tory) party of Great Britain, ostensibly on account of poor health but probably as much on account of a campaign within the party against his further

leadership on the ground that he opposes "tariff reform," the British name for what Americans call "Protection." The resignation was made in person at a meeting of the Conservative Association of the City of London, which represents the business section of old London, from which Mr. Balfour goes to Parliament through the votes of non-resident landowners and their dependents. Later dispatches name Andrew Bonar Law, a native of Canada, who has never held ministerial office, but who is a pronounced protectionist, as Balfour's successor in Tory leadership.

* *

Adult Suffrage in Great Britain.

Announcing the Ministerial measures to be proposed immediately after the Christmas holidays, Mr. Asquith stated in the House of Commons on the 7th that a bill for manhood suffrage and the abolition of plural voting will be introduced early by the Ministry. This is in accordance, as he explained, with the pledges of the party in power. Questioned by a deputation of members favoring woman suffrage, he said that the bill as agreed upon by the Ministry, and to be by them presented officially, would not include woman suffrage, but would nevertheless be drawn in such form that the House can make it include women as well as men if a majority so desire. Efforts to make it appear that the woman suffragists of Great Britain resent this action of the Ministry, demanding the "conciliation bill" which is limited in its provisions, are not yet reported as having shown signs of vitality. [See current volume, pages 440, 583.]

* *

Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.

The Parliamentary Bills Committee of the Glasgow Town Council have undertaken to produce evidence officially before the Lloyd-George committee of Parliament, in support of the land values taxation policy declared in September by the Glasgow Conference as reported in *The Public* of September 15th at page 956, and in *The Public* of October 6th at page 1030. The general municipal agitation for this policy which spread over Great Britain and culminated in the George budget of 1909 began in the Glasgow Council, but was stopped in 1906 by a judicial decision to the effect that the City could not spend public money to promote land values taxation. [See current volume, page 327.]

* *

The Singletax in South Africa.

London news dispatches of the 27th from Johannesburg, South Africa, tell of remarkable Labor victories in the municipal elections on the 26th. In Johannesburg the Labor party, with its non-Labor sympathizers, has a clear majority in the Municipal Council. According to these dis-

patches the chief plank in the Labor platform is the taxation of site values, which is what is known in the United States as the Singletax. [See current volume, page 1052.]

✦ ✦

The Revolution in China.

The cause of the revolution continually gains. Canton, the largest city in China, lying opposite Hongkong in the great harbor on the south coast, formally declared its adhesion to the revolution on the 9th. Nanking, besieged by the revolutionists, fell prey to the Manchu authorities within its walls on the 10th. Seventy thousand Chinese fled the city with such of their belongings as they could carry, while men, women and children were being slaughtered in the streets and in their homes as revolutionists—being regarded as such if they chanced to be wearing the least touch of white (the revolutionary color) or were without queues. The number of the massacred is put at a thousand. Thirteen warships of the Imperial fleet at Shanghai went over to the revolutionists on the 14th, and it was reported on the same day at Shanghai that 2,000 Imperialists at Hankow had joined the revolution, and that the remaining Imperial gunboats at that port had also gone over. [See current volume, page 1144.]

✦

A provisional national assembly is being arranged for, according to a dispatch of the 12th from Shanghai. Telegraphic messages had been sent to the fourteen provinces which are in adherence to the revolution (China consists of 18 provinces), to appoint delegates who shall establish such a provisional assembly at Shanghai. This is designed to supersede the National Assembly at Peking which largely consists of government nominees. The foreign consuls at Shanghai have received instructions to deal with the de facto government, without, however, giving it official recognition.

✦

Peking is in a funk. The little Emperor's entourage is believed to have made all arrangements for flight. Yuan Shi Kai has returned to Peking from conferences with the revolutionary leaders, in cheerful mood; but while he has been warmly welcomed by the dynastic leaders it is not supposed that he is planning greatly for Manchu welfare. In the meantime a financial problem has to be faced by the Imperial government. The foreign Boxer indemnity for November has not been paid, and the December indemnity will likewise be defaulted. Even should the government be able to recover the five provinces immediately surrounding the capital, the financial administration cannot be reorganized before defaults of other debts besides the indemnities occur, and it is feared that

intervention for the collection of pledged revenues cannot be averted.

✦

Of the outcome of the revolution and its program the London Nation of October 21 says:

That the Chinese may unite to expel or destroy the Manchus is probable enough. That they would welcome a general scheme of innovation and reconstruction is evident from the conduct of the provincial advisory assemblies, which have been compiling their cahiers of grievances and aspirations, as the French departments did before the Revolution. But must not the bold avowal of "Socialism" (which appears to mean the single tax on land) provoke a formidable resistance from all that is wealthy and influential in this mature and materialist community? The Cadets failed in Russia, not because they were Liberals, but because they mixed their constitutional reforms with a vast scheme of land reform.

✦ ✦

Singletax Conference at Chicago.

Joseph Fels and Mrs. Fels sailed from England on the 11th to attend the informal Singletax Conference at Chicago, which will be held on the 24th, 25th and 26th, at the LaSalle Hotel. This Conference is to be held at the time and in connection with the second annual meeting of the Joseph Fels Fund of America, the Commissioners for which announce that—

a general unofficial conference of Singletaxers of the United States will be held, which all advocates of Singletax principles (whether contributors to the Fund or not) are urged to attend, and in which they are invited to take an active part. With this Conference the Commission will advise, and endeavor to show what results it has already achieved, and what progress it may reasonably be expected to make in the near future. The freest opportunity for criticism and discussion will be afforded by the Commission.

Regarding their work, which they purpose submitting to the unofficial Conference, the Commissioners (Daniel Kiefer, Fred. C. Howe, Lincoln Steffens, George A. Briggs and Jackson H. Ralston) say:

The movement has varied in different parts of the country. In some places it has passed through preliminary propaganda stages and is now an issue in practical politics. In others it only awaits the removal of Constitutional barriers to make it a political issue. In still others it has not yet advanced beyond preliminary propaganda, and in others there is no agitation at all. The policy of the Commission is to devote its greatest effort to places where the Singletax is an issue and has a fighting chance for success. Next to this, it seems best to use our resources to obtain necessary auxiliary reforms, especially the Initiative and Referendum, wherever Singletaxers are working for them with the intention of making the earliest practical use of them to get the Singletax. . . . Whether or not the judgment of the Commission has always been the best, whether suggestions for improving its policy are practical, and

whether changes in the personnel of the Commission and of the Advisory Committee would be desirable, are matters which the Conference is expected to discuss and advise upon. Candid criticism should be forthcoming from all who are sincerely interested in the Singletax movement and feel that their criticism is needed.

The reported indications are of a large attendance and a renewed impetus. [See current volume, page 1148.]

NEWS NOTES

—The 31st annual convention of the American Federation of Labor met at Atlanta, Ga., on the 13th.

—The Trans-Mississippi Congress opened a four days' session at Kansas City, Mo., on the 14th. [See volume xii, p. 826.]

—Wm. Clark Russell, the famous writer of sea stories, died at London on the 8th, at the age of 67. He was born in New York City.

—The Italians continue to deny the charges of massacring non-combatant Arabs before Tripoli. [See current volume, page 1145.]

—The Illinois legislature adjourned sine die on the 14th—just in advance of a message from Governor Deneen proroguing the session until January 2. [See current volume, page 1055.]

—In preparation for the city election of Los Angeles, to come off on the 5th of December, 73,029 women had registered as voters down to November 9. [See current volume, page 899.]

—Fernando Jones, for many years regarded as Chicago's "oldest inhabitant," died at his home on the 8th, at the age of 91. Mr. Jones came to Chicago in 1835, when he was 15 years old.

—Champ Clark was endorsed on the 11th for Democratic candidate for President by the Democratic convention of the Seventh Congressional District of Kansas—the Jerry Simpson district.

—Andrew Carnegie gave on the 10th \$25,000,000 par value of steel trust five per cent first mortgage gold bonds to "The Carnegie Corporation of New York" to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge," etc.

—President Taft on the 9th at Hodgenville, Ky., accepted from the Lincoln Memorial Association for the people of the United States a granite memorial which has been built above and around the old log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born 102 years ago. Ten thousand people, many of them from distant States, gathered for the ceremonies.

—The current Nobel prize for chemistry has been awarded to Mme. Marie S. Curie of the University of Paris. Recent announcement was made of the success of Mme. Curie in producing polonium, "a new element possessing a radio-activity superior to radium." The money value of the prize is about \$40,000. [See vol. ix, p. 753, vol. xi, p. 831.]

—At an informal reception to Margaret A. Haley in Willard Hall, Chicago, at which Mrs. Fannie H. Rastall presided and Mrs. Harriet Thompson spoke, Miss Haley told of her experiences in the California

campaign for woman's suffrage. The reception was given jointly by the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the Women's Trade Union League and the Woman's Suffrage Party of Illinois.

—Under the direction of John C. Kennedy a "Workers' Free School of Municipal Government" was established on the 13th at Chicago, in the lecture hall of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, at which 130 men and women were enrolled as students. They comprise laborers, school teachers, settlement workers, stenographers and mechanics. The object of the school is to educate and train its students in the conduct of city government.

—The King and Queen of England left Portsmouth for India on the 11th, to attend an Imperial "Durbar" to be held at Delhi on December 10. A "durbar" is the ceremonial appearance of an Eastern potentate, to receive homage and confer honors. King George is the first English ruler of India to present himself in that country after assumption of sovereignty, though both he and his father visited it as Princes of Wales. He presents himself to India, not as King, but as Emperor.

—Newton C. Dougherty, formerly superintendent of the public schools of Peoria, Ill., and a leading member of the National Educational Association in the regime that immediately preceded the election of Ella Flagg Young, was paroled from the Illinois penitentiary on the 10th after serving six years of an indeterminate sentence for embezzlement of school funds. He was convicted as the result of public-spirited "muckraking" by Eugene Baldwin, editor and proprietor of the Peoria Star.

—Another "friend of the court" brief has been submitted to the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon case involving the Constitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum. It is submitted by Elliott W. Major as Attorney General of Missouri, in behalf of his State, which also has the Initiative and Referendum, and supports the contention which the State of Oregon has made through its Attorney General, the Portland law officers and its special counsel, George Fred Williams and Jackson H. Ralston. [See current volume, pages 1105, 1123, 1141.]

—A cold wave crossed the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, from northwest to southeast, on the 11th and 12th, bringing an almost unprecedented drop in temperature in most sections, and through the sudden displacements of hot air by cold, producing cyclones in Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana. The greatest loss of life and property from this cause occurred in Rock county, Wis., where 17 persons were killed. In other places deaths were caused by wrecks and other disasters, and by the extreme and unseasonable cold. In Chicago the mercury fell 61 degrees in 19 hours.

—Howard Pyle, illustrator and author, died at Florence, Italy, on the 9th, at the age of 58. Mr. Pyle's American home was at Wilmington, Del. He wrote and illustrated many books for the young, among them "The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood," "The Wonder Clock," "The Garden Behind the Moon," and several stories from the Arthurian legends. Among his writings for the adult world were "Rejected of Men" in book form, and various magazine articles, among them "In Tenebras," which

appeared in Harper's Magazine in the '90's, and which will be long remembered by those who appreciate spiritual analysis.

—That both Russia and Great Britain are crowding Persia and persist in denying her the simplest sovereign rights, is the complaint of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General of Persia. In replying to Mr. Shuster the London Times denies that Persia is independent, asserting that Great Britain and Russia exercise a control over that ancient nationality akin to that exercised by guardians over a minor. At the present moment though the ex-Shah and his hastily collected tribesmen have been overcome, the Persian government is struggling with a change of cabinet, Russia threatens to occupy two provinces of the North, and two regiments of Indian troops have been landed by the British at a southern port, nominally to guard British consulates in the south. [See current volume, page 1004.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The World-Movement for Democracy.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Nov. 2.—In the future, when the political phenomena of this generation can be seen clearly, it is probable that the age will be conspicuous for its wonderful democratic movement. It will be remarkable not only because of the progress made by popular government but because of the general and sudden breakdown of autocracy. It is apparent even now that the old order has no stability and no strength. It has crumbled almost at the first attack, as if nothing but the shell were there; as if invisible or hidden forces had been at work on its vitals. Only in Russia has an autocracy maintained itself against a popular movement, and even there a policy of concession and compromise has been needed to preserve it. It has been almost as if the nations were responding with sudden enthusiasm to a fiery evangel of freedom. . . . The dust hardly settles on the ruins of one autocracy before the crack of another is heard. They have fallen like the walls of Jericho at the sound of the horn. The old order has not had the power to resist. Revolutionists have not been compelled to carry on long, uncertain, and desperate war to accomplish their ends. Absolutism, tyranny, and autocracy have been discovered to be without substance—to be mere shells with no body. . . . That so many nations in so few years have found liberalism and democracy so strong and successful and the old order so ineffective and weak indicates the progress of a world movement as remarkable as any of recorded history. Its effects can be observed even in the most democratic of countries. The revolutionizing of political methods in the United States and of governmental methods in Great Britain illustrates it—the demand for Direct Primaries, for the direct election of United States Senators, for the Referendum and the Initiative here, and the elimination of the House of Lords as an irresponsible and unresponsive legislative body there. To the historian who will survey this world movement for political freedom in the perspective

of time it may seem as remarkable a phenomenon as the crusades, as remarkable as the Renaissance, as remarkable as the great Fifteenth and Sixteenth century movement of exploration and conquest, and as the liberal movement of the latter part of the Eighteenth century.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

OUR HEROES.

For The Public.

I wish I could write a great poem
That would set all hearts aglow
For the grandest cause and the greatest work
That mortals here can know:
The wiping out of Injustice,
That fiend that throttles and gags,
Making millionaires of some people
While others walk in rags—
Aye! flaunting their wealth ill-gotten
In the face of the starving throng
Till Justice cries out in anguish,
"How long, oh Lord, how long?"
How long shall the wicked triumph,
And the seats of the mighty stand?
Till Greed the hideous monster,
Despoiling our glorious land,
And the Special Privilege vampire
And all that go in its train
Shall be met, and fought, and vanquished
Till each and all are slain.
When thinking of heroes of battles
Think of our heroes dead;
They stand as great examples—
Our leader and those he led;
Not dead but only sleeping,
And when their Judge they see—
"What ye did for the least of my children,
Ye did it as unto Me."
O, Brothers, lift up your banners,
And in golden letters forge,
"We fight in the name of Justice,
In the name of Henry George."

ANNE W. RUST.

* * *

THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Recollections, Twenty-five Years Afterward, of the
Political Party Out of Which Socialism and the
Singletax Came Into American Politics.

Written by Louis F. Post, for
The Public.

Third Part.

1. The Socialist Labor Party Within the United Labor Party.

As I explained in the Second Part of these recollections,* all thought about the Socialist element in the George campaign of 1886, and for a

*See The Public, current volume, page 1151.

considerable time thereafter, had probably been of Socialism as a Labor philosophy and of Socialists as its unorganized adherents. But in the process of permanent organization disquieting signs pointed to an effort by a small minority, Socialists of the strictest sect, acting deliberately and as an organized unit to control the organization of the United Labor Party from within.

Not to convert its members to Socialism; there had been no objection to efforts of that kind. Not to avail themselves of its public platforms for converting either its members or outsiders; the public platforms of the United Labor Party had been absolutely free to Socialist speakers and Socialist teaching. The manifest object was political control of the larger organization by a smaller one. It was as distinctly a projected "capture" as that of which the Socialist historian tells when he describes the same Socialist Labor Party as having originated eleven years before in a convention of the National Labor Union, composed of 106 delegates, which "was easily captured by the Socialists among them, some 20 in number, who spoke and acted as a unit, had well defined views, and knew how to express them."* There was only one substantial difference. In the United Labor Party others than Socialists had well-defined views, knew how to express them, and, when they discovered sectarian Socialists acting as a unit to "capture" the common organization, brought the majority into action as a unit to prevent the "capture."

They did prevent it, though at the cost of a "split." But at this distant day that outcome cannot be looked upon as an exorbitant price. To the greater movement it was a profit, doubtless, rather than a price. Like the rise and decline of the Greenback Party, of the Anti-monopoly movement, of the Grangers, of the Populist Party, of the Knights of Labor, of the Socialist Labor Party itself, and like the present development of the Socialist Party and of the Progressivism that flourishes in both the Democratic and the Republican parties, and like the increasing popularity of Singletax methods and ideals in all connections, the split at Syracuse was incidental to the growth toward what both factions were at heart eager to accomplish. It was one of the "growing pains" of democracy.

It must not be supposed that the Socialist group in the United Labor Party monopolized the tactics and the speech that embitter. As the controversy gained ground they became targets for many a verbal missile and were baffled by many a tactical expedient that must have seemed to them more Godforsaken in their wickedness than if used by themselves. Such speech and such tactics came, however, from more than one source. "George

men" were by no means alone in bitterness toward Socialists, as Socialist tradition has it; nor did they take the lead in fighting Socialists, as Socialist tradition also has it. Indeed they were the last to join vigorously in the fight that brought on the "split" at Syracuse—those of them that were unaffected by Labor union quarrels and who accepted Henry George's doctrines. Along with Henry George himself,* they recognized in his doctrines the root principle of genuine Socialism and its primary political necessity; and like him they were averse to unnecessary conflicts with Socialists or over Socialism.† As to the miscellaneous "bourgeoisie" elements of the United Labor Party, these were in part indifferent and in part divided in their sympathies with reference to the Socialist controversy. It was Labor unionists of the type afterwards dubbed "pure-and-simplers" by Socialist Labor Party leaders, who were first to resent the "capture" policy and most bitter as the faction fight waxed warm.

But the fact that there were recrimination in speech and retaliation in tactics is not very important in accounting for the subsequent "split." The vitally important consideration on that point, so far as the subject may be any longer of importance at all, is not what either side did after hostilities began but who provoked the hostilities. And this question turns upon one's view of the legitimacy of "capture" by a party within a party, and the counter-legitimacy of resistance.

II. The Socialist Labor Party's Policy of "Capture."

Early among the signs of intended "capture" which culminated in the "split" at Syracuse was the episode of the daily paper of the George campaign—The Leader.

This campaign paper had reached a circulation of 35,000 daily, and efforts were made to establish it as the organ of the United Labor Party. Among the financial contributors were Labor unions, Socialist organizations, Greenbackers, individual Socialists, individuals who now would be called Singletaxers, and many unlabeled and unaffiliated sympathizers.

During the campaign the Volkszeitung (German and Socialist) had furnished shop-room and editorial-room free, and contributed the free use of its presses. Compositors, pressmen and other mechanical employes were paid union wages; but editors and reporters, all but myself being regularly employed on other papers, worked without pay. Among the best from the Sun, the Herald, the Tribune, The Times, The Star, the World and the Staatszeitung as well as the Volkszeitung, those newspaper men were, by the way, as fine a staff as any editor could have desired.

*See "Progress and Poverty," book vi, ch. 1, Part v; book ix, chs. i, ii, iii and iv. "Protection or Free Trade," ch. xxviii; and "Social Problems," chs. xiii, xiv, xviii, xix.

†The files of The Standard throughout the controversy show this spirit on the part of Henry George.

*Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," page 209.

The persons who worked without pay, and those who contributed money and mechanical equipment, held altogether a variety of social opinions, ranging from pretty extreme individualism to extreme socialism. But they were agreed upon the principle of land socialization. This furnished them, as it furnished the United Labor Party, with a common ground for co-operative political action. Socialists were impatient, of course, to make their own special propaganda; so were Greenbackers to make theirs; different types of individualists, and also the "George men" (who would be better recognized now as Singletaxers), had similar moods. But there was no controversy whatever over the common ground, except that some thought "it didn't go far enough."

As to the financial support for *The Leader*, no one doubted that it came very largely from individuals and organizations that were not in sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party. Yet the Socialist Labor Party "captured" *The Leader*. It did so easily, because its members acted as an organized unit for their own inside party, while the other contributors acted confidingly and individually for the common cause.

I can write of this episode with freedom, for I was unaffected by it personally. Having already refused to abandon my law practice in order to continue as editor-in-chief of *The Leader* after the George campaign, its fate did not affect me in any selfish way. But I was concerned in other ways, and I found the process of "capture" interesting.

By the New York law under which *The Leader* had been incorporated, votes were counted by shareholders and not by shareholdings—one vote for each holder whether his shares were few or many. This is probably a good plan, if every investor understands it; but no one gave any attention to its possibilities for controlling *The Leader* except the Socialist Labor Party. Subscribers who thought only of the common cause, took all their stock carelessly in their own names; members and organizations of the Socialist Labor Party foresightedly distributed theirs among friends. Such, at any rate, were the reports of the time, which I regarded as worthy of credence. When, therefore, the question of control came up at the stockholders' meeting after the Henry George campaign, the Socialist Labor Party stockholders "won out" by a large majority. They would have been greatly in the minority had the voting been by shares, or had all the shares been distributed as it was reported that theirs were.

I am not condemning those tactics. While shrewd, they were nevertheless entirely regular. But such tactics could not have contributed much, I should suppose, to foster the friendly relations that had lasted throughout the George campaign and which had continued except in a few localities

where Socialist Labor Party members and non-Socialist Labor unionists had got to quarreling.

The policy of "capture" with reference to *The Leader* did not end at the stockholders' meeting. Although *The Leader* remained the organ nominally of the United Labor Party, and John McMackin, chairman of the county committee, was president of the company, the paper came under the editorial control of Socialist Labor Party leaders, and they conducted it—much less discreetly for their purpose than they might have done—in the interest of that organization.

Its "general course" was indeed endorsed by the county committee as late as May, 1887,* but this was one of those perfunctory endorsements that are easy at a time of suppressed internal strife, when every one shrinks from seeming to cause a rupture. It was less in the nature of genuine endorsement than of "capture" by a shrewd minority from a tolerant majority. As often happens in such matters, the tolerance was misplaced. In three months Mr. McMackin resigned as president of *The Leader* company, on the ground principally that it was disloyal to the party of which it was the organ and he the county chairman.†

Before *The Leader* episode, which doubtless was one of the larger facts that finally caused the New York County committee of the United Labor Party, and the Syracuse convention, to consider the Socialist Labor Party as an organization to be dealt with more prudently, some of the district organizations of the United Labor Party in New York City were irritated by local indications of a "capture" movement.

Prominent among these were the associations of the Eighth, Tenth and Fourteenth legislative districts, from all of which there came contests to the Syracuse convention, and in all of which the controversy was between the Socialist Labor Party on one side and Labor unionists not of that party on the other. As the time approached for choosing convention delegates, the friction in those districts had become intense, and lines had been so sharply drawn that separate associations were formed, each claiming to be regular and denouncing the others as "bolters."

Similar friction appeared in other districts, but the Eighth, Tenth and Fourteenth were the only ones involving the Socialist Labor Party question upon which the Syracuse convention acted.

In my own district, the Twenty-fourth of New York City, Socialist Labor Party members of the United Labor Party association had drawn a rigid line against the rest of us; but as we didn't know

*The Standard, May 14, 1887, page 8.

†See The Standard of August 13, 1887, page 1, and of August 20, 1887, page 3.

it at the time, there was no friction. This is the appropriate place, however, for explaining, as I have promised,* what I feared might be my special weakness in the contest for temporary chairman at Syracuse.

I had gone to the Syracuse convention as a delegate, not from my residential district but from an Albany district, and here are the circumstances.

The United Labor Party association in my district was small. Most of its members were Socialists, as the rest of us knew; but we did not know that they were obedient members of an independent party within the common party. The association had been "captured" easily and without our knowing it. Even when I was nominated in the association for a delegate to Syracuse and defeated, I attributed the result to my lack of candidatorial qualities. It neither surprised nor irritated me, for I had done but little work in my own district and made but few friends there, having quit my home and law office to put in all my time and energy night and day during the George campaign as the unnamed editor-in-chief of *The Leader*. Nor had I any cause for chagrin. Lucian Sanial, the well known Socialist writer and statistician, was in all respects a man one could be defeated by without reasonable sense of humiliation. I did not suspect then, nor think it probable until later, that Mr. Sanial had been elected a delegate to the United Labor Party convention by the Socialist Labor Party as such, and as a part of its tactics of "capture." Neither did this fact cut any figure subsequently; for, although Mr. Sanial failed to attend the convention, his seat was not contested and the name of a Socialist as alternate took his place on the approved roll of delegates.

Considering my defeat final, I abandoned all thought of attending the Syracuse convention. But during a week-end visit at Hackettstown, N. J., I received a telegram from the New York Sun asking whether I intended going to the convention from Albany. The inquiry was mysterious and remained so until I returned to New York. Then I learned that upon hearing of my defeat in my own district—which the newspapers had exploited as a Labor rebuke to Henry George,—the Second Assembly District Club of Albany elected me as one of the delegates from that county.

While this was in fact a compliment, I realized nevertheless that the Cooper Union "Land and Labor" committee† was accused of utilizing "Land and Labor" clubs for making "paper" delegates, and that my own credentials might be regarded as in that category. Though they were so regarded by some, the fact proved ineffective. It served only as an opportunity for one or two stinging insinuations, which didn't sting much and wouldn't

have stung at all had I known at the time what afterwards proved to be true. The Socialist Labor Party had more supporters in the Syracuse convention from "Land-and-Labor" club delegates than from the regularly organized United Labor Party districts of New York and Brooklyn.*

+

Until a purpose to "capture" was suspected, no attempt was made to invoke against the Socialist Labor Party that clause in the constitution of the New York County committee of the United Labor Party which made members of all other political parties ineligible. But as a result of *The Leader* episode, and of irritating experiences in some of the district associations, a ruling on the eligibility of members of the Socialist Labor Party to membership in the United Labor Party was demanded of the county chairman. His decision, sustained by the county committee, was against the Socialist Labor Party.† In delivering this decision, Chairman McMackin explained that the Socialist Labor Party was a political party like any other, because "it had regularly nominated candidates and polled votes for them," and "was still in existence as a party." On the point raised in protest that Greenbackers were admitted to the United Labor Party, he said: "They first severed their party affiliations and came in as individuals." and "the Socialists must do likewise."‡

In that decision, though it was overwhelmingly supported, the Socialist Labor Party members of the United Labor Party refused to acquiesce, and this was still the situation when the committee on credentials of the Syracuse convention reported.

III. Decision of the Socialist Contest at Syracuse.

First disposing of unrelated and minor questions, the majority report of the committee on credentials at Syracuse declared as follows on the contests from the Eighth, Tenth and Fourteenth legislative districts of New York County, the only

*See *The Standard* of February 18, 1888, at page 4.

†In a speech at the Syracuse convention, August W. Mayer, a prominent and trusted labor leader of New York, said, as reported in the *New York World* of August 19, 1887: "It is not true that the Socialists started the idea of independent political action. When the suggestion was first made in the Central Labor Union, Block and the other Socialists opposed taking independent political action. They have been trying ever since to get control of the movement. As to Mr. Shevitsch's assertion that there were twelve organizations in New York, representing 17,000 men, who voted to condemn the New York County convention for ostracizing the Socialist Labor Party, I know something about it, and I know there is nothing like 17,000 men in them. But even if there were, there are the building trades unions, representing over 40,000 men, which voted to sustain the county committee's ruling, and the vote by which they sustained it was 50 to 1."

‡*The Standard*, August 13, 1887. See also issues of January 22, 1887, page 6; May 14, 1887, page 8; June 4, 1887, page 3; and August 20, 1887, page 3.

*See *The Public* of November 10, 1911, "Second Part" of these Recollections, at page 1151.

†See "First Part" of these Recollections in *The Public* of November 3, 1911, at pages 1126, 1130.

contests involving the Socialist Labor Party question:

From the Eighth Assembly district of New York County two sets of credentials were received. One signed by P. J. McMahon, chairman, and Charles Barnet, secretary, certified to the election of J. N. Bogert, William H. Autenrieth and J. F. Clancy as delegates. The other, signed by Hugo Vogt, chairman, and Charles J. Rayersky, secretary, certified to the election of Hugo Vogt, John G. Stein and Frederick Bergman as delegates. The committee heard the contestants on both sides, and, after a prolonged debate, decided to report in favor of seating J. N. Bogert, William H. Autenrieth and J. F. Clancy on the ground that the contestants having acknowledged that they have been and still are members of the Socialist Labor Party were ineligible under the constitution of the United Labor Party of New York, as officially declared by its highest executive authority, the county general committee.

From the Tenth Assembly district of New York two sets of certificates appeared, one signed by August W. Mayer, chairman, and William Gerner, secretary, certifying to the election of August W. Mayer, John Breunig and Edward Zimmerman as delegates. The other, signed by A. Goldsmith, chairman, and Dan S. Jacobs, secretary, certified to the election of S. E. Shevitsch, Max Boehm and Laurence Gronlund. All of the contestants were heard except Mr. Gronlund, who did not appear. Messrs. Shevitsch and Boehm acknowledged that they are members of the Socialist Labor Party. Much conflicting testimony as to the regularity of the respective electors was submitted, after which the committee decided to report in favor of seating August W. Mayer, John Breunig and Edward Zimmerman.

From the Fourteenth Assembly district of New York two sets of credentials were received. One signed by Michael J. Murray, chairman, and William McCabe, secretary, declaring the election of William McCabe, Francis Schaidler and Dennis J. Quirk as delegates, and the other signed by Francis Schaidler, vice-president, and Francis H. Koenig, corresponding secretary, certified to the election of George Block, Walter Vrooman and Francis Schaidler, as delegates. The committee found that Francis Schaidler was certified to be a delegate by both sets of credentials and declared him elected. The committee heard George Block, William McCabe and Dennis Quirk. The claim of the men whose election was certified to by the chairman of the district was that the election first held was void by reason of the participation therein of members of the Socialist Labor Party. Mr. Vrooman did not appear before the committee. After listening to the evidence the committee decided to report in favor of seating William McCabe and Dennis Quirk as the remaining delegates.

The minority report declared that the decision of the county committee of New York to regard members of the Socialist Labor Party as ineligible to membership in the United Labor Party was retroactive, having been made after the election as delegates of the Socialists whose seats were in contest; that even if this clause of the constitution of the county committee were not retroactive, the

committee had not properly ascertained which of the rejected delegates were members of the Socialist Labor Party; that the Socialist Labor Party was not and had never been a political party "in the accepted sense of this word" and had not been so considered until recently by the county committee; and that as to one of the rejected delegates, Mr. Block, he had never been a member of the Socialist Labor Party and his seat was contested simply on the ground that members of the Socialist Labor Party (also members of the United Labor Party) voted for him.

+

A five minute rule having been adopted, an orderly though tense debate ensued in the convention.

Among the speakers for the Socialist Labor Party were George Block, Hugo Vogt, Walter Vrooman (one of the brilliant Vrooman family of Kansas, at that time a lad whose eloquence had won him the title among Socialists of "the boy orator"), and Sergius E. Shevitsch. Mr. Shevitsch spoke for fifteen minutes, two of his associates having with the consent of the convention, given him their "time." A Russian of noble birth, he had become a follower of Lassalle; and his force, elegance, pithiness and polish of speech, with its keen but humorless wit, make the event prominent in my memory after all these years, though I could not recall a word he said. It was such a speech as few could have made except men trained in diplomatic service, as he had been in that of his native Russia, to which he has since returned. Another speaker for the Socialist Labor Party was Laurence Gronlund, the distinguished Socialist writer, regarded then as the American interpreter of Karl Marx. Being recognized by neither report from the committee on credentials, and having no place on the rolls as a delegate, he was given the platform by invitation of the convention on motion of Henry George.

On the other side the principal debaters were William McCabe, John F. Clancy, and August W. Mayer. Mr. Mayer's speech, also fifteen minutes from gifts of "time," was the one on this side to compare with Mr. Shevitsch's on the other. Mayer's lacked the polish and elegance of Shevitsch's—as was to have been expected, for Mr. Mayer was a German workingman untrained in the gentle art of debate,—but it was equal to Shevitsch's in force, and if inferior in the wit that burns, it excelled in the humor that melts and the qualities that tend to convince. Mr. Mayer, who had been walking delegate for the American Fresco-Painters' Union, made the issue clear when he advised prudence and patience in Labor politics. "First organize your men," he said, "and then educate them; and when educated, if they want a more radical platform they will make it them-

selves.* That the temper of the convention was wholly favorable to Socialistic agitation and education within the United Labor Party, while irreconcilably hostile to "capture," was evident from the enthusiasm with which this advice from Mr. Mayer was received.

+

When the delegates directly involved in the contests had spoken, the question was debated from the floor, both McGlynn and George taking part; and as the floor discussion proceeded, points of order and subsidiary motions in considerable variety were made and disposed of.

One of the subsidiary motions, extremely fair upon its face, was offered by Thaddeus B. Wakeman (a Socialist sympathizer), doubtless in good faith to secure harmony. It might have carried if the tolerance and co-operative disposition of Socialist Labor Party managers had not come by this time to be so thoroughly distrusted that no harmony resolution could possibly restore confidence. Mr. Wakeman moved that—

in consideration of the fact that the organization known as the Socialist Labor Party was not, at the formation of our party, regarded as a political party in the common acceptance of that term, and that the members of that organization avow and declare that they do not consider their organization a political party, we admit both of the delegations from the contested districts and give a half vote to each delegate; that we do not thereby commit this convention as deciding that the Socialist Labor Party is not a political party, but, on the contrary, that unless the congress of that body next September [a month later] distinctly disavow the name and all claims of being a political party, then we recommend that all members of that party be ineligible in our party.†

A motion to lay this amendment on the table having been withdrawn when the chair ruled that an affirmative vote would "table" the whole subject matter, Mr. Wakeman's belated harmony proposal came to a direct vote and was defeated by 94 to 54.‡ This vote was regarded as the test, and so it probably was; for although William McCabe was afterwards seated by 91 to 86 to the exclusion of George Block, local and personal animosities and labor union controversies entered strongly into the latter vote. At any rate the minority report of the credentials committee was soon afterward rejected and the majority report adopted.

+

In adopting the majority report of the committee on credentials, the Syracuse convention decided, in harmony with the decision of the New

*New York World's report of Syracuse convention, in issue of August 19, 1887.

†New York World, August 19, 1887.

‡The large minority vote represented the spirit of toleration and not Socialist Labor Party sentiment. The number of Socialists in the convention was nowhere near so large.

York County committee, that members of the Socialist Labor Party were ineligible to membership in the United Labor Party. But it did not decide that Socialists were ineligible. On the contrary, by seating several individual Socialists and at least two Socialist delegations, it decided that propagation of Socialism within or through the United Labor Party was not incompatible with membership.

The unseating of Socialists other than those named above as active in a hostile political organization, was by the Socialist delegates themselves. They were not expelled, but voluntarily withdrew. Their withdrawal took place in connection with the report of the committee on permanent organization.

James Redpath as chairman of that committee presented its report. One part of the report named John McMackin for permanent chairman and John McCabe of Albany and R. H. Ferguson of Buffalo for vice-chairmen. A minority report proposing to expunge these nominations was defeated; but a motion by Mr. McMackin to the same effect was adopted. Mr. McMackin and John R. O'Donnell (formerly president of Typographical Union No. 6) were then named from the floor as opposing candidates. The contest was vigorous, but Mr. McMackin won by 111 to 58. Thereupon yielding the gavel to him, I relinquished all further responsibility in the convention except as a "carpet bag" delegate from Albany.

Meanwhile, however, the withdrawal of the enrolled Socialist delegates had occurred. When the Twelfth legislative district was called on the contest between McMackin and O'Donnell for permanent chairman, the two delegates—W. B. David and Max Alteran—announced that they had been instructed by their district association to withdraw from the convention "because of its throwing out of the Socialists." They therefore refused to vote. A similar announcement was made by the delegates from my own home district, the Twenty-fourth of New York County. Bernard Berlyn (now of Chicago, a man noted in both New York and Chicago for standing by his guns) and Mr. Sanial's alternate, a Mr. Hieley, refused to vote because Socialist Labor Party members from the Eighth, Tenth and Fourteenth districts had been excluded.

+

It is always difficult to distinguish action from its causes and motives sufficiently well to fix blame upon either side in such a controversy, if there be blame. But it seems to me, as I contended on a point of order during subsequent proceedings in the convention, and as I have indicated above, that the Syracuse convention did no more technically than to decide three contests upon their individual merits, and no more substantially than to make a precedent for excluding members of the Socialist

Labor Party from membership in the United Labor Party. It did not condemn Socialists nor Socialism.

However, this question is no longer of any more than curious interest. The fact of broadest interest is the historical effect of the Syracuse decision. It resulted in a Socialist party which has persisted in American politics, and out of which, from a subsequent "split," another and larger and more promising Socialist party has come. The rest of my story is not very long, but the limitations of space necessitate its postponement until next week's issue of *The Public*.

BOOKS

AN INSIDE VIEW.

Through the Mill; The Life of a Mill Boy. By Al Priddy. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, New York, Chicago. Price \$1.35. Postage 15c.

As a record of actual experience under industrial conditions for the young, this volume is a helpful contribution to the work that is being done by the large-hearted men and women who are seeking to reform those conditions.

Al Priddy, entering into the details of his early life, gives a fairly suggestive picture of thousands who are forced in early youth into the same crushing servitude of mind and body. The debasing influence of the home environment with its atmosphere of discouragement, disorder and ill-temper induced by intoxicating drink; the evil associations of the mill which literally and savagely compel the vicious habits generally practiced where the conditions of labor are depressing and exhausting—all these things are shown in their deteriorating effects on the boy whose story is told in the simple, straightforward, unaffected manner which testifies to the truth of his narrative.

But in this instance there was an inborn aspiration toward a higher habit of living, and though repeated failure pursued his efforts to obtain an education and a change of employment he came at last to the desperate conclusion to "leave the mill at any cost." The first break made he found opportunities waiting around him. The wages that had gone to pay the beer bills of his guardian uncle and aunt were swiftly invested in a railway ticket that took him to a middle west college, where he had assurance that he might work out the expenses of the preparatory school which would fit him for the college course that had been his ambition, and which the way (with a will) would open for him to attain. The simply but forcibly related story holds a lesson for all youthful workers.

A. L. M.

✦ ✦ ✦

Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets.—Napoleon I.

PERIODICALS

American Magazine.

The second installment of Senator La Follette's autobiography, the first of Ray Stannard Baker's study of Hawaii, and the beginning of H. G. Wells' new novel "Marriage," are the American's November contributions to the periodical literature one can enjoy in the reading, and be glad for having read.

✦ ✦

A Greek Journal on Singletax.

Ereuna (*The Examiner*), a Greek Socialist weekly from Athens, in its issue of July 24 contains an article on The Singletax by the editor, P. E. Drakoules. After an explanation of the meaning and the need of land values taxation, the history and experience of Vancouver is cited at some length, and mention is made of the "millionaire Joseph Fels, one of the devoted heralds of Henry George's doctrine of the Singletax, who has colossal sums to spend for preaching this liberating plan for taxation." A subsequent number of Ereuna prints a long quotation from Henry George's lecture on "The Problem of Poverty."

A. L. G.

✦ ✦

The Pacific Monthly.

"How I Learned to Farm," by C. H. Chapman, Ph. D.—a Doctor-of-Philosophy's story of how he got out of scholastic thralldom and into independent usefulness, is a charming narrative-essay, one of the kind of contributions to *The Pacific* (Portland, November issue) which give it character of its own as a high grade magazine. Especially timely now in Oregon, is Charles Erskine Scott Wood's running conversation, heard on a street car, about the Singletax. Nothing on any controversial subject could be thrown into more interesting form nor better express at once the truth in it and the familiar objections to it.

✦ ✦

Everybody's.

"A Peach of a Story" is not likely to strike the reader at first as quite appropriate for so trebly serious a narrative as that of a triple execution, but the appropriateness is there. The story is by John Palmer Gavitt. No one can regret reading it, gruesome as it is, unless he believes in capital punishment and wants to keep on believing in it after he cannot. Morbidity is not fostered by this story; yet there isn't a dull line in it. It is a thoroughly human story humanly told. Whoever reads it through will know more of the life he already knows than he ever dreamed of, and not improbably be thereafter a wiser reader of criminal news and a better citizen. In this issue of *Everybody's* a brilliant controversy appears between the editors and Lincoln Steffens on the question of censorship of speech, print and drama.

✦ ✦

The Twentieth Century.

With its November issue the *Twentieth Century Magazine* (Boston) appears in a new cover, rich and sedate, and under the editorship of Charles Zueblin.

But Mr. Flower does not sever connection with the magazine. He is represented in this number with "A Congressman's Unique Experiment," and he introduces his successor with a gracious letter in which he takes the magazine's readers fully into his confidence. Mr. Flower is announced as a continuous contributor, the first of a series of articles by him to be his "Recollections of Henry George." Some changes in form have been made, the most notable of which is a series of brief editorials instead of a signed essay for the opening pages. Among the other contributors to the present number—the first of the fifth volume—are Charles Edward Russell, Florence Kelley, Albert E. Pillsbury, Harriet Monroe, Dante Barton, L. J. Abbott, Franklin H. Wentworth, C. B. Whitnall, George M. Hammell and F. W. Fitzpatrick.

* * *

Rabbi Joseph Silverman, the noted pastor of New York, tells an amusing anecdote of an Englishman and a Scotchman who were bragging in loud tones.

"Me man," said the Britisher, "'tain't hoften a person is taken fer royalty, but I've been mistook for th' Prince of Wales in me young days."

"Hoot, mon," answered the Scot. "I, myself, have been called th' Duke of Argyll!"

The man selling collar buttons paused to listen. "Dat's nuttin'," said he with a deprecatory gesture; "I vas meetin' ah friend in Ravingten strit, an' he shouted: 'Oh, holy Moses! Is it you?'"—Washington Star.

SHOP EARLY

Buy your Christmas presents early—early in the day and early in November. That will be your biggest gift of the holidays to the workers behind the counters and on the delivery wagons.

When You Select a Shorthand School be sure that it teaches

BENN PITMAN PHONOGRAPHY.

The Standard Shorthand of America. Written by more than half the Government employees. Taught in the best schools. Briefest, most legible, most easily mastered.

Published by the Phonographic Institute Company, Cincinnati, Ohio

BENN PITMAN, Founder. JEROME B. HOWARD, President.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY

JUST ISSUED

THROUGH THE MILL

The Autobiography of a Boy Laborer

By AL PRIDDY

A red-blooded account of a mill-boy's grapple with bitter circumstances and his plucky achievement of an education

"Who is this 'Al Priddy' and what is this book of his?"—"How did the author 'get next' to the inside facts about a New England manufacturing town?"—"Is this the report of an Investigating Committee?"—are questions frequently asked us. We have no hesitation in stating that there is a real Al Priddy, a very actual person. The narrator of this intensely interesting tale still makes his home in New England and the facts that he records are only a few taken from his unusual experience. Not long ago this young mill-boy graduated with high honors from one of our Eastern Colleges, and now, at the age of twenty-nine stands at the beginning of his life work, determined to stretch out a helping hand to any boy who has had no chance in life.

289 pages. Fully illustrated with drawings by Wladyslaw T. Benda.

Attractively bound. Price \$1.35 net, postage 15 cents.

THE PILGRIM PRESS

14 Beacon Street, Boston

120 So. Wabash Avenue, Chicago

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to Advertisers.

A BIG, VITAL NOVEL BY

One of the Leaders of the Colored Race

The Quest of the Silver Fleece

By WILLIAM E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS



PROFESSOR DU BOIS is the author of "The Souls of Black Folk," now in its eighth edition. His new novel is a work of unusual power, of stern realism, and of great beauty.

The story is laid in the South and in Washington, and not only shows the struggles—often against impossible odds—of the negro who desires to develop his personality, but shows the economic roots of many of the injustices which stand between the negro and the open sky of real freedom.

From the standpoint of his hero and heroine, feeling their woes as only a brother in blood can, and seeing the genesis of those woes as only a trained sociologist can, Dr. Du Bois, the admitted prophet and idealist of his race, makes a plea for them that cannot be evaded.

Illustrated in Photogravure, \$1.35 net. AT ALL BOOKSTORES

Published by **A. C. McCLURG & COMPANY**

New York

CHICAGO

San Francisco

Quality Wins

WE'D LIKE to be able to talk a hundred thousand circulation to our advertisers, present and future, but then, you know, we'd charge (even if we didn't talk) high rates.

¶ Quality of circulation is a bigger consideration than size of circulation—to a live advertiser.

¶ If you advertise in The Public you know exactly the kind of people you are reaching—sound, thinking people who will very frequently go out of their way to order from you, as a friend of *their* paper.

¶ That's one reason why advertisers get unusual results from The Public. The Open Court Publishing Co., 623 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, write: "We get better returns from The Public, in proportion to the outlay, than from any other publication we use."

¶ And they are continuing to advertise in The Public because it increases their business.

¶ And don't YOU want more profitable business? Write for our rates.

STANLEY BOWMAR, MGR.

New, Low-Priced Edition of **SOCIAL SERVICE**

by Louis F. Post

The first edition of this series of conversations on the business aspects of the Singletax, appeared in 1910, bound in **blue cloth**. These books sold for a dollar. We now offer them at **75 cents, postage prepaid**.

Further: We have just purchased the balance of the sheets of the second edition, and have had them bound in **handsome stiff blue paper covers**. We sell these copies at **40 cents, postage prepaid**.

Blue cloth - - 75 cents, postpaid

Blue stiff paper - 40 cents, postpaid

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept,
Ellsworth Building,
Chicago

An Epoch-Making Book

New Edition

Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X

By A MODERNIST

Pp 300—Portrait Frontispiece (Pope Pius X)

Cloth, \$1.25 (5s. 6d)

The crisis in Roman Catholicism is as clear as the sun at noon. It is a crisis produced by the Papacy's hostility, not to modernism but to modernity. Until the Roman See shall cease to teach that it possesses the right to shed the blood of heretics; that our democratic age should thrust itself into the shackles of political union with the Italian Curia; and that science and scholarship shall take no forward step not permitted them by the hoary reactionism of Vatican theology, the Church will travel fast toward the dissolution of which there have been so many appalling symptoms since the tiara was placed upon the head of Pius X.—*Extract from Author's Preface to Second Edition of Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X.*

The Open Court Publishing Company

*Publishers and Importers of Classical and Modern Standard Works on Philosophy, Science
and the History of Religion*

Founded in 1887 by Edward C. Hegeler, for the Purpose of Establishing Religion Upon a Scientific Basis

Send for Complete Illustrated Catalogue

623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY



The Franklin Society

Here are some facts to which we respectfully invite your attention:—

- 1—The Franklin Society has a long and honorable business record, this being its 23rd year.
- 2—The Society is by law subject to the strict supervision of the State Superintendent of Banks. Its books and securities are examined in detail at least once a year, by a Public Examiner.
- 3—Its funds are invested in the very best securities—first mortgages on small dwellings in a vicinity where the demand for homes is greater than elsewhere in the world.
- 4—You can open a savings account with one dollar or more.

Send us a remittance today and get one of our mailing size pass books.

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY
FOR HOME-BUILDING AND SAVINGS
145 Nassau St., New York City

4 1/2 PER CENT

The First Shave

with Ingram's Shaving Stick makes you forget that shaving is a nuisance.

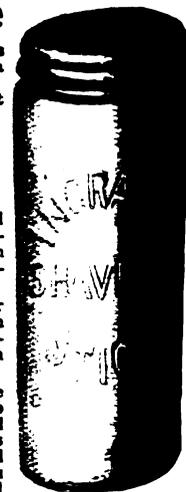
The lather stays thick and soft and wet—

Ingram's Shaving Stick

does not dry off, but stays cool and moist until you shave it off, eliminating the necessity of stopping in the middle of your shave to re-lather your face.

And when you are through your face feels softer and fresher than it ever has since you were a "ten-year-old-kid just scrubbed clean for school."

After you use all the Stick, save the jar top. When you have two jar tops send them to us and we will mail you FREE a full sized 25c box of



WING'S TALCUM POWDER

(It's fine.) The Stick costs you 25c—the Powder doesn't cost you one cent.

INGRAM'S SHAVING STICK is put up in an opal jar with a close-fitting screw top that keeps the Stick in fine condition to the very last bit. It is sold by druggists or prepared by mail, or send 5c in stamps and we will mail you a small sized Stick—enough for a dozen shaves.

Frederick F. Ingram Co.
73 Tooth Street
DETROIT, MICH.

THE METAMORPHOSE BEGINS TO MANIFEST

A RADICAL change in the method of distributing surplus value or credit is needed. It is desirable AND IT IS AS INEVITABLE AS IT IS ESSENTIAL TO PEACE ON EARTH. A house divided against itself cannot stand. The people are divided. "The Investing Public" and the interest payers (the consumers) are APPARENTLY in irreconcilable antagonism. But the antagonism is NOT hopeless or without remedy. The house must cease to be divided. A plan to harmonize the apparently irreconcilable conflicting personal and selfish interests of the oppressed and the oppressors may be inaugurated without organization or expense; without political agitation or an Act of Congress. It will benefit the individual, rich and poor alike, immediately. It will tend ultimately to abolish vice, crime and poverty. It will usher in an era of universal happiness and prosperity, such as never experienced in the history of the world, or in several millenniums at least. This plan may be adopted without prejudice to any man's "vested rights"; without violating existing statutes or causing any living being to suffer injustice. It will bring order out of chaos without disturbing the public peace or interfering with the established order of things until all the people are more than willing to abolish barbaric customs and heartily welcome twentieth century civilization. The undersigned is prepared to discuss the subject before organizations of business men or any intelligent audience or company of private individuals. A brief essay preliminary to further elucidation of the subject will be mailed on receipt of price—ten cents.

Levi Stevens Lewis, - Zion City, Illinois

The Public

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.
Free of postage in the United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts and money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one, stating with what issue the change is to take effect.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Friends can help us effectively by ordering of our advertisers when convenient, mentioning THE PUBLIC.

BOOKS BY AND ABOUT HENRY GEORGE

Progress and Poverty

By Henry George.

In dark blue cloth, postpaid.....\$1.10
In paper cover, postpaid30

Our Land and Land Policy

By Henry George. This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come."

In dark green cloth, postpaid.....\$2.50

The Land Question

By Henry George. This volume includes "Property in Land: A Passage at Arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George," and "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII."

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.00
In paper cover, postpaid30

Social Problems

By Henry George.

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.10
In paper cover, postpaid30

Protection or Free Trade

By Henry George.

In blue cloth, postpaid.....\$1.00
In paper cover, postpaid30

A Perplexed Philosopher

By Henry George.

In light green cloth, postpaid.....\$1.00
In paper cover, postpaid30

The Science of Political Economy

By Henry George.

In dark green cloth, postpaid.....\$2.50

The Life of Henry George

By Henry George, Jr. In two volumes. With fourteen illustrations.

In dark blue cloth, the set, postpaid.....\$2.00

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Compiled by Edmund Yardley.

In dark blue cloth, postpaid......40

The Crime of Poverty

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......10

Moses

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05
Per dozen50

"Thy Kingdom Come"

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05
Per dozen50

"Thou Shalt Not Steal"

By Henry George

In paper cover, postpaid......05
Per dozen50

The Public, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago