

# The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1912.

No. 744.

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.

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## EDITORIAL

### Bryan at Baltimore.

Never in any public body were public interests better served—more devotedly, more acutely, more broadly, more disinterestedly, more courageously, more successfully—than by William J. Bryan in his leadership at Baltimore against the natural affiliation of bi-partisan crooks and their Democratic dupes, who, but for him, would have delivered the Democratic party over to the financial proprietors of the Republican party. We say successfully as well as courageously, disinterestedly, broadly, acutely and with devotion to principle, because the bi-partisan bargain of the political crooks with the financial interests, which was endorsed at Chicago, has been smashed at Baltimore under Bryan's brave leadership.



### Nothing to Brag of.

August Belmont begs to remind William J. Bryan that he, Mr. Belmont, was a Democrat when Bryan was a Populist. That's nothing to brag of. Boss Tweed was a Democrat before Bryan was a Populist.



### The Illinois Contest.

Probably no more absurd contest for seats in any convention was ever made than that of the Hearst-Harrison faction at Baltimore. There was nothing whatever in it at all meritorious, except that it was a revolt against the domination of Roger

Sullivan in Illinois politics; and this solitary merit was completely neutralized by the fact that the unhorsing of Sullivan would have meant the putting of Hearst into his empty saddle. The withdrawal of the contest at Baltimore was not due, however, to any broad-minded recognition of the absence of merit in the matter. It was withdrawn, if the news dispatches from Baltimore have the matter right, because Hearst's *alter ego*, Lawrence, had renewed his old relationship with Sullivan. The contest appears to have been withdrawn by Hearst's orders because Sullivan threatened to bolt Hearst's candidate for the Presidential nomination if the contest were appealed from the committee on credentials to the national convention. Some of the best men in Illinois have got entangled in this Hearst alliance simply because they are too genuine in their democracy to tolerate Sullivan. It is to be hoped that they may have learned by now that an alliance with Hearst against Sullivan doesn't mean hostility to Sullivan or Sullivanism one moment beyond the hour when Mr. Hearst finds that he can use Sullivan for his own personal purposes, or, for those purposes, be used by him.



#### Explaining Bryan.

While the secret of William J. Bryan's popular power is under discussion, why not consider his superior apprehension of the directness and simplicity of the democratic mind?



#### For Fair Trials.

An appeal for financial help in the defense of Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, charged with murder in connection with the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike, is in circulation. These two men, according to the statements of the defense-fund committee, are not guilty of murder, nor of homicide in any other degree, either upon the facts or the law. From that statement it appears that a striker, Annie Lopez, was killed by the police in a clash between police and strikers, while both Ettor and Giovannitti were admittedly two miles away; but that the authorities are trying to fasten upon them the crime of murdering the woman whom the police killed, on the ground that they were at the time engaged in a conspiracy, as members of the "I. W. W." and as speakers, to cause the kind of violence which resulted in this particular instance in a death. Two or three considerations will occur to men and women who are averse to the campaigns of violence which some "I. W. W." supporters are

preaching. For one thing, those who advocate and organize physical warfare must take the fortunes of war; and for another, those who are prosecuted for homicides they did not intend, but which are the natural consequences of criminal conduct they did intend, cannot be heard to protest that they are innocent. But for a third thing, everybody accused of crime is entitled to a fair trial, on the facts and on the law; exceptions are not to be made to the prejudice of any one, not even of those who advocate defiance of law. For a fourth, a fair trial in the case of Ettor and Giovannitti is not to be expected unless they are provided adequately with defense funds. Since the collapse of the McNamara defense at Los Angeles, there is a natural shrinking from contributing to these defense funds, especially for the defense of men who belong to organizations with lawless policies such as some of those which "I. W. W." representatives declare. But good order in social administration is a prime necessity, and good order demands fairness in judicial trials. A miscarriage of justice is quite as much to be deplored in cases of conviction as of acquittal. Indeed, unfair convictions are the more dangerous of the two to the peace of society. It is to be hoped, therefore, that every lover of good order who can afford it, whether he cares for righteous social adjustments or not, will do his share, both with speech and purse, to secure a fair trial for those two men at Lawrence. They may be communicated with at 9 Mason St., Lawrence, Mass.



#### The Gompers Decision.\*

Regarding the decision of Judge Wright against Gompers and his associates, the one point that this raises the question of freedom of the press, should not be at any instant forgotten. In the face of that issue, the labor question on either side, and all the proprieties with reference to the judiciary, are secondary. What Judge Wright in effect decides is that any judge can upon anybody's application forbid the publication of anything, and that thereupon such publication will constitute an offense which the judge may punish in his own discretion. This is the essential question which the principle of freedom of the press involves. It is not whether that freedom may be abused. The laws, with grand juries and criminal courts to punish their infraction, are invested with power over abuses of freedom of the press. The essence of the question in the Gompers case is whether this freedom shall be subject to injunctions, as it

\*See The Public of last week, page 610.

was before the press was unshackled. If the Gompers case stands as now decided, editorials and speeches and magazine articles on any subject whatever and in any publication whatever may be forbidden by injunctions in advance of publication. This is as it used to be under despotic governments, but not as it has been or should be under democratic governments. It is the long expected next step in the direction of what the late Governor Altgeld denounced as "government by injunction."



### THE MORGANATIC PANIC.

Senator La Follette recently said, regarding Mr. Roosevelt's connection with the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company transaction, that "Morgan and the Standard Oil had started the panic" of 1907, and that "it was an artificial panic, rigged up to order, to enable certain interests to hammer down stocks and to buy in dangerous competitors." Commenting upon this, a New York financial weekly characterized it as "fine campaign material," but as "a charge not supported by the facts."

What the editor thought the facts were he did not state very fully. He did, however, practically admit to be true what is said and generally believed about the Morgan and the Standard Oil influences controlling the New York banks. If so, then the charge made by Senator La Follette is true; for the reports covering the time preceding, during and following the panic, make it clearly appear that it was those banks that caused it.



Mr. Roosevelt may not have "connived with the Morgan interests" to bring about a panic. He may have been only a victim of their cunning. He has never shown, by pen or by tongue, that he had sufficient knowledge of financial economics or grasp of financial conditions to save him from being deceived by them. This may not be the correct view of his relations with the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company transaction, but it is the most charitable view that can be taken.

But no difference what were the motives that prompted Mr. Roosevelt's action in this matter, the panic of 1907 was primarily the result of the control and conditions of the New York central reserve banks. If the facts concerning these banks at that time are known and understood, it will clearly appear that the charge of Senator La Follette is supported by them, and that the responsibility for the "collapse of 1907" rests on Morgan and Standard Oil.

It cannot be intelligently contradicted that there

has not been fifteen days, at any time within the last fifteen years, during which the influences controlling the New York central banks could not have caused to order, inside of forty-eight hours, just such a panic as that of 1907.



The editorial alluded to above refers to "the great inflation" that preceded the panic, and says that "Mr. Morgan and his friends were not responsible" for it.

As usual, the inflation is attributed to "national extravagance." But what was this inflation?

It was an inflation of loans and discounts and other bank credits. The loans and discounts of national banks were increased during 1907 and prior to August 22d, at a rate of over \$1,300,000 for every business day. The central reserve banks of New York city furnished a larger proportion of these credits, when compared with resources, than any other class of national banks. Immediately following August 22, 1907, a tremendous decrease of \$260,000,000 of national bank credits occurred. Just prior to this date, the central reserve banks had suddenly decreased their loans about \$40,000,000, while the reserve and country banks kept up about the usual increase to that date. On that date the central banks held about \$800,000,000 of the money resources of banks outside of the central reserve cities. Of this sum over \$200,000,000 was from the reserves of outside national banks.

Can it be forgotten how frantic was the effort of many outside banks to get their reserves out of the central banks, and how audacious was the disregard of law in the refusals to meet such demands?

It is reported to have cost one bank in Indianapolis about \$1,000 to get \$100,000 of its reserves out of the hands of a reserve agent.

A country bank in Indiana had accumulated quite a large amount of United States checks, and sent them to a bank in New York city, with specific directions to collect and to return the proceeds by express. The New York bank collected the money, entered it as a deposit, and refused to return a dollar of it until the panic was about over. Many similar transactions were reported to have occurred in the business of outside banks with the New York city banks.



The cessation of bank credits and the sudden decrease of loans in New York city, beginning prior to August 22, 1907; the continued decrease of such credits after that date, and the refusal of these banks to honor demands for a return of re-

serves that had been entrusted to them; the consequent compulsory cessation of credits in outside banks—these facts were the immediate cause of the panic of 1907.

The more remote cause was the concentration of the funds of outside banks in the central reserve banks, and the loaning of it by the latter until they held but a scanty margin above the cash reserve requirements. Such concentration was the direct result of interest offered for such deposits by the central banks, and the foolish desire of outside banks to convert their reserves into an interest-producing resource.

It makes little difference where the initial movement started that resulted in that panic. The same baneful influences that had created the system had control of the New York city banks, and had, through them, created conditions in financial affairs of which they could at any time take advantage. Those influences had loaded up—not the country, but—the New York market, with stocks of varying and doubtful value, or of no value; and too much of the “capital and credits” had been, by legislative contrivances, sucked into the New York stock markets through the New York banks.

The money of banks outside of New York city, thus accumulated in the banks on the inside, and by them loaned out, amounted on August 22, 1907, to well nigh \$1,000,000,000, and the whole sixty central banks then in existence had less than \$12,000,000 in cash in excess of the cash reserves required by law to be held. They were dependent on this comparatively small excess of cash over reserves required to meet all the demands of daily business, and of individual and reserve depositors.

The situation was dangerous, of course. Under such conditions, a panic might be precipitated by slight causes, or by intentional manipulation.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.



## PROGRESSIVE NEW ZEALAND.

Articles in American newspapers misrepresenting the results of reform movements in foreign countries, are not uncommon, and in more than one instance *The Public* has exposed them.\*

A flagrant example of this type of misrepresentation appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* as unsigned special correspondence under a Milwaukee (Wisconsin) date line of April 26, 1912. It purported to be an interview with “a prominent Milwaukee attorney,” B. K. Miller. He had just returned from “a four months’ visit to New

Zealand,” so the correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote, “for the purpose of studying Socialism as it is practiced in that country and for the purpose of comparing conditions over there with socialistic conditions in Milwaukee.” As the correspondent quoted him, Mr. Miller said:

Socialistic experiments are a ghastly failure. As a result New Zealand is hopelessly bankrupt. Give them reasonable credit for the property they own (railroads, telegraph lines, etc.) and the net debt still is so large that I do not see how any sane man can believe the Dominion can ever pay it. “But bankruptcy is not the worst of it,” said Mr. Miller. “If a country be improvident it can, like an individual, go into bankruptcy and compromise with its creditors. Socialism, however, has devitalized the people and sapped their initiative. Nowhere else in the world have I seen Anglo-Saxons so casual and inefficient. Bankruptcy and a compromise will not avail. In one town, laborers were digging a ditch, one of the simplest and safest forms of labor I know of. The pay was ten shillings (say \$2.45) a day of eight hours. If the place were damp they got an additional shilling (say 24 cents). So far as I could judge the laborers were doing about half the work which would be required in a like time in America, England or Canada. Similar conditions prevailed all over the country. Several years ago I became interested in the progress of these experiments. After two years of close study I was half convinced that they had proved successful. Then I visited the country. The conclusions I then reached have not been changed by my present visit. The country has been socialized about as much as it can be. The government owns the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines. It issues life and fire insurance policies. It runs banks. Yet it is hopelessly in debt. Why? Because the government has been inefficient and extravagant. Its life insurance, for one thing, has maintained itself. But it has tried so many other experiments that it has had to borrow vast sums to make up deficits and now about 25 per cent of its income is used in paying the interest on these loans. About one person in five is a government employe. Labor unions have been in control and the results have been bad. Capitalistic exploitation is undesirable, but labor exploitation is just as bad. The Socialists have long pointed with pride to New Zealand and insisted that in that country they had obtained industrial peace; that strikes and lockouts were forbidden by law and that judicial decisions had taken their place. Just so long as the decisions were in their favor the laborers were content, but lately there have been several decisions in favor of the employers and the trades unions are withdrawing their subscription to the arbitration act and returning to strikes and intimidation.



Mr. Miller’s statement is altogether misleading. If he gave not four months (as the interview states) but four days to the conscientious study of political conditions in New Zealand, he must have known that the Dominion is unusually prosperous.

\*See *The Public* of December 29, 1911, page 1307; current volume, page 411.

The national debt is big, comparatively, but to say the country is bankrupt on that account, is on a par with saying that a big department store, with its numerous activities, is hopelessly in debt because it owes many times more than a nearby one-line store.

New Zealand owed, March 31, 1911, £80,078,122 (\$400,390,610). A heavy debt for one million population; and anyone who wants to mislead can shriek in alarm that its democratic experiments have driven the country to bankruptcy. But wait a minute. Shouldn't the people be told how much of that huge debt is interest-producing? Shouldn't it be stated, for instance, that the £25,602,948 (\$128,014,740) spent on the railroads is now earning 4 per cent? The £6,303,485 (\$31,517,425) spent by the Government to purchase land for close settlement, the £6,974,935 (\$34,874,675) advanced to settlers, the £4,882,000 (\$24,410,000) loaned to local authorities, should be included, as they are, in stating the total debt, but it should not be forgotten that these are all interest-earning investments. When we classify the total indebtedness under the four heads (a) reproductive business undertakings by the state, (b) investments, (c) indirectly productive public utilities, and (d) unproductive service, we find that 63.02 per cent. of the national debt is *directly interest-earning*.

Another thing which should show an unbiased investigator that New Zealanders are prosperous is the fact that the Post Office savings deposits amounted (on December 31, 1910) to £15,620,515 (\$78,102,575), or roughly £15 (\$75) per inhabitant.

So much for Mr. Miller's bankruptcy fiction.



"Bankruptcy," he says, "is not the worst of it, for Socialism has devitalized the people, sapped their energy and deteriorated their citizenship."

If he knew anything about Socialism and about New Zealand, he would know that there is no Socialism there. It can be truthfully stated that in New Zealand they have successfully tested woman's suffrage, public ownership of public utilities, and the efficacy of much palliative industrial legislation; but of true Socialism, or anything radical except an extremely limited form of the Singletax, New Zealand is absolutely innocent. When anyone accuses Socialism of causing the degeneracy in New Zealand, he only proves his ignorance or a desire to mislead.



But are the New Zealanders devitalized, degenerate, lacking in initiative?

They have led the world in at least a dozen democratic movements. The people run with success their own railroads, telephones, telegraphs, and their own electric car lines. Doesn't look as if everyone was asleep all the time.

In sports their record is creditable. Their Rugby football team is the best in the British Empire; in tennis and rifle shooting they are always amongst the prize winners. We who hate war don't pride ourselves particularly on foreign-brother-killing proclivities, but to give the lie to reckless statements about devitalization and degeneracy, it might be worth reminding Mr. Miller that after the British reverses in South Africa, New Zealand promptly sent to the mother country's aid more fighting men, in proportion to the population, than any other British possession. This doesn't seem to stamp the race as lacking in battle courage or national initiative.

Nor do the vital statistics show this terrible devitalization and degeneracy. New Zealand's death rate is one of the lowest in the world, her death rate for infants under one year (62 per 1,000) is the lowest recorded, with one exception—South Australia, which was in 1910-1911 61 per 1,000.



If industrial arbitration has not been an unqualified success in New Zealand, few who have studied the system thoroughly are prepared to say that it is not vastly superior for the worker, employer and the public to the old method of strikes. Since the inception of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act in 1894, the official records show that to March 31, 1911 (a period of sixteen years), the total number of strikers in the Dominion was only 1,565 and the total number of men rendered idle by strikes, 2,853. Surely this proves how insignificant have been the few strikes called.

No one expects any piece of legislation absolutely to stop strikes or lockouts, any more than by making burglary illegal we think we can end the burglary business. All a law can do is to check a tendency.

One or two of the larger unions (notably the miners) have recently joined the newly-formed New Zealand Federation of Labor. Much has been made of this by opponents of industrial arbitration. The aim of the Federation of Labor is to abolish all craft unions and unite all workers in one great union which would have power to call a paralyzing universal strike. Unions which join the Federation withdraw from the provisions of the Arbitration Act to come and continue under which is optional. But notwithstanding these with-

draws the great majority of the unions still elect to come under the Act,—still believe that argument is better than force. In the minds of the New Zealand public on this point, there is no doubt whatever; and even the employers have come to believe in arbitration, to which at first they were bitterly opposed.

STANLEY BOWMAR.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### COMMISSION GOVERNMENT FOR NEW ORLEANS.

New Orleans, June 19.

There is but one party in control in Louisiana—the Democratic party, which is made up of the New Orleans ward bosses, and the so-called "owners" of the various counties, which in Louisiana are called parishes. Up to the time of the recent general election, held this spring, these men had met with practically no serious opposition. They had, consequently, continued to perpetuate themselves in power, dividing the spoils as they wished.

Previous to the last election, however, one of the leading cotton factors of New Orleans, Mr. John M. Parker, a public spirited citizen who was prompted solely by the desperateness of the situation, organized the "Good Government League." Many citizens who had never before taken an interest in politics joined this reform movement, and under Mr. Parker's determined and energetic leadership the entire State was canvassed and a campaign such as has never before been witnessed here was inaugurated.

The reform platform embraced most prominently the adoption of the Recall, Commission Government for all the cities in the State that desired it, anti-lobbying, anti-dual-office-holding laws, and a complete revision of the existing farcical primary and election laws. The result was that the League's candidate for Governor, Judge Luther E. Hall, was elected, as were also a fair majority of the candidates for the legislature. However, the New Orleans ring proved too strong locally and all but one of the "regular" candidates for the legislature from this city were elected.

But a mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans was called and a demand made upon the legislature to grant this city a charter embracing the essential features of Commission Government, the same to be submitted to the local electorate for adoption or rejection. A Commission Government committee was appointed, with Mr. John M. Parker as chairman, to draft the measure, and in the early part of this month it was presented to the legislature—now in session.

The bill (introduced by Mr. Sere) follows the lines of the old charter as far as practicable, but contains many of the provisions of the charters of Des Moines and Grand Junction. It provides for the complete centralization and concentration of all power and responsibility in a Council of five members for elections at large, for the appointment of all administrative officials, for a civil service commission to pass upon the qualifications of all subordinate officials (reserving the power of removal to the Council); for

the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and for non-partisan elections with the preferential method of balloting.

In appointing its committees the legislature, following a long established procedure, selected all New Orleans legislators as members of the committee on "City Affairs." As before stated the city delegation; with one exception, were all "ringsters," the most rabid member being the "boss" of the "red light" district, hence the proposed measure met its first rebuff when it was referred to committee. Of course, it was fully expected that an unfavorable report would be returned, but this committee went further and refused to allow certain amendments which were of little real importance, but which were necessary in order to retain the support of the "country."

It was at this juncture—June 14th—that an editorial appeared in the Times-Democrat, giving an excellent view of the matter as it then stood, and from which I quote:

By a vote of 15 to 2, the Committee on City Affairs yesterday reported unfavorably the bill introduced by Mr. Sere of this city providing for a commission form of government for New Orleans. Mr. Sere of the Twelfth Ward and Manion of the Fourteenth (a regular) voted for a favorable report. The adverse majority of fifteen included thirteen ringsters and two Aswell-Ewing men, while eight of the ringsters failed to vote. The Aswell-Ewing representatives declared that they were in favor of a commission form of government, but do not like the bill in its present shape. Other Representatives are on record as having expressed themselves in favor of the Commission system for New Orleans, but they weakened before the pressure and threats of the bosses, and surrendered their convictions. The ring threw off all disguise, showed clearly its purpose at any hazard and by any trick known to politics to prevent the legislature from voting on this question and the people of this city from enjoying the advantages of a more economical and efficient government such as Shreveport possesses, Monroe is soon to get, and New Iberia has just voted for. . . . A majority of the people of New Orleans want a commission form of government and demand the right to vote that way; the ring is anxious to prevent such vote, and defeat this desire of the voters. It remains with the members of the House to determine whether they will permit this outrage on the city electorate, and become a party to a conspiracy to deny the people of New Orleans a chance to establish good government, a chance to escape the tyranny and oppression of a horde of hungry politicians.

Two courses lay open to the friends of the bill—first, to amend it on the floor of the House; or, second, to withdraw the bill, making the necessary changes and reintroduce. In deference to the wishes of the League's floor leaders the second course was adopted, and on the 17th the bill was introduced in its amended form in the Senate.

Every inch of the way will be fought by the "ring," which stands solid in its opposition, and which is making a strong appeal to the country members to vote against the bill, submitting to them, as "Democrats," that the non-partisan election feature would disrupt the Democratic party.

We are advised that this senseless argument is having a decided effect on the country members. But rather than eliminate the non-partisanship feature we are willing to suffer defeat; for the election and primary laws have not been changed, notwithstanding the fact that it was part of the platform of the "Good Government League," and under the existing election

laws Commission Government would not have a fair chance. I think it quite safe to say, however, that even if we are defeated, the cause has been greatly advanced, and it is only a question of time when the new method of administration will obtain in this city.

CHAS. E. FENNER.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### ANOTHER MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP "FAILURE."

Ceylon, Sask., Canada.

Your recital of the Manitoba telephone failure\* suggests another government-ownership "failure" in Manitoba—the elevator system; a like effect, from similar causes. The moral of it all is to employ more trusty guards than a fox for your henhouse. Two years ago western grain growers in Canada were earnestly demanding government elevators as means of relief from extortion, but the most sanguine among them scarcely hoped to convince any Government without a vigorous and perhaps lengthy campaign. Imagine, then, the surprise of the Manitoba farmers in convention when they were called on by a member of the Roblin cabinet with a proposal to cooperate in the formulation of a plan for the Province to acquire a line of local elevators. The Grain Growers responded with suggestions embodying the results of their years of experience and study; but the Government had ideas of its own. The farmers soon saw that what Roblin wanted was not their suggestions, but their "O. K."

The bill finally brought down had a number of objectionable features, among the rest the power it gave the Government to interfere with the work of the Elevator Commission and to appoint or remove members on its own motion. Much time was spent and expense incurred in laboring with the Premier, but the bill was passed substantially in its original form, the grain growers' organization, however, declining to assume any responsibility for its success.

Though deeply disappointed, the organized farmers yet consented to nominate men for the Commission, on the promise that their work should not be interfered with. A very satisfactory Commission was chosen, and they proceeded at once to purchase and build elevators with judgment and economy. Then, with the farmers' mouths stopped, Roblin called an election and went back into power with tremendous majorities!

Once again safely incysted away from the troublesome voters, the Government took the purchasing of elevators into its own hands. It not only paid higher prices, but bought many that were antiquated, out of repair and badly located. In this way over \$1,000,000 was expended, and 174 elevators were acquired at about 100 points. These were used solely for shipping grain in car lots, as funds were not available to buy grain. So the chief sufferer, the small farmer with the wagon load, not only got no benefit, but in many cases his convenient elevator was taken from him and he compelled to haul to a more distant market. Good and experienced men

resigned from the Commission, and the system smelled of politics.

With this load to carry, is it surprising that the Commission complained of lack of support from the farmers and that the books showed a negative balance of \$125,000 in the two years of operation? The Premier conveniently blames the Grain Growers whose earnestly proffered advice he spurned at the beginning, but can he sidestep his own responsibility? It is a question whether his is a case of "after us, the deluge," or "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." It is at least worth noting that it is in Manitoba that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall have made the greatest progress in Canada.

By way of contrast, those who point to "failures" of public ownership in Manitoba should consider the public telephone system of the adjoining Province—Saskatchewan.

GEORGE W. ATKINSON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Monday, July 1, 1912.

### The Democratic Convention.

After forty-two balloting for President of the United States, the Democratic convention has not yet made a nomination. Neither has a platform been yet reported to the convention. The unusual procedure of making nominations before adopting the platform was in response to the advice of Mr. Bryan, who explained—

that the candidate for President should be nominated before the platform is adopted, the convention being of unusual importance and the Democratic hope of victory depending upon its measuring up to the requirements of the occasion; that the platform would not amount to much unless the candidate stands squarely upon it and is able to defend it; that a joint debate between the platform and the candidate would be fatal to the prospects of the party; that by changing the order the convention would be able so to shape the platform utterances as to give force to the candidacy; that the unprecedented character of the proposal is justified by the fact that extraordinary conditions require extraordinary remedies; and that the suggestion that any candidate would be willing to stand upon a platform prepared by the convention is answered by the fact that the Democratic candidate eight years ago amended the platform by telegraph, a procedure which did not take well with the public.

[See current volume, page 608.]



When Alton B. Parker ascended the rostrum in the afternoon of the 25th to deliver the keynote

\*See *The Public* of May 3, page 411.

speech of the convention, upon his election over Bryan as temporary chairman by 579 to 510 votes, the confusion incident to the departure of delegates and spectators from the hall was so great that his efforts to be heard were unavailing. In consequence the convention voted a recess until evening. Upon reassembling it listened to Chairman Parker's speech and then adjourned for the day. In his speech the temporary Chairman criticized ex-President Roosevelt and described the contest between him and President Taft as a "disgraceful brawl which terminated in the bedlam of Chicago;" attributed unjust distribution of wealth in the United States and the rise of the cost of living faster than average incomes, to the tariff and "the combinations restraining trade and competition, created for the purpose of wringing from the public every dollar which the tariff statutes make possible;" paid a special compliment to the "sagacious and intrepid Democratic leadership" which has secured special bills revising "the tariff downward ultimately to a revenue basis," and closed with this declaration:

For their crimes against American citizenship the present leaders of the Republican party should be destroyed. For making and keeping the bargain to take care of the tariff-protected interests in consideration of campaign funds, they should be destroyed. For encouraging the creation of combinations to restrain trade, and refusing to enforce the law for a like consideration, they should be destroyed. For the lavish waste of the public funds; for the fraudulent disposition of the people's domain, and for their contribution toward the division of the people into classes, they should be destroyed. For the efforts to seize for the executive department of the Federal government powers rightfully belonging to the States, they should be destroyed. All destruction will be theirs, this very year, if we but do our duty.



In the course of his speech, the temporary chairman had been conciliatory towards Mr. Bryan, and he urged—with the approval of the reactionary elements, as it afterwards turned out—that Bryan be made chairman of the committee to formulate and report the platform, a committee of which Bryan was already a member by choice of his State delegation. On this point Chairman Parker said:

My fellow Democrats, there is one place in this convention where he is wanted, one place where he is capable of rendering great service, service unsurpassed by anyone, that is the chairman of the resolutions committee, and I hope and believe that every member of the resolutions committee will honor himself by casting his vote for that great leader for chairman of that committee.

The place of chairman of that committee was accordingly offered to Bryan unanimously but he declined it in the following speech to the committee:

I appreciate the compliment, but I am not willing

to act as chairman. I am a believer in harmony, but I think that the committee, in its officers, ought to be in harmony with the convention, and I am not in harmony with the organization of the convention nor of the national committee which controls the organization of the convention. We used to have two kinds of Democrats, progressives and conservatives; we now have only one kind, progressive; but we find there is a wide difference in the definition of the word "progressive," and I do not define progressiveness as it is defined by a majority of this convention, and, believing in harmony, I want to be in harmony with the convention and I desire to be more free to represent the minority sentiment. I do not say that there will be a minority report, but it would not look well for the chairman of the committee to take in a minority report. It may be necessary for me to take in a minority report. I do not know that it will, but I do not want to place myself in that awkward position, and for that reason I decline.

As Mr. Bryan subsequently explained less formally, the reactionaries had "been trying to square themselves," having heard "from home" through a flood of telegrams, one effect of which was their desire for a Progressive chairman of the platform committee. Unable to secure Mr. Bryan, the committee named Senator Kern, who, though supporting Governor Marshall of his own State for the Presidential nomination, is a progressive of the Bryan type.



Not alone with the offer of the chairmanship of the platform committee did the reactionary element try to involve Bryan in their plans so as to cripple his leadership of the Progressive elements. They also offered him the permanent chairmanship of the convention. Mr. Bryan's attitude, as explained by himself in his letter through the Virgil V. McNitt syndicate as published in the Chicago Tribune of the 27th, was as follows:

My refusal of the permanent chairmanship was based partly on the fact that I did not regard it as a compliment to have the position tendered me by those who had defeated me for temporary chairman, and partly because I did not feel disposed to accept any responsibility for the conduct of the convention until it had done something to purge itself of its reactionary character.

But here also the repentance of the reactionaries for their ill-advised thrusting of Judge Parker into the temporary chair was manifest. Unable to get Bryan, they chose Senator James, another Progressive of the Bryan type. The original intention of the reactionaries had been to continue Judge Parker in the chair, as was done with Root at the Republican convention; they did try to continue Urey Woodson of Kentucky as secretary, but were defeated in the committee on permanent organization by E. E. Britton of North Carolina.



The reactionary elements were again defeated on



the 26th, this time upon the question of allowing the old unit rule of the party to override preference primary laws of the States. This was a defeat especially for Governor Harmon of Ohio and a pronounced victory for Mayor Baker of Cleveland. The story of Baker's defeat by Harmon on this point at the Ohio convention has been already told in these columns.\* Under the laws of Ohio, delegates from certain Congressional districts, including the Cleveland districts, had been instructed by the voters of the Democratic party at the primaries to vote for Governor Wilson for Presidential nominee; but the State convention undertook to force these votes by the unit rule into the Harmon column. Mayor Baker, one of the district delegates instructed for Wilson, carried the question to the national convention. His point was that the unit rule can govern only when the State convention represents the people of the State as a whole; and that when a State law empowers the people of any part of the State to instruct their delegates, the State convention cannot override those instructions. In the credentials committee, Mayor Baker was again defeated, the action of the Ohio convention being sustained by 22 to 15. But he won his point on the floor of the convention. The minority of the committee brought in the following minority report, in his favor, and it was adopted on the 26th by the convention:

Resolved, that in casting votes on a call of the States the Chair shall recognize and enforce a unit rule enacted by a State convention, except in such States as have by mandatory statute provided for the nomination and election of delegates and alternates to national political conventions in Congressional districts and have not subjected delegates so selected to the authority of the State committee or convention of the party, in which case no such rule shall be held to apply.

The vote by which the convention adopted that minority report was 565½ to 491½. This result was further evidence of the turning of the tide away from the reactionaries, who had forced Judge Parker's election the day before, Bryan having supported Mayor Baker's contention.



The report of the committee on permanent organization having been adopted by the convention, Senator James took the place of Judge Parker in the chair on the 27th and Mr. Britton that of Mr. Woodson at the secretary's desk. The principal points of Senator James's address as permanent chairman were—

that the record of the Republican party is a record of "promises betrayed—arrogantly, defiantly betrayed," while that of the Democratic party is a record of promises faithfully and honestly kept; that President Taft was renominated "by the most wholesale, conscienceless and deliberate unseating

of delegates honestly elected that was ever perpetrated in American politics;" that the demand with reference to the tariff that its revision await the report of a Tariff Board, comes only when "the tariff has already been fixed so high" that the Protectionists "know they can get it no higher;" that the Tariff Board policy would take the "great right of taxation" "out of the hands of the people and" lodge it "in the hands of a board of five men;" that the Democracy aim to strike from the trusts every character of protection and "write a tariff law strictly for revenue only," and that the party "never will consent that our finances shall be Aldrichized or controlled by the money trust."



At the evening session of the 27th the most important episode of the whole convention thus far, as it was the most courageous and perhaps the most dramatic of any party convention in history, occurred. Immediately upon the session's being called to order, William J. Bryan was recognized by Chairman James to introduce a resolution regarding which he asked unanimous consent for its consideration without reference to the committee on resolutions. Following is the resolution as he first offered it:

Resolved, that in this crisis of our party's career and in our country's history, this Convention sends greeting to the people of the United States and assures them that the party of Jefferson and Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for President who is the representative of or under obligations to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class; and be it further Resolved that we demand the withdrawal from this Convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above named interests.

Mr. Morgan is a Republican. Mr. Ryan and Mr. Belmont are Democrats, the first a delegate in the Baltimore convention from Virginia and the other a delegate there from New York. Objection being made to immediate consideration of the resolution, Mr. Bryan moved to suspend the rules [requiring a two-thirds vote] and adopt the resolution. A point of order being raised by Governor Gilchrist of Florida that the convention had no right to take the action proposed, Chairman James ruled that the convention had this right, and thereupon the debate proceeded. Mr. Bryan said:

This is an extraordinary resolution, but extraordinary conditions need extraordinary remedies. We are now engaged in the conduct of a convention that will place before this country the Democratic nominee, and I assume that every delegate in this convention is here because he wants that nominee elected. And it is in order that we may advance the cause of our candidate that I present this resolution. There are questions of which a court takes judicial notice, and there are subjects upon which

\*See Public of June 14, page 564.

we can assume that the American people are informed, and there is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the Democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of this country. It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics to dominate a convention, stifle the honest sentiment of a people and make the nominee the bond slave of the men who exploit the people of this country. I need not tell you that J. Pierpont Morgan and Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont are three of the men who are connected with the great money trusts of this country, who are as despotic in their rule of the business of the country and as merciless in their command of their slaves as any man in the country. Some one has said that we have no right to discuss the delegates who come here from a sovereign State. I reply that if these men are willing to insult 6,500,000 Democrats we ought to speak out against them and let them know we resent the insult. I for one am not willing that Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont shall come here with their paid attorneys and seek secret counsel with the managers of the party. No sense of politeness or courtesy to such men will keep me from protecting my party from the disgrace that they inflict upon it. Now, my friends, I cannot speak for you. You have your own responsibility. But if this is to be a convention run by these men, if our nominee is to be their representative and tool, I pray you to give us, who represent constituencies that do not want this, a chance to go on record with our protest against it. If any of you are willing to nominate a candidate who represents these men, or who is under obligation to these men, do it and take the responsibility. I refuse to take that responsibility. Some have said that we haven't a right to demand the withdrawal of delegates from this convention. I will make you a proposition. One of these men sits with New York and the other sits with Virginia. I make you this proposition. If the State of New York will take a poll of its vote, and a majority of them—not Mr. Murphy, but a majority of the delegates—I repeat that if New York would, on roll call, where her delegates can have their names recorded and printed, ask for the withdrawal of the name of Mr. Belmont, and if Virginia will on roll call protest against the withdrawal of Mr. Ryan, I will then withdraw the last part of the resolution.

Congressman Flood of Virginia, the man who in a fight against Progressives led by Henry St. George Tucker, had covertly engineered Thomas F. Ryan's selection as a delegate, was the first to reply to Mr. Bryan. "In the name of the sovereign State of Virginia," he said, "I accept the insolent proposition made by the only man in this convention who wants to destroy Democratic success." Senator Vardaman of Mississippi and Delegate Price of Virginia opposed the second part of the resolution (which, because it trenched technically upon the rights of States, Mr. Bryan had offered to withdraw if requested by the New York and the Virginia delegations) but favored the first part.

After further desultory debate and much disorder Mr. Bryan closed as follows:

I do not intend that any delegate shall shield his negative vote against the principal part of this resolution by hiding behind the last part. I intend that the men who think that the first part of this resolution is either wrong or unnecessary shall have a chance to say so on roll call, and in answer to the argument of the gentleman from West Virginia that this question ought not to be up now for fear it will disturb harmony, I present him the Bible doctrine, and I challenge him to deny it if he can—the Bible doctrine, "if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." I am sure that if it is worth while to cut off the right hand to save the body it is worth while to cut off Morgan and Ryan and Belmont to save the Democratic party. It is not necessary for me to defend my own Democracy. My friends, my reputation as a Democrat will not be worth defending whenever it becomes necessary to defend it against a charge made by a friend of Thomas F. Ryan's. I now withdraw the second part of the resolution.

Lewis Nixon of New York and several other Reactionary delegates protested against Mr. Bryan's being allowed to withdraw any part of the resolution, demanding a vote on it as a whole, but the Chair ruled that the author could perfect it as he chose. The question was then put on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution, and the roll call began. Alabama led off with a solid vote in the negative, but as the voting proceeded, signs of a sufficient affirmative majority grew and the tactics of the opposition were changed. Alabama and some other reactionary delegations thereupon changed their vote to the affirmative. New York's vote was unanimous in the affirmative, apparently for tactical purposes. The final result was 899 for suspending the rules and adopting Mr. Bryan's resolution with the demand for expulsion of delegates omitted, and only 196 in the negative. So the resolution thus altered was carried by more than the requisite two-thirds. When this result had been announced, Mr. Bryan said:

This vote eliminates all of the reactionaries, and if the convention puts up a Progressive platform and our candidate secures such a reorganization of the national committee as to make that organization worthy of the confidence of the country, we can enter upon a winning campaign. There are some things which I think it would be wise for the candidate to do, but they need not be announced until his nomination.



Nominations of candidates for the Presidency followed immediately upon the adoption of Bryan's significant resolution, the call of States for this purpose beginning at 11 o'clock at night on the 27th. Alabama, by John W. Bankhead, nominated Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama; Arizona yielded to Missouri, and through Senator Reed Missouri nominated Champ Clark; Connecticut nominated

Simeon E. Baldwin through Henry Wade Rogers; Indiana nominated Thomas R. Marshall through Senator Shively; New Jersey nominated Woodrow Wilson through John W. Wescott; Ohio nominated Judson Harmon, through M. A. Dougherty. Through S. J. Boyle, Governor Burke released the North Dakota delegation from supporting him. The roll call began at 6:42 in the morning of the 28th and came to an indecisive end at 7:06, no candidate having two-thirds of the convention. Following is the vote:

First Ballot.—Clark, 440½; Wilson, 324; Harmon, 148; Underwood, 117½; Marshall, 31; Baldwin, 22; Sulzer, 2; Bryan, 1.

Necessary to choice, 728.



An adjournment having been taken on the morning of the 28th until 4 in the afternoon, the convention, upon assembling at that hour, remained in session (except for an intermission early in the evening) until 3:30 on the morning of the 29th. During that session eleven ballots were taken, making twelve in all. There was no great change from the first ballot until the tenth, when the New York delegation by a vote of 81 for Clark to 8 for Wilson transferred its entire support of 90 votes from Harmon to Clark under the unit rule, thereby making the ballot as follows:

Tenth Ballot.—Clark, 556; Wilson, 350½; Harmon, 31; Underwood, 117½; Marshall, 0; Baldwin, 31; Bryan, 1; Kern, 1.

Following is the final ballot of the session ending at 3:30 a. m. on the 29th:

Twelfth Ballot.—Clark, 547½; Wilson, 354; Harmon, 29; Underwood, 123; Marshall, 30; Kern, 1; Bryan, 1; not voting, 2½.

Necessary for a choice two-thirds of the total of 1088, being 728.

According to the dispatches, Mr. Bryan, though still counted for Speaker Clark under instructions, was supporting Governor Wilson with his personal influence.



The balloting on the 29th ran from the thirteenth to the twenty-sixth, inclusive, and there was no intermission from the assembling of the convention at 1 o'clock in the afternoon until its recess at 11 o'clock at night. Until the fourteenth ballot there was no significant change from the tenth, when New York's delegation had transferred its united support from Harmon to Clark; but after Bryan's explanation in the course of the fourteenth ballot, the vote for Clark steadily declined and that for Wilson steadily rose, New York supporting Clark under the unit rule until the last ballot of the day. Mr. Bryan's explanation, read by him from the rostrum, was as follows:

Nebraska is a progressive State. Only twice has

she given her vote for a Democratic candidate for President, in 1896 and 1908, and on both occasions her vote was cast for a Progressive ticket running upon a Progressive platform. Between these two elections, the election of 1904, she gave a Republican plurality of 85,000 against a Democratic reactionary. In the recent primary the total vote cast for Clark and Wilson was over 34,000, and the vote cast for Harmon was something over 12,000, showing that the party is now more than three-fourths Progressive. The Republican party of Nebraska is progressive in about the same proportion. And the situation in Nebraska is not materially different from the situation throughout the country west of the Alleghenies. In the recent Republican primaries fully two-thirds of the Republican vote was cast for candidates representing Progressive policies. In this convention the Progressive sentiment is overwhelming. Every candidate has proclaimed himself a Progressive. No candidate would have any considerable following in this convention if he admitted himself out of harmony with progressive ideas. By your resolution, adopted night before last, you, by a vote of more than four to one, pledged the country that you would nominate for the Presidency no man who represented or was obligated to Morgan, Ryan, Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-seeking, favor-hunting class. This pledge, if kept, will have more influence on the result of the election than the platform or the name of the candidate. How can that pledge be made effective? There is but one way—namely: to nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to those whom these influences directly or indirectly control. The vote of the State of New York in this convention as cast under the unit rule does not represent the intelligence, the virtue, the Democracy, or the patriotism of the ninety men who are here. It represents the will of one man—Charles F. Murphy—and he represents the influences that dominated the Republican convention at Chicago and are trying to dominate this convention. If we nominate a candidate under conditions that enable these influences to say to our candidate, "Remember now thy creator," we cannot hope to appeal to the confidence of the Progressive Democrats and Republicans of the nation. Nebraska, or that portion of the delegation for which I am authorized to speak, is not willing to participate in the nomination of any man who is willing to violate the resolution adopted by this convention and accept the high honor of the Presidential nomination at the hands of Mr. Murphy. When we were instructed for Mr. Clark the Democratic voters who instructed us did so with the distinct understanding that Mr. Clark stood for progressive Democracy. Mr. Clark's representatives appealed for support on no other ground. They contended that Mr. Clark was more progressive than Mr. Wilson, and indignantly denied that there was any cooperation between Mr. Clark and the reactionary element of the party. Upon no other condition could Mr. Clark have received a plurality of the Democratic vote of Nebraska. The thirteen delegates from whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions given in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given; but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any men—I can-

not say for how many I can speak, for I have not had a chance to make a poll—but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation. Speaking for myself and for any of the delegation who may decide to join me, I withhold my vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him. And the position that I take in regard to Mr. Clark I will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now or may be before the convention. I shall not be a party to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be, or from what section of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution and make his administration reflect the wishes and the hopes of those who believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. If we nominate a candidate who is under no obligation to these interests which speak through Mr. Murphy, I shall offer a resolution authorizing and directing the Presidential candidate to select a campaign committee to manage the campaign in order that he may not be compelled to suffer the humiliation and act under the embarrassment that I have in having men participate in the management of his campaign who had no sympathy with the party's aims and in whose Democracy the general public has no confidence. Now having explained the position taken by myself and those in the delegation who view the subject from the same standpoint, I announce my vote.

To his written statement, and in concluding the discussion his statement had precipitated, Mr. Bryan added:

Now I am prepared to announce my vote. With the understanding that I shall stand ready to withdraw my vote from the one for whom I am going to cast it, whenever New York casts her vote for him, I cast my vote for Nebraska's second choice, Gov. Wilson.

Mr. Bryan was supported by 11 others out of the 16 Nebraska delegates until the nineteenth ballot, when the change to Wilson in this delegation rose from 12 to 13. It rose to 14 on the twenty-third ballot and remained at that point throughout the remainder of the session. The totals on the first and the last ballots of this day are appended:

**Thirteenth Ballot.**—Clark, 554½; Wilson, 356; Harmon, 29; Underwood, 115½; Marshall, 30; Bryan, 1; and Foss, 2.

**Twenty-sixth Ballot.**—Clark, 463½; Wilson, 407½; Harmon, 29; Underwood, 112½; Marshall, 30; Bryan, 1; Foss, 43.

The large increase in Governor Foss's vote began with the twenty-second ballot, when the Massachusetts delegation voted for him as a unit, their 36 votes with other changes giving him a total of 45, which had fallen to 43 on the twenty-sixth ballot by the defection of 2 Massachusetts votes to Wilson. At 11 o'clock at night the convention took a recess until 11 o'clock a. m., of Monday, the 1st of July.

Sunday's interval was marked on the one hand by a published protest from Speaker Clark and a response by Mr. Bryan. Speaker Clark made his protest in the form of a letter to William J. Stone, chairman of the Missouri delegation, in reply to one from Senator Stone, who had declared with reference to the two-thirds rule that it "was abrogated by practice long ago," for—

whenever during the last sixty years a candidate has received a majority of the votes his title to the nomination has been recognized and has been ratified immediately by the addition of a sufficient number to meet the technical requirement of two-thirds. The precedent made during all these years has become a party law as binding in morals and in equity as if it were a written statute.

The Stone letter called for an assurance to the Missouri delegation that Mr. Clark would under no circumstances permit his name to be withdrawn, they pledging themselves thereupon to vote for him on every ballot. In his reply, Mr. Clark said that "if a majority of the delegates had not declared their preference for him "as their candidate" he could not entertain Mr. Stone's proposal, but under the circumstances he wished Mr. Stone to—

say to my friends that I accept with deepest gratitude their renewed assurances of loyalty and now declare without qualification that my name will remain before the convention, subject to no trade or dicker, until two-thirds of the delegates shall ratify or refuse to ratify the action of the majority.

In the course of his letter Speaker Clark said:

It is undoubtedly true that the custom of our party was violated when the convention refrained from ratifying by a two-thirds vote the expressed wish of the majority. This was done, according to my understanding, at the instigation of Mr. Bryan. . . . Although Mr. Bryan's words are shrewdly chosen to avoid making a direct charge upon me, the implication is plain. It is that, if elected President of the United States, I would consider myself "obligated" to those whom he mentions and that I would be "under the control of those influences." It would be unbecoming in one holding my present official position to express the indignation which I feel at these veiled aspersions upon my character. . . . As Speaker of the House of Representatives, as a lifelong Democrat, proud of my party; as an American, I pronounce Mr. Bryan's implied accusations both false and infamous.

Following are the essential parts of Mr. Bryan's statement, over his signature in his Virgil V. McNitt Syndicate letter of the 30th, as it appeared in the Chicago Tribune of the 1st:

The same influences which at Chicago defied popular sentiment in the Republican party were here in force. I found that, having defeated the Progressive program at Chicago, they were bent upon defeating it here. Here cunning was substituted for boldness, and the Progressive brand was being used to mask the real character of the work outlined. . . . It distressed me to have to do anything that might

result in injury to the political fortunes of Mr. Clark. I have known him for eighteen years, rejoiced in his selection as minority leader, and a year and a half ago regarded him as more likely than any one else to fit into the conditions in so far as I could then estimate them. If he had made good use of the opportunity he had, he would have been nominated by acclamation, but instead of leading the Progressive element of the party—the element with which he had always been identified—he became impressed with the idea that his special duty was to harmonize the two elements of the party and prevent any break in the ranks. The leader and the harmonizer are two entirely different persons, and Mr. Clark chose to be the latter. There are times when the harmonizer is the most available candidate, but the situation is different just now. The country is alive with Progressive ideas and Progressivism has not been defeated at Chicago. Two or three million Republicans are following the proceedings of this convention and waiting to see whether they can use the Democratic party for the rebuking of stand-pat Republicanism or be forced to organize a new party. Mr. Clark's first mistake was in attempting to overlook the radical difference which exists in the Democratic party between the Progressives and Reactionaries. His second was in selecting managers who sought to advance his cause by manipulation rather than by that candid appeal which befits the present hour. . . . There is too much at stake to risk defeat, as we would risk defeat if we had to spend the campaign in explaining how a candidate could owe his nomination to predatory interests without danger to his administration. Mr. Clark's friends spurn the thought of his being influenced by such support, but they forget that the mass of the people cannot know Mr. Clark personally, as his intimate friends do. I know him well enough to have confidence in his high purpose and in his good intent, as I have in the purpose and intent of other candidates. I believe that he would try to carry out the people's will, but few, if indeed any, can entirely fortify themselves against the unscrupulous influence exerted by favors received. We do not allow judges to accept favors from litigants and the President continually acts as an arbiter between the organized and the unorganized masses. But even if we could feel certain that the securing of a Presidential nomination by the aid of those directly connected with the exploiting class would have no influence whatever upon Mr. Clark's official conduct, we could not possibly hope to impart this confidence to millions of voters who, not enjoying the personal acquaintance of Mr. Clark, would have to rely upon newspaper reports, and it must be remembered that in the contested States the Republicans have five to one, if not ten to one, the advantage of us. I announced that we would withhold our vote from Mr. Clark so long as New York supported him, and that we would apply the same rule to other candidates; that is, that we would not enter into partnership with Wall street.

In another statement on the 30th Mr. Bryan thus explained his meaning regarding the New York delegation:

New York is not necessary to a nomination, and

under the circumstances should not be permitted to dictate the nomination. When I say "dictate" I mean that no candidate should be nominated unless he has the necessary votes without counting New York's votes. I do not mean to say that the vote of New York would vitiate a nomination if the candidate had enough votes to nominate him without New York, for in that case the party would not be under obligation to Mr. Murphy for his nomination; but if Mr. Murphy furnished the votes necessary to carry the candidate across the line and give him this position of distinguished honor and importance, the candidate who accepts the nomination under these circumstances puts himself under obligations to Mr. Murphy and to the influences which speak through and control him, and I contend that a candidate so obligated would not appeal to the confidence of the public and would not, if successful at the election, be free to serve the public with singleness of purpose.

In the latter statement Mr. Bryan named Senator Kern of Indiana, Senator James of Kentucky, Senator O'Gorman of New York, Senator Culberson of Texas and Senator Rayner of Maryland as suitable candidates, saying that—

if either Mr. Clark or Mr. Wilson will announce his willingness to rely entirely upon the Progressive vote, and his determination not to accept the nomination if given under conditions which would obligate him to Mr. Murphy, there is no reason why the convention should not agree on one of these.

With reference to Speaker Clark and Governor Wilson, Mr. Bryan added:

Both have made records which commend them to the confidence of the Democrats of the country; but no record of past achievement, however good, is sufficient to save a man from censure if in order to receive the nomination he is willing to blind his eyes to the bribe of office which the privileged class usually dangles before the ambitious. If the feeling that has been aroused between the two leading candidates is such that the Progressive forces cannot agree upon either—I contend that there should be no such feeling—it ought to be easy to agree upon such third person, who, not having been a candidate, is not handicapped by animosities engendered by an adverse verdict at the Democratic convention and primaries.



When the Convention resumed its sessions at 11:15 a. m., on the 1st, the first ballot (the 27th of the convention) showed no great changes. It was as follows:

Twenty-seventh Ballot.—Clark, 469; Wilson, 406½; Underwood, 112; Marshall, 30; Harmon, 29; Foss, 38.

Wilson's vote rose on the 28th ballot to 437½ through transfers from Marshall by the Indiana delegation; and on the 30th it was 460 to Clark's 455, the first ballot on which it took the lead. On the 31st ballot Wilson's vote was 446½ to 475½ for Clark. The total vote at 3:30 in the

afternoon, when the convention took a recess until 8 o'clock was as follows:

**Thirty-fourth Ballot.**—Clark, 447½; Wilson, 479½; Underwood, 101½; Foss, 28; Kern, 2.

Upon reassembling at 8 in the evening of the 1st, the first ballot showed the following results:

**Thirty-Fifth Ballot.**—Clark, 433½; Wilson, 494½; Underwood, 101½; Harmon, 29; Kern, 1; Foss, 28.

Throughout the night's session, Clark's vote fell to 422 on the 39th ballot and rose to 430 on the 42nd, while Wilson's rose to 501½ on the 39th but fell to 494 on the 42nd. The final ballot of this day's session was as follows:

**Forty-Second Ballot.**—Clark, 430; Wilson, 494; Underwood, 104; Harmon, 27; Gaynor, 1; Foss, 28; Bryan, ½; James, 1; Kern, 1; J. Hamilton, Lewis, 1; not voting, ½.

At 43 minutes past midnight of the 1st the result of the 42nd ballot was announced and the convention adjourned until 12 o'clock noon of the 2nd. It was at this time reported that Bryan had under consideration a plan for a recess until August and nation-wide preferential primaries in the interval.

This is the longest Presidential convention ever held except the Democratic convention of 1860, at Charleston, wherein slavery problems ended the old political regime of that time. Douglas had a majority, but not two-thirds, and the convention split. One faction subsequently nominated Douglas at Baltimore, and the other Breckinridge.

### Regina Nearly Destroyed.

Regina, capital of the Province of Saskatchewan in western Canada, a city of 30,000 inhabitants, was struck by a tornado at 6 o'clock on the evening of the 30th, and nearly swept away. The number of dead is variously estimated at from 50 to 400, and the property loss is roughly put at \$10,000,000. The parliament house, just finished at a cost of \$2,000,000, built of steel and concrete, was badly shaken and damaged. Warehouses, retail stores, banks, and the houses of the finest residence district, were turned into masses of wreckage. Automobiles filled with people were hurled high in the air and deposited blocks away. Other cities in the Province suffered, among them Qu'Appelle and Melville.

### Tax Reform in Ontario.

Preliminary steps have been taken to secure the submission of a by-law on tax reform to the people of Toronto at the New Year elections, the Civic Legislation and Reception Committee hav-

ing unanimously carried the following resolution, on motion of Controller McCarthy:

That the Board of Control be instructed to report funds to enable the Assessment Commissioner to make a full report on the subject of tax reform, and that he be permitted to visit the cities necessary to give him the information required.

The resolution was introduced by Controller Church, who asked that legislation be sought to permit the assessment of land at a higher figure than improvements.

### Sex Hygiene.

At the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at San Francisco on the 26th, the committee on the teaching of sex hygiene, of the department of education, submitted the following conclusions from the facts it has gathered:

(1.) That it is generally conceded by educators, physicians, and social workers that there is urgent need for personal and sex hygiene instructions in our schools. (2.) That such instructions should be grounded in biology. (3.) That it should include more than mere physical facts. (4.) That it is dangerous to introduce it into elementary and secondary schools until it is required in normal schools and teachers are carefully selected and prepared for the work. (5.) The instruction should be given to parents and gradually to the general public. (6.) That popular prejudice against such instruction is rapidly disappearing. (7.) That such instruction is essential to eradicating the social evil and controlling disease.

### Mexico.

The Orozco revolution seems to be losing ground. The movement in Sinaloa is said to be dead. [See current volume, page 543.]

One of the plans evolved by the Madero government through its department of public welfare, colonization and industry, to provide arable lands for division among the people—one of the chief planks of Madero's revolutionary platform—according to a dispatch of the 22d, is now under way. This plan contemplates the drainage and filling in of the great shallow bed of Lake Texcoco, some two and a half miles east of the City of Mexico. The work will require five years, it is estimated, and an expenditure of \$2,000,000. Thousands of acres of waste land, now partly covered with water to the depth of two feet, and the remainder either useless swamp or dry, sandy stretches, the latter giving rise to the frequent dust storms which sweep the capital in the dry season, are to be reclaimed. This land, according to plans which are being worked out, is to be placed on sale to individual Mexicans at the lowest possible figure and on long-term payments. [See vol. xiv, p. 933.]

### China Rejects the Terms of the Foreign Loan.

Advices were received on the 25th, by the department of state at Washington, that China had rejected the \$300,000,000 loan from the banking group of the six Powers, reported last week, probably because of the stipulation for foreign supervision of its expenditure. The proposal for foreign administration of the salt monopoly also had been declined. Four officers of Tang Shao Yi's ministry had offered their resignations. [See current volume, page 611.]



### Labor Politics in New Zealand.

Pursuant to his public promise upon resigning from the New Zealand cabinet last September, that "whenever a truly democratic party arises in New Zealand—a party pledged to definite principles, principles which it believes in, and which it is prepared to fight for," it should have his whole-souled support, George Fowlds has joined the recently organized United Labour Party of that country. [See current volume, page 420.]



Speaking at the first meeting of the new party in Auckland on the 27th of April, Mr. Fowlds recalled his promise, explained that he had waited for 20 or 30 years for a truly progressive party, and argued that if the Liberal Party had been true to its traditions a new party would never have been necessary. At another meeting in Auckland, that of the Land Values League, he announced on the 3rd of May that he was about to undertake forthwith an active campaign on behalf of the United Labour Party. Accordingly he opened a Dominion-wide speaking campaign on the 9th of May at Dunedin.



Along with Mr. Fowlds are several leaders in the New Zealand movement for the taxation of land values; and one of them, David McLaren, has just been elected Mayor of Wellington as the United Labour candidate. The branches of Land Values League are joining the party as the result of a conference held at Wellington in Easter week, at which, as stated by the Auckland branch in resolutions of affiliation, a prominent position was "accorded to the taxation of land values in the program of the United Labour Party," as well as to "many other fundamental reforms which in the past have been advocated by members of the Land Values League." All the proposals of Mr. Fowlds's "new evangel" have been embodied in that program. They comprise—

Proportional representation on single transferable vote.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall on proper petition and by bare majority.

The right of the people to decide all questions submitted on a bare majority vote.

A land system which shall bring into the most productive use, either by individual undertakings or by public enterprise, all natural resources; shall make absentee ownership and private monopoly in land impossible; shall secure to the land-holder all the values created by him and those only (all such values to be exempt from all taxation); and shall secure to the public in an annual tax all values created by the public.

Increased taxation of land values, the revenue so raised to be used to reduce the cost of living by the reduction of Custom taxes on the necessaries of life not produced in New Zealand and by the reduction of railway freights and fares.

For municipal purposes the platform includes demands for—

Municipalization of public utilities.

Assessment of all rates on the unimproved value of land, with special provision for increment land-taxation for civic purposes.



The new party grows out of proposals made last August for securing the industrial and political union of all the Labor organizations of New Zealand, which proposals were reported to have been endorsed by more than 30,000 trades unionists. Unity Conference was accordingly held at Wellington during Easter week of this year, which over 70 delegates attended and from which the constitution and the platform quoted from above emanated. Both were endorsed by the annual conferences of the Trades and Labour Councils' Federation of Labour and by the Labour Party, those organizations thereby affiliating with the United Labour Party. The Executive Council of the new party are—

J. T. Paul, M. L. C., President; T. O'Byrne (Affiliated Building Workers); W. A. Veitch, M. P. (Affiliated Transportation Workers); J. Petterd (Affiliated Printing Trades); J. Robertson, M. P. (Affiliated Agricultural and Pastoral Workers); G. R. Whiting (Affiliated Boot, Textile, and Clothing Trade Workers); J. A. McCullough (Affiliated Wood and Metal Workers); E. Tregear (Affiliated Commercial Workers); Arthur Withy (Affiliated Professional Workers); E. J. Carey (Affiliated Food Workers); Mrs. Harrison Lee-Cowie (Affiliated Women Workers); J. E. McManus (Affiliated General Workers), and David McLaren (Affiliated Radical and Progressive Associations). Walter Thomas Mills is the national organizer, and A. McCarthy is the Secretary-Treasurer.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Congressional inquiry into the case of Judge Hanford began at Seattle on the 27th. [See current volume, page 565.]

—The State legislature of Louisiana on the 29th

approved the income tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States. [See vol. xiv, page 682.]

—A water carnival and naval review is to be held at Chicago, off Grant Park, from August 10 to August 17. Hydro-aeroplanes will be a feature of the naval maneuvers.

—The New York hotel waiters' strike was called off unconditionally on the 25th by an almost unanimous vote at a meeting at which a representative of the International Hotel Workers' Union presided. [See current volume, page 538.]

—Samuel Gompers and his associates of the American Federation of Labor, recently sentenced to imprisonment for contempt of court, filed an appeal on the 28th to the Supreme Court of the United States, and execution of sentence was stayed. [See current volume, page 610.]

—Pethick Lawrence, who with his wife and Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment at the Old Bailey sessions on May 22 on a charge of conspiracy and inciting to malicious damage of property, in connection with the militant woman suffrage movement, was liberated on the 27th. [See current volume, page 612.]

—Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, charming painter, of the antique, died at Wiesbaden, Germany, on the 24th, in the 77th year of his age. Though born a Hollander, Alma-Tadema spent most of his life in England and became a British subject. He is perhaps the most widely known as the painter of "A Reading from Homer," and "Sappho," though a number of his other works, as for example, "The Roses of Heliogabalus," are more distinctive and magnificent.

—The Cuban revolution appears to have been finally ended by a battle at Vega Bellaco on the 27th, in which the rebel leader, Gen. Evaristo, was killed. Certain Havana newspapers have charged that the revolution was trumped up between President Gomez and General Estenez, the latter to be secretly bought off after the uprising seemed formidable, and the former then to pose as the savior of his country at the moment when such prestige would be a valuable asset in face of the coming elections. The President has prosecuted for libel the three papers making the charges. [See current volume, page 584.]

—The freight handlers' strike at Chicago came to an unsuccessful end on the 27th, the strikers yielding to terms proposed by President Eugene Kimbark of the Chicago Association of Commerce and a city council committee that interceded with the railroads in behalf of the men. Under the agreement which the mediators offered the railroads promise to take back not less than 1,800 of the 6,000 strikers before July 31st if they return unconditionally and as individuals, others to be put to work later if it is necessary to fill the places of men employed during the strike, and no union man to be discriminated against unless he has been guilty of acts of violence to persons or property. [See current volume, page 583.]

—"The Woman's National Democratic League," with principal office in New York City, was incorporated on the 27th to operate throughout the

United States for the purpose of promoting the principles of Democracy and to assist "in the election of the regular nominees of the Democratic party." The directors are: Mrs. John S. Crosby, Mrs. Steven B. Ayres, and Mrs. J. H. Crowell, New York; Mrs. Charles J. Linthicum, Baltimore; Mrs. Edward T. Taylor, Glenwood Springs, Colo.; Mrs. William A. Cullop, Vincennes, Ind.; Mrs. John E. Raker, Alturas, Cal.; Grace Porter Hopkins, Mrs. Silas Hare, Kate Kearney Henry, Katherine Montgomery Dabney, Washington; Mrs. William Graves Sharp, Elyria, O., Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson, Bloomington, Ill.; Mrs. J. M. Dickinson, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. O. T. Holt, Houston, Tex., and Phoebe Hearst, Berkeley, Cal. [See current volume, page 542.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### A Prophecy Fulfilled.

The (Boston) Christian Science Monitor (ind.), June 24.—Mr. Bryan may well quote, "All of which I saw," with respect to the Chicago convention, but in a little while, it appears, he will be justified in referring to another great party gathering with the phrase, "Part of which I was."



### Hurt in the Sentimentals.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.) June 29th.—It is easy to imagine the indignation of Mr. Thomas Fortune Ryan. Mr. Ryan would have his enemies understand—his friends already do—that it is not necessary for him to sit in a convention to run it. . . His desire to sit in the Baltimore convention was a pretty little bit of sentiment in which he indulged himself. Mr. Ryan does not get all his pleasure from shaking money bags to hear the chink. He has his softer moments given to gentler, tender thoughts. He wanted (it's pathetic, considering what happened), to sit like any plain, coatless, collarless, gallus-harnessed, fan-waving Jeffersonian and be a plain Democrat. . . Upon the fresh daisy of that innocent ambition down comes the heavy foot of W. J. B., the destroyer; of William Jennings Bryan, a Goth among the sentimental, a Vandal among the gentles. . . Mr. Ryan feels as embarrassed as if he had been caught buying valentines.



"Willum Jennings Bryan is all right," said Mr. Hennessy. "What d'ye suppose thim millyonaires ar-re doin' in Baytmore?"

"Oh," said Mr. Dooley, "lookin' after their investments."—Finley Peter Dunne in Chicago Tribune of June 26.



"Why shud we give way to this dimmygogue?" says they. 'He has no stringth. There's nawthin' behind him, but his own selfishness. Let's fight him to th' death. Who's that bald headed man comin' this way? It looks like th' imposther. Suppose we



link ar-rms an' walk away in a dignified manner. P'raps ye'd bether let go me ar-rm; we can walk faster that way. Let's run. Come on. I can't wait f'r ye. It's ivery man f'r himsilf now.'"—"Mr. Doo-ley" on the Democratic Convention in the Chicago Tribune of June 27.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE DOLLAR.

For The Public.

"The bearer hereof has rendered a service which others have sought, Entitling him to a service equal to that which he wrought"—

This is the pledge of the dollar; a guaranty minted in deep,

And stamped with the seal of a people—"As ye sow, so shall ye reap."

Society gives this certificate to him who has worked for its need,

Whether on farm or on shipboard, whether by thought or by deed;

Whether with skill or with drudging, whether for food or for art,

Wherever the great world needs him, whenever he does his part.

For only by service rendered may a man lay claim to reward,

And the good that he meted to others shall others to him accord;

And he who has builded a cottage, a cottage has for his own;

And he who makes him a wagon, the wagon is his alone.

The soil and its wealth is the people's; he who furrows the field,

Except for his rent to the people, has all of the bounteous yield;

And he who digs in the tunnel and brings out the gleaming ore,

When he pays its share to the public, is owner of what he has more.

You doubt the truth of this doctrine, you of the plenteous store?

You think you have earned each dollar by burdens you bravely bore?

No, surely you lean on privilege, surely you like the law;

These are the bars that yield you the revenues that you draw.

Let us make good this promise: Be fair alike to all men,

And wipe the stain from the dollar and make it all honest again.

Each dime is a weary tendon, each cent is a pledge of debt,

Each dollar is manly endeavor, each quarter a task well met.

GEORGE T. EDSON.

## LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

### No. 5. The Spendthrift Man.

For The Public.

Ever since my friend Wash Davis, the fisherman, told me about his talk with another fisherman over in the Santa Cruz Mountains, I have been able to recognize the profound philosophic difference between a foolish spendthrift and the wiser person who has learned how to be spendthrift with his earnings.

My friend's little adventure occurred many years ago, when he was young, flexible and ready to receive all sorts of impressions. He was wandering about the Boulder Creek country, living with the Redwoods and the Madronos—nice families both of them. He incidentally fished now and then, but always in the spirit of a good fellow, who does not waste the gifts of Nature, and who thinks that "fishing for a record" is a nasty and dishonorable performance. In brief, my friend was exactly the sort of a man who could easily have companioned with Charles Dudley Warner, Henry Van Dyke or Stewart Edward White—good fishermen every one of them—which is to say, true Waltonians.

There is a mountain brook which comes into Boulder from the north side through a succession of little falls and rapids. This particular Waltonian knew of the seven crevices in the rocks wherein seven big trouts usually lived. He selected one for dinner; he built a little cooking fire on a strip of white sand, so that there was not the least danger of burning a hole in the forest (which was to him dearer by far than if he owned it in fee-simple). After a short space of time he had a cup of coffee, some hardtack and such a delicious trout, baked in the ashes, as never was known to a city gourmand. Then he put out his fire to the last coal and lit his little old pipe.

Followed a time of great content, but soon my friend Davis observed that another fisherman was coming across a low ridge, evidently making for the seven trout-pockets. He was a nice big fellow, who nodded and smiled most attractively, who then picked a trout from a crevice, with exquisite ease and grace, and who presently started his own little cooking fire on a flat rock near the brook. As soon as this was done the newcomer cast a word of greeting across to Davis.

"Come over," he said. "Two are company, and besides we might never see each other again. This is our chance to be neighborly. I'll pick out another trout from these crevices and we will foregather like two good fellows who know how to fish and how to build fires. It's the older I am, me lad, so come right over."

Of course Davis yielded to this, and crossing the brook found a white-handed, heart-young person.

with an utterly charming and refined Irish accent, which was like a wild sweet music in his ears, and chorded with the sound of falling waters and of winds in the tree-tops. My friend did not know it then, but he had been fortunate enough to run across a famous member of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, who had traveled in every worthwhile place, and had written some exquisite love songs, as clean, wholesome and Eden-like as you can imagine.

In due season they were lying side by side, smoking their pipes, and looking at the tree-tops and over-arching sky. Soon they began to talk together like old friends (it is a trick known to real fishermen who meet in the forest).

"There's a man, me boy," he said to young Davis, "an' if ye'll belave me, he writes a book on 'The Simple Loife.' 'Tis a hateful hard book to read. I met a man fishin' laast year, an' he carried a caamp stool along to sit on whiniver he caast a fly—but he had a copy of that same buk in his pocket!"

Then they talked social science—such things are easy to discuss at these times; and the Bohemian Club man, who had known Henry George, called him "a remarkable man, with real insight." He went on from this to say that while he himself was "something of a scatter-brain" and therefore "nothing much of a reformer," still he had "a few little notions," one of which he proceeded to unfold to my friend Davis. Then with a rollicking and irresistible humor he explained to the delighted listener that almost every so-called extravagance of life might easily be made into an effective weapon in scientific social progress.

"If ye must buy orrchids, me lad, first know all the florists an' all about each wan; thin spind the money with the best men of the lot."

"But," said Davis, "I may merely want the best orchids for my money."

"Yis, ye laugh at that! But think awhile! The only time ye can control the expenditure of a dollar is whin ye have it in hand."

He then expounded his doctrine of personal expenditure. He showed with convincing exactitude how every man could very often direct the force of his daily expenses so as to help the broad-equilibriums of life.

"Ye nade not always pour the dimes and dollars into the big shops; let them help the growth of the smaller people."

They began to consider this notion. "Suppose," he said, "that a city contained say ten thousand salaried young men and women, clerks, teachers, and all sorts of workers. Suppose that they averaged sixty dollars of earnings each month. That gives them over seven million dollars a year, the spending and investing of which is in their own hands. There ought to be some way of systematizing and directing such a vast annual out-go."

"Take it another way," the Bohemian remarked.

"Me frind Dawson, a fine old head-clerk, tells me that he has taken in an' paid out an' invested something over \$140,000 in fifty consecutive years of active life. An' his rule has been to try an' pay his money over to people whom he both likes an' respects."

"It's a good idea," said Davis. "It counts for more fellowship between men, and I think that the service which one gets in exchange for his money might be rather better than usual. Let us, then, give a name to this new virtue—'spend-thriftiness.' Of course, it will be called quixotic, and in modern slang 'a pipe dream,' but it surely makes for fellowship."

"It's right on that ye are, me frind," said the Bohemian as they parted. "Every man of us does that way more or less, an' by accident, but we can do it by getting into a raal spend-thrifty habit of life."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



## CIVIC WASTE ON A SMALL SCALE.

For The Public.

About two months ago I happened to sit down beside a pleasant-faced old fellow in the smoking-car of a train pulling out of Philadelphia. I wanted to smoke, and on discovering that I had no matches I turned to my seat-mate and asked if he could spare me one.

"Certainly," said he, "that is one thing I can get all I want of for nothing."

Seeing that he was inclined to talk, I humored him by asking, "How's that?"

"Why, you see," he replied, "I work for the City, in the fire department, and we can get all we want of anything like that. Just turn in a requisition for them and along they come. But there is one thing we can't get all we want of, though."

"What's that?"

"Brooms. We can't get a broom. We can requisition as much as we like, but we can't secure a single broom."

"How's that?"

"Don't know, but we can't get one."

"How do you keep the place clean, then?" I always thought they were very particular in the fire department to have everything spick and span."

"That's it," said he, nudging me in the ribs, "that's it! How do we keep it clean? Must be clean for inspection. Know what we do? I'll tell you! We use blankets. Yes, we take blankets, tear 'em up into strips and make mops out of 'em and keep the place as neat as you please! You see we can get all the blankets we want, but we can't get a broom. So we take turns requisitioning blankets."

"But the blankets must cost a lot more than brooms would."

"Sure. Blankets must stand the city at least a dollar and a quarter each, while the best brooms bought in large quantities would not cost over twenty-five cents apiece. And one broom would last longer than half a dozen blankets. But we can't help it. Must keep the fire-house clean for inspection or we would all get fired. No matter how often we requisition brooms there isn't one forthcoming, while we can get all the blankets we want, and no questions asked."

"Seems funny. How is it, do you suppose?"

"Only reason I can give is that the new administration is short of funds. You know when the gang was cleared out they didn't leave much cash in the treasury. So they can't buy anything. Probably somebody in a former administration got some graft for laying in a large stock of blankets. So they are stocked up on blankets and got no brooms. But it costs somebody something in the long run. Fierce, ain't it?"

W. P., JR.



## THE GUERNSEY-MARKET SUBSTITUTE FOR BONDS.

An Extract from the Writings of Jonathan Duncan.\*

The Island of Guernsey, being in the channel between France and England, by some blunder in the treaty transferring several islands in that channel from the former to the latter government, had been left free from the control of either and remained in the hands of the local island government. This government consisted of a mayor and council. John Guelph was at that time mayor and a true friend of the people according to the best of his ability. The people were in great need of a public market building, but were destitute of money with which to build. Mayor Guelph called the council together for consultation on the matter. Each in his place declared that timber, lumber, stone, brick, with good strong arms and willing hands, were plenty, but no money to effect purchases or pay for labor. All agreed that it would be unwise to borrow money at interest.

The estimated cost of the market was 4,000 pounds sterling. It was decided to create and issue as wanted for the purpose four thousand one-pound notes. These notes were made a legal tender for rent of stalls when the market was complete. The credit of the island government was good for the fulfillment of that pledge, and the contractor at once proceeded with his work, receiving the one-pound notes in payment. With these he paid for material, timber, stone, brick, etc., and wages of the men employed. Those

receiving the notes in turn paid them to the shop-keepers for goods. The shop-keepers gave them to the landlords for rent, and they again distributed them in society. In this manner they were kept constantly passing from hand to hand and place to place over the island, performing the functions of money as well or even better than if made of gold or silver, and yet costing but a trifle in comparison with these metals. During this period, business was brisk, labor more generally employed, and the people more prosperous than before.

In due season the market was completed. It contained eighty shops and stalls, which were let to butchers and dealers at five pounds a year. This made the annual rent 400 pounds sterling, or \$2,000.

At the close of the first year of tenancy, four hundred of the one-pound notes with which the market had been built, had been received by the island authorities that owned the market. It was a national building, built with national money. When this money was thus received, it was burnt up in the presence of the official authorities and the people.

The operation was repeated from year to year for ten years, at the expiration of which period all the four thousand one-pound notes having been received and thus destroyed, they of course ceased to exist.

But the annual rent did not cease; that exists to this day and the money is applied to local improvements and government expenses.



Build the Trusts a little fence,  
Across the way.  
Get behind the tariff bars,  
And there decay.

Look not on the dire results  
That mark the morrow;  
Bloated fortunes, striking hordes,  
Madness and sorrow.

GERTRUDE COLLES.

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## BOOKS

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### A RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT'S STORY.

*The Promised Land.* By Mary Antin. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.75 net.

The Russian Jew in America is fortunate in his interpreters. The new understanding of his past hardships and the fresh sympathy in his present perplexities taught us by Zangwill's "The Melting Pot," are deepened and personified by the autobiography of a Russian Jewish woman, just printed serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* and now published in book form.

\*See *The Public*, volume XIII, pages 725, 726, inclusive of footnote on page 726.

Born of good parentage in one of Russia's Jewish cities, in her childhood knowing the indignities of a persecuted race and the descent from riches to penury, Mary Antin at the age of fourteen came with her family to America, here to seek fortune and freedom. Bright, active, original, with her home in the slums and her heart in the highlands of culture and beauty, this little Jewish girl of literary talent and much personal magnetism made her way rapidly through the public schools and on into college, her days full of honors and friends, her heart full of thankfulness to her adopted country.

The book is a piece of literature—a fragment of human experience communicated to the sympathies of mankind. It was worth writing and is most certainly worth reading; for there is in it much to enjoy and much to take to heart. One can never forget the sombre side of life "Within the Pale" in Russia, where "mediaeval injustice" prevails, nor the brighter times when family and village make merry in queer foreign ways. And many a grownup will laugh—perhaps for the first time—over his own biggest, most ridiculous youthful blunder, when he reads of Mary's gratuitous public "Thank you" at her grammar-school graduation to the astonished speaker who had held up as a shining example Mary's student career with careful omission of his heroine's name.

The usual flavor of even the cleverest autobiography is in the book, that tang of boastfulness which Failure is always tasting in the memoirs of Success. But the author seems enough of a woman easily to bear transference to her of a deft writer's remark about Huxley to the effect that "Everybody, himself included, must admire so noble a fellow."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The Supreme Court and the Constitution. By Charles A. Beard. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Strenuous Life Spiritual and the Submissive Life. By A. Van der Naillen. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00.

—Government by All the People; or, The Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy. By Delos F. Wilcox. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

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From a German Pamphleteer.

A new economic reform publication has just appeared in Germany, which though entitled "The

Physiocrat," seems in spirit a very distant relative of those economic ancestors to whom Georges Darien in France has been introducing modern Singletaxers. The editor, George Blumenthal (Berlin Lichterfelde, Bülkestr. 11), and his collaborating writer, Eckehardt, declare for Henry George's land reform—as amended to land nationalization by Flurscheim, and for the abolition of interest, as the twin evil to private land ownership; by these two reforms purposing to gain for every worker the full product of his labor. To these writers the contemplated Socialist state seems a huge prison for the individual; the ideas of the old French physiocrats were right, but strangled by the Revolution; Henry George saw only half a truth ("of money and interest he unfortunately had not the least comprehension"). The League of German Land Reformers they regard as a timid crew, mistaken if not worse, and their program of merely taxing the land value increment as hopelessly inadequate; but Silvio Gesell with his books on the land and money question is hailed as the true prophet and leader in today's economic thought. There is throughout more "hurrah for our side" than explanation of what that side is—a kind of demonstration only to be forgiven in a first appearance.

A. L. G.



### Pamphlets Received.

Examination of Employees for Tuberculosis. Published by the Committee on Factories of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, Room 1351, Otis Building, Chicago.

Individualism: The Solution of our Economic Problems. By Joseph Jordan Devney. Published by the Individualist Publishing Co., Cleveland, O. Price, 25 cts.

American Sociological Society: Papers and Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 27-30, 1911. Published for the Society by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Containing: "The Quality of Civilization," by Franklin H. Giddings; "The City as a Socializing Agency," by Frederic C. Howe; and other Papers, together with "The Report of the Committee of Ten" on subject matter for a fundamental course in Sociology.

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## PERIODICALS

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### The Christian Science Monitor.

The most coherent and in other respects most satisfactory reporting of the Republican convention proceedings at Chicago was done by the Christian Science Monitor, which published a special convention edition at Chicago during the convention.



### The German Land Reform Movement.

The first part of an excellent article on "Land Reform in Germany," written by Dr. W. Schrameier for the Single Tax Review, is published in the May-June number. The history is given of the beginnings of the movement briefly up to 1898, more fully since that year, when the Land Reform League under the leadership of A. Damaschke adopted its working program. There is included a clear statement of the Kiaochow experiment,

At Hull House in Chicago they have evenings devoted to the drama. Original plays and folk dances are put on by the boys and girls, mostly of foreign parentage, who belong to the Settlement. Recently these young people wrote and staged a little three-act play dealing with the birth of the National Flag. It was an elaborate production. This is how it went:

**First Act.**

Two Revolutionary soldiers meet.  
Said the first: "Ain't it fierce, we haven't got no flag for this Revolution?"  
Said the other: "Yes; ain't it fierce!"  
And they went their ways.

**Second Act.**

Two Revolutionary generals met.  
Said the first: "Ain't it fierce, we haven't got no flag for this Revolution?"  
Replied the second: "Yes; ain't it fierce!"  
And they parted.

**Third Act.**

General Washington was conversing with Betsy Ross. He said: "Ain't it fierce, we haven't a flag for this Revolution?"  
Betsy answered: "Yes; ain't it fierce! Here,

George, hold the baby a minute and I'll make flag."—La Follette's Weekly.



Mr. Bryan makes it quite clear to the assembled multitude, he hopes, that what a political convention does is none of Big Business's business.—Chicago Tribune of July 1.



At least we can congratulate the unquenchable Mr. Bryan, out of whose large and kindly hand t

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