

# The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1912.

No. 752.

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

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at  
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## EDITORIAL

### The Great Corruption.

"Why," said Shakespeare's Prince Hal to Falstaff, "Percy I kill'd myself, and saw *thee* dead!" Falstaff replied: "Didst thou? Lord, lord, *how the world is given to lying!*" Listen, and you may hear old Sir John saying that now. The voice is the voice of Senators and ex-Presidents and Big Business managers, but the sentiment is Falstaff's. All are liars—all but Sir John.



What difference does it make whether they are lying or not? None at all, except to the individuals—liars or no—whose reputations are at stake. The really important thing about this controversy is the fact, now past all lying about, that the Octopus was not a populist nightmare.



Because that is the really important thing, no question of personal reputation should be allowed to stand in the way of searching inquiry and complete disclosure. Yet personal reputations apparently *are* standing in the way.



Such appears to be the meaning of attempts in the Senate to limit the investigation. It may very likely be the meaning of the refusal to let Mr. Roosevelt testify at once—manifestly unfair, unless intended in good faith to allow preparation for cross-examining him. It probably explains the concern of certain Democrats as well as cer-

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tain Republicans. For thirty years our national affairs have been corrupted by Big Business interests of the type that Archbold represents, and naturally there must be many fragile reputations among surviving statesmen of both parties.



The Great Corruption had its seed planted in Protectionism while the nation was at war. It sprouted with the bankers' combines against debtors in the '70's. It was in bud when McKinley constructed his tariff bill, with its rich favors for some and its promised plunder for all. It cast a shadow upon Cleveland's administration. It flowered out under Hanna's gardening. McKinley was twice elected President by corruption so gigantic as by comparison to make Archbold's story a mere commonplace. It was still in bloom when Roosevelt inherited the Presidency from McKinley, and small wonder if it made him shudder at times. It had only begun to wither under La Follette's blasting exposures when it was used for the first nomination and the election of Taft. Roosevelt's connection with the Great Corruption—whether enthusiastically, ignorantly, reluctantly, or resistantly—is of little public importance except as one set of details may go to make or modify a whole. So of all the others who are involved, as business men, professional men, politicians or officials.



To Roosevelt, and to that large body of earnest people who have recently confided in his integrity, it is due that he have early and fair opportunity to vindicate his personal honor, subject to that thorough cross-examination which none of the apparent beneficiaries of the Great Corruption should be allowed to escape. Any obstruction thrown in the way of his doing that, should tell for him—or, at any rate, against his enemies who do it. As an individual, every reasonable doubt should be resolved in his favor; as a public leader, all reasonable doubts should be resolved in his favor, unless there be too many of them. But the really important consideration for the American people is the Great Corruption itself. This is important not alone for the verity and the lessons of history. It is important chiefly because it must be understood by the people in order that they may crush it out of their national life, now that they have the chance.



#### Borrowing from "Big Business" Ethics.

President Taft's present attitude toward the question of Panama tolls may possibly be con-

sistent with his previous one, but it is amazing none the less. He argues that if the exemption of American shipping from tolls were construed as in violation of the treaty, it would be a reading into the treaty of "a surrender by the United States of its right to regulate its own commerce in its own way and by its own method." Of this right, he adds that it is one "which neither Great Britain herself nor any other nation that may use the Canal has surrendered or proposes to surrender." What does this mean? Unless we are greatly mistaken, it means that inasmuch as other nations may subsidize their own shipping out of their own treasury, we may subsidize ours out of the treasury of the Panama Canal.



But that reasoning can be valid only upon one assumption. Unless the Panama Canal is to be regarded as American, Mr. Taft's reasoning is unsound; and not only as American in point of sovereignty and administration, but in the sense also of a government revenue-raiser. Does Mr. Taft intend to claim that the United States would have the right, as matter of international amity, to make the Panama Canal more than fairly self-supporting? Does he mean that we have the right to put tolls high enough to yield a net income to the domestic revenues of the American government? If that is not his meaning, his reasoning would seem to be fatally at fault. For, unless we may fairly draw national income from Panama Canal tolls, if we wish to, we may not fairly subsidize our shipping by remitting tolls which we compel the shipping of other nations to pay.



Any other nation may indeed "regulate its own commerce in its own way and by its own method," *provided* it pays the expense out of its own treasury. Nor does anyone deny our nation that right. What is denied is the right of any nation to pay the expense of regulating its own commerce out of the maintenance-tolls of an international highway. Public utilities in the United States have been conducted in accordance with the ethics Mr. Taft seems to appeal to, but shall our government borrow from the ethics of Big Business?



#### Judicious Discrimination.

From his own view-point regarding politics, J. Pierpont Morgan has discriminated with characteristic good judgment if, as he is reported this

week, he has decided to support Taft as "the least of three evils."



### Getting After Land Grafters.

The George report on taxation in the District of Columbia, described in the News Narrative this week, is of vastly more importance to "non-tax-payers," as the classes that pay most of the taxes are usually called by those that pay least, than can be made to appear by description or summary. A suggestion or two, however, may be made. In the first place, this report demands *just assessments* at the seat of our national government. If only that much were done, some taxes that now weigh down little homes at Washington would drop off. The difference would be paid by owners of valuable land in the business and fine residence areas and of speculative tracts, all of which are now grossly under-taxed relatively to little homes. In the second place, this report centers attention upon a highly important fact regarding taxation, by showing that improvements deteriorate. No one ought to need this reminder. Yet a good many do. Although improvements deteriorate, we go on taxing them as if they were new; and although their sites grow in value, we hold the brakes hard down on every effort to lift tax burdens from buildings. The common attitude toward taxation is upside down. We hunt out useful land-improvers to fine them, and parasitical land-grabbers to reward them. On that point, the George report on the District of Columbia is full of lessons for everybody.



### A Trick in Rhetoric.

"Industries decline as land values fall." The quotation is from the campaign organ of the land monopolists of Oregon who are fighting the Oregon movement for just taxation of land values. For an instance of ingeniously making statements of fact falsify the fact, we commend this example. "Industries decline as land values fall." Of course they do; and equally true would it be to reverse the statement so as to say that "land values fall as industries decline." Yet the two statements may carry a diametrically opposite implication. Although both are true, one may imply that land values fall *because* industries decline, whereas the other may imply that industries decline *because* land values fall.



If those Oregon land monopolists had said that industries decline *because* land values fall, everyone would have detected the lie instantly. It is

evident that industries are promoted, other things being the same, by low land values. No one goes to a place of high land values to start an industry, unless that place offers exceptional inducements. But make the statement true in form while false in suggestion, and you "get away with the lie." So the Oregon land monopolists proclaim that "industries decline *as* land values fall." It is like saying that "the power stops as the engine slows down," or "the wind falls as the sailboat loses headway," or "the rain comes as the drought ends," or "the spring opens as the flowers bloom." Substitute "because" for "as" in any of those statements and the rhetorical trick is exposed. Who would be gulled by a statement that "the power stops because the engine slows down," or "the wind falls because the sailboat loses headway," or "the rain comes because the drought ends," or "the spring opens because the flowers bloom"? And wouldn't it be just as absurd to say that "industries decline *because* land values fall"?



Of course it would. And that is why the Oregon land monopolists, wishing to fool folks, phrase their absurd suggestion in terms that mislead. That is why they say that "industries decline *as* land values fall." Reverse the statement and you get the truth whether you use "as" or "because." If you say that "land values fall *as* industries decline," you do not mislead; for it is manifestly true not only that land values fall *as* industries decline, but that they fall *because* industries decline." And this is an excellent reason for taxing land values instead of industries. If you tax industries you tend to discourage them, thereby making them decline and consequently causing land values to fall; but if you exempt industries you tend to encourage them, thereby making them flourish and consequently causing land values to rise. Thus the taxation of land values instead of industries tends to give a growing income for public use, and at the expense only of land monopolists to whom industries would otherwise have to pay it.



### A Natural Affiliation.

There are reports of an affiliation between the Civic Federation of Chicago and the brewery ring of Illinois. The reports appear to be well founded. They put the brewery ring and the Civic Federation in the position of having bargained together to secure a "public policy" referendum, to head off woman suffrage in behalf of the brewery ring, and to recommend extra taxation of homes and

tangible personal property in behalf of the Federation's bond-brokerage clientele.



Here are the circumstances. Woman Suffrage organizations are circulating petitions for a popular vote on woman suffrage under the "public policy" law. The number of signatures of registered voters needed exceeds 100,000, and it isn't easy to get that many for any purpose. But the brewery ring is evidently frightened, and has arranged with the Civic Federation as noted above. To secure the help of the Federation it agrees to the Federation's tricky taxation amendment. In return, the Civic Federation agrees to two proposals of no special interest to either party to this delectable combine. The object of both parties is to file a petition with three demands, before the woman suffragists get their 100,000 signatures. This would head off the suffragists, for the "public policy" law allows only three proposals to be voted on at an election.



In themselves, the three proposals of this combine relate to desirable reforms—taxation, direct primary, and short ballot. But democratic advocates of those reforms will be wise to refuse their signatures to the petition. The primary reform and the ballot reform are therein proposed only to head off the suffrage petition. The tax reform is a La Salle street "fake." It proposes an amendment to the State Constitution providing for "classification of property for purposes of taxation, with taxes uniform as to each class within the jurisdiction levying the same." Properly safeguarded, this would be a good amendment. Without safeguards, it would permit "jackpot" legislatures to exempt stocks and bonds, while more heavily taxing such property as vehicles and houses. And *that is the intention*. No such amendment ought to be tolerated by the people of Illinois until it can be safeguarded with the Initiative and Referendum in good workable form. No legislature of Illinois ought to be allowed to classify property for purposes of taxation until the people are given power, through the Initiative and Referendum, to prevent Big Business favoritism.



#### Catharine R. Gilbert.

In the death of Mrs. Catharine R. Gilbert of New York, The Public loses another long-time friend; the social movement that is identified with Henry George's memory another useful, weariless and unostentatious worker. To this

cause she was one of Thomas G. Sherman's converts,—he whose earlier perceptions of the far-reaching evil effects of our unscientific methods of taxation were confirmed and developed by Henry George's writings until he came into substantial accord with George's remedial philosophy. All the rest of her life their cause was also hers. It offered to her vision the solution of the mystery of the greatest part of human suffering,—the mystery of the stagnation of human progress in the midst of marvelous progress-serving achievements, the mystery of the blight upon human faith in Creative beneficence. Mrs. Gilbert died on the 14th. At the burial service in Grace Church, New York, on the 17th, Lawson Purdy made the address, concluding it with reading from the last chapter of "Progress and Poverty"—"The Problem of Individual Life." The Public is especially indebted to Mrs. Gilbert for inspiring those fine editorials by her sister, Mrs. Lizzie Nye Northrup\*, which gave its earlier readers so much satisfaction; but her friendship and service through all these years were of a quality and constancy which admit of no enumeration.



### THE NEGRO CONSCIOUSNESS AND DEMOCRACY.

The thirteenth annual session of the National Negro Business League, held under the presidency and chairmanship of Booker T. Washington, has just adjourned.

The meetings were held in Chicago in a Negro church building, before practically exclusively colored audiences, only a few months after a very different series of meetings had been held in the same city for the same purpose—the uplifting of the race. This other series of meetings was, of course, the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The one convention reminds the observer irresistibly of the other; the success of either movement depends upon the success of the other. The gospel preached by Mr. Washington to his colored business men will yield fruits to be sure, but bitter ones, if the gospel preached by Burghardt Du Bois and Oswald Garrison Villard is ignored by either Negroes or whites.



Lest this observation be taken as an adverse criticism of the National Negro Business League, let us hasten to indicate the admirable work it is doing.

\*See The Public, volume vi, pages 276, 435, 564, 580.

The league is the offspring of Tuskegee and Mr. Washington's practical mind. In nearly every city throughout the country—North and South—where the number of Negroes in business is sufficient to form a nucleus, a business league is formed. Its primary function is in each case inspirational, and in many cases it acts secondarily as a chamber of commerce for the colored people. In connection with these leagues other and more directly practical organizations, the Negro Bar Association, the Negro Press Association, the Negro Bankers' Association, and the Negro Funeral Directors' Association have sprung.

The purpose of the parent organization in its national aspect is easily gathered from such an annual meeting as has just been held in Chicago. Before a large audience of colored people the more successful business men of their race stand up and testify to the worth of their business experiences. As one of the delegates expressed it to the writer it is an "experience meeting." Then the experiences and their meaning are driven home by Booker T. Washington in his annual address.

See, he tells his audience, what your brothers are doing. Do not, he urges, revile the white man because he denies you equal rights and privileges, but learn from him that Business is the avenue through which your limitations may be transcended. When you graduate from college do not clamor for further recognition, but follow the example of Mr. X., who has so convincingly told us of his success, and start a brick yard in the South. Or if you of the other sex feel cramped and limited, follow the example of Mrs. Y. and start a national business in toilet preparations. But don't quarrel with wealth or with the *status quo*. This address with its cheerful optimism, its comparison of the Negro race's wonderful progress in fifty years with the "noble" Indian's retrogression and helplessness in the same time, and its sturdy note of self-sufficiency, being ended, there are more business experiences.

Then there are reports from the other organizations. The bankers, for instance, tell how the number of Negro banks has increased from two in 1900 to about fifty-seven at the present time, and how those of them enrolled in the Negro Bankers' Association are planning a strong central bank to handle the reserve funds of its members and to exercise mutual control and support and to organize the Negro credit on a systematic basis. Then State reports are read showing how the State organizations—of which there are over thirty—have used their opportunities for work and propaganda during the year.

Much of the propaganda work is done through the Negro churches, and it has been one of the tasks of Mr. Washington to rescue these institutions from their other-worldliness, and guide them into those channels of social outlook where they can render a maximum amount of service to the members who hold them in such high esteem and give them such a relatively greater part in their lives than the members of the dominant race give their churches.



Such, in brief, is what you may see and hear at an annual meeting of the National Negro Business League. What are we to think of it as a factor in the spread of fundamental democracy?

No two persons would think alike in the matter, of course. The individualist democrat and the social democrat would view the influence of this League from very different standpoints. The writer's idea of democracy would lead him to view the work of the League with only qualified assurance and hope, if it were alone in the field and if there were no Burghardt Du Bois to balance its tendencies.

To take the positive aspects of the matter first, however, the work of the League, as far as it goes, is a triumphant answer to the people who talk the usual nonsense about the inferiority of the Negro. The Negro is different from the white man, they say, and must remain so. To the older answer—"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?"—to this the Negro business man adds, "Hath not a Negro business ability, hath he not established banks, printing works, newspapers, publishing houses, missionary enterprises in Liberia, Negro communities with lighting and water plants, and are they not all flourishing and paying dividends; and are not the Negro lawyers making good in the courts?"

But this very success will bring its own limitations to the Negro consciousness. We whites who have had banks and business enterprises and fortunes for many years are beginning to get rather disillusioned about them. At the very time when we see that they are destroying even white equality (not using that last word, however, in its mechanical sense)—the colored man, apparently oblivious of the meaning of our Socialism, Singletax, or the more spontaneous and naive invocation of dynamite, the colored man in the person of Mr. Washington and his disciples, unknowing the

meaning of the word "villainy" in the quotation, and meaning its very opposite, gleefully exclaim: "The *villainy* you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

The white man who claims that the Negro cannot and should not try to imitate the white civilization, and who says that the Negro consciousness is a different consciousness from ours, is simply making the claim that the Negro is slightly different from human. For what are the distinctively white qualities and virtues if they are not those very qualities which we call human?

A friend in discussing the matter with the writer said that what was wanted to solve the problem was a psychological inquiry into the Negro consciousness, and that all action in the premises should await and be based on that. This is a promising theory, but a little reflection shows that its promise is altogether false.

The only Negro consciousness that has value for democracy is the Negro self-consciousness. And the moment you present the Negro with a chart of his consciousness, he takes up a certain attitude toward it which is unpredictable—which was necessarily not in the consciousness as originally analysed—and your labor is in vain as far as its original intention was concerned. But if you could reduce the Negro to an analysable resultant of hereditary and social forces you are using a method which is just as valid if applied to the white man. In your reduction of the Negro to the sub-spiritual, you reduce the white to the sub-spiritual; you place both races on the plane of what is philosophically known as naturalism, on the plane where efficiency, survival, and not love, is the final good.

The Negro answer to such a reduction is Mr. Washington's doctrine of *laissez faire* democracy, the piling up of Negro fortunes, the aggressive business enterprise of Negro business men, the creation of Negro capitalist and Negro proletariat, and the duplication in Negro circles of our own whole round of industrial troubles.

That this is no idle fancy would be evident to anyone who spoke to some of the Negro delegates to the recent conference. One prominent Southern colored man denounced the unions to the writer. Because they excluded Negroes? No, but because they put a buffer between the worker and the stimulus of straight competition, so that the worker was not spurred to "do his damndest."



But must we not admit that real democracy requires two conditions for its ideal success? The

first of these is that every man is an end in himself—not a means merely to your end or mine. And the second and just as important condition is that all truly human ends are reconcilable and co-ordinate, so that—as a recent writer, Professor Warner Fite, has pointed out, in a remarkable book—in a fully conscious society, conflict and personal sacrifice are eliminated by that mutual recognition and intelligence which sees to it that while I gain my ends through your instrumentality, I shall do it in such a way that my doing so enables you to gain your ends while working for mine.

Right here is where Dr. Du Bois and his school supplement the work of Dr. Washington. They see that the Negro cannot gain anything more than a material and partial victory by becoming more and more self-sufficing. Two camps of self-sufficing and self-regarding peoples will never constitute a democracy. Every white advance in the conception of social justice must be shared with the Negro. The Negro who is graduated from a college must not be allowed to take Dr. Washington's advice to go South and start a brick yard, if he has academic abilities that can be employed in other and more ideally fruitful ways. The white unions, for instance, must cease their suicidal and immoral policy of discouraging or excluding Negro members. The Negroes must not meet such exclusion with a self-sufficient, "Well, I shall achieve in some other way." They must insist on achieving in that particular—by insisting on admission to every union that claims to be Labor.

To achieve the proper solution of this problem, in short, simply means that whites as well as Negroes shall be guided by ideals as well as by opportunism, shall have the courage of their lip-service to spiritual realities, shall either admit that they do not believe in democracy at all but only in the struggle for existence, or else pursue their achievement of democracy in the only way possible, by the frank recognition of and action upon the spiritual implications of democracy and self-consciousness.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

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## CONDENSED EDITORIALS

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### FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY WORLD-WIDE.

Louis F. Post, in the *Chicago Daily Press* of Aug. 16

No thoughtful person doubts that Theodore Roosevelt and his political party are facts of great significance. Both man and party are startling signs of

progress in public opinion. They go to show that in this country the principle of fundamental democracy, which means fair play all around, is seething in the public mind.

That this is the condition of things is implied by the fact that Roosevelt and his party are listened to eagerly. It is also implied by the behavior of the Republican party which Roosevelt has left. It is implied again by the fact that the Democratic party is more democratic, fundamentally, than it has been since it elected Andrew Jackson to the Presidency some 80 years ago. It is implied by the whole political break-up, about which every good citizen all over the United States is thinking now and thinking hard.

But our country is not the only storm center of fundamental democracy. That principle is at work everywhere. When we read about world politics as we read about our own politics, or about sports, we exclaim again and again, "What a little world this big world is!"

Fundamental democracy has different ways of working. Yet once to know it is to be able to recognize it in its working clothes always and everywhere. If you believe in the Declaration of Independence, where it says that "all men are created equal"—which means that the men and women of every race and class should have equal rights—if you are in that spirit when you read the political news of the world, you know that there is nothing strange in the politics we are having in this country now; nor in the governmental experiments we are making or trying to make; nor in the necessity for them.

We may be ahead of other countries in some things. Or a little behind in other things. And surely there is great variety of detail. But the spirit of fundamental democracy is in them all. From the Northwest Side of Chicago, where the burning question may be street improvements, or some other peaceable proposal for local betterment, to far-away places where struggles for fair-play may still cost blood, the human race is working out its age-old problem of how to live and prosper in good fellowship and with equal rights. That is to say, mankind is everywhere working out into practical life, the everlasting principle of fundamental democracy.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### A LIBERAL CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Grasmere, England, August 19, 1912.

The Liberal success at the by-election at Hanley has been followed by two reverses, one at Crewe, where the Tory candidate benefited by the Liberal-Labor conflict, and the other at North-West Manchester, where a Liberal majority of 445 was turned into a Tory majority of 1,202.

Mr. Murphy, who fought the Crewe division for the Liberal Party, was heralded as a champion of the taxation of land values policy, but failed to make an aggressive campaign on that issue.

The Liberal candidate for North-West Manchester, uncertain of his position on the land question, declined to pledge himself to support the Memorial

presented by the Land-Tax group in Parliament to the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George, and signed by 177 Liberal and Labor members. He contented himself with an endorsement of the vague land nationalization programme and confined his attention to a defense of Government measures, relying on the historic Free-trade sentiment of Manchester to carry him in. The result is viewed with equanimity by all those whose Liberalism transcends mere party lines.

The situation is thus summed up by R. L. Outhwaite, M. P., in a letter to the "Daily News and Leader":

"When the vacancy for North-West Manchester was announced, the land values men who had carried North-West Norfolk, Holmfirth and Hanley, and, coming in at the end, had averted a humiliating result at Crewe, were prepared to rally to the aid of the Liberal candidate. The division provides such object-lessons in the need for land value taxation and rating reform that, once the question had been raised, the Tory candidate would have found it impossible to talk Insurance Act. Free-trade and the Taxation of Land Values versus Tariff Reform would within 24 hours have been the issue. But the candidate, his backers and the 'Manchester Guardian' decided to fight on a negative policy and to angle for the votes of Free-trade Unionists, and so the land values men decided to stand aside. Precisely the same thing happened at the South Manchester by-election, and the Government has received two staggering blows in the citadel of Free-trade which are the prelude to the loss of Lancashire unless different tactics are adopted. My object in writing is to point out that the land values propagandists have determined to pursue a definite policy. They know that only the taxation of land values can effectively rally the democratic forces. After long years of officially disregarded works they have come into their own. During the last four years, largely owing to the generosity of Mr. Joseph Fels, they have spent some \$150,000 in educational work, and they are not going any longer to act as vote-catchers for candidates who only give lip-service to their cause. When a Liberal candidate determines to fight on the Memorial policy which has been adopted by the party organizations of England, Scotland and Wales, every effort will be made to aid him against Tory or Socialist opponent. I believe that only in this way can Liberalism be saved, and that, if party organizers do not quickly realize what it is the electorate wants and put forward candidates to advocate it, the Government will suffer defeat after defeat and be driven from office before the great measures it has in hand can reach the statute book."

F. W. GARRISON.



### WHAT SHALL WE DO IF WE LOSE?

Warren, Ohio.

"She never knew defeat. When that happened which others called defeat, she was wont to think of it merely as the establishment of a mile-post to indicate the progress which had been made, and she never doubted that victory was just ahead." So spoke Carrie Chapman Catt of Susan B. Anthony in her eulogy of the departed leader. What was true

of Miss Anthony is true of the rest of us—not because we are great, as Miss Anthony was great, but because we are instruments in the working out of a natural law. "Liberty means justice, and justice is the natural law." It cannot be defeated. It is doomed to success.

The forces of evil may prevail to the extent of defeating Amendment 23 on September 3, but the righteousness of the measure is not thereby defeated. Its operation is only deferred. No matter what the result of the count of votes, this campaign is already won in its deeper meaning, in its spiritual significance. "The chief value of any social movement, perhaps, lies in the influence it exerts on the minds and hearts of the men and women who engage in it."

Recently a group of hard-worked and pretty tired campaigners were discussing election day chances and one of them said: "Weil, whether we win or not, it has all been worth while. I am more than compensated for everything in finding the wonderful women I have found—women shut up in back rooms of miserable houses on side streets, of whose existence I had never dreamed. O, humanity is so wonderful and so splendid."

Another worker writes in a private letter: "At first, I was not for it with every bit of me, but now everything I do is colored by this wonderful movement. It has turned my life from tragic suffering and loneliness into one of such active service that I have no time to remember the sorrow. I feel like telling everyone I meet how marvelous it is and what it has meant to me. I am continuously glad to be here to serve. I am glad that I am a very humble person in the ranks so my anti-friends can see that it isn't the importance of myself that counts, but just what I can do for the cause, no matter how small. If we lose, which we won't, I hope my income will then be at my disposal so that I can give up my earning occupation and devote all my time to this until we win. If only the bridge-playing, party-going women could see what it might mean to them—the enlargement of horizons, the splendid growth of the impersonal spirit and the elimination of all pettiness and intolerance! God may have looked on man and thought he was good, but if he is looking on woman now, he must be amazed at the result of his handiwork."

Why, isn't it perfectly plain that we have already won? Think of what we have seen accomplished in these few months of consecrated effort! Think of the tremendous asset in this new sympathy of woman for woman, in the solidarity of our forces, in the intellectual and spiritual awakening occasioned by this work!

Whether we shall "initiate" under the Initiative and Referendum (if it becomes a law), whether we shall appeal through the legislature as of old, whether we shall work to defeat our enemies and elect our friends to office, are matters of detail. In the event of an adverse decision on September 3rd, nobody knows what our policy will be, but that the work itself will not be permitted to stop, everybody knows.

Sentiment, you say? Yes, we admit it. Of a piece with that sentiment which called the world

into being, set the stars in the firmament and keeps the planets spinning in space.

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

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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.

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Week ending Tuesday, August 27, 1912.

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### Political Corruption.

The political corruption attending the Presidential election of 1904 through enormous campaign contributions from corporations, has again been thrust upon public attention and is now under investigation by the Senate. [See vol. xiv, p. 1310; current volume, page 27.]



This phase of the corrupt character of that campaign comes out through the publication by Hearst's Magazine of a private letter. It is one of a collection of private letters of an incriminatory nature which have in some mysterious manner come under Mr. Hearst's control. John D. Archbold, political manipulator for the Standard Oil trust, is the writer of the letter. It bears the date of October 13, 1904. It was written to Boies Penrose, who then was and still is a United States Senator from Pennsylvania. Following is the letter:

Personal.

October 13, 1904.

My Dear Senator:

In fulfillment of our understanding, it gives me pleasure to hand you herewith certificate of deposit to your favor for \$25,000 and with good wishes I am yours truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

To Hon. Boies Penrose, 1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Senator Penrose was the Pennsylvania member of the Republican national committee in the campaign of 1904. But as he had also been a member, and Archbold had urged him to take the chairmanship, of the United States Industrial Commission, the Pittsburgh Leader (issue of August 20, 1912) charged that—

Penrose was paid this \$25,000 after the report of the Industrial Commission had been submitted to John D. Archbold and approved by him previous to its being made public.



Rising in the Senate on the 21st to a question of personal privilege, Senator Penrose replied to charges growing out of the Archbold letter. He said that—  
the letter, if genuine, must have been in Hearst's



possession, unpublished, about five years—"since the theft of the Archbold correspondence;" that there was no way in which he could have rendered Archbold secret service on that committee; that he had reason to believe the alleged Archbold letter to be a forgery; that it was a notorious fact that in the Presidential campaign of 1904 he received such a contribution from Archbold for the campaign in Pennsylvania, where he was Republican chairman; that Mr. Archbold agreed with himself as chairman of the Republican committee of Pennsylvania, and with the late Cornelius N. Bliss as treasurer of the Republican national committee, to contribute \$100,000 to Mr. Bliss' fund and \$25,000 to Senator Penrose's; that the latter sum he, Penrose, expended in the Presidential campaign in Pennsylvania; that Mr. Bliss subsequently asked Mr. Archbold for \$150,000 more, explaining that Mr. Roosevelt, the then Republican candidate for President, had been advised of the original contribution, as had the chairman of the Republican national committee, Mr. Cortelyou, and the contribution was appreciated by both, but the need of further financial assistance was badly felt at headquarters and such further assistance would be still more appreciated by both; that Mr. Archbold wished to make this further contribution, and felt that it was presented to him in a way that made him desire to make it, but he was overruled by his associates in the Standard Oil Trust.



Upon being apprised of Senator Penrose's statement ex-President Roosevelt, in an interview at Wilkesbarre, Pa., on the 21st, said of that portion of it in which he is accused of having been advised of Archbold's contribution and of having directly requested one from him and his associates, that "this statement is false." He also gave out two letters and a telegram from himself to Mr. Cortelyou. In one of the letters, dated October 26, 1904, thirteen days after the date of the Archbold letter, Mr. Roosevelt wrote of having been informed that the Standard Oil people had contributed \$100,000 to the campaign fund, and directed that if this were true the money be returned forthwith. The second letter, dated the next day, amplified the first. In the telegram, dated two days after the second letter, Mr. Roosevelt asked if his request had been complied with and said he wished no delay. In his Wilkesbarre interview Mr. Roosevelt says that Mr. Cortelyou informed him in reply to the telegram that "there had been no contribution received from the Standard Oil people and that none would be received." Senator Penrose charged on the 22nd, in effect, as reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 23rd, that Mr. Roosevelt, when he wrote the first letter above, was advised that the money had been spent and could not be returned, and that "the letter was sent to make a record for future reference."



On the 22nd Senator Penrose introduced in the

Senate a resolution for an investigation of the charges against himself and his own counter charges. As subsequently amended this resolution, adopted on the 26th, refers Mr. Penrose's statement in the Senate on August 21, 1912, "to the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, or any sub-committee thereof appointed under Senate Resolution 79, agreed to April 29, 1912." In addition to directing a full investigation into "all statements and questions of fact referred to" in Mr. Penrose's aforesaid statement the resolution authorizes and directs the committee to investigate fully into—

all financial transactions and correspondence relating thereto between John D. Archbold and George W. Perkins and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and Representatives in Congress and members of the United States Senate from the year 1900 to the date of the investigation provided for herein. And, further, said committee is authorized and directed to investigate into and ascertain the amount of money expended by or on behalf of any candidate seeking the nomination of any political party formed or in the process of formation for President during the year 1912 or by any committee or person acting for or on behalf of such candidate or in the interest of such candidate or party and to ascertain the names of all persons, firms or corporations contributing to any of the purposes aforesaid and the amounts paid or contributed and how and when paid, including all sums of money used to secure the election of delegates to any national convention or to influence the actions of delegates at said convention.

The committee or sub-committee is authorized to sit during the sessions of the Senate and during any recess of the Senate or of Congress, and to hold sessions at such place or places as may be deemed most convenient for the purposes of the inquiry; to employ attorneys, stenographers and such other clerical force as may be necessary; to subpoena witnesses, send for persons, books, records and papers and to administer oaths. Parties to the examination may be represented by attorneys subject to such rules and regulations as the committee may make.



Meanwhile Mr. Archbold, called before the sub-committee of the Senate committee on privileges and elections, testified on the 23rd in answer to Senator Clapp as chairman, as follows:

We made two contributions to the Republican campaign in 1904, one to Cornelius N. Bliss of \$100,000, and the other to Senator Penrose of \$25,000. I have not the date in mind nor have I time to thoroughly search with reference to it. My best recollection is that it was some time in September, 1904. I think about the middle of September. To the best of my recollection, I was alone and at my office. Mr. Bliss gave me a receipt, but in such investigation as I have been able to make before I hastened here I have not been able to find it. I hope to do so. Some time before, either at my office or that of H. H. Rogers, Mr. Bliss and I had a talk

about politics and contributions, and I said the matter would have to be submitted to our board. It was submitted later and the board decided to contribute. My letter-books show no record of any such letter as has been published. The signature of that letter is very unlike mine. The payment to Senator Penrose was probably in currency. Subsequently to these contributions I talked with Mr. Bliss, not later than October 10, about further contributions. Mr. Rogers might have been at one of the conferences. No one else was present. We decided not to make the further contribution.

In reply to Senator Pomerene, who asked for details, Mr. Archbold answered:

I said: "Mr. Bliss, we are inclined to make this contribution to you, but we want it to be known to the powers that be—to the President." I named President Roosevelt. I said to Mr. Bliss that we did not want to make the contribution unless it would be gratefully received. There had been some talk about objections to contributions from certain sources. That this contribution had been made known to President Roosevelt I had only the assurances of Mr. Bliss through my conferences with him. He said: "You need have no misgivings in that matter. I will represent you and I will see that it is properly known." At a later time Mr. Bliss came to my office. He said: "I have come to you again on the money question." He pointed out the situation in the campaign and the need for further funds. I said I thought we had done pretty liberally. Finally I told him that I could not decide the matter, but that I would lay it before my board. He gave me to understand that our contribution had been acceptable, and that further contributions would be acceptable, to Colonel Roosevelt. On the latter occasion Mr. Bliss mentioned \$150,000 as a further amount. I told the board I had impressed upon Mr. Bliss the desire of the Standard Oil officials that the contributions should not be received unless they were acceptable to Colonel Roosevelt. The board decided to "stand upon what they had done," and make no further contributions. When I told Mr. Bliss that the board would do no more, he said it was a mistake. He said: "I speak to you personally; I think you had better make this contribution. If you don't, somebody else will and I think you will be making a mistake." He put it on personal grounds, and mentioned his friendship for me, toward the end. I never heard of any proposition to return any campaign funds until within the last two or three days. I went to Mr. Bliss after President Roosevelt and some of his bureau heads began their line of unjust attacks upon us. Mr. Bliss threw up his hands, said that he saw the attacks were unjust and that he sympathized with us but that he could do nothing. The attacks I refer to were made upon the Standard Oil Company by James A. Garfield and Herbert Knox Smith. Both had been Commissioner of Corporations. President Roosevelt unflinchingly approved these attacks, without investigation and without the slightest knowledge of the facts. These reports of Garfield and Smith were the work of mere puppets, who jumped when Roosevelt pulled the strings. When the question of the second contribution came up Mr. Bliss said he wanted Mr. Cortelyou to meet me for

further talk about a contribution. On the date of the engagement Mr. Bliss came alone. He said: "As you see, I am here alone; Mr. Cortelyou did not think it was advisable for him to come, and said for me to tell you that anything I said was said for him, and that I could say what was desired as well as he." Outrageous attacks on the Standard Oil Company dated from the refusal of the further contribution of \$150,000. When I visited President Roosevelt at the White House some time later in company with the late H. H. Rogers, the campaign was only casually mentioned. The President said that there had been some criticism of campaign contributions, but that that could not be avoided.

Senator Penrose also testified on the 23rd before this sub-committee.



Mr. Roosevelt published a lengthy reply on the 24th to the statements of Mr. Archbold and Senator Penrose, and telegraphed Senator Clapp as follows:

As I am not willing that Mr. Archbold's statement about me should pass without immediate official contradiction, I request the privilege of appearing before your committee on Monday. My engagements are such that it will be the greatest inconvenience to me and many others if the hearing is deferred to a later date.

But the sub-committee decided to postpone all further hearings until September 30.



Mr. Hearst adds to the interest and possible significance of the situation with a long special cablegram from London to his papers, of which the concluding paragraph is as follows:

Mr. Roosevelt can boast of a belated honesty, so why not be completely frank with the public and tell them the whole truth. Why should not Senator Penrose and Mr. Archbold and Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Sibley all tell the whole truth, particularly when they can be so confidently assured that if they do not, I will?



#### The Wilson National Progressive Republican League.

Under the presidency of Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco, with John J. Blaine of Wisconsin as his first-lieutenant, both of them progressive Republicans of the La Follette type, a national league of Republicans who support Wilson against Taft, is to be organized. Replying to Senator Gore, who proposed the plan to him, Mr. Spreckels telegraphed on the 23rd as follows:

I will gladly accept the honor tendered, if it is clearly understood that the membership of any organization that I preside over must consist of Republican progressive men and women who intend to continue the fight to redeem the party of Lincoln. Many progressive Republicans deserted that brave and true leader, La Follette, and accepted the dicta-

tion of Roosevelt at a time when, after years of hard fighting, complete victory over the reactionary forces in the Republican party seemed assured.

Roosevelt, soon after assuming leadership, ordered a retreat and he and his immediate following abandoned the fight for progressive principles in the Republican party by giving up their membership in that party, and they are now engaged in an effort that can only result in dividing the progressive vote. I believe it to be the duty of all loyal Republicans, who hold the memory of Lincoln sacred, not to abandon the fight to redeem his party, but to make it again responsive to the same high ideals that prevailed within that party during Lincoln's life. It is the duty of every good citizen, believing in progressive principles, to vote for a progressive candidate of another party whenever the candidate of his own party does not represent these principles; but I believe it to be treason to the progressive cause to divide the progressive vote at the coming election. I hold that the organization of the Roosevelt party and the nomination of Roosevelt for President, after a victory had been won by progressive Democrats at Baltimore for progressive principles and the nomination of Governor Wilson, an acknowledged progressive candidate, is an outrage and cannot be defended. I urge all progressive Republicans to join in the Wilson Million Republican Club for the purpose of aiding in the fight for progressive principles by the election of Governor Wilson as President of these United States in November, and then organizing the membership into an effective progressive Republican force with which to carry forward the fight for progressive principles within our own party. If my attitude as expressed herein is acceptable I will assume the responsibility of the president that such an organization would impose upon me. I would suggest that the name be changed to Wilson National Progressive Republican League.



#### Adjournment of Congress.

The Senate was at a deadlock when it adjourned at 4 o'clock Sunday morning for the legislative day of the 24th. Nominally, the deadlock was over the deficiency appropriation bill which the President had vetoed on account of about \$600,000 of appropriations to which he objected. It was supposed that the two Houses would promptly adjust the matter to the President's satisfaction in conference, and then adjourn for the session. But a parliamentary motion in the Senate on the 24th showed that although there was a quorum, it was composed in part of enough Senators who were "paired" with absent Senators to break the voters' quorum. No adjournment for the session could be voted while that condition lasted, and Senator La Follette is reported to have announced that he would not consent to any arrangement for final adjournment unless adoption of the Penrose inquiry resolution, as amended and as quoted above, is included in the arrangement. Such an arrangement was afterwards made and, the deadlock over the deficiency bill being also

adjusted, both Houses adjourned for the session on the 26th.



#### Panama Canal Tolls.

President Taft's proposed joint resolution declaring the sanctity of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, was reported upon adversely, 8 to 6, on the 20th by the Senate committee on inter-oceanic canals, and on the 24th the President signed the bill which discriminates as to tolls in favor of American coasting vessels passing through the Canal. [See current volume, page 803.]



#### Negro Business Conference.

Business representatives of the Negro race from all over the United States held a three-day conference at Chicago last week, the thirteenth annual conference of their organization. Booker T. Washington, the president, was re-elected. [See current volume, page 804; also this number of The Public at page 820.]



#### Inequitable Taxation in the District of Columbia.

The first important Congressional report on taxation in the District of Columbia since that which Tom L. Johnson secured when he was in Congress, twenty years ago, was made on the 19th by Henry George, Jr., M. C. It is the report of a sub-committee of the Committee on the District of Columbia in the lower House. The material for it was obtained by Congressman George, with the aid of Herbert Browne as real estate expert. The report is signed by every member of the sub-committee, which consists of Ben Johnson (Dem.) of Kentucky (chairman), Wm. A. Oldfield (Dem.) of Arkansas, Henry George, Jr., (Dem.) and Wm. C. Redfield (Dem.) of New York, C. O. Lobeck (Dem.) of Nebraska, Cyrus A. Sulloway (Rep.) of New Hampshire, Leonidas C. Dyer (Rep.) of Missouri, and Victor L. Berger (Soc.) of Wisconsin. The report is made under authority of House resolutions 145 and 200, authorizing an inquiry into the assessment and taxation of real estate in the District of Columbia. [See vol. xiv, p. 602; current volume, page 122.]



This report makes astonishing disclosures, which, especially since half the revenues of the District of Columbia are paid out of the national treasury, are of personal interest to every taxpayer in the United States. It appears that real estate in the District of Columbia is assessed at only \$330,000,000 while its true value is \$744,000,000; and, as usual everywhere in cases of under-assessment, the owner of vacant or poorly improved land gets the benefit. Land is assessed at \$169,674,006 (about one-third of its value), whereas improve-

ments are assessed at \$160,648,481 (*two-thirds* of their value). In respect of individual holdings, the 40,000 small homes are assessed at an average of 90 per cent. of their value (site and house together), while the fine residences show an average of only 50 per cent. Considering ground values separately, the committee finds that sites occupied by small homes are assessed at 60 per cent. of value, those occupied by middle class houses at 50 per cent., those occupied by fine residences at 30 per cent., those in the business area at 30 per cent., and large suburban speculative areas at 20 per cent. It may be seen, therefore, that of the share of District revenues which local real estate owners pay, small home-owners pay double the taxes, value for value of their property, that the owners of fine residences do, and three times as much as land speculators pay.



The Committee make the following recommendations:

**Administrative**—(1) Full value assessments; (2) the exercise by the assessor of his full powers for the adducing of testimony relative to real estate values under oath; (3) the keeping by the assessor of a record of all important leases to aid in determining property values; (4) the publication of land-value maps and assessment sheets; (5) the establishment of a systematic method of equalizing land values; (6) the establishment of tables of building factors and deterioration for determining the value of improvements; (7) the energetic prosecution of the legal requirement of reforming the lot numbers in squares; and (8) the consolidation of lots that are portions of single buildings.

**Legislative**—(1) Annual, in place of triennial, assessments; (2) the repeal of the fixed tax rate of 1½ per cent, leaving the rate to be fixed annually by the requirements of the budget; (3) the recording of the true consideration in all real estate transfers; (4) the substitution of 12 field assessors for the 3 assistant assessors now on field work; (5) the abolition of the requirement for the assessors in the field personally and jointly to "view" each piece of property; (6) the creation of a board of appeals, from which the field assessors shall be excluded; (7) the power to be restored to the Commissioners to remove the assessor or any of the assistant assessors for cause; (8) the divorcing of excise matters from the assessor's office; and (9) the establishment of an assessment roll and the transfer of the duty of making bills from the assessor's office to the office of the tax collector.



The report, which is "Report No. 1215" of the "62nd Congress 2nd session," is as suggestive in its explanations and discussions as in its recommendations; and the record of testimony, which goes with it, is of exceptional value in its specific disclosures of unfair taxation.

### The Missouri Campaign for Tax Exemptions.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat of the 22nd reported that on the previous day—

Singletax advocates formed a preliminary organization for carrying on the campaign in St. Louis for the two tax amendments to be submitted to the voters at the November election. An advisory committee was named to plan ward and precinct organizations on the block system and report back at a meeting to be called. Edward H. Boeck was appointed chairman of a committee which he is to get together to conduct a soap-box campaign on street corners which is to start at once. Stephen M. Ryan was chairman of the meeting and Boeck secretary. They were put on the advisory committee with the following: Percy Pepon, Owen Miller, Dennis Ryan, Chris Osterwisch, Joseph Forshaw, Henry H. Hoffman, Mrs. D. W. Knefler and Mrs. Sadie Spraggon. On the speakers' committee the intention is to enroll several members in each ward who will volunteer to make speeches. Boeck enrolled the following last night: Victor Gebhardt, J. G. Hummel, Max Stahl, Dr. Joseph Boehm, Charles Kelley, C. M. Berry, Henry Furth, John Appel, Charles A. Green, S. E. Garrigan, A. A. Paxton, J. W. Steele and J. N. Simon. The purpose of the city organization is to relieve the campaign bureau of the Equitable Taxation League of work in St. Louis so it can devote its endeavors to the counties. S. L. Moser, secretary of the League, said they would need 100,000 majority in St. Louis to make sure of carrying the election, although he was optimistic about the educational campaign to be undertaken winning many votes in the country. Henry Furth, William Marion Reedy and Charles W. Bates also spoke.

[See current volume, page 800.]



### Spanish-Speaking International Singletax Conference.

The first "Georgite Hispano-American Conference" has been called to meet at Ronda, Spain, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of next May. It is called by "The Spanish League for the Singletax," which has its headquarters at 21 Mendez Nunez, Ronda. The call, which is under the signature of the general secretary of the League, Antonio Albendin, invites all Singletaxers to attend; and in order that arrangements may be made, asks those expecting to come to notify the League. As Thomas Cook and Son are organizing a special service and price for the Conference, combined with Andalusian excursions, arrangements for travel may be made with their branches anywhere. Following is the program of the Conference:

(1) The Singletax Movement throughout the World: Means to Unite Efforts. To be moved by Mr. Joseph Fels of London and Philadelphia; seconded by Señor Manuel Herrera y Reissig, of Uruguay.

(2) The Singletax Movement in South America: Means to Unite Spanish Action. To be moved by

Dr. Felix Vitale, of Uruguay; seconded by Señor Benjamin Fernandez y Medina, of Uruguay.

(3) The Singletax Movement in Spain: Means to Make it Tangible in Parliamentary Acts. To be moved by Señor Antonio Albendin, of Spain; seconded by Señor Baldomero Argente.

(4) Municipal Budgets and Municipalization of Natural Monopolies. To be moved by Señor Manuel Marraco; seconded by Señor F. Martinez Lacuesta.

(5) Best Way to Propagate the Singletax. To be moved by Dr. H. R. Pinilla; seconded by Señor José. Ruiz Castizo.

(6) Best Way to Interest Officials in the Singletax. To be moved by Señor Blas Infante; seconded by Señor José Capitan.

(7) General meeting of the members of "The Spanish League for the Singletax," for the election of president, vice presidents, general treasurer, general secretary, central council and executive committee.



### "War Against Poverty."

A joint committee of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and the Fabian Society, the headquarters of this committee being at St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, London, E. C., has called a "National Conference to Promote War Against Poverty." The Conference, to be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, on the 11th of next October, is to consider—

demands for legislation dealing with: A legal minimum wage; complete provision against sickness; prevention of unemployment; reduction of the hours of labor; a national minimum of child nurture; healthy homes for all; and the abolition of the poor law.

The chair is to be taken by Sidney Webb at 10 a. m., and in the afternoon Margaret Bonfield will preside. At an evening meeting at Royal Albert Hall, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., will preside and W. C. Anderson, J. Keir Hardie, M. P., George Lansbury, M. P., Mary R. Macarthur, G. Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Sidney Webb will speak. The evening meeting is intended to inaugurate a "war against poverty" campaign throughout Great Britain.



### American Interference in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan revolution has developed an unusually sanguinary character, even for Central America. Belated dispatches of the 18th reported the massacre of 430 out of 500 members of a Federal garrison at Leon, by the insurgents, no quarter being allowed. Among the slaughtered were two Americans who had been fighting with the Federal army, and were in hospital, where the wounded and the doctors met the same fate as the combatants. The American minister at Managua, George F. Weitzel, has informed Washington that the rebel General Zeledon has promised his followers that they will be allowed to sack and

pillage Managua. The dispatches further report that Mr. Weitzel has served notice upon the revolutionary generals that United States forces will repel attacks upon Managua, and will restore peace. As already reported in these columns, American marines had been sent to Managua as far back as the 3d of this month to protect Americans and other foreigners, desire for this aid having been expressed by the government of Nicaragua. By the 21st it was resolved at Washington to raise the number of American sailors and marines in Nicaragua to 2,000 within ten days. Rush orders were sent for the armed cruiser California to proceed from San Diego to Panama, and for the transport Prairie to go from Portsmouth to Philadelphia to take on 750 marines and sail for Colon. The marines will be taken by rail from Colon to Panama, and then by the California to Corinto, the port of Managua with which it is connected by an American-owned railroad. [See current volume, page 804.]



Senator Bacon asked the United States Senate on the 21st, according to the Chicago Inter Ocean's dispatches, to authorize its committee now investigating whether recent revolutions in Cuba and Mexico had been promoted by Americans, to investigate the landing of marines and blue jackets in Nicaragua, and report upon what authority United States forces had been landed there. A resolution to that effect was referred to a committee to report upon the probable expense. Senator Bacon scored the State Department for its attitude toward Nicaragua, declaring that—

The executive departments of this government are now, in my judgment, violating the law by using the Army and Navy of the United States in Nicaragua. Some time ago a treaty was negotiated between this country and Nicaragua, by means of which the United States government was to furnish agents with authority to collect the customs of that country, and to use the proceeds to pay certain loans to be made by American capitalists. The Senate thus far has refused to ratify that treaty.

The Chicago Record-Herald of the 24th says editorially of the Nicaraguan situation:

For several years New York bankers have been interested in the finances of Nicaragua as well as other Central American states. In June, 1911, a treaty was negotiated between our State Department and the Nicaraguan government for the protection of a \$15,000,000 loan which some of these bankers proposed to make to Nicaragua. The treaty has not yet been ratified by the Senate, but, apparently in the expectation that it would be, the bankers lent Nicaragua \$1,500,000 and sent agents to take charge of the customs receipts under its provisions. To protect these financial agents and other Americans the marines have been sent to Managua. But it is asserted that the marines are aiding the present government of Nicaragua when they should remain neutral, and Senator Bacon has charged that the

bankers and our State Department "are trying to use the army and navy of the United States to accomplish that which we have specifically refused to give them authority to do." If the Senate investigates the matter, as Senator Bacon asks, "dollar diplomacy" will be on the defensive, and further developments in Nicaragua may make the subject a national political issue.



### China.

The National Assembly of the Republic of China decided on the 20th that the government's explanation in regard to the executions of General Chang Chen Wu and General Feng Wei, members of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's party, as reported last week, was unsatisfactory, and they demanded the attendance at the Assembly of the Premier and the minister of war for further explanation. The arrival of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in Peking on the 24th has, however, postponed threatened action on the part of the Assembly, looking to the impeachment of President Yuan Shi Kai for permitting the executions. As reported last week, Dr. Sun left Shanghai immediately upon hearing of the executions, with the avowed purpose of endeavoring to harmonize the differing political factions of the north and south. While the undertaking was regarded by his friends as full of danger for himself, and rumors of his assassination before he reached Peking were cabled to San Francisco, Dr. Sun was given a magnificent reception upon his arrival, and the Chinese of the northern party are showing him every attention. He immediately dined with President Yuan Shi Kai, and held a conference with him lasting several hours. At the conclusion of this conference the President and the ex-provisional President gave out a statement to the effect that they were in perfect accord on all important questions. Dr. Sun said he believed the execution of General Chang Chen Wu would not lead to trouble and that the north and the south would work together harmoniously in the future. Dr. Sun asserted that he considers that Yuan Shi Kai is eminently fitted for the Presidency. On leaving the palace he said, "Yuan is a great man and is worthy of support." [See current volume, page 803.]

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Johann Schleyer, who in 1879 invented Volapuk, an artificial language for international use, died at Constantia, Baden, on the 20th.

—Fung Bue, pioneer Chinese aviator, was killed by the fall of his biplane, on the 25th, at Canton, China. [See current volume, page 442.]

—The unrest on the borders of European Turkey includes preparations for war in Montenegro, a Bulgarian congress urging the government of Bulgaria to mobilize against Turkey, and mass meetings in Servia to protest against alleged massacres by Turks

on the Servian frontier. [See current volume, page 804.]

—A motion to dismiss a jury-bribery indictment against Clarence S. Darrow, on the ground that it charges substantially the same offense as that on which he has been tried and acquitted, was denied by the presiding judge of the Superior Court at Los Angeles on the 26th. [See current volume, page 804.]

—General William Booth, commander-in-chief of the Salvation Army, whose death was reported last week, left behind him sealed orders as to his successor. By these orders the General's eldest son, W. Bramwell Booth, who has been chief of staff since 1880, becomes commander-in-chief of the Army. Upon assuming command General Bramwell Booth renewed the commission of Commander Eva Booth as commander of the Salvation Army forces in the United States. [See current volume, page 804.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Work Worth Doing.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), August 22.—Henry George hasn't been heard of much during the present session, but not because he was idle. He has been studying Washington assessments and a report is ready which is going to raise more kinds of trouble for the speculators than they ever dreamed of.



### Nearest Things First.

Collier's Weekly (ind.), August 17.—We wholly refuse to see fundamental antagonism between the various free and progressive political forces in the field. The Wilson Democrats, the Progressive Republicans, and those of both parties who have joined the new party, all make for destruction of archaic obstacles and unjust privileges. On many measures designed to forward this cause, all Progressives are practically agreed. On some questions of importance there are differing views, and some of these questions cannot be postponed. . . . The foremost issues, we believe, will be the tariff and the trusts. On those two topics Collier's will express itself constantly during the next three months.



### Last Call for Breakfast.

The (South Bend, Indiana) New Era (dem. Dem.), August 17.—The wisdom displayed by the Democratic leaders at Baltimore in selecting Wilson is becoming more apparent as the campaign progresses. Wilson's record is satisfactory to his party and is attractive to sane reformers of all parties. His leadership means a new life to the Democratic Party. If a reactionary had been selected in his stead the desertions from the party by this time would have left it a shadow, much like what is left of the Taft following. The hour of reform had come and it was fortunate for the Democracy that its lights were kept in order for the fateful hours at Baltimore. The battle will not be over, though,

when the votes are counted in November. An aroused public opinion will carefully note every act on the part of those in power. It will be the Democratic party's last opportunity. It cannot be found wanting, else it must follow in the wake of its old time opponent.



#### A Sensible Word in Good Time.

The (Omaha, Neb.) Chancellor (ind.), August 22.—The Chancellor doesn't wish to be pessimistic, but it recognizes the fact that the people of the United States are only nominal rulers, and that those who determine elections are seldom seen or heard. They are generally most active in directors' rooms in Wall Street behind closed doors. As usual these men are very quiet. It is probable that the inner ring is composed of less than a score of men, but these men are in a position to stop every wheel in the United States. For we have but a nominal republic. It is not that Woodrow Wilson, so very seriously threatens the power of these men, but they know that he "betrayed" them when he was elected Governor of New Jersey. For that reason, undoubtedly, they would prefer Roosevelt or Taft. Between these, they would probably prefer Taft, not that he would favor them any better than would Roosevelt, but because they recognize in him a more judicious, discrete and sane man. Should they choose to elect Roosevelt, they will do so only because they believe his election would be easier. Opposed to the machinations of these astute dictators of America, stand Wilson, Debs, Chafin, and, in deference to a common supposition, we might include Roosevelt, but he is opposed to them only in the public imagination. He has advanced a platform to clinch that imagination, at that. He knows, and these dictators know, it could not be carried out. Now, what if this division of the people among all these candidates would but pave the way for the reelection of Taft? Don't forget, it is the Electoral and not the popular vote that counts.



#### Land Value Taxation in Great Britain.

The (London) Daily News and Leader (radical Liberal), August 2.—A very useful purpose was served by the meeting of the Parliamentary Land Values Group which reaffirmed in almost identical terms its adherence to the land taxation memorial presented to the Prime Minister in May. A glance at almost any Unionist paper since Mr. Lloyd George spoke at Kensington the other day will show the need for this step. Since July 15 we have had almost daily tirades against the "Singletax," and should that legend prove to have been killed by Mr. Asquith's blunt denial on Tuesday that it will be adopted by the Government, no doubt it will speedily be replaced by some other invention equally alarming and equally baseless. So strong is the feeling in the country on the subject that the only hope for the Tories of campaigning successfully against land reform is first to misrepresent it; and in order that its advocates may avoid the necessity of repeatedly explaining what it is not, it is extremely desirable that they should explain, with the authority attaching to its recognized spokesmen in the

Liberal party, exactly what it is. There is nothing startling or rhetorical about the terms they have employed. The taxation of land values is not a new departure, but a consistent sequel to the policy of the 1909 Budget, without which the provisions embodied in it for the valuation of land would be almost meaningless. It is a development which is not only logical but necessary. The system under which land escapes, as it has long escaped, its due share of taxation is an injustice to the rest of the community, which has to make good the deficiency, as well as a handicap to the industrialism it penalizes. Everyone but the landowner has to contribute in rates or taxes towards the balance, and it is at the cost of his neighbors in shops, factories, cottages, or tenements, who are made liable on the very values they have created for him by their efforts and on the improvements they carry out, that he evades his proper burden. In the interest of all—and we do not exclude the landlord—a readjustment equitable for all must be undertaken. There is no doubt that the country is ripe for it, and that, wherever it gets the same chance as at Hanley, it will return the same verdict. Provided the issue is kept clearly before it, its justice can hardly be disputed; and every possible effort to free the problem and the main lines of approach to it from obscurity or ambiguity is well worth the making.



#### Eugenics.

Newspaper Enterprise Association (Chicago), July 31.—Eugenics is the science of breeding better men and better women. . . . Burbank breeds cactuses without thorns, and persimmons without pucker, and why can't we breed people without diseases or bad breath or criminal tendencies? The answer is plain. It is too bad to damp the ardor of the eugenists, who, on the whole, are doing some good, but the fact is that people can't be bred as plants and animals are. We get better breeds by saving only the best, and killing off the ordinary and imperfect. To ordinary and imperfect people this seems an objection to the application of the principles of scientific breeding to us! We don't like to be killed off, or sterilized merely because we are ordinary or imperfect. . . . The result would be that the strong, the wealthy and the powerful would get hold of the bureau of eugenics and insist on perpetuating their own lines—which are just as ordinary as ours. . . . There is only one way to make the race better. That way lies through better conditions for everybody. . . . Abolish poverty, brethren, and the better race will come. Educate, and the mating business will take care of itself. . . . The breeding of a uniformly better race must be sought through political economy, not eugenics.



#### Chesterton on Eugenics.

G. K. Chesterton in the (London) Daily News and Leader (radical Lib.), July 6. Somebody puts shortly and strongly what the Eugenists put lengthily and feebly; the Eugenists are shocked at the short words (as if they were swear words) and say they never meant anything like that; the other man is left wondering what they did mean. For eugenics

is not a science; eugenics is a euphemism; and without euphemisms it cannot endure the day. For example, I once said that some people wanted marriages controlled forcibly by the police. Whereupon some very serious Eugenists actually rose and assured the public that no such strenuous bridal scenes were really in preparation. . . . I know quite well that if I had said precisely the same thing elaborately instead of compactly, no Eugenists would probably have denied it, or even noticed it. Suppose instead of saying "marriages managed forcibly by police" I had said, "The modern state must broaden its functions and so far from abandoning its existing powers should rather employ them positively to the creation of healthy marriages than merely to assault abuses in the existing marriages." Most Eugenists would swallow that like so much milk; so far from thinking it an attack on their idea, they would think it a very temperate plea for it. Yet my longer sentence means the same as my shorter sentence, as inevitably as the longer formula of two plus two plus two means the same as the shorter formula six. It was the mere word "police" that startled these poor people. I mean no harsh insinuation by this phrase. An almost exactly similar case occurred in this paper some days ago. When Mr. Oliver W. F. Lodge wrote his admirable letter about that ridiculous rag, the Feeble-minded Bill, he used, as I did, a phrase that shortened and sharpened the matter, and in that sense, of course, exaggerated it. He said that some people wanted human beings bred "on the principles of the stud farm." Once more a solemn disciple wrote explaining that no responsible Eugenist wanted human beings bred on the principles of the stud farm. Once more, I quite accept the assurance; and once more it does not reassure. Here again all that one really feels is that Eugenists have never pictured men as actually living in stables and being scrubbed down by ostlers. And here again one has this unsatisfying impression for the same reason. Because if Mr. Lodge had put the same thing in long sympathetic words instead of short fighting words, Eugenists would have let them pass. Suppose Mr. Lodge had said, "It will probably be advisable to evolve a higher democracy by a supervision somewhat similar to that which was largely present in the deliberate evolution of the higher aristocracies, which could not however make their schemes of sexual selection so wide and scientific as our own; this principle must not be identified merely with the survival of the fittest as it is in nature, but finds a better analogy in that human selection which has been so successful with the race-culture of the higher animals." That sentence consists of eighty-nine words; and its meaning consists of two words, "stud farm." But if Mr. Lodge said that sentence to a thousand Eugenists towards the end of a Eugenist congress, not one of them would stir in his sleep.



G. K. Chesterton in *The (London) Nation*, June 15.—Eugenics! That we should actually be talking eugenics? Have we no spiritual noses? Are we unaware of such a thing as a spiritual stink? Into what tale have we wandered, and in what sort of nightmare cities do we walk, where secret powers

are given to janissaries for the manufacture of eunuchs? Imagine some man who lived on liberty, Jefferson or Charles Fox, walking suddenly into such a world!

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### LOSS AND GAIN.

For The Public.

He lost—and what did he lose?  
 All that he hoped to gain.  
 But the query is, Did he wisely choose?  
 Was the thing that he lost of a higher use  
 Than the great things that remain?

The other won—but what did he win?  
 How can we count the cost  
 Of all the gains that he gathered in?  
 Or know if he fain would his life begin  
 To retain the things he lost?

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.



#### THE COWARDS OF PEACE.

For The Public.

*Patriot*: "How many of your boys, Mr. College President, would enlist in the Army if we got into a war with Germany about the Monroe Doctrine?"

*College President*: "About 80 per cent. of them."

*Patriot*: "Would they be willing to do that if they knew that it really meant some sacrifice? Suppose they knew that they were all going to give up two years of their time, and that one-fifth of them would never get home again. Do you think they would go just the same?"

*College President*: "I am sure they would. Our young men in college and out of it are fine fellows, a brave and patriotic lot, and you will find them ready to make sacrifices for their country in time of need."

*Patriot*: "Now, Mr. President, you know much of history. Tell me, what is it that has most often caused the downfall of nations. Is it foreign armies pounding at their boundaries, or is it graft, injustice, greed and oppression within?"

*College President*: "Much reading of history has convinced me that a nation sound within is in about as much danger from foreign enemies as a healthy man is from the microbes that meet him every hour. Undermine the man's health, and he catches every disease that comes. Fix a nation within so that the plain two-handed man has not a fair show, and you pave the way for the conqueror from without. It is not bayonets that overthrow nations, but graft, injustice, greed and oppression—inequality of opportunity among the people."

*Patriot*: "Will your young men sacrifice as much to drive out inequality of opportunity which



is here as they would to beat the Germans who are not here?"

*College President:* "Sir, that is a very direct question. We preach to our young men a great deal; they mean well, they are fine fellows, but most of them will soon be getting salaries and dividends out of Special Privilege—Tories, I fear; and if the truth must be told, they will not fight for the common good within as they would fight the Germans without."

*Patriot:* "Then these are the Cowards of Peace."

J. RUSSELL SMITH.



## LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELLERS.

### No. 11. A Man and His Wife.

For The Public.

Now that the chief actors are no longer living, one who is much with the pioneers of San Francisco may occasionally hear an allusion to something which happened in the famous Argonaut saloon, which Colonel Cremony used to call "our own happy-go-lucky Argo."

In those days one went there to meet leading business and professional men, for whom it was almost a club-house. One also met the bonanza miners, the newest authors, the latest lions of society. Original paintings, sketches, and framed manuscripts hung on the walls. Thomas Rowland, the owner of the Argo, had a striking and attractive personality; he collected signed sketches by Nahl and autographed first editions of Californian books. Bret Harte once wrote a little poem to him, never yet published, in which he was called with some truth the "Mæcenas" of local art and literature.



The story really begins with Lucy Metcalf. She was beautiful and intelligent; also, she had the best of social standing. Then she married James Williston, the young attorney of quite another and a wealthier set.

When the announcement of her engagement was made that famous clergyman, Dr. Stebbins, who had followed Lucy's career since she first entered his Sunday School, somewhat shook his head. "She has an exhaustless interest in life," he said, "and still she seems to have kept the best home-ideals of our mothers. She ought to go far, and straight to the mark. But Williston, though the most brilliant lawyer of his years in San Francisco, drinks a little, gambles a little, leans a little toward machine politics. Lucy will have to fight for those home-ideals."

But they were married, and before long Lucy knew one of her troubles. She knew that her husband's associates, who drank more than he did,

were heedlessly helping him to form a habit which, to one of his ardent and highly social temperament, would be almost impossible to break. She gradually became convinced, too, that whatever might be right for others, he was so constructed that even the after-dinner glass was never safe. For a year she watched the habit growing upon him.

Meanwhile she made herself more and more a part of his life. She knew and studied all his friends; she blossomed out into new realms without in any degree sacrificing her home-interests. Everywhere she was admired and honored; her husband, who loved her exceedingly, grew very proud of her triumphs. She was a thoughtful and attractive woman, in the full flush of her beauty, and very much in love with James Williston.

More than once, Lucy thought herself close to victory, close to having him feel as she did about the dangerous effect upon him of any such artificial excitement. She would not urge him to make a promise which he might break, and so lose self-respect. She studied the abnormal psychology of the subject; she brooded over his one weakness, as a wife, almost as a mother, and sometimes, in the greatness of her longing, it would have seemed to some divine on-looker as if she was his guardian angel, watching, hoping, praying, persuading and inspiring.

"Why can't you urge James to take a total abstinence pledge, Lucy?" said her mother and her old pastor, when they could no longer keep silence, "He may do that, for you."

"Oh," she cried out, "it must go deeper. He must walk among his associates, to many of whom there seems no harm in the use of what are to him intoxicants, and no more take a drink than he would tell a lie."

"But how can you bring this about?" asked Dr. Stebbins. "How can you wake in his nature that deepest response—that Everlasting No?"

She smiled upon her good friend. "Let us not discuss it any more. There is some path up those rocks, and James and I will find it together."

She kept on saying to herself "Together! Together!" for days after that. The word had struck old chords of her life in a new way.

"I wish," she thought, "that everything could once more be crystal clear between us. I shall break down under the strain, some of these days, and then what will become of him? I shall lose my beauty—it is going fast—and my interest in life, and what hold I have on him will lessen—is lessening now, I think. I can't make any more of a home for him; I can't pull him any farther." Such black doubts came over her at times! Such cold fear seized her in the watches of the night!

What did she care for his cases won, his rapid rise to influence in the councils of the great men of the commonwealth, if they were driven apart

by this wedge of separation, this habit of "tippling" (how she loathed the word!) which every now and then overcame him?

"If only I could know and understand that in him which will not yield up to anything created, nor to any thought's urgency," she cried to her inner self. "I go forward only so far, and I meet something within him unawakened, not to be moved. I know that he loves me; he knows what I wish for us both; his reason acknowledges the logic of the situation. But in some hidden chamber dwells that which will not accept the fact that for him this thing spells ruin!"

It was election year, and San Francisco, torn by its usual class-conflicts, was everywhere in a turmoil. Williston made several great speeches, and won multitudes of new friends. Men who saw the Willistons going out together, or met them among the notables, said: "A wonderfully fine couple, and so devoted to each other!"

Two inside circles spoke of Williston about this time. A capitalist group said: "His associates are broadening his mind; in a few years more he will make a first-rate lawyer for us—possibly even a Governor."

The other group said: "Williston was cut out for a man who would stand for Right Things, but his standards are lower than they used to be, and he seems to be a trifle dissipated."

Thus, to those who watched, the long-trembling scales had begun to turn against Lucy.

Before the polls had closed that day, she, the daughter of a long line of crisis-meeting ancestors, had resolved to go forward and face the situation in the open, putting her future on one last effort.

Lucy Williston put on her armor, her weapons of body, mind and soul, as never before so superbly, and went out in her husband's footsteps that election night.

Meanwhile the Argo was full of excited politicians of the victorious party. Williston and half a dozen of his intimate friends stood in front of the bar, drinking to the new Governor and his aides. Another round had been started; the full glasses stood before them.

"This is to Williston, the leader of the San Francisco bar!" said one.

Before a glass could be raised, Lucy entered the door, dropped her cloak, flung back her veil, slipped up beside her husband, took up the drink that was before him.

"I am just in time, James," she said, smiling upon him with utter love, earnestness and renunciation. "Pour out another glass for Mr. Williston," she said to Mr. Rowland, the proprietor, who was himself waiting upon these friends of his. He obeyed, in silence.

The room hushed, absolutely. Hardly one man there had not often met Mrs. Williston; they knew and greatly respected her. They felt, too, the

utter simplicity with which Lucy had entered and had spoken. As one of them said afterwards: "Great Heavens, what a lovely and womanly woman she was, as she stood there beside him! She made the old Argo seem like her own drawing room."

There Lucy shone, trembling, and yet radiant with a new light. "My dear, dear husband," she said, "let me drink with you now and just as much, and as many times, as you do in the coming years. Let me walk the road with you, clear to the end, till we lie in the same grave at last. Whatever the road, it must be together."

She forgot that anyone else was in the room; she looked at him as might one of the saints from Paradise, and, as she lifted the glass to her lips in that awed silence, every man in the room thought of his own wife and children, and his heart rose against her act.

Williston tore the glass away, and it broke on the floor. They looked into each other's faces, and she knew that all was clear between them, that the uttermost depth of his nature had at last answered her. She flashed out instantly with a new glory, as of a Joan of Arc riding victorious down the front of war.

As she took her husband's arm, and they turned to go, her eyes swept the entire group, from the white-haired judge in whose office Williston had studied law, to handsome, eagle-eyed Rowland, behind the bar. Answering their good-will and comprehension she said: "My friends, I thank you."

When they were gone, the old Judge rapped for silence. "Gentlemen," said he, "what has happened here cannot be told outside." A murmur of assent followed. "Those friends of ours," the Judge continued, "are fellow-travelers for time and for eternity. Let us hold up her hands in this whole thing." A still deeper sound of approval was heard, and by common consent the group began to separate though the night was hardly half gone.

Lucy and her husband went home in a silent and solemn happiness. Then she broke down, and was long ill. The price had been paid to the last farthing, but, as Williston felt, it went to the limits and it was unforgettable.

He was a man of immense power for good and for evil among men because above his fine executive talents dwelt a constructive imagination. When he first saw his wife in the Argo, there had come to him once for all a comprehension of how and why she had come, how and why she had suffered, and without a pledge against it, his whole nature had turned with hatred from the habit which up to that moment had really held him fast.

As he sat by her bedside, she knew without a shadow of doubt that he was now safe—that the spider threads of customary use were broken, never

again to be spun about him. She knew, also, that he understood the absolute truth, that not in mere bravado, nor to play for a doubtful advantage, had she come to the Argo, but because if he could not walk in her way, she would nevertheless, by free choice, have taken his road. Better than all else, she knew, looking in his eyes, that he rejoiced in her act.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



## "TAY PAY" ON THE SINGLETAX IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Special Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune of August 25, 1912, from T. P. O'Connor, M. P.

When Henry George came to England many years ago he got a curiously mixed reception. At first there was a certain coldness and hostility, and, still more, unbelief. He came to preach a revolution and a panacea, and Englishmen do not care for revolutions and have little faith in panaceas.

This was the attitude of England. In Ireland he had no adherents, with the exception of Michael Davitt. In a country where already hundreds of thousands of peasant proprietors had got possession of their lands it was vain to preach the gospel of the Singletax.

Once or twice Michael Davitt nearly came into conflict with other leading Nationalists because of his pronounced views against peasant proprietorship, and, indeed, for some years there was a certain coldness between him and several of the Irish leaders. But Davitt was at bottom an amiable man, and these passing misunderstandings disappeared. He died at peace with all men, or nearly all men. However, he never made any progress with his Singletax program.

The one kingdom, curiously enough, in which Henry George made any progress was Scotland. To the surprise of most people, at least of those who did not know Scotland, Henry George not only found enthusiastic audiences, but left behind him a strong school of Singletaxers. The ground had been prepared for his gospel for years.

There used to be in the city of Glasgow—he died some years ago—a fervid, eloquent, and active Irishman named John Fergusson. He was a paper dealer, and had to travel the three kingdoms in his business. He became a friar preacher of the new gospel, devoted to it time, money, and energy, and preached it from innumerable platforms.

This fervid Irishman was one of those Presbyterian Ulster Nationalists who are more often enthusiastic than their Catholic fellow Nationalists, and bring to their creed something of the dour and fanatical spirit of their Scotch ancestors.

Every Irishman of Scotch blood who belongs to this type always reminds one a little of John Knox, one of the first of the race of fearless and

fanatical prophets, and John Fergusson was a John Knox after his fashion.

In Glasgow, with its gigantic increase of the price of land inside the city boundaries, owing to the gigantic increase of the size and wealth of the city, was splendid seed ground for the new land gospel, and there gathered around John Fergusson a large school of Singletaxers.

They brought every year to the House of Commons a bill founded on their theories, and at last got some of its proposals carried. Thus it came about that Scotland, more than any other of the three kingdoms, was won to the gospel of Henry George.

Meantime the movement obtained some recruits of importance in London. First must be mentioned a man who is not an Englishman at all, though he has made most of his large fortune in England.

Joseph Fels, American by birth, Jewish by race, belongs to that section of his people which gives to ideal causes the splendid gifts that are usually devoted to finance.

Jewish enthusiasts play a larger part than is realized in the advanced forces of Europe. They are often the revolutionary leaders of Russia; they form the journalistic forces behind the Socialist movements in Germany; they are the most devoted republicans in France.

In England a large number are among the leading spirits in the press and in Parliament of the Conservative forces; they also form a considerable section belonging to the Liberal Party.

There are, for instance, three members of the race in the present Ministry, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Herbert Samuel, and Montagu.

If they figure in the Labor movement they have as yet produced no man who has come to the front in that body.

Joseph Fels is a little man with a fragile frame. But he is one of those delicate beings who often in the history of the world have played big parts by the burning ardor of their spirit.

Fels is never at rest; never cool; never silent. Meet him anywhere and he bursts at once into a long discourse on Henry George and the Singletax.

He spends a considerable portion of a big income in propaganda, subsidizes organizations, issues pamphlets and leaflets, makes innumerable speeches, attends innumerable conferences; in short, this fiery little spirit seems to live, move, and have his being in the Singletax idea.

He has no children. His wife, like himself, a fiery spirit in a fragile frame, seems as devoted to the cause as her husband.

Neither ever touches wine. They lead the simple life in the fullest sense of the word. Men and women of this type, above the ordinary temptations and indulgence of mankind, are always for-

midable figures in a new and revolutionary social movement.

Here let me say that there is one remarkable peculiarity among the Singletaxers which has always struck me much. The doctrine is held with such fervor, it is believed to be potent with so much power in removing human inequalities, that it creates among all its adherents a curious kind of devotion and of fraternity which amounts to a new religious doctrine.

All barriers of race and of creed fall down; the Orange Singletaxer, if such there be, would grasp the hand of a Catholic Nationalist Singletaxer with more sense of fraternity than either would approach a co-religionist who holds conservative views on the land question.

Henry George, in fact, has founded not merely a new school of economical thought but almost a new Christian communion.



### ROMANCE IN THE CITY.

God opens doors to those who knock,  
He sends His dreams to those who pray  
For some romance the while they toil  
In dingy offices all day,  
When fog hangs over London town,  
And City streets are cold and gray.

Each Bill of Lading's a romance  
To make me dream of Eastern seas,  
Of towns with strangely sounding names,  
Of shining harbors, sun-bathed quays;  
I picture grave-faced merchant-men  
In dim bazaars as consignees.

I write the vessel's name and port,  
And lo! her halliards sing to me,  
I am on board and Eastward bound  
For Smyrna and Gallipoli,  
Thro' archipelagoes that gleam  
Like opals on a sapphire sea.

I see the goods I invoice home'd  
In palaces of dusky kings,  
In corridors all pearl and gold,  
In courtyards full of splendid things,  
Where slave-girls dance, magnificent  
Beyond a man's imaginings.

When fog comes down on London town,  
And City streets are cold and gray,  
God opens doors to those who knock,  
And sends romance to those who pray  
For warmth and color, while they toil  
In dingy offices all day.

—Westminster Gazette.



"Still, you must admit that this is a grand old world."

"No, I don't admit anything of the kind," replied the malefactor of great wealth. "At least I won't admit it until I've consulted with my attorney."—Chicago Record-Herald.

## BOOKS

### REACHING OUT FOR DEMOCRACY.

**Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy.** By Frederick C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "The City the Hope of Democracy;" "The British City: the Beginning of Democracy;" "Privilege and Democracy in America," etc.; formerly lecturer in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Price \$1.25 net.

As "an experiment station in politics, in social and industrial legislation, in the democratization of science and higher education," Wisconsin appears to Mr. Howe as "doing for America what Germany is doing for the world." He describes the State as a "laboratory in which popular government is being tested in its reaction on people, on the distribution of wealth, on social well-being." The analogue is significant. Wisconsin democracy is to be judged by the standards of an experimental laboratory rather than those of a factory show-room of finished products. Her working hypothesis is the practicability of the democratic ideal, her service being progressive experimentation with reference to that hypothesis.

In such a service much, both in theory and practice, must be expected to shock democratic sensitiveness justly. The remark, for instance, of the president of the Wisconsin University, that "if we applied to human kind what we know about the breeding of animals, the feeble-minded would disappear in a generation while the insane and criminal classes would be reduced to a fraction of their present numbers," may well deserve Chesterton's scorching criticism of eugenic legislation. A good deal of the paternally autocratic in other respects runs through these experiments in the name of democracy; some of it defensible, no doubt, as being in the nature of war-measures necessitated by the conditions of a conflict with sordid power and privilege strongly entrenched, but some of it apparently attributable to that spirit of dominion which obsesses democracy and is none the less repulsive for its good intentions. But democracy is not a Jonah's gourd to spring up in perfection over night, nor a weed to grow well without culture; and if there is to be cultural growth there must be experimentation involving the making of mistakes as well as the making of advances. This is the attitude of mind in which Mr. Howe's story of the Wisconsin experiments in democracy should be approached.

So approached, his story reveals an instructive and encouraging system of democratic experimentation—political, educational and industrial—springing out of Robert M. La Follette's long-sustained crusade for political righteousness. An idea of the spirit of it all may be had from an ob-

ervation by the author upon its influence on history-teaching at the Wisconsin University: "I listened," he writes, "to the professor of Roman history discussing the conditions of the Roman republic in the years preceding the empire. He departed widely from the historical teaching with which I was familiar. The story of the decay of Rome became a twentieth-century warning in the close analogy drawn between landlordism in the first great republic and our own. He explained how the colossal plantations, the latifundia of the old Roman land grabbers, had been obtained just as were the land and timber grants in the American West."

From the pen of a leader among American students of social progress, who is at once an authority on his subject and a writer of exceptional force and charm, this work has the qualities of a text book for the new order of American politicians; for the general reader it has those of an interesting contribution to the history of American democracy.



### A PRACTICAL BOOK.

**The Psychology of Salesmanship.** By William Walker Atkinson. Price \$1.00, postpaid. Elizabeth Towne Co., Holyoke, Mass.

The useful contents of this volume can hardly be conveyed in a brief notice, but it is most cordially commended to the attention of all who are interested in its subject. The writer appeals so directly to the reason and common sense in his instructions to the would-be salesman that he dissipates at once the idea that there is any "black magic" to be employed in the role of successful salesmanship. The study of human nature in its various aspects and a rigid self discipline and control are to be reckoned among the first requisites to the art of winning satisfied customers. For all the additional requirements essential to the practice of the salesman who holds an independent position in the world of trade, the young—or old—aspirant to such office may look in Mr. Atkinson's text book for suggestion and counsel that will prove highly valuable.

A. L. M.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Collier's.

It may be invidious to say that the best statement of the present political situation yet printed is the leading editorial in Collier's of the 24th. But some one ought to say it, for it is true.



### The Twentieth Century.

Engdahl's "Socialism versus Syndicalism" in the Twentieth Century for September, written from the

point of view of political-party socialism, presents succinctly a set of facts which ought to be more generally understood. John Jay Chapman gives in this number the second article in his charming series on William Lloyd Garrison. The feature of the number, however, is Hiram Kelley Moderwill's explanation, in "Hearst and the Hearststone," of William Randolph Hearst's secret of success as a publisher.



### The Outlook.

Mr. Roosevelt, with full editorial endorsement, explains in The Outlook of August 24th his position on the Negro question as it affects the Progressive Party or is affected by that party; and Frederick C. Howe, author of "The City the Hope of Democracy," begins a series of articles on "City Sense." Mr. Howe's articles relate the adventures of the Boston Chamber of Commerce party which made a migratory study of the cities of Europe in the summer of 1911. His first deals with "The Rule of the Expert."



### The Fine Art of Printing.

"The Printing Art" for July, a magazine of the graphic arts (The University Press, Cambridge, Mass.), is a study in beauty from one richly-toned cover to the other. The examples within of color-printing are so marvelous and the printed pages so perfect that you look and almost forget to read. Better not. You might not learn that the famous Dr. Ostwald through years of scientific investigation has determined the best three sizes for books and their printed pages; and that there is a movement afoot to persuade all publishers to adopt this "world-format;" 4 7-16 by 6 5-16 inches for pocket editions; 6 5-16 by 8 7-8 for standard works, and 8 7-8 by 12 5-8 for dictionaries; each page to be one-half print and one-half margin. Mere technique for the makers of books? Yes, but like most true scientific work, for the ultimate ease and comfort of us all.

A. L. G.



### The American Magazine.

From Finley Peter Dunne's pen picture of the Taft and Wilson conventions, to the last verse of Nicholas Vachel Lindsay's "Grave of the Proud Farmer," the American (New York) for September is a magazine of unusual interest. Among its articles most likely to interest readers of The Public is Brand Whitlock's sketch of Daniel Kiefer, of whom, says Mayor Whitlock, "it has been estimated that every third man in those countries covered by the postal treaties receives every morning a circular letter on the Singletax." Another is John S. Pardee's (old readers of The Public will recall John Stone Pardee with delight) story of railroad regulation under the suggestive title of "How We Kicked Sixteen Billions Upstairs." Someone tells of "A Little Filler in Appendicitis." He tells it with the humor that only those can enjoy who have had surgical experience as patients in a hospital, nor they fully until after they get out. Ogden's romance of an almshouse couple, White's lion hunting, Locke's summer adventure, Sir Francis Vane's

peace-education, Zona Gale's "Woman in the Room," Bliss Carmen's truth-keepers, Maud Thornhill Porter's biography of an extraordinary canary bird, and Ida M. Tarbell's open-house observations, all contribute to an appetizing and well-balanced magazine banquet.



The Spanish Singletaxer.

The August number of El Impuesto Unico opens with a translation of an address given by Henry George at "The International Congress for Agrarian and Social Reforms" at Paris in June, 1889. Mr. Baldomero Argente gives an able analysis of the universal high cost of living, in which the holding idle of productive land is named as the chief factor in boosting prices. Mr. José Capitan charges that the Canalejas Ministry has failed to give Spain any economic relief for the reason that it has adopted the almost universal method of ignoring underlying causes and merely temporizing with effects. No gain, he argues, can be expected until land monopoly is broken up. Mr. M. Gracia Oro comments on the attitude of the "New Regime," a Madrid publication, which in its issue of May 30 comes out strongly in favor of the Henry George land value tax. To the foreign news column, Argentina furnishes interesting items. In their 23rd Congress Senator Lainez pleads for the application of a land tax that has been held up for two years by the large land owners. And one of the leading daily papers of Buenos Aires, "El Diario," on June 24 editorially advocated the adoption of the Singletax as a remedy for the high cost of living. "The Standard," of Buenos Aires, prints paragraphs from President Saenz Peña's message to Parliament.\* It might be mentioned here that the President of the Republic of Uruguay is also a Singletaxer.

C. L. LOGAN.

\*See Public of August 2, page 742.



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"Well," said he, "it's just like this: The train

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Anxious Old Lady: "I say, my good man, is this boat going up or down?"

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