

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### A Passing Glance at Religion.

Church-going persons and those who sneer at churches are alike in danger of confusing genuine religion with mere piety, the spiritual grain with its external husks. Easier than being religious is it to go to church regularly, to count beads obediently, to attend prayer meeting occasionally, to be reverent in conversation, to say grace perfunctorily, and to subscribe money in amounts you won't miss to works of mercy respectably endorsed. Also is it easier, on the other hand, to sneer at churches and penitents and leaders in prayer and financial supporters of church enterprises, than to be vitally averse to mere piety. There is no difficulty in spotting either kind of paganism, however tempting the line of least resistance it offers to lazy souls. The learned scribe of whom Mark the Apostle tells, was "hep to it," as a popular revivalist might say: "To love universal fairness and rightness and justice, with all the heart and with all the understanding and with all the soul and with all the strength," said that scribe, in substance, "and to love one's fellow men as one loves himself, is more than all religious forms and ceremonies." Inasmuch, however, as no man has ever seen universal fairness and rightness and justice, how shall any man love them, except by bringing his wish to love them to bear as best he can upon his behavior to his fellow men—not alone as individual to individual in personal neighborliness, but also as social unit to social unit through social adjustments?

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Take, for instance, two events of the past week which are in highly significant juxtaposition: the idle girl of New York with her golden stockings, and the hungry women of London driving their wretchedly-paid bread winners back with spurs of affection into yielding to privileged greed. What have you to say, you good folks who love pious ceremonials, and you other good folks who despise them—what have you to say of all such wanton waste by idlers in the midst of this dreadful want among workers? Not about the girl; that Miss Kilmansegg's stockings are none of your business. Nor about anybody else's personal expenditures of which hers may be typical. But about the laws and institutions which make such unfair, unrighteous and unjust contrasts possible in a society that takes its life in part from you. What have you to say about perpetuating those laws and institutions?



### The Bluster for Battleships.

In no other respect has the majority of the Democratic caucus in the lower house of Congress served the country better than by calling a halt upon the insane notion that this nation must produce battleships as a hen must lay eggs—so many so often. This battleship craze, so far as it really has any place in public opinion anywhere, is prompted and promoted by battleship builders. Take away contractors' profits and the profits of financiers in connection with the annual output of battleships, and there would soon be little demand for them, either in this country or any other.



### The American Electoral College.

When Archbishop Platon of the Russian church in North America was reported from Russia as explaining politics in the United States, an American newspaper correspondent at St. Petersburg got him nearer right as matter of actual practice than he had probably spoken with reference to Constitutional theory. "In America," said the Russian prelate, as reported, "the nation does not elect the President; that is done for it by the vast business interests which have important affairs at stake."



### Panama Pettifogging.

The latest international lawyers to pettifog for the giving of another valuable privilege to the owners of American railway terminals by exempting American ships from Panama Canal tolls, raises the point that when the United States ac-

quired sovereign rights in the Canal Zone the Canal-treaty became voidable. If this point depended entirely upon general principles of international law, the shameless proposal would be bad enough. But the Chicago Record Herald reduces it to the level of police court tactics by quoting from the treaty an explicit clause to the effect that no change of territorial sovereignty or of international relations of the country or countries traversed by the canal shall affect the obligation of the high contracting parties under the treaty.



### La Follette on Roosevelt.

It would be wise for Mr. Roosevelt's followers to reflect upon Senator La Follette's warning. No one can doubt La Follette's genuineness; no one can dispute it without reflecting on his own. If La Follette be personally ambitious, he at any rate keeps his personal ambition under control, or else most expertly concealed. Roosevelt does neither with his. Roosevelt is doubtless the greater Nimrod, but this is not the time for Nimrods in American politics. The men whose patriotic impulses he is stalking now would do well for their cause, which is not Roosevelt's but is La Follette's, to listen attentively to this much at least of what La Follette has to say about the object of their curious idolatry and the thrilling dime-novel adventure he is inviting them into:

While special interests have been increasing their hold upon the administrative side of the government at Washington, progressive Republicans in many stanch Republican States have wrested the control of government from these interests and have enacted statutes restoring representative government to the people of those States. . . . The contest in many of these States was severe and protracted. Defeat was encountered again and again. While Roosevelt was President he offered no encouragement to the progressive Republicans who were struggling with the old machine bosses to enact direct primaries and other progressive statutes. His influence was openly on the side of the reactionaries. His appointees were the most active agents of the opposition. In Wisconsin Federal officeholders were lobby agents for the corporations and spent their time almost wholly at the State capital during legislative sessions. I am somewhat acquainted with the conditions which prevailed in northern and western States, where I spoke year after year in support of the effort to establish progressive Republican government, and I know that the same opposition was encountered in most of those States. Until little more than one year ago Roosevelt had not even expressed himself as friendly to what had become—while he was in Africa—so widely known as the progressive Republican movement. Not until about five months ago did he make his so-called declaration of principles. Shortly thereafter he abandoned any attempt to discuss his

"principles." Ignoring issues, he lured the President into a campaign so bitterly personal that by the time of the Chicago convention the frenzy and passion aroused subordinated everything to a fierce scramble to seat delegates and secure the nomination. And upon this mad squabble for office between two men under whose administrations the Republican party had made the trust, tariff and special interest records for which it is most severely criticised, it is proposed to destroy a sound and vital progressive movement, which had already gone far to nationalize itself within a great and powerful organization. . . . A political party is not made to order. It is the slow development of powerful forces working in our social life. Sound ideas seize upon the human mind. Opinions ripen into fixed convictions. Masses of men are drawn together by common belief and organized about clearly defined principles. . . . But what abject folly to seek upon such a basis to destroy a great political party 7,000,000 strong, with a clear progressive majority in its ranks, within which there has been bullded up a progressive movement that promises to make the Republican party the instrument through which government shall be completely restored to the people. I would in no degree disparage the good work of the progressive Democrats. Encouraged by Bryan's support of progressive principles, many Democrats in Wisconsin and other States abandoned their party on State issues and supported the Republican progressive programme. And it was Bryan's superb leadership and courage at Baltimore which nominated a candidate for the Presidency who has made a progressive record as Governor of New Jersey. I repeat—and in no partisan spirit—that the progressive movement began within the Republican party. It rapidly advanced its control, shaping policies of State administrations and stamping its impress upon national legislation as a distinctly progressive Republican movement. And upon this fact in recent political history I appeal to progressive Republicans everywhere to maintain their organization within the Republican party. To maintain such organization blind allegiance to every party nomination and to every party declaration is not essential. . . . It seems to me that the highest obligation of real progressive Republicans in every State is to maintain their organization and continue to fight within the lines of the Republican party for progressive principles, policies and candidates. No aid or encouragement should be given to a third party plan to divide the progressive vote and destroy the progressive Republican movement. No break should be permitted in the progressive ranks which will endanger the election of any true progressive Republican anywhere. Every effort should be put forth to increase the number of thoroughgoing progressive Republicans in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. Progressive Republicans never had a higher call to greater service.



### British Labor Leaders in Politics.

The comments of Labor Party leaders in Great Britain upon the issue sustained at the Hanley by-election by Mr. Outhwaite, which Mr. Garrison

quotes in our Editorial Correspondence this week, are on a par with some Labor Party policies at by-elections of seeking to obstruct progressiveness in the Liberal party. It is regrettable that Labor Party leaders like Macdonald and Hardie are as blinded by partisanship as they appear to be from their language as Mr. Garrison quotes them, and from their speeches as reported in local papers. To Mr. Macdonald the taxation of land values does not seem to touch what he calls unearned increment derived from capital; to Mr. Hardie it is a red herring across the trail. If the taxation of land values really means no more to those Labor leaders, explanation would be futile so far as they are concerned, and men like Mr. Outhwaite may have found it so. But it can hardly be that all the Labor leaders of Great Britain are as oblivious to the fact that when you strike down land monopoly you dislodge capital monopoly. On the point that the Liberals invaded a Labor constituency at the Hanley election, the poll tells the story better than any assertions or arguments from partisan leaders on either side. The radical Liberal candidate at Hanley, whom Labor leaders opposed with vigorous unreason as a Singletaxer, and who carried the constituency at the election by a majority of 654 over the Tory, polled in all 6,647 votes, whereas the Labor Party candidate polled only 1,694. To call that a Labor Party constituency is to trifle with figures if not with words.



### THE PARCEL POST.

Now that the parcel post has been brought to an issue by the bill introduced by Senator Bourne, with the endorsement of Postmaster General Hitchcock, one can but wonder at the vast amount of effort required to secure such a needed utility. We have as a nation become very conservative. It is no longer a question of America leading the world, but of limping along at the tail end of the procession. Spain alone of the European countries has kept us company. And of late months it has been a matter of speculation as to whether or not the youngest republic in Asia would not have a parcel post before the oldest republic in America.

In seeking the cause of our tardiness in establishing this postal service, one is again impressed with the truth that it is not the tyrant that oppresses the people, but the ignorance and cupidity of the people themselves. Though the express companies have opposed this reform, and for years have maintained a lobby in Washington, the effective sum and substance of their opposition has

been supplied by the small country merchants. The mail-order business is the ogre with which they frightened each other. They saw in the growth of the mail-order business, not a reflection on their own antiquated methods, but only a loss of immediate profits; and, true to their bourgeois instincts, they set about arousing the protective spirit. On the one hand they bulldozed the rural press into supporting their cause, while on the other hand they frightened the city wholesalers into joining them. If the mail-order houses had cheap postage they would drive out the rural merchant, the country paper would be deprived of advertising, and the wholesaler would lose his customer. And so all three fell upon any Congressman who dared to entertain the idea of a parcel post.

In the struggle to secure this much-needed Governmental service, it would have been comparatively easy to overcome the opposition of the express companies alone; but when it came to running counter to the wishes of the country merchant, backed by the country press and the city jobbers, Congressmen paused and calculated the chances of re-election. And once they set about finding excuses for opposing the parcel post, it is surprising what a multitude of reasons they found. One unafflicted with the protective spirit might have supposed that the main essential is to secure the most economical exchange of goods between the farmer and the manufacturer. Whatever part middlemen have in this should be such only as makes the exchange cheaper than it would be without them.

But that was not the view of the middlemen. The question with them was, not the cheapest service rendered the farmer and the manufacturer, but the highest toll that could be exacted by the middlemen. "Suppose," argued the rural editor, "the farmer can buy a necktie or a currycomb cheaper of a mail-order house, what does the mail-order house buy of the farmer? What taxes does it pay in his community? What charities does it support? Go to, we'll keep our money at home." The editor supported the merchant because the merchant patronized the editor; and both together made the farmer think they supported him. It was the old, old story of protection, under a different guise. And like the older theory of protection it had in the farmer a docile victim.

Even now that the parcel post has been brought to an issue, it has about it the air of one intent upon robbing his neighbor's hen roost. The House bill went only to the extent of permitting

parcels on rural routes, and at a rate of five cents for the first pound, with one cent for each additional pound. The plain purpose of this was to permit the rural merchant to do a mail-order business, while shutting out the city merchant; and, incidentally, to turn the Post Office Department into a country errand boy for the express companies. But once a breach was made in the protective wall, others rushed in. Even the Postmaster General has mustered up sufficient courage to come out for a general parcel post before Congress had time to act upon his original suggestion of a rural parcel post. The Bourne bill adds to this five-cent rate for city and rural delivery, the following rates for varying distances, or zones: In the 50-mile zone, six cents for the first pound and two cents for each additional pound; 200-mile zone, seven and three cents; 500-mile zone, eight and four cents; 1,000-mile zone, eleven and seven cents; 2,000-mile zone, twelve and ten cents; all above 2,000 miles, twelve cents for the first pound and twelve cents for each additional pound. The limit of weight is eleven pounds.

That these rates are unnecessarily high will doubtless be proven in practice; but the main thing is to make a beginning. Once the principle is established it will be comparatively easy to amend the law. And not the least of the good things to be hoped for from a parcel post is that the great volume of mail will make the abnormally high charges of the railroads so plain as to compel their reduction to something within reason.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

Grasmere, England, July 15.

The by-election at Hanley has resulted in a great victory for land reform. The triumph of Mr. Outhwaite, the Liberal candidate, in spite of the hostility of the Labor Party and the general unpopularity of the Insurance Act, cannot fail to give an impressive stimulus to the attack on the landed oligarchy to which the Liberal Party is now definitely committed.

Of the two leading Liberal journals, the "Daily News and Leader" and the "Manchester Guardian," the former has thrown its whole weight in favor of the land taxation campaign. Before the poll was declared it said editorially, "We do not underestimate the importance of this election. . . It is a matter of the most urgent importance that the great campaign in which Mr. Outhwaite is one of the bravest and sturdiest fighters should not be checked at the outset and the door to a reform which is the very hope of all future progress be slammed just when it is

opening." The "Manchester Guardian" has remained lukewarm, if not actually hostile to these ideas, contenting itself with conventional support of the Liberal candidate while deprecating his introduction against the protest of the Labor Party.

In its failure to grasp the significance of the Single-tax the Labor Party has shown itself less far sighted than the class it ostensibly represents. Like all organizations, political parties tend to lose sight of the ideals they are formed to serve, and are governed by the law of self-preservation. Reforms have always grown in strength outside of political groups and therefore free from the repressing influence of expediency. If the Liberal Party offers hope at the present time it is because the eyes of the people have been opened by the non-political propagandists, and the pressure from the constituencies forces it for the moment to attack interests that are by no means negligible within the party itself.

The attitude of the Labor Party was thus defined by its leaders during the campaign. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald declared that "there was no more absurd idea than that all rates and taxes should be imposed on land. It meant that employers, stock exchange gamblers, financiers and millionaires would be free to exploit the workers, but unless they owned land they would not pay a penny in the rates and taxes. The Labor Party would tax unearned increment whether derived from land or from capital." Mr. Keir Hardie described the land tax policy as the latest red herring of the Liberal Party. "The policy of the Labor Party was nationalization on the lines of the telephone purchase." Mr. W. C. Anderson referred to the "few eager enthusiasts who appear to imagine that land was given not to use but to tax. Vague denunciation of landlordism and land monopoly," he continued, "may for a time win electoral support; but the workers will not follow very far or very long the cry, which is essentially a capitalist cry, that the element of unearned increment in capital should be relieved from taxation and the element of unearned increment in land made to carry the whole burden." The words of Labor members during this contest may return to plague them at some future stage of the controversy when the lines are sharply drawn between the people and the landlords.

Hanley will not soon forget the Land Song. During the past weeks the air has vibrated with the notes of "Marching Through Georgia," and the refrain, "The land, the land, 'twas God who gave the land." The Liberal platforms were provided with harmonium and gramophone to give the pitch at the appropriate moment, and even the opposition speakers must have gone home from the contest with the melody singing in their heads. The announcement of the poll was greeted with prolonged cheers by the crowd of 30,000 assembled in front of the Town Hall. Addressing them Mr. Outhwaite said, "I came down here to show how the people may be emancipated. I told you I thought you could trust the Liberal government to adopt the policy. You believed that and you have sent me with a mandate to the Government. That mandate will be delivered in all honesty. Believe me, we have to-day done a great thing for freedom." As soon as he had ceased speaking the crowd, with one impulse, broke into the chorus of the Land Song. Some 40,000 people were waiting to cheer the new

member at Burslem and there also the enthusiasm culminated in the Land Song.

F. W. GARRISON.



## CANADIAN POLITICS IN SASKATCHEWAN.

Ceylon, Sask.

The recent Saskatchewan campaign affords a good cross-sectional view of Canadian politics in action. It shows the party machines in full working order, and also a new factor that may "cut some ice" in the future. The subjects discussed in the speeches were direct legislation, government farm loans, government storage elevators, the transfer of title to our natural resources to the Province, and others more remote or less important. The above cannot be said to have been issues, for the two parties were in substantial agreement in favor of them all. The real battle was between the national parties to gain control of the Province for strategical purposes in the next national contest.



Elections here are simple, in that you only vote for the single office of member of legislature or parliament. Nominations are made in a most undemocratic way, not by a representative convention, but by a select gathering, and a candidate need not be a resident of the constituency he seeks to represent. As a result, in my own constituency two candidates were nominated neither of whom had ever been heard of by perhaps a majority of the voters. If a primary election law ever was urgently needed it is here.

The parties did not divide on local issues. If the policies both alike advocated are progressive it is because they are supposed to be popular and no powerful interests have seen fit to oppose them. The same may be said of past legislation, such as the Torrens land titles act, some excellent labor laws, and our exemption of farm improvements from taxation.



It is hard for a "Yankee" to understand why Canada, with no Civil War traditions, should exhibit such extreme party feeling. In the prairie Provinces, settled from the four corners of the earth, large numbers have not yet found a party home, but every campaign shows a stricter alignment; every year less straggling among party leaders. Strong men have violated conscience and home interests at the behest of the Ottawa machine. When this Province was created our Premier-to-be demanded that Saskatchewan own and administer her natural resources. Later he accepted and defended in lieu thereof, a ridiculously low annual cash subsidy. Our Opposition leader, in a ringing speech, defended reciprocity and refused "to learn at the feet of the eastern Gama-liels." Later, he was constrained to change his mind, and so went into this contest with the greatest handicap of his life. It is to the credit of both men that their untrammelled decisions were in favor of the people, and provocative of lasting suspicion that the party machines hold other interests as of more consequence.

But now, enter the new factor. The East, as usual, has been slow in recognizing the revolutionary spirit that is stirring the West. The feeling of injustice is of long standing. Scales of prices that perhaps were necessary in the days of small traffic and uncertain payments have persisted long after the shadow of an excuse has passed. The hopes of partial relief by access to the American markets were last fall dashed to the ground, and immediately the revolution was on. The grain blockade of last winter in sight of the American market added force to the revolution. This campaign was conducted after the most approved fashion, the Conservative speakers proving conclusively that reciprocity was dead and that a Provincial legislature could not make it effective even if it were not dead. The people voted exactly as they would if not a speech had been made.



The prophets are already forecasting the future. The Alberta election will be a repetition of this. The rotten Conservative government in Manitoba can scarcely survive an election since the telephone and elevator scandals. The Liberals have carried Quebec and claim a fighting chance in Ontario. Borden went into power bound by obligations that will prevent his doing anything opposed to the predatory interests. Some say that Laurier will administer a dose of the Borden specific at the next session of Parliament, others that he will wait till two or three Provincial elections are held.

But the victory of a party is not necessarily a victory for the people. Parties serve the people only when they see dire punishment awaiting them for their failure. And it is by no means certain that the people of Canada are prepared to exact democratic service from any party. Still, some progress can be reported.

GEO. W. ATKINSON.



### AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, June 7, 1912.

General elections were held last month in the States of Queensland and Tasmania.

The Labor party lost ground in Queensland, but gained in Tasmania. Before the election in Queensland, there were 40 Liberals and 32 Laborites; after, the numbers were 47 Liberals and 25 Laborites.

In Tasmania, the old Parliament was composed of 19 Liberals and 11 Laborites; the new one consists of 16 Liberals and 14 Laborites.



In every State as well as in the Commonwealth, there are now two parties only, Liberal and Labor.

In the Commonwealth and in the States of New South Wales and West Australia, the Laborites are in power; in the other States the Liberals have majorities.



Hon. George Fowlds, New Zealand's leading Singletaxer, has stated he has definitely determined to throw in his lot with the Labor party. "I hope," he

says, "to see the Labor party of New Zealand adopt a sane programme of reform which all the moderate progressive people of New Zealand will be able to commend." That these hopes are not without solid foundation is shown by the important planks adopted at a recent conference of the N. Z. United Labor party. Planks 2, 3 and 4 read as follows: (2) Proportional representation on single transferable vote. (3) A land system shall be established which shall bring into the most productive use, either by individual undertakings or by public enterprise, all natural resources; shall make absentee ownership and private monopoly in land impossible; shall secure to the landholder all the values created by him and those only; all such values to be exempt from all taxation; and shall secure to the public in an annual tax all values created by the public. (4) Increased taxation of land values; the revenue so raised to be used to reduce the cost of living by the reduction of customs taxes on necessaries of life not produced in New Zealand, and by the reduction of railway freights and fares.

ERNEST BRAY.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### RELIGION AND THE SINGLETAX.

Seattle, Washington.

When I came West from college, something more than ten years ago, my attention was called to "Progress and Poverty"; and with all the ardor of youth I began calling the attention of others to it, only to find the others uninterested and satisfied with the existing order. Thereafter the Singletax lay on the shelf, for me, with the nebular hypothesis and other beautiful theories which, while they manifest the perfection of reason, seem to be of no practical consequence. The inevitable awakening came about three years ago when a neophyte in the faith demonstrated to me that people as a rule were interested and dissatisfied.

My tendency to pursue the same hectic agitation so common among political reformers was checked by the consciousness that the visible results were not commensurate with the quantity or quality of Singletax effort which had been put forth in the generation just past. Thereafter it was my privilege for more than a year to move in various communities on the Pacific Coast where I could talk politics with individuals and groups who knew nothing of me, and among these I took pains to observe the grounds for their action or reaction, as the case might be, with the purpose of ascertaining the Singletaxer's line or least resistance in offering his gospel.

There were many interesting conclusions that forced themselves forward, out of the mass of evidence accumulated, but they are relatively unimportant in comparison with the prime factor that shall be the basis of my action in the future as it has been in the two years that have passed since my study of the question. The prime factor lies in my belief that the accomplishment of the Singletax ideal depends on our reaching the minds of men and women whose lives are actuated by religious

motives. I mean to make the distinction between an appeal to selfishness, to "intelligent self-interest," to economic expediency, on the one hand, and an appeal to the mutual obligations of common brotherhood on the other.



I am fully cognizant that my conclusion is, with many people, an error too well established to admit of argument; but the larger opportunities for observation in the recent campaign in Seattle have only deepened in me the feeling of futility in appealing to those who, as a great philosopher observed, have set their hearts exclusively upon the pursuit of worldly welfare and are always in a hurry, for they have but a limited time in which to reach, to grasp and to enjoy it. Moreover, to be valid, my proposition requires a definition of religion that will be as broad as the answer to the question in which Jesus Christ asked whether profession or action was the basis of worship: "Verily I say unto you, That the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you."

The strength that the Seattle campaign brought in support of the views here presented came not out of the defeat of a fiscal proposal, but out of a victory for a moral proposition—a victory none the less because it lacked some votes of being able to enact a law. How much of a victory it was can best be comprehended by learning how deep is the fear of approaching righteousness in the hearts of those modern Pharisees and Sadducees to whom we are, literally enough, publicans and harlots.

Among Singletaxers there are many who have been so thoroughly repulsed by the formalism of modern church life that the idealism of Henry George is, for the present, the only intelligible translation of the exhortation to have but one God and to love one's neighbor. Curiously enough, Roman Catholics are next to the Christian Scientists, according to my experience, in the readiness and fervor with which they adopt the tenets of the Singletax; while my own denomination, the Presbyterian, comes somewhere near the end of the list of sects. And of professions, ministers of the gospel are not by any means the most susceptible to the lure of the sinless tax, quite surpassing in impregnability the lawyers and the doctors; while among that great mass of people who are not cunning enough to dissemble their beliefs, who do as they believe and who adopt the Singletax only because it is right, there is the way of successful approach—an approach that can only be made, under whatever title, by an appeal based on the fundamentals of religious principle.



It seems to be pretty well agreed by observers that the present unrest, inevitable as it may appear from a materialistic viewpoint, is but the manifestation of an effort on the part of the race to realize in practice those ideals that are all embraced in the one term religion; it is a seeking after righteousness, a righteousness the letter of which is familiar to all, and the fulfillment of which (as applied to the social organism) Singletaxers understand. How better can it be offered to the seekers after truth than on the basis and in the terms of that brotherly love

which, present or absent, is the measure of civilization's glory or debasement?

Vancouver presents what seems to me to be an important lesson to our band of instructors in civic righteousness. Hailed far and wide as the "Singletax city," most of its people have no conception of what the hue and cry is about, except that it makes good free advertising; what is more, they boast of and are glad in—which means that they worship—the large increase in the people-value of land that has come with the exemption of buildings from taxation. They who worship are far from desiring the destruction or alienation of their god, and in the ultimate reckonings it will probably be found that Seattle is nearer lasting accomplishment on Singletax lines than Vancouver is.



Among the workers in Seattle a majority will disagree with the idea here presented, including many whose motives, under whatever name they may be known, are in the last analysis both religious and Christian, needing no spur save the common weal, no faith but that the evil of collective life will cease when we adopt the boundless good that is placed here for us by eternal Love and that moved Henry George as no other power could have moved him.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.



## THE CHURCHES ARE WAKING UP.

Chicago, Ill.

It has been customary among social reformers to arraign the churches, and especially those who profess to be followers of the Prophet of Nazareth, for neglect of duty as guardians of morality and religion. And such arraignment has, I believe, on the whole, been well deserved. Individual righteousness between man and man has been more or less strenuously urged, but social righteousness has, for some reason or other, almost wholly been lost sight of.

However, the churches are waking up. Here is an instance:

At the General Conference of Unitarian churches, held at Washington, October, 1911, a platform was unanimously adopted, which reads, in part, as follows:

The General Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches stands and believes that the individual churches must stand and work:

For equal rights and complete justice for all men of all races, in all stations of life.

For the control of the natural resources of the earth in the interests of all the people.

For the abolition of poverty.

For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

For such safeguarding and extension of the institutions of democratic government as will permit and insure the maintenance of the rights of all against encroachments from the special interests of the few.

And the same sentiment was echoed at the annual meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference, held in this city in May, in the following unanimously adopted resolution:

Whereas, A potential world democracy is leavening

the whole lump of human civilization which promises to lift all humanity in a real brotherhood and make the earth more like the kingdom of heaven; therefore, be it Resolved, That the Western Unitarian Conference expresses its sincere sympathy with every peaceful movement aiming to emancipate the individual, man or woman, from every form of ecclesiastical, political, or industrial tyranny. Particularly do we sympathize with the wage earner in his struggle for economic justice and with all humanitarians in their efforts for equal suffrage, for the abolition of involuntary poverty, and also for the ending the evils of child labor.

AUGUST DELLGREN.



### A VALUABLE ADDENDUM.

Prescott, Arizona, July 15.

I should like to express my hearty agreement with the policy of "The Public" referred to in your "Confidential Editorial" to Singletaxers in The Public of July 12 on page 63 and to suggest the following addendum: No Singletaxer will thoroughly understand why he is not a party Socialist until he has a full understanding of Socialism as advocated by them; and when he does understand this, he will find many battlefields in his community in which there is an advantage in mutual help. This is also true as to other organizations. In such a course there is no surrender of principle on the part of the Singletaxer, but a practical and tactical advantage.

N. A. VYNE.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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, July 30, 1912.

### Mr. Roosevelt's Party.

At the Progressive Republican convention for New Jersey on the 23d at Asbury Park, it was decided to nominate a complete State ticket, as well as Roosevelt electors. The platform, which commits its supporters to "support no candidate for public office who is not an avowed supporter of the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt for President of the United States," puts forth the following articles of faith:

Nomination of party candidate for President and Vice-President by direct primaries; election of President and Vice-President by popular vote; direct election of United States Senators; simpler and easier methods whereby the people may amend the Constitution of this State and of the United States; the initiative, referendum and recall; the submission to the people of an amendment to the State Constitution, giving women the same right to vote as men; a national progressive income and inheritance tax; Government ownership and operation of express, telegraph and telephone service; protective tariff limited to the difference in cost of production here

and abroad and a downward revision of the present tariff; solution of the trust problem by strict governmental regulation and control through a commission, and by the abolition of all special privileges; revision of the patent laws, so that patents shall encourage American inventions, but shall no longer be a shelter for monopoly, and to that end we demand that all future patents shall be open to public use on payment of a royalty to the patentee fixed by the Government; laws providing for the government ownership and operation of railroads and all other public utilities in Alaska, and for the leasing of all Alaska coal, mineral and timber lands, with a provision that nonuse shall work a forfeiture of the lease; opposition to the Aldrich financial scheme and demand for unrestricted competition in banking; a law authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix railroad freight and passenger rates and regulate interstate-commerce.

[See current volume, page 702.]



The Progressive Republican convention of Vermont at Burlington on the 23d, voting down by 57 to 11 a motion to abstain from nominating a State ticket, nominated one entire. The Rev. Francis Metzger is at the head of it as candidate for Governor.



In Illinois the State convention of the Progressive Republicans is set for the 3d at Chicago. It is announced that all who participate must first sign a pledge to support the candidates of the convention and stand upon its platform. This is done to prevent a capture of the convention by friends of Governor Deneen, who aim to secure support for his re-election from both the regulars and the Progressives. [See current volume, page 703.]



Progressive Republicans of Iowa held their State convention at Des Moines on the 24th. They adopted a platform, named a delegation to the national convention at Chicago on the 5th, and provided for the complete organization of the State. The platform declares for Roosevelt, urges Presidential primaries, the popular election of United States Senators, the Initiative and Referendum, physical valuation of railroad properties, and a protective tariff "suited to the fostering of labor in domestic manufactures, agriculture and other industries." [See current volume, page 682.]



At Provo on the 27th, the State convention of Utah Progressives expressed in resolutions their sorrow at leaving the Republican party, because its face was "now turned toward the setting sun," and decided to create a complete organization with tickets for every office from Governor to constable.



The Wyoming Progressives endorsed Roosevelt in State convention at Cheyenne on the 28th.



An application to enjoin the county clerks of Kansas from printing on ballots for the primaries to be held on the 6th, under the title "Republican Party," the names of men as candidates for Presidential Electors who have declared that if elected they will vote for Roosevelt in the Electoral College, was denied on the 27th by the Supreme Court of the State.



The Progressive convention of Massachusetts was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the 27th. Among the 36 delegates chosen to represent the Progressives of the State at Chicago on the 5th, 3 are women. All are pledged to vote for Roosevelt for President and Governor Johnson of California for Vice President. No candidate of any party is to be indorsed for Congress, Senate, or House by Massachusetts' Progressive Republicans until after the primaries; and not then, said the temporary chairman to enthusiastic applause in response, "until he unqualifiedly takes his stand for Roosevelt and Progressive principles."



A mass meeting of Progressives at Helena on the 29th resolved itself into a State convention for Montana, and named delegates to attend the Roosevelt convention at Chicago on the 5th. On the same day delegates from New Mexico were elected by a State convention at Albuquerque.



One of the delegates from Rhode Island to the Roosevelt convention is Lucius F. C. Garvin, the Singletaxer of national fame, who was twice elected Governor of Rhode Island\* as a Democrat and who has for years been the Progressive leader, irrespective of party, in that State. Governor Garvin is reported by the Providence (R. I.) Journal of the 26th as having accepted Mr. Roosevelt's personal request to second his nomination as the new party's candidate for President of the United States at the convention next week. In an address before the People's Forum at Providence on the 28th Governor Garvin explained his reasons for leaving the Democratic party and joining the new organization. They are in substance that—  
a new party, including many Republicans, and fully committed to the right of the people to rule, and to social, political and industrial justice, is essential to Progressive legislation in Rhode Island; that in no other way is it possible successfully to apply these principles to present issues in either State or nation; and that the only possible leader of the new party at this time is Theodore Roosevelt, whose fidelity

to Progressive principles no one can doubt who has read his Columbus speech or what he has been writing and saying ever since.



#### The Populist Party.

The People's Party national convention, commonly known as Populist, is called to meet at St. Louis on August 10th. The call, issued by the chairman of the national committee, James H. Ferriss, declares the dominant demands of the party to be that—

(1) Congress shall issue all money and regulate the value and the volume. (2) The public land for actual settlers. (3) The government to control the railroads and those public utilities which by their nature are monopolies. (4) The Initiative, Referendum and Recall. (5) Protection of labor.

The convention headquarters are to be at the New St. James Hotel in St. Louis.



#### Democratic Politics in Iowa.

The platform of the Democratic State convention of Iowa held at Cedar Rapids on the 25th, favors the Initiative and Referendum, direct nomination of all officers through primary elections, the Presidential primary plan, the election of national and State committeemen by direct vote, government ownership of telegraphs and telephones, physical valuation of railroads, employers' liability act and woman's suffrage. [See current volume, page 566.]



#### A National Income Tax.

Through a combination of Progressive Republican with Democratic Senators, the Senate of the United States adopted on the 27th an excise bill which levies a tax of 1 per cent on the net income in excess of \$5,000 of all businesses whether of co-partnerships or individuals. Corporations are not included because the corporation tax law already covers them. The bill had been reported adversely by the Senate committee on finance. Its character is indicated by the minority report, which states that the measure—

if enacted into law, will be a step in the direction of equalizing national taxation, relieving to some extent the consumers of the country, who are now required to bear the whole burden, and transferring a part of that burden to those more able to bear it. It is unfortunate that a general income tax cannot now be levied, so as to reach the unproductive wealth of the country, but the fact that under the decision of the Supreme Court in the income tax case such wealth cannot be reached until the Constitution is amended ought not to be used as an argument against our proceeding with the work of tax equalization as far as possible.

[See vol. xiv, p. 682; current volume, page 639.]

\*See vol. xiv, pp. 1163-66.

### The Sugar Tariff in the Senate.

Through a combination of Progressive with reactionary Republican Senators the United States Senate passed a bill on the 27th reducing the tariff on sugar—a compromise between a bill offered by Senator Lodge (Reactionary) and one by Senator Bristow (Progressive). It reduces the sugar duty from \$1.90 to \$1.60 per hundred pounds, abolishes the Dutch standard test which operates to exclude nearly all imports of refined sugar, and repeals the "refiners' differential" duty which is a supplementary tariff for the benefit of refiners. A Democratic bill for free sugar, passed by the House, did not come to a vote in the Senate, the Lodge-Bristow compromise being adopted as an amendment by 37 to 27. The two Louisiana Senators, both Democrats, voted with the Republicans. Thereupon the Senate Democrats offered a bill reducing the sugar tariff one-third as a substitute for the free-sugar bill of the House. The proposed substitute was defeated by 36 to 24. Finally the Lodge-Bristow measure was adopted by 52 to 3, the opposition votes being those of the two Louisiana Senators (Democrats) and that of Senator Heyburn (Republican) of Idaho. The subject goes now to a conference committee of the two houses, unless the lower house accepts the Senate measure without a conference. [See current volume, pages 265, 324.]



### The First National Newspaper Conference.

At Madison, Wisconsin, the First National Newspaper Conference opened on the 29th under the auspices of the Extension Department of the State University. The opening addresses were made by Prof. Louis E. Reber, dean of the extension department of the University of Wisconsin, by James T. Trotman of Milwaukee, president of the Board of University Regents of Wisconsin, by William J. Anderson of Madison, chairman of the committee on arrangements, and by Dr. George E. Vincent, president of the University of Minnesota. Governor McGovern of Wisconsin made the principal address of welcome. The Conference continues through the 30th and 31st and the 1st. While it is attended by newspaper men from different parts of the United States, it is also attended and participated in by others than newspaper men, and its purpose is the promotion of newspaper service with reference primarily to public interests as distinguished from the private interests of newspapers. [See current volume, page 684.]



### The Labor War.

"On the front page of a leading London Conservative daily paper I read a few days ago the glaring headlines: 'The King Visits a Music Hall—Three Millions of Roses Used to Decorate the Interior of the Palace!' A little farther down on

the same page another set of headlines, comparatively small beside those containing the more important announcement, catches my eye: 'Starvation in the East End—Baby Brought to Church for Christening Wrapped in Brown Paper!' The headlines contain a scathing arraignment of social conditions in England: Three million roses to please the eyes of the King—a piece of coarse brown wrapping paper to cover the nakedness of a workingman's baby!" These are the words of Philip Everett, the newspaper correspondent in the introduction to his cable letter to the Cincinnati Enquirer of the 14th on the labor war, a battle in which has been going on for weeks in England. [See current volume, page 582.]



The Labor side appears to have lost that battle. "Hollow-eyed women and gaunt, starving children, victims of ten weeks' hunger, today forced 10,000 dock workers to give up their fight for higher wages and return to work," says a special London correspondent of the Hearst papers by cable on the 27th, as we quote it from the Chicago Examiner of the 28th. Continuing, this correspondent says:

In a manifesto issued by the committee of the strikers it was stated that failure to secure the cooperation of other unions had caused the dock workers to quit the battle, but the newspapers here are of the opinion that starvation forced the surrender. The strike had reduced some of the workmen and their families to such destitution that some have literally starved to death. Fifty thousand men will resume work on the docks Monday [the 29th] and the companies against which the strike was directed have assured the workers that they will be given an opportunity to state their grievances peacefully. Throughout the strike the clergy and a large number of charitable organizations have attempted to alleviate the sufferings of the strikers and their families, but the task proved too great for their resources, and it had just been decided to appeal to the Government when the end of the strike was announced. John Havelock Wilson, president of the International Seamen's Union, failed today in his attempt to organize a national strike of transportation workers in support of the London dockmen. This attempt to extend the strike was even carried so far as to ask the assistance of the international labor unions in America, but all failed to respond. Transatlantic liners were held up here for weeks during the strike and public sympathy had been generally alienated by threats of violence made officially by the strikers. A frenzied mob of 10,000 strikers gathered on Tower Hill, prayed to God to "strike Lord Devenport dead," the Baron being chairman of the port of London, who, as an employer, had refused to make concessions to the strikers.



A London despatch of the 28th, appearing in the Chicago Tribune of the 29th, states that—  
The dock strikers have angrily repudiated the deci-

sion of the strike committee of the Transport Workers' Federation, announcing the strike at an end, and have declared for no surrender to the employers. At a big meeting of the strikers at Southwark Park today the men hauled their leaders over the coals in rough language, and it was not until something in the nature of an explanation was given that comparative calm was established.



### The Land Question in British Politics.

News of the advance of British radicalism toward the heart of all industrial problems, the land question, is spreading through the American press. In his cable letter of the 27th to the Chicago Tribune, T. P. O'Connor, M. P., refers in this wise to what he calls the "complex situation of internal politics" in Great Britain:

At all recent by-elections the radical land reformers have thrust themselves and their policy in the forefront of the battleground and have made a new departure inevitable in the Radical party. But this preliminary stage of land reform, especially when advanced by avowed Singletaxers, separates instead of uniting the Liberal ranks. Capitalists and land-owning sections already utter cries of revolt, and the Tories take advantage of the contradictions in the Liberal position by asking awkward questions in Parliament. All this reacts against the position of the Ministers, and especially of Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George, and has led to constant rumors of his early resignation. These rumors are without foundation, but it is certain that Lloyd George intends to put himself at the head of a big land reform movement next October which, while different from the Singletax extremists' plan, will still send Tory landlords into furies of terror and vituperation, and may antagonize some moderate sections. The Liberals' fate in this crusade will depend largely on the nature of the proposals and also on what backing Lloyd George gets among his colleagues. Asquith, it is believed, will agree in the main with Lloyd George, but Lloyd George's relations with Churchill are strained partly through Churchill's complete change of front on the question of the navy and partly through Churchill's hankering friendship for Tory landlords, to whose stock he belongs.

The New York Sun of the 14th has this quotation on the same subject from Lloyd George through the United Press from London:

"And now that the workmen's insurance act will be in full operation next Monday," he concluded, "we intend to put our hands to the great work of freeing the land, which was meant for the use of the many but which has drifted into the hands of a few, freeing it for the people and for their children forever."

An interesting illumination of the subject appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer of the 21st in the special cable letter of Philip Everett. We extract the following:

The present Liberal Government probably means well enough and its legislation, nearly all inspired

by Mr. Lloyd George, seems to go in the right direction, but it is doubtful whether it will be able to save the country from a mighty social upheaval such as must come as surely as there are limits even to the patience of the English masses. In the first place the Liberal party supporting the Government contains a number of men on its right wing who in any other country but England would be called conservative, and, in the second place, the power of the Conservative party proper, the Tories, is enormous and their agitation against democratic reforms so violent that it is doubtful if the Government will be allowed to remain in power long enough to carry through such reforms as will convince even the dull masses of English voters that they must look to the Liberals and not to the Tories to save them from their present state of bondage. Lloyd George is going to tax the land. He is going to try in practice on a large scale for the first time the principles championed by the American, Henry George. There is no longer any doubt about it, and a cry of horror is heard in the whole English Conservative press, which on general principles tries to block every change. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will ruin the country, they cry; he is preaching class war and creating anarchists in England, where present conditions are nearer the ideal than anywhere else in the world. The plans of Lloyd George are striking at the very heart of English conservatism, that much is evident from the uproar they have caused. The land is sacred and so are its present possessors, according to the tenets of the Conservative faith. One single example, however, will show how radically wrong are the present conditions in England, where all land is owned by a mere handful of people. The Manor of Huddersfield was sold by the Crown to a certain William Ramsden, ancestor of the present owner, in 1599, for \$4,875. Three hundred years ago the yearly value of the Huddersfield was less than \$125. Now the yearly ground rents amount to no less than \$900,000. The whole of the land in the old township of Huddersfield, with the exception of a small plot in Firth street, long since built over, is the property of Mr. John F. Ramsden, who thus possesses a practical monopoly of the land, so that a man who wants to buy a plot in the township for a house cannot do so, but must lease it from the owner. In consequence no more glaring example of land hunger exists in the country. It is significant that up to the time when the finance act of 1909-10 was placed on the statute books the estate was held by Sir John Ramsden, who is still living. After the passing of the act the estate was transferred by Sir John to his son. Up to 1851 Huddersfield was almost wholly an agricultural town; its rise, as the world knows, being due to the woolen industry. In order to appreciate the present situation, it is necessary that the lease system in vogue should be understood. Until the middle of the last century the land upon which most of the buildings in the town were erected was held either under tenancies at will or renewable leases. In the case of the former the tenants had in most cases erected substantial buildings upon the faith that their rights to those buildings would be recognized by the landowner in the same way that in copyhold manors the rights of tenants are recognized and enforceable. These tenant rights owners were destined to receive a rude

awakening, for about 1850 the Court of Final Appeal decided that they were merely tenants at will, who could be ejected without notice or compensation! Ultimately, after long and bitter agitation, an arrangement was made that the landlord's title should be recognized, and that the tenants should surrender their tenant right interests but retain their buildings on lease from 1859. An act of Parliament was obtained for this purpose. The town of Huddersfield today has a population of 110,005, and every inch of soil upon which it stands is owned by J. F. Ramsden, who in the form of ground rent levies upon it a yearly tribute so regulated that every man, woman and child pays to him an average tax of \$8. The municipal budget last year was £174,425, so that the land owners' tax is actually \$27,875 in excess of the sum demanded for municipal services! Small wonder the Tory party representing the big land owners considers it a crime to suggest any change in conditions so ideal to the one man who counts in their eyes, and who is paying a mere nominal tax to the Government until the new valuation of land will come into force.

[See current volume, pages 673, 678, 697, 701.]



#### The Land Question in Argentina.

Since our report on the proceedings in Argentina for the valuation of land for taxation, the valuation for the capital and the national territories has been completed. Owners were required to declare the value of their property, improvement values separately from land values, under penalty of a fine of 2 per cent. They were consequently expeditious and the valuation was made in two months. Subsequently, at the opening of the Argentina Congress on the 7th of June, President Saenz Peña, in his official speech (corresponding in character to our President's message) informed the Congress with reference to financial affairs, as he is reported in English by the Buenos Aires Standard of June 8:

Without ignoring the resistance with which charges are always received, I consider it necessary to create an impost which some nations have adopted with success and whose absence does not indicate the equity that should be established among us. I refer to the impost upon the valuation of property when such does not proceed from private effort or work but from the collective effort. All necessities of life and all industries, as well as the work of man which assures him moderate profits, are taxed, but not the enrichment obtained without personal effort but by the action of the community, which rewards without merit of its own that which is constituted by the work of all. It is necessary then to amend so notorious a privilege; and while within our institutional regime, Federal legislation can reach the capital and the national territories only, it should be applied to the regions which favor it, in order to fill local necessities and in particular public works. I propose to present to you in the present sessions a bill which I hope will merit your support.

[See current volume, page 469.]

#### Proportional Representation for France.

A belated news dispatch tells of the adoption on the 10th of July by the French Chamber of Deputies, of a Ministerial electoral reform bill, by 339 to 217, which provides, according to the Toronto Globe of July 12th—

first, for abolition of the system of small constituencies, originally established in 1876 (whereby each elector votes for one Deputy only), and for a return to the system of list voting (whereby each elector votes for as many Deputies as the entire Department has to elect); second, for a system whereby, after the poll is taken, the total number of actual voters in the Department will be divided by the number of seats to be filled, in order to obtain the electoral quotient. Each list of candidates will obtain as many seats as the number of times the electoral quotient goes into the total number of votes cast for that list. For the disposal of the remaining seats the different electoral lists in the Department may be pooled. If after the pooled lists have obtained seats some still remain, they will be given to the list or group of lists having more than half the total number of votes cast, unless they already possess a majority of the total number of seats.

The passage of the bill is regarded as a triumph for the Premier, Raymond Poincare. A large section of the Radical and Socialist Radical groups which form an important part of his majority, having opposed the measure, the Premier was obliged to exert his utmost diplomacy and the largest spirit of compromise to attain the result. Strong opposition is expected in the Senate. The first official intimation of this was through an open letter addressed by Senator Georges Clemenceau, formerly the Premier, to the present Premier, and published on the 29th, in which Senator Clemenceau assails the Poincare measure as hostile to the principle of majority rule, which he describes as the foundation of the French republic. It is expected that the bill will come under discussion in the Senate during the autumn session of the French Parliament.



#### Proportional Representation in Tasmania.

Recent State elections in the Australian State of Tasmania, were conducted under what is known as the Hare-Clark system of proportional representation, the so-called "Droop quota" being used. The State was divided into 5 electorates, corresponding with the 5 Federal electorates which return one member each to the House of Representatives in the Commonwealth Parliament. For the purposes of the State Assembly each of these electorates returns 6 Assemblymen. The result of the election was the return of 14 Labor members, 15 Liberals (Government), and 1 independent Liberal. This is the second time the whole State of Tasmania has been similarly polled for the Assembly. [See vol. xii, p. 610.]

**Death of the Emperor of Japan.**

The Emperor of Japan, Mutsuhito, died on the 30th, of Bright's disease, in the 60th year of his age. He is succeeded by his son, Yoshihito, who is nearly 33 years old and is the father of three sons. [See current volume, page 706.]



Mutsuhito was the 121st representative of a dynasty which has occupied the throne of Japan since 660 B. C. From the 12th century down to 1871 the Emperors held a sort of mystical or spiritual position, removed from the actual affairs of practical government, the latter being controlled by a dynasty of rulers called Shoguns, or military leaders. To the outside world as Japan came into the light of western knowledge at the time of the treaty negotiated for the United States by Captain Matthew Perry in 1854, the Shogun was known as the Tycoon. Mutsuhito ascended the throne in 1867. In 1869 he established a deliberative assembly; and in 1871 he abolished the feudal system of Japan and accomplished the resumption of the temporal rule of the Empire for his house. During his reign Japan passed from an oriental to an occidental civilization with a rapidity and thoroughness unparalleled in the history of nations. The late Emperor seems to have been a man of very great abilities and marked power of rule. He was regarded with such reverence as an abstract and almost divine personage that his own personal name of Mutsuhito was never printed or spoken in Japan during his reign, so that a vast number of his subjects did not even so much as know it. In his own country he bore the title of Tenno, but the appellation by which he was called in relation to external affairs was Kotei. Only foreigners used the poetic name of Mikado, which means "Exalted Gate" (something as "Sublime Porte" has been used for the Turkish government, where it was derived from the gate of the palace where justice was administered).



The new Emperor, Yoshihito, is said to be progressive and democratic.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—At a meeting of Mayors of 11 western Canadian cities, held last month in Winnipeg, a resolution endorsing the Singletax was unanimously adopted.

—The United States Senate on the 24th passed the House bill providing for a permanent government for Alaska, but amended it by eliminating a Territorial senate of eight members and making the legislature consist of a single house of sixteen members. The legislature would be prohibited from passing any act disposing of title to lands or granting any exclusive franchise to a corporation without the con-

sent of Congress. Its powers would be specially restricted as to corporations and taxes. [See current volume, page 421.]

—The first International Eugenics Congress opened in London on the 25th with 400 delegates, representing twelve countries. The congress began formally with a banquet and reception, at which speeches were made by Arthur J. Balfour and the Lord Mayor of London.

—More "cloudburst" storms are reported, with loss of life and property. More than 60 lives were lost on the 25th in southwest Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Many mines were flooded. Northern Wisconsin suffered great loss of property by storm-caused floods on the 23d. [See current volume, pages 684, 706.]

—For five minutes on the 25th at Chicago work on every building in the city in which members of the building trades were at work was halted to pay tribute to the memory of Martin B. Madden, whose funeral was being conducted by the Rev. Father J. F. Callaghan at St. Malachy's church. The church was filled with more than 2,000 persons, mostly workmen. [See current volume, page 706.]

—Judge Edmond B. Dillon announced on the 28th his withdrawal as Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio. In his letter Judge Dillon says he accepted the nomination in the full belief that his acceptance would mean a united party and a single ticket in Ohio, but as all endeavor in that behalf has failed, despite the kind services of his friends in each faction of the party, justice to himself requires his resignation.

—The Turkish government is still in difficulty. A body calling itself the Military League demands the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies. The Committee of Union and Progress, which is the force behind the present government, are taking steps to organize whatever strength they have in the army, in readiness for a counter revolution, should there be a military outbreak against the government. [See current volume, page 705.]

—Claude Allen, one of the Virginia outlaws who committed murder in an attempt to rescue another of their number at his trial last year, was convicted on the 27th of murder in the first degree for the killing of the prosecuting attorney, William M. Foster. At an earlier trial he was found guilty of murder in the second degree for the killing of Judge Thornton L. Massie. He is the second to be convicted of first degree murder in connection with the rescue, his father, Floyd Allen, being the other. [See current volume, page 491.]

—In the presence of nearly 8,000 persons the corner stone of the first Negro Y. M. C. A. building of the Middle West was laid in Chicago on the 28th. The building is to cost \$130,000 and to be equipped in every modern way. Negro Masonic, Knights of Pythias, and Odd Fellows lodges, together with the first regiment of the Illinois National Guard, marched in procession as part of the ceremonial of the occasion. Julius Rosenwald, who had donated \$25,000 to the building fund, made the first address. Cyrus H. McCormick and N. W. Harris, who had contributed each \$25,000, were unable to be present and telegraphed their congratulations. The corner

stone was laid by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Masons. About 10,000 Negroes of Chicago have donated an aggregate of some \$68,000 to the building fund.

—Americans living in northern Mexico have been notified by the *insurrectos* under the leadership of General Orozco, that they must give up their arms and leave the country, or join the *insurrectos* and fight against the Madero forces. This ultimatum seems to have been especially enforced against American Mormon colonies in north Mexico. Nearly six hundred women and children, refugees from the colonies, arrived at El Paso, Texas, on the 29th. According to the figures of the Mormon church leaders there have been more than 3,350 Americans in these colonies. Only the women and children are being moved, the men remaining for the present in a disarmed condition. [See current volume, page 706.]

—Ten members of the common council of Detroit, including its president and secretary, were arrested on the 26th charged with accepting bribes to further the passage through the council of a petition by the Wabash railroad for the closing of a street for a new freight depot. The arrests followed an investigation conducted by William J. Burns. Two of the aldermen have confessed, Thomas E. Glinnan, president of the council, being the first to do so. He turned over \$1,000 he had received. The Wabash road wanted to build a warehouse and increase its shipping facilities. Its application was held up in the council at first, but suddenly by a vote of several of the members who had held out against the closing of the street the council granted the railroad the desired permission. All the accused aldermen are candidates for renomination at the approaching primaries. The Wabash railroad has for several months been in the hands of a receiver. [See current volume, page 108.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Judge Hanford.

The Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), July 23.—Judge Hanford has resigned. It is equivalent to a plea of guilty. . . . If able to disprove all the charges, Judge Hanford would have welcomed impeachment proceedings as a means of exoneration. . . . We are sorry for Judge Hanford, sorry for the courts, and sorry for the American public. It is all a mournful tragedy of the bench. And Archbald is yet to come



### Gifford Pinchot's Example.

The (Johnstown) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), July 20.—In a letter addressed to Representative Henry George, who is chairman of a sub-committee of the House committee on the District of Columbia, Gifford Pinchot, former Chief Forester, declares that an examination made by his personal agents convinces him that his assessment under the law should be \$165,333 instead of \$121,360. . . . Mr. Pinchot has set an example that other wealthy men in Washington ought to follow. It is estimated that less than 10 per cent of the population own the

entire District of Columbia. The inequitable assessment of taxes is largely responsible for this inequitable distribution of wealth. It is said that Henry George's report, which will soon be submitted to Congress, will contain some startling disclosures relative to favoritism and unjust discrimination in the matter of taxation in the District of Columbia.



### A Profitable Plague.

The Cincinnati Post (ind.).—While grasping landlords reap a 100 per cent profit in blood money from the tenements; while selfish employers risk the lives of the wage earners in unsanitary factories, the gaunt giant of Tuberculosis will remain with us. Human greed and blindness and sordidness down at the bottom are to blame for this slum-bred disease which from its stronghold of darkness attacks rich and poor, the strong and the weak alike.



### The British Battle for British Land.

The (London) Daily News and Leader (radical Liberal), July 6.—It will be seen then that in making the land the subject of the next Liberal campaign the party will be getting at the root of most of the ills that afflict society today both urban and rural. It will not only restore the peasant to the soil, but relieve the excess of labor in the towns; it will not only settle the problem of housing, but it will readjust to the benefit of the middle classes the gross anomalies in the incidence of taxation. In making this policy the basis of his appeal to Hanley Mr. Outhwaite is unfurling a flag to which men of all classes and parties will rally. It is a policy which embodies the interests of the commonwealth as no other policy has done or can do. We shall be surprised if his great powers of exposition do not make the contest at Hanley memorable by a result which will give an emphatic mandate to the Liberal party to go forward boldly on these great lines of action.



### Church Disestablishment in Wales.

(London) Land Values, June.—The proposals in the Established Church (Wales) bill for devoting the endowments of the Church in Wales to secular purposes and the administration of the funds by the County Councils have opened an interesting chapter in the history of landholding in England. In the debate on the first reading of the bill on the 25th of April it was pointed out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, that among the bitterest opponents of disendowment were the descendants of those who had benefited by the resumption of Church lands by Henry VIII. and their disposal among his favorites. Lord Hugh Cecil took this as a direct reproach to himself and Lord Robert, and declared that if it was Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion that his (Lord Cecil's) family received Church lands, as a matter of historical fact it was not true. The question thus raised in Parliament was widely discussed in the press, and the public has increased its knowledge of the origin of some noble families' fortunes. Professor A. F. Pollard, of the London University took a prominent

part in the controversy, and in his letters to the Times was able to prove conclusively that the Cecil family did receive a share of the plunder of the monasteries. He added that the story of the Cecil fortunes is not singular, it is typical; the share of the appropriation that went to the founder of the Cecil family was small compared with that secured by the founders of other noble families. But we are not interested in these ancient frauds except in so far as they are responsible for modern privileges. The robbery did not cease with the appropriation of these lands. It is not a thing that is past and done with. Day by day the robbery continues in the exaction of rent for the use of land, in the never-ending toll upon the day-to-day industry of the country. Mr. Lloyd George, in the debate on the second reading of the bill on the 16th of May, spoke of tithes being the property of the nation, and on that ground defended the proposal to take them from the Church without compensation. But what is true of tithes is true of the rent of land everywhere; the rent of land is the property of the nation. If the people can resume tithes and are morally justified in doing so, are they not equally entitled to resume the whole rent of land without compensation?



#### The Singletax Victor at Hanley.

Manchester Guardian (Lib.), July 15.—Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, the new member for Hanley, is the son of an Australian farmer, and he spent his youth on sheep and cattle farms in Australia and New Zealand. He left this work to devote himself to the advocacy of land values taxation in Australia, and by his constant work paved the way for the adoption of this system of taxation by the Labor Government of Australia. He went to South Africa on a tour of investigation after the Boer war, and assisted the miners to organize resistance to Chinese labor. After the 1906 election Mr. Outhwaite went to South Africa again on behalf of several English Liberal newspapers, and he took a leading part in the movements which led to the withdrawal of Chinese labor and the conferment of self-government on the conquered States. Mr. Outhwaite has fought two former elections. He contested West Birmingham against Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in 1906, and he led another forlorn hope at Horsham in January, 1910. During the last three or four years Mr. Outhwaite has written a great deal on the land question in England.



#### Chesterton on Expertism.

G. K. Chesterton in The (London) Daily News and Leader (rad. Lib.), July 6.—If I have a pain in my leg I consult a doctor; not because he is wiser or even healthier than I (often he is neither), but because he knows about some six or seven muscles or some six or seven maladies, as I know the scheme of a triolet. But I should not ask him to teach me how to walk; nor is there any necessity for his walking more elegantly than myself.



G. K. Chesterton in The (London) Nation (ind.), June 15.—I hope you will forget our little feuds so far as to let me thank you for your really magnificent

article on the feeble-minded bill. . . . Mr. Lowes Dickinson wrote, I fancy, to the effect that he was not able to judge as an expert; but he understood the experts were agreed. I beg to contradict Mr. Lowes Dickinson; I give him the lie; I tell him to his false face that he is much better able to judge than all the experts in Bumbledom; and I would far rather leave it to his judgment, if he would only consent to use it. It is not a question for experts. Experts have nothing to do with whether a thing is absurd on the face of it. A specialist may have a claim to tell me that he has counted all the lamp-posts in my street, while I have not. A specialist has no claim to tell me that he has counted all the Chinese pagodas in my street. I have counted them myself, and there are none. I have also (with the same result) counted the arguments for an utterly vague weak-mindedness being hereditary among the poor. It is not a question of whether we have read the evidence, but of whether we should believe the evidence; of whether, properly speaking, there can be any evidence. Suppose the House of Lords (or some such body) examined experts about whether a tendency to bursts of impatience was hereditary or not. I am not an expert, but I would very cheerfully send in a report, divided into three sections, thus: "(1) I would point out to your lordships that the whole human race is liable to bursts of impatience, so there will, I predict, be no difficulty about finding impatient children whose parents have been impatient; (2) it may not have escaped your lordships' notice that whether people are impatient or not depends a good deal on what you do to them; and I believe your victims are tested by being woken up in the small hours with a squirt; (3) as I learn that your lordships (not perhaps in theory, but certainly in practice) are conducting your investigations solely in the state of Montenegro, with which country you are imperfectly acquainted and very much out of sympathy, I think other mistakes will be made." Now this comparison is not exaggerated. Substitute for "impatience" the shy, sullen air of nescience and apathy, which is a much commoner fact among the unfortunate. Substitute for the squirt the cursed cockatoo voice and style of the lady slummer and the amateur inspector. Substitute for the national memories of Montenegro the real secrets and prejudices of the poor, and the picture is exact. They are smashing civil liberty because something they cannot define (weak-mindedness) may be something they don't understand (hereditary) in people they don't know—the English people.



In case the Colonel is elected to the Presidency there ought to be a nice position on The Outlook open to Mr. Taft.—Newark Evening News.



"So," said the Goddess of Fortune, "you are weary of steam-yachts and special trains?"

"Yes," replied her especial favorite.

"And you have ceased to care for motor-cars and aeroplanes?"

"Entirely."

"Well, what do you desire now?"

"I want to go into a convention with my private steam-roller."—Washington Star.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### "I AM."

For The Public.

I am the Spirit which moved in the cosmic atoms  
that sprang  
When silence reigned in the deeps and the form  
of man was dust;  
And at My wise command the mystic message rang  
That gathered each living thing to the Shepherd's  
love and trust.

I am the splendor which thrills in the beauty of for-  
est and stream,  
From the hymn of My feathered choir that heralds  
the dawn of light  
To the grandeur lifting the eyes to where glist'ning  
beacons gleam  
Like gems in the nebulous ways o'er the boundless  
fields of night.

I am the Majesty throned o'er the wide swelling  
realm of sea;  
Yea, under the emerald waves I reign in the cor-  
alled deep;  
There my finny kingdom moves where no living man  
shall be,  
Where curious monsters use My power and mol-  
luscan hermits sleep.

I am that Power unmoved when earthquakes rend  
the world,  
When mountains sink in wild tidal seas, and earth  
is a quiv'ring crust;  
But My Spirit lives in My human host whose banners  
e'er unfurled  
Shall Phoenix-like forever spring from ashes and  
the dust.

I am the force which stirs in the heart of the rebel  
slave  
When rooted Bastilles quake, and tyrants hear the  
knell  
Of patriots rending their chains for liberty or the  
grave;  
I am Brotherhood Divine, dispelling the Hates of  
Hell.

I am the Thought, the Idea, which swifter than pin-  
ions of light  
Impregnates the minds of my sons with genius  
for purposeful power  
O'er the uttermost winds and seas—great cities that  
rise in the night:  
Stewards in the Garden of God, bringing seeds of  
His Mind into flower.

I am the smile of the child, filling with holy light  
Wherever the true home stands in the keeping of  
king or slave;  
Archangel of constant Love which cheers e'en the  
pauper's plight;  
Hope of all Sundered hearts, rending the veil of  
the grave.

I am harmonious chords of music with cadences  
sublime,  
Caught by the student's longing ear and echoed on  
harps of Life—  
Music, the Leaven of Love, sweet balm for fleeting  
time,  
Lifting the souls of youth and age from the din of  
worldly strife.

Alpha! Omega! more than the human mind can  
conceive—  
I will reign when the scroll of Time is spent, and  
Infinite Dawn shall be;  
And each pure desire, and wise goal planned of those  
who hope and believe—  
All, all that is built on Truth shall be found again  
in Me.

JOS. FITZPATRICK.



## HOPE AND FAITH IN LONDON SLUMS.

From an Article in the London Nation of April 27,  
1912, on "New Lamps for Old."

The women's "Pleasant Afternoon" that I was allowed to visit was held on a Monday, when the washing had been done in the bath-water of Saturday night, and the cares of Sunday's dinner—the real dinner once a week—were over. It was in an East End district, where the drift of the casual and the unemployed has rushed the population up to 300,000, nearly half of whom live in families earning wages that fall 1s. 8d. a week below the poverty line. The men cling to the failing shipbuilding yards, or join in the wild-beast struggle that still goes on at the dock-gates, in spite of dock-strike and docker's tanner. The women serve the sweater, making trousers at some fraction under a penny a pair, shirts at various rates from 7½d. (some say 6½d.) up to 10d. a dozen, and sacks at 4½d. a dozen. It is said the one hope is that this population is still new to poverty; misery stands at its first generation. But, unless some unexpected revolution comes, in twenty years it will not be new, and misery will trace ancestral pedigrees of its own.

The service began at a quarter to three, but by one o'clock women were already lining up outside as at the gallery door of a theater. For "The Tabernacle," seating barely a thousand, is far too small, and many are turned away. On the floor below is an open hall where babies and other young may be deposited to enjoy a real rocking-horse, bricks, dolls and a heap of sand. Crowded as close as they could sit on the benches upstairs, the women waited till the time came, and the Sister who was to conduct the service stood on a sort of platform before them—a conspicuous woman, whom long and hard experience had not hardened. The first song, shouted in unison by this assembly of weakness and depression, was an aggressive in-



vitation to battle. "Rouse, then, sisters," it began:  
 "Rouse, then, sisters, rally round the banner;  
 Ready, steady, pass the word along."

\* \* \* \* \*

Feeble with hunger, worn with early suffering, battered by life, ugly with low vitality, shapeless, ill-dressed in the cast-off clothes of others, exposed daily to live and inorganic dirt in uneasy homes where cleanliness lies beyond the dreams of wages, some of them gamblers (for one must have excitement), some of them drunkards (for one must have visions of glory), some of them harlots (for one must live)—these English women shouted their war-song, and called on each other to rally round the banner. It was strange.

Then they listened to quiet readings and explanations, to solo singing, to the part-songs of the woman's choir, and finally to the Sister, who mounted the pulpit for her discourse. For years she had shared their lives, and they all knew her well. She told them of the common things she had heard and seen during the week, and she revealed in all the new significance. She told them of a child's question—the child of drunken parents—"Why can't I have a mother to be proud of?" And then she told them of unimaginable things—of a love and joy and care, free and open to them all.

In such a service there was no criticism, no negation. There was a beauty rather below the standard of culture, but welcome to the women present; and there was enough faith, one would have thought, to have removed West Ham into the midst of the sea and washed it. Monday after Monday the women of the poorest part of London throng to the joy of that service in such crowds that the room will not hold them. It is strange.



## LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

### No. 9. "Only a Nigger Baby."

For The Public.

Late one Saturday afternoon the farmer and his son John came home tired and hungry from the field. But the keen-eyed farmer paused at the garden gate and looked down the slope along the lane to the main-traveled road.

"My boy," he said, "there's something wrong out there with those people coming up the valley. They have been an hour poking along past this ranch. I guess their old white horse is most dead. Jump on the colt and help them out. Bring them right in for supper, or to stay all night, and we'll feed up that plug."

The youngster was used to such things. They happened on that farm at all hours of day or night. He leaped the barnyard fence, called his colt, who came running from the pasture, slipped a hackamore on his head, sprang on, bareback,

and galloped down to the big gate. Meanwhile, the farmer went in to supper, and told Mary, his wife, that some guests were likely to happen along.

The boy found a miserable old horse, all skin and bone, dragging with frequent pauses a ramshackle cart by a nondescript harness. In the cart a very old Negro sat holding the bit of rope which served for lines. Beside him was a young colored woman with a sick baby. They looked forlorn, wornout, and utterly hopeless.

"Sar," asked the old Negro, "how far to Cunnel Batten's place?"

"It's four miles, and a good deal up hill," the boy answered.

"Lord, Rosy," the old fellow said to the woman at his side, "hit will take we uns most all night." His voice fell away into a groan of weariness.

"Look here, neighbors," said the boy. "Father and mother and I want you to have supper, and stay till to-morrow. Your horse needs it, and both of you look worn out."

"The baby's awful sick," said the woman, lifting a dusty and tear-stained face.

The boy opened the gate, jumped off his colt, pushed manfully at the old cart, and soon brought the outfit to the garden gate.

"So you are Virginians, too," said the boy, making conversation as they came up the road.

"Law me, Massa, yes!" the old Negro replied. "This yere's my step-niece, an' I got a gran'darter up in the settlement at the Cunnel's."

Then the farmer and his wife came out, carried in the baby, and put it on a cot-bed by the fire; took in the tired mother and the old Negro, set food before them, waited on them, spoke words of good cheer. The boy tied his colt to the fence, and took care of the ancient horse; then he came in to supper, and wondered whether or not this very old Negro had ever seen General Lee, or Stonewall Jackson.

The farmer's wife and the Negro mother sat by the sick baby, talked in low tones, tried to help the sufferer, and felt that the case was beyond their resources.

"We will send for a doctor," the farmer's wife said, at last. "Our old family doctor, who has been here for years, and takes care of all your folks up at Colonel Batten's, is away on a vacation, but there's a new young doctor just settled in the village, and I've no doubt he's first rate."

"Missus, we uns hain't no money."

"That is all right, Rosy; you are going to be neighbors of ours, you know. When you get well, you can help me out some time. You don't know how glad I am that you came in to-night."

The boy went out and saddled his colt; the farmer sat down and wrote a letter. It ran this way:

"Dear Dr. Wyman:—We have some guests here and there is a very sick baby. Come, prepared

to stay all night if necessary, and come as soon as you can. Charge everything to me."

The boy galloped off to the village, several miles away, handed in the note, heard the doctor say, "Coming, soon as I can harness," got the mail and hastened home. The old Negro had been put to bed; the women were working over the baby; the farmer was smoking a peaceful pipe on the porch.

In a few minutes the young doctor, who drove a fast nag, came in with his traveling case.

"Go right in; the baby's by the fire," said the farmer, waving his pipe. The doctor went in. He came out immediately, almost choking with sudden anger, and leaned over the farmer.

"What sort of a creature do you call that—that—for a high-class practitioner to—to——"

The farmer interrupted, with a sweet seriousness.

"My dear Doctor Wyman," he said, "that is merely a human baby—just the regular sort that human mothers bring into the world."

"That thing!" shouted the young doctor so loudly that the boy and the women heard him. "Why, that's nothing but a nigger baby. I consider this an insult, sir. I won't attend Indians, Chinese, niggers, dagos, and such cattle!"

The farmer rose and put a strong hand upon the young man's shoulder.

"Thee will listen to me," he said, dropping into the familiar speech of his boyhood. His wife, hearing, smiled to herself; she knew that it meant perfectly controlled emotion, seldom wakened, but always irresistible. The neighborhood used to say that he "always swore in Quaker talk."

"Thee will listen," he went on, low-voiced, intense. "Thee knows thee once did graduate. The State did educate thee. And thee didst take thy great Hippocratean Oath. Hast thou forgotten its meaning? Or didst never learn that thy knowledge is not thine to refuse? Go thou in the house and fight for that baby's life as if it were the white child of thine own brother."

The young doctor shivered and colored, but he was not yet quite conquered.

"But you got me here under false pretenses," he said, "Why didn't you write me that it was a nigger baby?"

A look of complete surprise crossed over the farmer's face.

"So I ought, young man," he answered. "But the fact is, it never occurred to me. I noticed that the baby was black, and then I clean forgot it. That was foolish, of course; but really, now, I supposed all there was to be said to a nice neighborhood doctor was that it was a baby—and a mighty sick one."

"Say no more!" the young man cried, and led the way back into the room, took hold of the case, staid all night, and pulled the baby through.

After breakfast the young doctor stood with

the farmer, while the boy put his horse into the sulky. He was awkward and troubled, but he came up to the scratch at last.

"There isn't any charge," he told the farmer. "Please say to your wife that—that I regret the way I spoke about it. That confounded youngster suffered just like any other baby. And when we felt safe about it, the mother caught my hand, and she said: 'You is a good man, Doctor; God bless you, you is!'"

The farmer shook hands with the young doctor.

"You certainly are more of a fellow-traveler this morning than you were last night," he answered. "And I think you will do. Study our old Army doctor from Vermont when he comes back. He's wearing out, but he's a saint and a hero. Work with him, and you'll gradually get ready to take his place. It's a mighty big place to fill, too."

CHARLES H. SHINN.



## LIVING SOURCES OF RELIGION.

A Portion of a Sermon Delivered at the Union Congregational Church at Bowman, N. D., June 25, 1911, by the Pastor, the Rev.

George A. Totten.

Let us consider the lilies for a little while, and, if we can, get the lesson that 2,000 years ago Jesus tried to impress upon the hearts of men.

Notice that Jesus first calls attention to the beauty of the lilies. He said that although they do no work—they toil not, neither do they spin—yet Solomon, Israel's most gorgeous ruler, who profited by the labor of thousands of men and women all over the world, was not to be compared to them for beauty of raiment. Of course not. The Artist who chose the pigments and painted the petals of the lilies, the Designer who fashioned their shape and selected the texture of their raiment, was the great Master-Artist-Designer of the universe. Men's clothing can never equal the raiment of the flowers, for man is but an imitator of the Divine.

But it was not merely to impress upon men their beauty that Jesus called attention to the lilies; he also notes the further fact that God makes provision for them. It is "God who so clothes the grass of the field." These little flowers that are rooted in one spot, that cannot leave their environment to seek nourishment elsewhere; these little flowers that bloom today and fade tomorrow; these very transient things—God cares for them and provides for all their needs.

Now comes the gist of the teaching of our text, the application of this little sermon of Jesus: "If God so clothes the grass," "how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith?" Cannot you, who are the greatest work of Creation, trust God to make provision for you? To whom is Jesus

speaking? Is he speaking to a mere handful of people upon a Galilean hillside? No, he looks away beyond them, and speaks to all men of all climes and in all ages. He wants to know why mankind cannot trust God to make provision for their needs.

But you say, "The analogy between lilies and men is not perfect. The lily grows in one spot from which it cannot move, while man can roam at will over the habitable globe." And again you say, "The lily toils not, neither does it spin, but man has to work for his living." This is very true. The analogy is not perfect, but we must not overlook the fact that both the lily and the man draw their sustenance from the same source—namely: the earth. The only difference is that one draws it directly and the other indirectly.

Now, if God has provided sustenance in the earth both for lilies and men—one to absorb it directly through its roots, and the other to draw it indirectly through his labor—why is it that there goes on all the time among men such a mad scramble for the things that sustain life? Why is it that some men, having already sufficient for all their days, are struggling every day for more? Why is it that little children—two million of them—who ought to be in school, are working long hours in cotton mill, mine and factory? Why is it that able bodied men, who are willing to work and draw forth their sustenance from the earth, are not allowed to do so?

If you had been in New York City during the past four weeks you might have seen a hundred able bodied men lined up before one of the great hospitals. What were they doing there? They were waiting to sell a quart of their blood for \$25. The hospital had advertised for a man who would part with this amount of blood at this price, to be infused into the body of a sick patient. What made these men so willing to be bled? Would any of you sell a quart of your blood for \$25? It was a pressure of hunger that drove them to it. Because the soil, from which both lilies and men must draw their sustenance, instead of being the common property of all as God intended, is monopolized by a comparatively few people. Private ownership of the earth is the answer to the question of Jesus as to why men do not trust God to provide for them as he does for the lily.

And so long as we violate nature's law by which sustenance would be equitably apportioned to all mankind, so long will we continue to struggle and lie and rob and cheat in order to get the wherewithal to live. This is the lesson that Jesus teaches us through the lily. Read the Scripture again. Let it sink in. Consider the lilies of the field.



Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind.—Emerson.

## BOOKS

### THE CHURCH'S SOCIAL FUNCTION.

**The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church.**  
By John Haynes Holmes (Minister of the Church of the Messiah, New York). G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York and London. Price, \$1.50.

Of all the books that have ever been written on the subject of the modern church in its relation to the social question—and their number is large—I believe this to be at the same time the most circumspcct, the most radical and the most lucid. The author seems to be familiar with all that has been said on this subject. (Among scores of authorities quoted I will only mention: Theodore Parker, Herbert Spencer, Henry George, Washington Gladden, Edward A. Ross, Simon N. Patten, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, Walter Rauschenbusch, Ben Lindsey and Woodrow Wilson.)

In the brief space allowed me I don't know how better to indicate the scope and value of the book than by giving (1) the chapter headings, and (2) an outline of the "argument."

The chapter headings are: The Religious Unrest, The Work of the Church in the Past, What Is an Individual? The Social Question, The Social Question in Religion, The Church and The Social Question, Obstacles in the Way of the Socialized Church, The New Church, Objections. Conclusion.

And here is the burden of these chapters:

The mission of the church is to save or perfect the individual. But the individual is not an isolated personality. He is a part of a social organism, and his sins and abnormalities of all kinds—disease, poverty, ignorance, etc.—are for the most part caused by society. If, therefore, the church wants to save the individual and give him a chance for normal development, it must *in the first place* turn its attention to society and save it—by the abolishment of special privilege and the establishment of social justice. *There is no other way.* And this social reformation, Mr. Holmes holds, the church should undertake as an organization. As an organization it directs and supports missionary movements in far-away uncivilized and heathen societies, and this is well. Now let it also, as an organization, direct and support movements at home for a greatly needed salvation of what we are pleased to call civilized and Christian society. And let it do so speedily, and let it do so with all its might.

One word more.

I have read many an arraignment of the modern Christian church, but never one at once so severe, so just and so loving as the one found on

the pages of this book. May its powerful call to repentance be heard over all Christendom.

AUGUST DELLGREN.

## PERIODICALS

### The Spanish Singletaxer.

Among the articles in the Spanish Singletaxer for July is a translation from Henry George on "The Impossibility of the Landlord's Shifting the Land Value Tax on to the Tenant." Under the title of "El Latifundio" Mr. Baldomero Argente attacks the palliative reforms proposed by the Agricultural Congress which emphasize the importance of wealth production, practically ignoring distribution. Mr. A. Wangemann, of Chicago, under the caption of "The Land Is Sufficient," gives an interesting experience of how he explained the Singletax to a banker. Mr. Ramiro de Maeztu gets editorial chastisement for an unjust attack on Henry George, Singletax and Free Trade, which appeared in The Madrid Herald on May 28. There is considerable news of the progressive movement throughout the world.

C. L. LOGAN.



### The French Singletax Review.

With the July issue, "La Revue de L'Impot Unique" begins its second volume in altered form, with a page double its former size. Typographically it continues to maintain an attractive appearance in harmony with its limpid thought and logical argument. Now that its ideas have begun to take root in France the discussion is broadened in order to show how closely land reform is allied to all great national problems, economic or political. The number opens with a reprint of the masterly speech on Free Trade delivered by Henry George in Paris in 1889. The land question and taxation he declared to be but the externals of social reform, the star to which we would fain hitch our wagon being universal freedom, equality and brotherhood. But we cannot advance until we have destroyed the barriers which despotism has erected between the groups of the great human family. The experience of England has shown that to destroy Protection is not to establish Free Trade. The starving laborer is not free to barter for wages. The advantage of cheap commodities is reaped by the nation but absorbed by the minority who control the distribution of wealth. The millions which labor yields to soldiers, capitalists and landlords are represented by imports and exports which it were an abuse of language to call free trade. The laws of supply and demand, competition and the division of labor, are thwarted by the landed despotism. By destroying Protection England has not achieved Free Trade, but she has driven the enemy back and is storming the citadel of Privilege while France and the United States have yet to carry the outer trenches. The Review takes up the discussion of the strikes which mark industrial crises, a blind force wasting itself in a vain struggle. How long will Capital and Labor continue the mutually destructive conflict, oblivious of the common foe? In a thoughtful article dealing with the relation of the individual and property to the state the question

arises as to what part of the total land values should be included in the single tax. The theory that the whole amount should be taken for public uses is contested on the ground that government would become corrupt and despotic if entrusted with funds in excess of its actual needs. "What sensible man would confide to a political body—always corruptible!—more money than it needs?" Admitting the force of this argument, we need not agree with a second one based on the assumption that the mass of voters is ignorant and therefore corrupt, and that a government representing them will pander to a swinish proletariat. We may prefer to believe in the integrity of human nature. Though it may be warped by ignorance and oppression, it responds quickly to any act of justice, and it is well to remember that intelligence offers but an imperfect test of character. The highly cultivated mind, no less than the ignorant, grows awry under the pressure of Privilege and springs upright in the free atmosphere of equality based on natural law. A continuation of the general discussion as to the practical application of the Single Tax doctrine is promised in succeeding numbers. We are shown, in a paragraph dealing with Morocco, at what fearful cost to both conquerer and vanquished these colonial enterprises are carried out, involving as they do the sordid waste of warfare with its heritage of debts and taxes. At the end of the Review are appended an excellent collection of aphorisms in the following vein:

Man can no more construct natural laws than he can create himself.—Quesnay.

Among all the nations based on European civilization an increasing number of individuals has no right to the native soil except that of tramping on the public roads.—Letourneau.

Let the great landlords beware; if they come to the conclusion that they have no need of the people, the people may well decide in their turn that they do not need the landlords.—Sismondi.

F. W. GARRISON.



The little maid gazed thoughtfully at her father. "Papa," she said, "do you know what I'm going to give you for your birthday?"

"No, dear," he answered. "Tell me."

"A nice new china shaving-mug, with gold flowers all around," said the little maid.

"But, my dear," explained her mother, "papa has a nice one, just like that, already."

"No, he hasn't," the little daughter answered, thoughtfully, "'cos—'cos—I've just dropped it!"—Newark Star.



Reginald De Koven told at a musicale in Chicago a pretty story in praise of modesty.

"A group of tourists," he said, "visited Beethoven's house in Bonn. One of the tourists, a girl of twenty or so, sat down at Beethoven's piano and played the 'Moonlight Sonata', none too well. Beethoven's own work, in his own room, on his own piano!

"When the girl had finished she rose and said to the old caretaker:

"I suppose lots of famous musicians have been here and played on this instrument?"

"Well, miss," the caretaker answered gravely. Paderewski was here last year and his friends urged

him to play, but he shook his head, and said: 'No, I am not worthy.'—Washington Star.



Hostess (at the conclusion of a Saturday-night game of bridge): "O, dear, Colonel! I hope you

don't mind; it's ten minutes past 12 o'clock; Sunday morning, in fact!"

Colonel (a strict Sabbatarian): "Not really! Dear, dear! Still, as a matter of fact, I was dummy during the last ten minutes."—Punch.



"I did not have a very nice time when I first went to Annabel's," little Madge announced on her return home. "Annabel was cross as could be; she

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wouldn't let me play with her doll or touch one of her playthings."

"Well," replied her mother, "when I was your age, had I gone to see a little friend and she would not let me touch her playthings, I should have gone straight home."

"But times have changed since you were a little girl, mother," Madge replied after due reflection. "I slapped her face and stayed."—Kansas City Star.



"Thomas," said mother, severely, "some one has

taken a big piece of ginger-cake out of the pantry." Tommy blushed guiltily.

"O, Thomas," she exclaimed, "I didn't think it was in you!"

"It ain't all," replied Tommy, "part of it's in Elsie."—National Monthly.

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