

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Democratic Candidate.

That Woodrow Wilson will make a stronger candidate, and if elected, a better President, than any of the other men in nomination before the Baltimore convention, cannot be thoughtfully disputed; and it is not seriously denied anywhere outside the circles of those whose enthusiasms were otherwise enlisted. His independence has been proved under the most trying circumstances. His progressivism has endured the best of tests. His popular strength was demonstrated at the primaries to be greater than that of any one of his adversaries. For purely party purposes, others might have been preferred, men whose boast it is that they have always been loyal to the Democratic machine; but for this transition period in the affairs of mankind, when old things are passing away and all things political are becoming new, not only in the United States but throughout the civilized world, Woodrow Wilson is as nearly as possible an ideal candidate. To few other men could William J. Bryan have transferred his well worn and untainted commission from the democratic Democracy as their leader in the irrepressible conflict of masses against classes, with equal confidence in the new leader's fidelity; to none other could he have done so with as much confidence in the new leader's triumph at the polls next November.



It remains now for Wilson to execute that com-

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

The Democratic Candidate.....	649
Bryan at Baltimore.....	650
Speaker Clark.....	650
Harmony.....	651
Roosevelt's New Party.....	651
A Parting of the Ways.....	652
A "Zero" Function.....	653
A Confidential Editorial.....	653

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Singletax Influence on Land Monopoly (S. J. Farmer).....	654
--	-----

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Violence and the "I. W. W." (Charles H. Kerr).....	655
--	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

Work of the Democratic Convention.....	656
The Roosevelt Convention.....	658
The Singletax Campaign in Missouri.....	659
Constitutional Amendments in Indiana.....	659
The Mexican Insurrection Fading Away.....	659
News Notes.....	659
Press Opinions.....	660

RELATED THINGS:

Get Together (Frederick Le Roy Sargent).....	661
The Tale of the Baltimore Fight (James W. Faulkner).....	661
Women in Australian Politics (Theresa Hirschl Russell).....	663
Little Tales of Fellow Workers. 6. (Charles H. Shinn).....	665
Jane (Royd Eastwood Morrison).....	666

BOOKS:

The Co-ordinate Woman.....	667
Periodicals.....	668

CARTOON:

The Democratic and the Republican Conventions (John T. McCutcheon).....	669
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mission with Bryan's faithfulness and courage. Should he measure up to this standard, he will secure for himself that devotion of the masses which only three democratic leaders besides Bryan have won in the whole history of the United States. Should he temporize for party's sake or his own sake with the plutocratic interests or their political wolves or journalistic jackals—should he make Mr. Clark's mistake of falling into the lap of the Hearsts, of the Murphys, of the Sullivans, of the Taggarts, of the Ryans, of the Belmonts—he will be written off as a political asset of democratic Democracy along with others who have thus fallen by the way. But Wilson's record so far in his brief but brilliant and confidence-making career, is the best of guarantees that neither Bryan nor Bryan's host of confiding friends will regret the hour when Bryan's devotion to democracy, rising above all inferior considerations and coupled with unexampled political ability and courage, made Wilson his successor in the democratic leadership of the Democratic party.



Bryan at Baltimore.

It is no empty compliment, that which pretty much all the papers but Hearst's—the latter for obvious and disgusting reasons—are paying to William J. Bryan as the Warwick at Baltimore. Few public men of any country or time, having his opportunities for self-service, would have undertaken what he accomplished: no other man in our time and country could have accomplished it had he made the effort. The convention had been well put together for a definite and treacherous purpose. This purpose contemplated the nomination of Speaker Clark with a view to his defeat at the polls by President Taft, or of Governor Harmon as second choice with a view to the election of either Harmon or Taft. Two things were necessary: First, that the affair should be labeled "progressive;" second, that the contents of the package should belie the label. Bryan detected the fraud and promptly denounced it. His fight had every appearance of a hopeless one. The scheme had been put together so well that the schemers held a majority of the convention under their control at first. But back of Bryan were the "folks at home." As he pummeled away, lonesome in leadership but not in support, the treacherous plans of the plutocrats slowly disintegrated; and Bryan's fidelity and courage were at last rewarded by the convention's nomination of the one principal candidate to whom the Interests, from their sad experience with him in

New Jersey, were unalterably opposed. Their solitary hope now is that before the November vote is counted they may "bring Wilson to his senses;" divorce him from Bryan, entangle him with bosses, taint him with Interest perfumes. A nicely groomed college professor in the White House, a publicist who appears classical and doesn't get in their way, would delight them; they would be equally well pleased, perhaps better pleased, if the game that was played upon Speaker Clark could be played upon Wilson, and Taft be consequently re-elected; but "a Bryanite from New Jersey," that is what they fear.



Speaker Clark.

One of the Hearst papers attributes this language to Speaker Clark:

I lost the nomination solely through the vile and malicious slanders of Col. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. True, these slanders were by innuendo and insinuation, but they were no less deadly for that reason.

It may not be true that Mr. Clark has used this language. We hope he has not, and trust that no one will accuse him of it without better authority. But the idea thus offensively expressed, that Bryan accused Clark of making a treacherous bargain, must have lodged in the latter's mind or he could not have expressed himself as he did in his convention letter to Senator Stone. The fact is, however, that Mr. Bryan made no accusation of bad faith against Mr. Clark—neither directly nor by innuendo or insinuation. The utmost that can be inferred from what he said, as in any way reflecting upon Mr. Clark, was that Mr. Clark was the unconscious factor in a plan "to sell the Democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of this country;" not that he had been false, but that he had been duped. And this was true. Mr. Clark's manifest innocence of the bargain relieves him of all possible imputations of bad faith; but it added nothing to his qualifications for the Presidency in times like these. Mr. Bryan would have been basely disloyal to all that he represents in public life if he had allowed a personal friendship or obligation to blind him or silence him. It is better by far to be called "ingrate" by self-seeking friends than to be traitor to a people's cause.



Speaker Clark and his friends don't seem to realize that the very nature of their assaults upon Bryan goes to prove that Bryan performed a public duty in securing Wilson's nomination.

They put all their emphasis in Clark's behalf upon his having earned public preferment by long and unbroken service to the Democratic organization, right or wrong; they put all their emphasis in criticizing Bryan, upon Clark's past service to him as the Presidential candidate of his party. The whole Clark campaign, so far as his managers have made it public, was a campaign for personal reward. To that end their demands upon Bryan were to redeem personal obligations which they wrongly assumed that he incurred through the support Clark had given to him in three Presidential campaigns, and which Bryan rightly insisted were not in the nature of personal obligations at all. This animus, which permeated the Clark campaign and broke out at the end in spasms of ridiculous indignation, points to the inherent weakness of Mr. Clark's candidacy—the weakness upon which Mr. Taft's managers had shrewdly counted in their solicitude for Mr. Clark's nomination.



We do not happen to know what it was that drove Bryan into making the nomination of his political associate and one-time favorite for the Presidency impossible. For aught we know, he may only have been put upon his guard, as a capable leader, by impressions created by the whole situation whilst it developed before him. Least of all do we suppose that he had any knowledge of the details of the bargain. The details of such bargains, though they leak out, can never be known by others than the parties to them except at second hand and third hand. It will be understood, therefore, that we ourselves claim no absolute knowledge of that bargain. But the farther the matter is probed, the clearer it will probably appear, as we have reason to believe, that the bargain, schemed out by Senator Crane of Massachusetts, had somewhat such a setting as this, namely:—President Taft is satisfactory to the Interests. He has been tried by them and found true to them. It is important to the Interests, therefore, that Taft be nominated by the Republican convention. This suits Senator Crane as far as it goes. But the Interests want some such man as Governor Harmon or Mr. Underwood nominated by the Democrats, so that no matter who wins they will not lose. This does not suit Senator Crane, his sole object being to re-elect Taft. It was incumbent upon him, therefore, not only to force Taft's nomination at Chicago, but to bring about a weak nomination at Baltimore. And almost he did both—not quite but almost. Of course Speaker Clark wasn't promoting Senator

Crane's plan consciously. He only happened to fit into it. The Democratic nomination was necessary to Senator Crane's purpose, and Speaker Clark was available; a complication of weaknesses for the fight at the polls was also necessary to the plan, and these, too, Speaker Clark possessed. We do not say this in any derogatory sense. Speaker Clark is an honest, amiable, brilliant, lovable, trusting man of the old type of Southern statesmanship; but among the weaker candidates for election he was the strongest for the Democratic nomination; and that was what Crane needed in his plans for Taft. So the *high hand* took care of Taft at Chicago, and the *deft hand* tried to take care of Taft at Baltimore. But Bryan spoiled Senator Crane's game.



Naturally, Mr. Clark's disappointed supporters—both those who were in the secret with Senator Crane and those who were dupes along with Mr. Clark—are resentful, and Bryan is the object of their wrath. Yet Mr. Clark ought to realize that in accusing Bryan after the manner of the Hearst quotation above, he only helps to force public opinion into regarding him as the victim of men whose schemes it would have been wiser for him to have shunned than to have welcomed. The more vigorously he assails Mr. Bryan, the stronger does his unintended tribute to Senator Crane's sagacity become.



Harmony.

The false note at Baltimore was "harmony." The value and the virtue of harmony depend upon the elements to be harmonized; and all that "harmony" meant at Baltimore was Democratic harmony—the harmony of men and interests with nothing in common except a party label and hunger for office. Harmony among men who regard the Belmonts and Murphys and Ryans and Sullivans and Hearsts as faithful Democrats, and those who believe in Bryan and Wilson and their kind, is a sham. Who cares whether the Democratic party displaces the Republican party in power, if the Interests are to own the incomers as they have owned the outgoers? Nobody outside of the pie-counter brigade. By all means let's have harmony; but let's have it between believers in democracy, not pretenders but believers. Between democrats and plutocrats, the more discord the better.



Roosevelt's New Party.

Mr. Roosevelt demands a new party notwith-

standing Governor Wilson's nomination by the Democrats. Whatever the motive, the argument is that Wilson's nomination for the Presidency does not renovate the Democratic party in its local organizations. Standing by itself this argument is impressive. Republicans may well hesitate to join the Democratic party as at present organized, even though its candidate for President measures up to all their requirements. Where would be the gain to them in leaving a party of Tafts and Roots and Lorimers for one of Ryans and Murphys and Taggarts and Sullivans? And of course all such bosses will stick; if only they would go over to the party of Taft, Republicans might come into the party of Wilson—a swap that wouldn't hurt the Republican party and would improve the Democratic. But the bosses can't be driven out. It is only sinking ships that rats abandon. The argument for a new party has that much in its favor, the pertinacity of the Democratic bosses; but it has much against it. For instance, such a party at this juncture would be regarded by progressive Democrats with a suspicion that would discourage them from going into a new party of Republican antecedents when the time for one was really ripe. The new party can hardly serve any purpose at all useful unless it be to drive Mr. Roosevelt out of politics with a chorus of laughter. If it were to show vitality, it would be boss-ridden at once; for bosses are not particular about parties, provided the parties are strong.



Had a reactionary been nominated at Baltimore, or a mere party Democrat, a new party might have sprung into the arena with more than a fair prospect of becoming at once the second if not the first party in American politics. But there is no such probability now; and a third party, no matter who leads it, may separate those who ought to be together. Republicans do not need a new party this year in order to avoid the dilemma of either supporting Taft or joining the Democratic party. There is no such alternative. They can vote for Wilson and Marshall electors without abandoning the Republican party. "Scratching" is no longer a party crime; and if one may "scratch" the party candidate for alderman, Mayor or Governor, why not the party candidate for President and Vice-President?



We surmise, however, that the Democrats would welcome a Roosevelt party in this campaign. No voter of any party who wishes to defeat Taft is

likely to vote for Roosevelt as a third party candidate when he can more certainly accomplish his purpose by voting for Wilson; and Republicans who cannot stomach any kind of Democrat may be held away from Taft if they can enter a protest by voting for Roosevelt. As to freetraders, they would be fools indeed not to welcome Roosevelt's third party candidacy if he can emphasize what he is now trying to do, the fact that the Democratic party is committed distinctly to a tariff reform program with freetrade for its objective.



Of the official call for the new party, it must be said that it rings true in general principles and purposes. Its weakness is the total absence of any concrete demands in execution of its declarations of general principle. A first-class exordium or peroration, this call is without form in detail. While it points to the true industrial issue in the abstract, it proposes nothing definite. The old Declaration of Independence gave form and force to its splendid generalities by an indictment of King George and notice of separation. In the first Republican platform, its splendid generalities were given form and force by specific opposition to the extension of slavery. But this call for Mr. Roosevelt's party gives no kind of form to its generalities. To be sure it might be said that the place for doing that is not in the call but in the platform when the convention yet to be shall have made one. This explanation would be a good one. But, if Mr. Roosevelt's views in favor of tariff protection be then adopted as part of a platform evolved from such a convention call, the usefulness of this third party will be widely open to question on fundamental grounds. One Protection party is enough.



A Parting of the Ways.

Out of this political chaos one fact rises like Cheops in the desert: our present party system disgraces the American people and must afford sad laughter for all other intelligences in the universe. We are so busy making (or losing) money that we let officeholders—past, present and future—manage the whole sickening game, which is really our own life or death, and holds such great issues that one would suppose we would try to make it once more a game for true men and wise immortals. Struggle as we may with the problem, we cannot escape the conclusion that each one of us is, in issues which come up from time to time, one of three things—conservative, progressive or

radical. If we tried, we could always have true tickets in the field presenting in clear-cut honesty those three mental attitudes towards every problem in municipality, State or nation. We could also vote on single issues or problems. But we cannot live as a republic and have many more Presidential conventions.



A "Zero" Function.

Our notion of "zero in occupations," to borrow the phrase of the Chicago Tribune's ingenious "Line-o'-Type" man, is the casting by the New York delegation of its ninety votes for Wilson on that last ballot.



CONFIDENTIAL EDITORIAL.

For Singletaxers Only.

Disclaiming all pretensions to inerrancy, The Public welcomes criticism from its readers; and its silence under criticism by no means implies inattention or indifference. To be governed, however, by every criticism, good though the criticism be as an observation unrelated to seeming reasons for other criticisms, is impossible. Had The Public yielded to all criticisms of its policy, its issues would long ago have been of white paper only, without a spot of printer's ink to soil it. Possibly that would have improved The Public in the estimation of some of its critics, but it wouldn't have left it much reason for continued publication.

Such a policy with reference to criticisms would have necessitated not merely a reversal of The Public's position on every question which has for fifteen years gone into the making of history, but absolute silence. We could have said nothing about the Cuban war, nothing about the Philippine usurpation, nothing about the Boer war, nothing about race questions, nothing about organized labor, nothing about McKinley, Bryan, Roosevelt, or Tom L. Johnson, nothing about woman suffrage, nothing about the money question, nothing about municipal ownership, nothing about religion, nothing about politics, nothing about Socialism, nothing about police interference with free speech, nothing about commission government, nothing about direct legislation, nothing about anything at all but the Singletax. The files of The Public, had there been any under those circumstances, would have been at best a collection of Singletax tracts instead of the weekly history of the world which they are from the beginning of the present period of democratic revival.

Indeed they wouldn't have been even a collection

of Singletax tracts, for criticisms on wasting space upon Singletax subjects have been as abundant and as strenuous as those on wasting it upon every other vital subject of this vital democratic period.

The criticisms most in evidence just now are those that object to seeing "so much about Socialism" in The Public's columns. This is as it has been with every other question, for Socialism happens to be now, along with the Singletax and related questions, a subject matter of general discussion and therefore one to which The Public devotes much attention. For the purpose of acknowledging all these criticisms in lump, and of explaining some things which their writers may possibly not have considered, we select the best of them in point of form. It comes from Worcester, Massachusetts, and besides covering the ground concisely and with clear thought, is evidently written in good feeling and with good faith. It is as follows:

Do you not think you give too much space to Socialism and news of that movement? Singletaxers are not interested in Socialism. I would like to use The Public in propaganda work, but there is so much Socialism in it. People whom I give it to get the impression—from your paper—we are Socialists. Personally I do not feel like subscribing to a paper with so much Socialistic bias. If you want to run a Socialist paper, well and good; but don't expect support from Singletax men.



As The Public is published for the sake of those who want it as it is and for what it is—inclusive, of course, of the possibility of improvement—and will be cheerfully discontinued when it lacks adequate support from those sources—our critic's objection to subscribing for it is in the nature of a vote against its further publication. We prefer such frank declarations to grudging support, and thank him for making his. His specific criticisms, however, being typical of a class, call for specific consideration.



Socialists would probably receive assurances of The Public's "socialism" with some of the surprise, and perhaps not a little of the disgust, with which they received like assurances about Henry George during his life time. No one who really knew Socialism, and also the Singletax, would have called Henry George a Socialist. Nor would any such person call The Public a Socialist paper.

That The Public is socialistic is true, and so was Henry George; but this is explained by the fact that a Singletaxer (if Henry George's

doctrines are the test) is bound to be socialistic—a socialist in some respects, an individualist in others. To quote from Henry George himself, a Singletaxer can no more be either “an individualist or a socialist than one who considers the forces by which the planets are held to their orbits could call himself a centrifugalist or a centripetalist.”

Singletaxers who indiscriminately denounce Socialism, not only get their Singletaxism from other sources than the teachings of Henry George, but they are in antagonism to the essentials of what he taught. To tag Henry George as a Singletaxer in the narrow sense of pure or nearly pure individualism (whether the anarchistic individualism of which Emma Goldman is the best American representative, or the capitalistic individualism of which J. Pierpont Morgan is the American heavyweight champion), is to belittle Henry George's teachings.

Primarily Henry George was a democrat. The Singletax was to him only the accidental name of the fiscal gateway which, when once unlocked, will, as he taught, open up the highway that leads on to industrial as well as political democracy.

And so of The Public. It is not now, never has been, and never expects to be a Singletax paper in the narrow or narrowing cult-sense of that term. It is a democratic paper, democratic in the generic and irrespective of the political party sense. As such, it advocates the Singletax. Not for the sake, however, of the Singletax as a fetich, but for the sake of democracy as a social principle and purpose. And this is the general attitude, as The Public is glad to believe, of the Singletaxers of this and every other country.

Consequently, The Public has no aspiration to be a weekly bundle of Singletax tracts for distribution among people whose prejudices need quarantine protection from Socialism. Probably an output of tracts on the Singletax, exquisitely expurgated, would be useful with such people, and we trust their needs may be attended to; but this is not the function of The Public, nor is it one which The Public can undertake without revolutionizing its whole reason for being or of trying to be.

We should be sorry to believe, we doubt if it is really true of our critic himself, that Singletaxers are not interested in Socialism, at least as part of the social yeast of the historic period in which we are living. The citizen who is not at this time enough interested in Socialism to learn what it is and what it is doing, or having done to it, is a civic ignoramus. Singletaxers who wish to live in such ignorance may fare well enough in academic propaganda; but they are utterly unfit to represent their cause, either publicly or privately,

in the practical struggles in which it is now everywhere in some degree involved. Singletaxers more than any other social sect need to realize—for their cause is invincible if intelligently represented with reference to time, place and circumstances—that “he knows not his own cause who knows his own cause alone.”



It has been the aim of The Public, from its inception, to win favorable consideration for Singletax methods of democracy from non-Singletax democrats by treating their own special methods fully and truthfully in its news reports and considerately and fairly in its editorials. While it may often have missed this aim, inexcusably so perhaps, it has never yet seen good reason for giving it up. Another of its objects has been to widen the vision and strengthen both the purpose and the energies of Singletaxers in promoting Singletax methods of democracy, by keeping them intelligibly informed week by week of all the activities and thought that are influencing that mass of men and women whom *they* must influence favorably if they expect to make their cause anything more than an intellectual plaything.

Singletaxers who don't see what we lay before them of the clashing thought and complex activities of the world in which they live, cannot of course be affected by it. This may be to their advantage, or otherwise; as to that, we are individualistic enough in our Singletax philosophy to insist that they judge for themselves. As for The Public, however, we still hold to the opinion that its policy is worth pursuing so long as enough persons agree with us to make the pursuit possible. We think that Singletaxers are all the better Singletaxers for a broad intelligence. With persons who won't taste the Singletax unless it is sterilized and fed them with a spoon, other agencies for Singletax propaganda had better be used in place of The Public.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SINGLETAX INFLUENCE ON LAND MONOPOLY.

Winnipeg, Man.

When, in 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its vast monopoly rule in Northwest Canada to the Canadian government, it retained, under the terms of the Deed of Surrender, the ownership of some 7,000,000 acres of land. It secured the right of selection of blocks of land adjoining its trading posts, and of certain sections (640 acres) and parts of sections in every township within certain boundaries described as the fertile belt.

At the trading post then known as Fort Edmonton the Company selected a block of 3,000 acres. This area is now the very centre of the city of Edmonton, the thriving capital of the Province of Alberta. Following the usual policy of the Company, portions of this reserve have been sold from time to time in order to induce settlement and so increase the value of the remainder. By these sales the original reserve had been reduced by the year 1905 to 1,675 acres, divided into two main portions, the most valuable consisting of 835 acres south of Rat Creek, and the other of 840 acres north of the creek. In that year the first-named block was assessed at \$500 per acre and the latter at \$250 per acre, a total valuation of \$627,500.

The assessment has steadily increased, until in 1911 the lowest valuation was \$1,600, and the highest \$10,000 per acre. With respect to the part assessed at the highest figure—about ten acres—the company lodged an appeal with the Board of Revision, but that body sustained the assessor's valuation, and the property was immediately sub-divided and placed on the market. Today, the portion of the reserve remaining in the hands of the company is valued at from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000.

The taxes on the Company's property have been steadily growing, not only on account of the increasing valuation, but also by reason of the fact that taxes other than on land values have been abandoned one by one.

Since 1904, no taxes have been levied on buildings or improvements, and this year taxes on business were abolished. Edmonton now raises all its civic revenues by the taxation of land values.

In 1911 the total land assessment was \$44,571,750, on which taxes amounting to \$552,962 were raised; there was a special frontage tax for special improvements which amounted to \$113,295; and a total business levy of \$19,872. The total tax rate was 13.7 mills. The 1912 statement will show no business tax.

This year the Hudson's Bay Company sub-divided the most valuable portion of its reserve into some 4,000 lots, and in a sale held between the 14th and 18th of May, placed on the market about 1,300 of these lots at prices aggregating nearly three and a half million dollars. The lots sold are not en bloc, but judiciously scattered throughout the reserve, with an obvious eye to future increments of value on the lots unsold, which will inevitably follow the development of those sold.

The sale was opened on the 14th, a fixed price being placed on each lot, and the number to be purchased by each individual limited to four. The order in which intending buyers made their selections was determined by lot, and the proceedings commenced at 2 p. m., on the 14th by the distribution of numbered tickets, holders being entitled to make selections the next day in the order in which their tickets were numbered. All through the night of Sunday the 13th, and through the burning sun of the forenoon of the 14th, more than a thousand men and women stood in line at the office where the drawing was held. At its close a brisk trade developed in the sale of the tickets, the holder of No. 1 being offered as high as \$20,000 for his privilege of first choice.

To what extent was the Singletax responsible for this breaking-up of the Company's reserve?

Undoubtedly the Company was following its settled policy in selling parts of its holdings in order that the value of the balance might be enhanced, but that increase was to a very considerable extent already insured by the general growth and development of the whole city, whose boundaries extend out and around this property on all sides. A wealthy corporation like the Hudson's Bay Company would be under no compulsion to sell, so long as a good margin remained over and above the tax, and it will be observed that the tax rate was less than two per cent in 1911.

But it must not be overlooked that the land is assessed pretty well up to its full value, and that the assessment has been increased every year with the advance in values. The sale of the ten acres assessed at \$10,000 per acre in 1911 is significant of the effect of a fairly full valuation. One prominent Edmonton official writes me in this connection that "the increase in assessment certainly spurred the Company to subdivide and sell."

While the small percentage of the rental value it is possible to take under the municipal Singletax alone may not be sufficient to stop speculation or to force all vacant land on the market, the tendency is all in that direction, not only by the operation of the tax on vacant lands, but by the encouragement of development by the untaxing of buildings and improvements. All this undoubtedly assisted greatly in hastening the decision of the Hudson's Bay Company to sell the lots above referred to.

SEYMOUR J. FARMER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

VIOLENCE AND THE "I. W. W."

Chicago, July 6, 1912.

In your editorial "For Fair Trials," on page 626 of your July 5 issue, you make it obvious that you have been misinformed regarding a vital point in the case of Ettore and Giovannitti. You have accepted at its face value the charge made by certain politicians that the organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World are accustomed to advocate violence. But an impartial examination of the charge will show that it has no foundation in fact. Read the record of the Lawrence strike and you will find that the only violence on the part of strikers occurred before Ettore arrived. When he assumed charge, he enforced positive instructions to refrain from violence, no matter how great the provocation. After his arrest, the same policy was enforced by Haywood. The mill owners and police were obviously anxious to provoke violence, and it was the self-restraint of the strikers, under the advice of the I. W. W. organizers, that finally won. I speak from first-hand knowledge, since L. H. Marcy of our editorial staff was on the scene of action for two weeks, and has given me full details from personal observation.

CHARLES H. KERR,

Editor International Socialist Review.

[Mr. Kerr is mistaken in supposing that anything

in the editorial he mentions, which reflects upon the policy of the I. W. W. with reference to violence in labor controversies, has come to us from other than I. W. W. sources.—Editors of The Public.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, July 9, 1912.

Work of the Democratic Convention.

The Democratic national convention at Baltimore, adjourned on the 3rd at 1:53 o'clock in the morning, after nominating Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey for President of the United States and Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for Vice-President, and adopting a national platform of principles and policies. [See current volume, page 631.]

Upon assembling at noon on the 2nd for its seventh day's session, the convention proceeded at once to the 43rd ballot for President. On this ballot Clark fell 101 votes and Wilson rose 108, in comparison with the previous vote, the ballot being as follows:

Forty-third Ballot.—Clark, 329; Wilson, 602; Underwood, 100; Harmon, 28; Foss, 27; Bryan, 1; Kern, 1.

The Illinois delegation, by a caucus vote of 40 for Wilson and 18 for Clark (a total under the unit rule of 58 for Wilson), had taken the lead in changing from Clark to Wilson. New York had remained solid in the Clark column, under the unit rule, by a caucus vote of 78 for Clark, 10 for Wilson and 2 for Underwood. This delegation remained with Clark on the next ballot, which resulted as follows:

Forty-fourth Ballot.—Clark, 306; Wilson, 629; Underwood, 99; Harmon, 27; Foss, 27.

New York still stood by Clark on the next ballot, of which the following were the results:

Forty-fifth Ballot.—Clark, 306; Wilson, 633; Underwood, 97; Harmon, 25; Foss, 27.

It was not until the 46th and final ballot that New York transferred from Clark to Wilson, too late to make the New York vote necessary to Wilson's nomination. The New York transfer was not announced until only 19 scattering votes and the votes of California and Missouri, of all the States preceding New York on roll call, had gone to Wilson. These gave 503 votes to Wilson before the New York delegation shifted from Clark; and from the States to be called after New York, 331½ votes had been recorded for Wilson on the

preceding ballot. Wilson therefore had 834½ votes to his credit, being 106½ more than necessary for the nomination, before the vote of New York was transferred to him. Following is the final ballot by States:

Forty-sixth and Final Ballot:

Wilson. Clark.		Wilson. Clark.	
Alabama	24	New Hampshire	8
Arizona	6	New Jersey	24
Arkansas	18	New Mexico	8
California	2	New York	90
Colorado	10	North Carolina	24
Connecticut	14	North Dakota	10
Delaware	6	Ohio	33
Florida	7	Oklahoma	20
Georgia	23	Oregon	10
Idaho	8	Pennsylvania	76
Illinois	58	Rhode Island	10
Indiana	30	South Carolina	18
Iowa	26	South Dakota	10
Kansas	20	Tennessee	24
Kentucky	26	Texas	40
Louisiana	18	Utah	8
Maine	12	Vermont	8
Maryland	16	Virginia	24
Massachusetts	36	Washington	14
Michigan	30	West Virginia	16
Minnesota	24	Wisconsin	26
Mississippi	20	Wyoming	6
Missouri	36	Alaska	6
Montana	8	Dist. of Columbia	6
Nebraska	16	Hawaii	6
Nevada	6	Porto Rico	6

Harmon 12 from Ohio; absent, 2; total, 1,088; necessary for nomination, 728.

For Wilson	990
For Clark	84
For Harmon	12
	96

Wilson's majority894

At 3:33 P. M. of the 2nd, the result of the final ballot was announced, and upon motion of Senator Stone of Missouri, the nomination of Governor Wilson of New Jersey for President of the United States was made unanimous by acclamation. Upon being notified by newspaper men at his summer home at Seagirt, New Jersey, Governor Wilson said to them:

The honor is as great as can come to any man by the nomination of a party, especially in the circumstances; and I hope I appreciate it at its true value; but just at this moment I feel the tremendous responsibility it involves even more than I feel the honor. I hope with all my heart the party will never have reason to regret it.

Prior to choosing their candidate for Vice-President, and under suspension of the rules during nominations for that candidacy, the Convention received from Senator Kern, as chairman of the Committee on resolutions, the proposed platform and adopted it as the platform of the party by acclamation and without dissent. It declares—

For tariffs for revenue only.

For the addition of Federal remedies to State remedies, as opposed to their substitution therefor, in the regulation of inter-State commerce.

For income taxation.

For direct elections of United States Senators.

For Presidential primaries.

For laws prohibiting corporations from contribut-

ing to campaign funds and individuals from contributing above a reasonable maximum.

For single Presidential terms.

For regulation of inter-State public utilities.

For laws providing for depositaries of public funds through competitive bidding by all banks, State and national, in place of the present favoritism.

For conservation of natural resources and development of water ways.

For the Labor declarations of the Denver platform of 1908.

For parcels post and extension of rural delivery.

In addition to its affirmative declarations, the platform declares—

Against trusts.

Against usurpation of State functions by Federal legislation.

Against the Aldrich bill.

The first and principal plank of the platform, the one on the subject of tariffs, is as follows in full:

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government, honestly and economically administered. The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff. We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and, in many cases, prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessaries of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list. We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry. We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metals and chemical schedules and the farmers' free list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts. The Republican party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908 it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

Governor Marshall was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the second ballot. He having received on that ballot 645½ to 387½ for Governor Burke of North Dakota, and 12½ for Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, a motion to make his nomination unanimous was adopted by acclamation. During the call of States for proposing Vice-Presidential candidates, William J. Bryan was proposed by the District of Columbia. In declining this nomination, Mr. Bryan took occasion to "second the nomination, not of one man but of two, Governor Burke of North Dakota and Senator Chamberlain of Oregon," and to deliver his valedictory as leader of the Democratic party. On the second ballot Burke received the full vote of California, Kansas, Minnesota, Ohio, Texas and Washington; Marshall received the full vote of Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Mr. Bryan's valedictory was as follows, as reported by the Associated Press:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: You have been so generous with me in the allowance of time that I had not expected to transgress upon your patience again, but the compliment that has been paid me by the gentleman from the District of Columbia justifies, I hope, a word in the form of a valedictory. [Applause.] For sixteen years I have been a fighting man. Performing what I regarded as a public duty, I have not hesitated to speak out on every public question that was before the people of the nation for settlement, and I have not hesitated to arouse the hostility and the enmity of individuals where I felt it my duty to do so in behalf of my country. [Applause.] I have never advocated a man except with gladness, and I have never opposed a man except in sadness. [Cheers and applause.] If I have any enemies in this country those who are my enemies have a monopoly of hatred. There is not one single human being for whom I feel a hatred. [Applause.] Nor is there one American citizen in my own party, or in any other, that I would oppose for anything, except I believed that in not opposing him I was surrendering the interests of my country, which I hold above any person. I recognize that a man who fights must carry scars [Applause] and I decided long before this campaign commenced that I had been in so many battles and had alienated so many that my party ought to have the leadership of one who had not thus offended and who thus might lead with greater hope of victory. [Applause.] And tonight I come with joy to surrender into the hands of the one chosen by this Convention a standard which I carried in three campaigns; and I challenge my enemies to declare that it has ever been lowered in the face of the enemy. [Great applause and cheering.] The same belief that led me to prefer another for the Presidency rather than to be a candidate myself leads me to prefer another for second place rather than to be a candidate myself. It is not be-

cause the Vice-Presidency is lower in importance than the Presidency that I decline. There is no office in this nation so low that I would not take it if I could serve my country by accepting it. [Great applause and cheering.] I believe that I can render more service to my country when I have not the embarrassment of a nomination and have not the suspicion of a selfish interest—more service than I could as a candidate; and your candidates will not be more active in this campaign than I shall be. [Great applause and cheering.] My services are at the command of the party, and I feel a relief now that the burden of leadership is transferred to other shoulders. All I ask is that having given us a platform, the most progressive that any party of any size has ever adopted in this nation, and having given us a candidate who I believe will appeal not only to the Democratic vote, but to some three or four millions of Republicans who have been alienated by the policies of their party, there is but one thing left, and that is to give us a Vice-President with our President who also is Progressive, so that there will be no joint debate between our candidates. [Great applause.]



The Roosevelt Convention.

Pursuant to the decision of the silent delegates at the convention which nominated Mr. Taft at Chicago for re-election as President, a call was issued on the 8th, in which the 5th day of August, 1912, was named as the time and Chicago as the place, for holding a convention to organize the new party. [See current volume, page 607.]



The call is as follows in full:

To the people of the United States, without regard to past differences, who, through repeated betrayals, realize that today the power of the crooked political bosses and of the privileged classes behind them is so strong in the two old party organizations that no helpful movement in the real interests of our country can come out of either;

Who believe that the time has come for a national progressive movement—a nationwide movement—on non-sectional lines, so that the people may be served in sincerity and truth by an organization unfettered by obligation to conflicting interests;

Who believe in the right and capacity of the people to rule themselves, and effectively to control all the agencies of their government, and who hold that only through social and industrial justice, thus secured, can honest property find permanent protection;

Who believe that government by the few tends to become, and has in fact become, government by the sordid influences that control the few;

Who believe that only through the movement proposed can we obtain in the nation and the several States the legislation demanded by the modern industrial evolution; legislation which shall favor honest business and yet control the great agencies of modern business so as to insure their being used in the interest of the whole people; legislation which shall promote prosperity and at the same time secure

the better and more equitable diffusion of prosperity; legislation which shall promote the economic well being of the honest farmer, wageworker, professional man, and business man alike, but which shall at the same time strike in efficient fashion—and not pretend to strike—at the roots of privilege in the world of industry no less than in the world of politics;

Who believe that only this type of wise industrial evolution will avert industrial revolution;

Who believe that wholesome party government can come only if there is wholesome party management in a spirit of service to the whole country, and who hold that the commandment delivered at Sinai, "Thou Shalt Not Steal," applies to politics as well as to business;

To all in accord with these views a call is hereby issued by the provisional committee under the resolution of the massmeeting held in Chicago on June 22 last, to send, each State, a number of delegates whose votes in the convention shall count for as many votes as the State shall have Senators and Representatives in Congress, to meet in convention at Chicago on the 5th day of August, 1912, for the purpose of nominating candidates to be supported for the positions of President and Vice-President of the United States.

The foregoing call is signed by—

Oscar W. Hundley (Alabama); Dwight R. Heard (Arizona); Hiram W. Johnson, Chester H. Rowell, Charles S. Wheeler (California); Ben B. Lindsey (Colorado); Joseph W. Alsop, Flavel S. Luther (Connecticut); J. H. Gregory, Jr., H. L. Anderson (Florida); Julian Harris (Georgia); Edwin D. Lee, Horace C. Stillwell (Indiana); Medill McCormick, Chauncey Dewey, La Verne W. Noyes (Illinois); John L. Stevens (Iowa); Henry J. Allen (Kansas); Leslie Coombs (Kentucky); John M. Parker, Pearl Wight (Louisiana); Charles J. Bonaparte, E. C. Carrington, Jr. (Maryland); C. S. Bird, Matthew Hale (Massachusetts); Theodore M. Joslyn (Michigan); Milton D. Purdy (Minnesota); W. R. Nelson (Missouri); Joseph M. Dixon (Montana); Arthur G. Ray (Nebraska); W. J. Beattie (New Hampshire); Everett Colby, George L. Record, J. Franklin Fort (New Jersey); George Curry, Miguel A. Otero (New Mexico); W. A. Prendergast, Oscar S. Straus, Woods Hutchinson, Timothy L. Woodruff, Chauncey J. Hamlin, Henry L. Stoddard (New York); A. V. More (North Dakota); Henry W. Coe, L. W. McMahon (Oregon); James R. Garfield (Ohio); George L. Priestly (Oklahoma); E. A. Van Valkenburg, William Flinn, Gifford Pinchot, William Draper Lewis (Pennsylvania); Henry J. Doughty (Rhode Island); R. T. Vessey (South Dakota); George L. Taylor (Tennessee); Cecil A. Lyon (Texas); C. E. Loose (Utah); Charles H. Thompson, E. W. Gibson (Vermont); Thomas Lee Moore (Virginia); Miles Poindexter (Washington); M. O. Dawson (West Virginia); H. M. Cochems (Wisconsin); Joseph M. Carey (Wyoming).



It had been supposed that the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore would be a signal for abandoning the new party movement, and

this view had support from some of its leaders, including Governor Osborn of Michigan. "The issue is clearly joined for the people," said Governor Osborn on the 3rd; "it is Wall Street versus Wilson." The other view has had support from other leaders, including Mr. Roosevelt, who, on the same day said of Governor Osborn:

I did not expect to have his support. We are going to have some losses of this sort. Governor Hadley comes out for Taft, Governor Osborn for Wilson. Our plans will not be affected.

That statement was made last week by Mr. Roosevelt upon learning of Governor Osborn's declaration, and immediately after a conference at Oyster Bay with Senator Dixon, William Flinn, George W. Perkins, Frank A. Munsey and E. A. Van Valkenburg.



The Singletax Campaign in Missouri.

With the signatures of 30,000 Missouri voters attached, the Initiative petition for the Singletax amendment to the Missouri Constitution was filed with the Secretary of State of Missouri on the 1st. This places the amendment in position to be voted on at the State election in November next. [See current volume, page 603.]



Constitutional Amendments in Indiana.

By a decision of the Supreme Court of Indiana on the 5th, Constitutional amendments adopted by the legislature at its last session were held to have been adopted unconstitutionally. The legislature had undertaken to write them into the Constitution without reference to the people, and the court held that the right to alter the Constitution lies with the people and cannot be taken from them.



The Mexican Insurrection Fading Away.

The Federal army under General Huerta on the 3rd won a victory over the insurrectos in Bachimba canyon—the entrance through the northern mountains of Mexico to the chief insurrecto stronghold, the city of Chihuahua, lying forty miles farther north. On the following day General Orozco, with his insurrectos, withdrew northward; and after a brief stop at Chihuahua, continued to retreat, with Juarez and Guaymas as objective points, and a guerrilla warfare his program. The Federal troops entered Chihuahua on the 5th. [See current volume, page 638.]

NEWS NOTES

—The British official inquiry into the loss of the steamship Titanic, which opened on May 2, was concluded on the 3rd. The report of the court is ex-

pected in about ten days. [See current volume, page 443.]

—The bubonic plague has appeared in Cuba. [See current volume, pages 611, 640.]

—The most violent earthquake ever recorded in Alaska was reported from Fairbanks on the 7th. One man, foreman of a mine, was killed.

—Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker of Texas was elected president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at the San Francisco convention on the 4th.

—At an adjourned session of the Republican State convention of Ohio held on the 2nd, E. B. Dillon was nominated for Governor. [See current volume, page 563.]

—Twenty-one persons were killed and thirty injured on the afternoon of the 5th, when a double-header freight train on the Ligonier Valley Railroad crashed into the rear of a passenger train, near Ligonier, Pa.

—Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker of Denver, former President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, died on the 7th in San Francisco, following a sudden operation. Mrs. Decker was in attendance upon the biennial convention of the General Federation.

—Chairman Henry D. Clayton of the Committee on Judiciary of the House of Representatives presented on the 8th thirteen articles of impeachment against Judge Robert W. Archbald of the United States Court of Commerce. [See current volume, page 612.]

—George Wingfield declined on the 1st his appointment by Governor Oddie of Nevada as United States Senator to succeed the late George S. Nixon; and W. A. Massey, formerly chief justice of the State Supreme Court, was thereupon offered and accepted the appointment. [See current volume, p. 584.]

—The fifth series of the international Olympic games, now held every four years in some capital city, was opened at Stockholm, Sweden, on the 6th. Nearly 2,000 trained athletes from all over the world, including the Scandinavian women gymnasts, qualified for the contests. [See vol. xi, p. 371.]

—The new national flag, bearing 48 stars for the 48 States, was displayed on all Federal structures and on all ships of the American navy on the 4th, according to statute. It was announced from Washington that hereafter 13 stars only will be used on the blue square of flags that are less than 5 feet wide, to avoid overcrowding.

—The prize fight between Jack Johnson (the Negro who holds the heavyweight championship) and Jim Flynn, came off at Las Vegas, New Mexico, on the 4th. It was stopped while in progress by the police, but as Johnson then had the best of it, the decision was in his favor according to contract. [See current volume, page 38.]

—Mrs. Minnie Anderson Hale and Mrs. Georgia McIntire Weaver, of Atlanta, graduates of the Atlanta Law School in the class of 1911, having been refused permission to practice their profession in Georgia, are agitating for the enactment of a law conferring this right upon women. At its last session the legislature voted down a bill which had been introduced for that purpose.

—According to the Toronto Square Deal for June the following municipalities in the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, are under the Singletax for municipal purposes: Town, Biggar; Villages, Abernethy, Alask, Clenavon, Griffin, Hubbard, Ituna, Jansen, Kinistino, Laron, Maidstone City, Tisdale, Tantallon, Waseca, Windsthorst.

—Forty-one persons were killed and fifty to sixty injured in a rear-end collision on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, near Corning, New York, early on the 4th. An express train ran into the rear of an excursion train. The responsibility is laid upon the engineer of the express train who at the time of the opening of the official investigation on the 6th, was a nervous wreck.

—Owing to the general tendency to suppress fireworks on Independence Day, the casualties on the 4th were greatly diminished in comparison with previous years. In Chicago no one was killed and only 4 were injured, in contrast with 12 killed and 114 injured four years ago. In Boston the improvement was 0 to 4 killed and 4 to 51 injured; and in Cleveland it was 0 to 10 and 0 to 62. [See vol. xiv, p. 901.]

—Camorristi who have been on trial at Viterbo, Italy, for nearly two years, on charge of having committed a certain double murder in June, 1906, on the 8th were adjudged guilty in varying degrees. Eight men, including Enrico Alfano, known as "Erricone," the alleged leader of the Camorristi, were each sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment, followed by 10 years' police surveillance. Two men were condemned to ten and a half years', and one—a priest, Vitozzi—to seven years', and a number of others to five years' imprisonment, including subsequent police surveillance. The charges against the condemned included that of being members of a secret criminal organization. The sentences are regarded as effecting the final destruction of the once formidable and dreaded Camorra. The condemned men have appealed their cases.

PRESS OPINIONS

Reedy on Roosevelt.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), June 27.—It is my opinion that Theodore Roosevelt is done for, that his bolt will fizzle out. He didn't rise to the height of personal performance anticipated and he didn't make a bit of sacrifice for principle. After the people have had time to think about this they will not follow Roosevelt further. And Taft! Poor old Taft. His "friends" had to take him solely because they could not get Roosevelt to agree to anyone else. They would have nominated anybody Roosevelt would have agreed to, but himself, on Friday. . . . Was Roosevelt defrauded? To some extent. To another extent many of his contests were faked. Ah, but there was the Steam Roller! Sure! But who invented and perfected the Steam Roller in 1904? Theodore Roosevelt. There's never very much sympathy for long for the man hoist on his own petard or fallen in the pit he dugged for another. The people of this country are not ready to agree that the issue this year is

Roosevelt and his personal fortunes. They do not see that Roosevelt incarnates any policy, any programme against iniquities, other than vociferation.



Bryan at Baltimore.

The (South Bend, Ind.) New Era (dem.-Dem.), June 29.—There are, of course, men even among us who will denounce Bryan for what they call an attempt to boss the Democratic party, but his act has not been that of a boss. His only demand is that the Democratic party shall keep faith with itself and with the people.



Dubuque (Iowa) Telegraph-Herald (dem.-Dem.), June 28.—This newspaper happens to know that Mr. Bryan had it in mind a long time to make a speech, after three or four ballots were taken, designed to unite the Progressives on a particular candidate and thus secure his nomination. It is wholly credible that before deciding whom he should support he decided to put the several candidates to the acid test. He knew that the proposal to make Parker temporary chairman would present at once an issue between the Progressive and Reactionary wings of the party, and that the man who should fail to meet the test, by standing with the Progressives, was not the man for him to support with a speech in his behalf. Accordingly Mr. Bryan telegraphed several men, all of them mentioned as Presidential or Vice-Presidential possibilities, and of all those replying only one did not sidestep. He was Governor Wilson. . . . These lines are written before the convention has picked a nominee and seem pertinent at the moment as reminding of the political genius of Bryan, who found a way to "smoke out" all the candidates before picking his man.



The Oregon Daily Journal (ind.) June 28.—No more drastic proclamation was ever made by a convention in an effort to purge itself of taint. Except in the naming of a candidate, no act of the convention will do so much to assure the progressive forces of the country that Mr. Bryan has completely fumigated the delegates at Baltimore. Never has Mr. Bryan risen to such heights of leadership. Never was his power so complete, and his disciplining of his party so drastically applied. . . . This final mastery of a convention that on the opening day was packed, stacked, nailed down and barred against him is one of the most notable examples of leadership in American history. In executing his coup, Mr. Bryan has probably thrown away his excellent opportunity for being the nominee. But he is the greater for it. . . . He drove the money changers from the temple.



Johnstown Daily Democrat (dem.-Dem.) July 2.—Look closely at the man or the newspaper given to denouncing William Jennings Bryan and you will see that both bear the mark of the predatory interests. . . . Mr. Bryan is for principle first and party afterward. He knows, as do those accustomed to using their wits, that the same crowd which forced

the nomination of Taft at Chicago seeks to force its man upon the Democracy at Baltimore. He knows that the Democracy will die if it does not rid itself of this incubus. He knows that the interests seek to name at Baltimore the prototype of the man named at Chicago. And knowing these things he seeks to purge the Democratic party of these forces of evil. Naturally his stand is opposed by those who seek to emasculate the Democracy; who are endeavoring to insure the re-election of Mr. Taft through the prostitution of the Democratic party. For that reason the errand boys of privilege mock and revile Mr. Bryan. . . . But the people know. They are awakened to a knowledge of the fact that Mr. Bryan stands for what will benefit them, not the privileged classes.

☼
The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind.) July 1.—If Mr. Bryan never had done and never does anything else for the Democratic party, he has rendered incalculable service in placing the issue squarely before the convention and in setting the onus of boss rule and predatory control exactly where it belongs. We hope to see today the Baltimore convention so proceed as to purge the Democracy of any remote suspicion of alliance with these reactionary forces. The only way the Baltimore convention can do it is by nominating an out-and-out progressive; and that progressive is Woodrow Wilson.

☼
The (Ottawa, Ontario) Citizen (ind.) June 29.—In that remarkable resolution offered by Mr. Bryan at the Baltimore convention, and accepted by a two-thirds vote of the delegates, the clear division was drawn between the two antagonistic forces whose conflict has caused all the chaos and confusion at both Baltimore and Chicago, and puts the Democratic party fairly in line with the progressive.

☼
San Francisco Star (ind.)—Mr. Bryan gratefully realizes, as many of the rest of us do, that the People are in no mood to dally longer with those forces that make for a soulless plutocracy.

☼
Will Maupin's (Lincoln, Neb.) Weekly (ind.), July 5.—Whether or not you agree with Bryan; whether you coincide with his views on this or that; whether you stand for what he stands or oppose the things he stands for, you've got to admit that he is today the biggest single force in America—and that means that he is the biggest single force in the world. Bryan is big, not so much because he has a splendid brain, not so much because he is a deep thinker and a student, not so much because he is an orator without equal—it is because men know, whether they will admit it or not, that he is honest, incorruptible and always ready to fight for what he thinks is right regardless of its effect upon himself. Because of this belief in his moral character men instinctively follow him. And because of it he made the Baltimore convention stand true to Democracy as Bryan defines it, and prevented it from being turned over to special privilege, lock, stock and barrel.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GET TOGETHER!

For The Public.

Get together, Friends of Freedom, get together!
They are only brittle sticks that keep apart.
Oh, it's huddle for the flock in stormy weather;
But for earnest men and true, it's heart to heart!

Get together, Men of Visions, get together;
Help us find the way that's worthy of us all;
What though some have always worn a different
feather—
They are brothers who respond to brothers' call.

Get together, all Progressives, get together!
All who hate to see our country standing still.
Shall the progress of the world be held in tether?
Then, Progressives, get together with a will!

FREDERICK LEROY SARGENT.



THE TALE OF THE BALTIMORE FIGHT.

As Told by James W. Faulkner in Correspondence
of the Cincinnati Enquirer.

If any person pretending to the possession of knowledge gives it out oracularly that in the late fracas at Baltimore, Md., William Jennings Bryan was run over by a steam roller, had his tail feathers pulled out or lost his hold on the party, bet him one million dollars in pennies that he is full brother to the monkey of the jungles. It is true, possibly, that William lost the consideration and respect of certain politicians whose little game he blocked most beautifully, but it is not true that he lost anything else. And do not let any one, however high his brow may be, get away with the story that the bosses ran the convention. That is one of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt's hallucinations.

The politicians were like the celebrated pack of fox-hounds that a misguided man imported into a country infested with wolves. He took them out for a trial run and they disappeared in the timber. Whipping up, he followed the trail until he came to a cabin by the roadside in front of which sat a man with sandy chin-whiskers, who was meditatively smoking a corn-cob pipe.

"Neighbor," said the foxhunter, "Did you see anything of a pack of dogs around here?"

The smoker nodded.

"How were they doing?" asked the owner, with pardonable pride.

"Wa-al, it appeared to me they were a leetle bit ahead of the wolf," was the answer. And that's the way the bosses won at Baltimore. They nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson—after Bryan

was through with the job. 'The houn' dawgs, the Tammany Tiger and all the other forelooping animals of politics were the fox-hounds, and the Nebraskan was the wolf of the story.



The gentleman from Lincoln outmaneuvered the whole crowd of them. Like a first-class checker player, every time he lost a "man" he jumped two of their pieces and landed in the king row. When they started they had a majority of the convention, they had the machinery, the money, the crowds and the claue. When they finished he had everything they began with except the money. So deftly did he work his plays that all the money outside the United States Treasury couldn't have bought the nomination for one of the Twelve Apostles. The convention was clean in that respect, and he made it so. The gathering may have been noisy and rough at times, but it was on the level. His opponents fought hard, but he fought harder, and while they may be sore over his triumph, they certainly were impressed with his prowess.

His winning was simple enough in its methods. He appealed to the great mass of the Democratic voters outside the convention, while the leaders of the opposition were operating upon the thousand delegates within the hall. Reduced to ordinary arithmetic, he offset the thousand with the six million and a half voters. His tactics were bound to win in the end if he could get sufficient time. Enmeshed in their own foolish devices, they gave him more time than he needed. They seemed to forget that there was such a thing as the magnetic telegraph or the daily newspaper in existence. The limit of their field of operation was the city of Baltimore. His extended from ocean to ocean and from Canada to Mexico. Like the muscular party at Donnybrook Fair, with the blackthorn shillalagh, his work was "beeyoutiful." It showed what one plucky man with sense could do with a clutch of fat-headed politicians who were playing the game under the rules of 1860. It wasn't until the avalanche of indignant telegrams descended upon them, propelled by aroused sentiment at home, that they began to discern how skillfully he had trapped them.



To begin with, he knew every card they held in their hands when the game began, and they weren't aware of what he was holding. They thought he was a candidate for President—and he let them think so! To smoke him out they put up Judge Alton B. Parker for Chairman and chuckled. The Nebraskan sought out a private room and did a Highland fling in exceeding great joy. He had them. Reappearing with a face that resembled that of an undertaker at a \$500 funeral, he appeared to be very much concerned for the safety

of the Republic. In the language of the sporting world, they fell for it, and fell hard.

"Here's where we hang the binger on Bill," they chortled as they proceeded to push Parker over the line. Right then and there he won the game.

Inside of an hour the country was ringing with his declaration that the predatory interests were endeavoring to seize the high parliament of the Democracy and sell it into bondage to Wall street. Daringly enough, he singled out those two shocked persons, Thomas Fortune Ryan and August Belmont and used them as Exhibits A and B, respectively, to prove that the money devil and his imps were there in their proper persons. They were merely modest delegates, but William had them on exhibition in an entirely different guise. Inside of 12 hours the telegraph companies began to reap a golden harvest from the frightened Democrats "back home," who sent messages to their chosen representatives to resist with all their power this fiendish attempt to throttle liberty. If they couldn't see their way clear to do this, the messages said, they were requested to remain in Baltimore the rest of their days or run the risk of being tarred and feathered and carried on a rail if they dared to show their faces in Cohosh or where-soever they hailed from.



Just as they were breathing easier after the first batch of telegraphed indignation and peremptory orders, William delivered the second installment by offering his now memorable resolution, inviting Messrs. Ryan and Belmont to go away from there and pledging the party not to nominate any one who owed them money, marbles or chalk or who believed that they were otherwise than direct descendants of the Accuser of the Brethren. That finished them for all offensive purposes and then he landed the knockout or bacon-producing punch by leaving Hon. Champ Clark for having accepted the support of New York. They couldn't get away from his blows. Like the more or less punk pugilist who was receiver-general for a fine fusillade of wallops, "their feet stuttered." Hon. Champ fell exactly 1,000 feet and 6 inches straight down into oblivion, emitting loud cries as he whizzed bot-tomward. Now, Bryan was on to Clark's game for months and months. He was aware that there was a deal on right here in Ohio with the Harmon outfit which kept the Speaker's name off the preference primary ballot. The proof came when Clark came rushing over from Washington and in his rage demanded to know "why Ohio had not kept that agreement." What agreement? For an answer please address a postal card to the now closed Harmon headquarters here. Clark's action was water on his wheel. So was the blistering attack of John B. Stanchfield, of New York, referring to him as a lot of things that were extremely "un-nice." William simply smiled inscrutably.

Inside the convention hall John B. was hailed as a hero. Outside of it he was regarded by the now raging rank and file as a demon with pronged horns, a cloven hoof and a long and prehensile tail. General result: More telegrams in bunches, baskets and bales.



After that it was a cakewalk. The bosses whose heads were not completely swathed in adipose tissue began to take counsel with themselves. They were hearing the thunder and seeing the lightning. If there is anything the politician despises and fears it is getting caught out in a shower of popular indignation. Up went the umbrellas one by one, and one by one the bosses began scooting for shelter.

Like the penitent thief on the cross they sent word to Bryan to remember them when he came "into his kingdom." On the exterior they pretended to be brave, but on the interior their cowardly natures were at work. "Bryan or Wilson" was the ultimatum that the people were sending, and their teeth were chattering lest the chances to act would get away. They saw to it that it did not. There was a fine "bunk" play over "releasing delegates from their obligations." That was the slapstick number on the program. The fact was that the delegates were releasing themselves, and doing it, doing it, doing it. Each boss, bosslet and bossikin was watching the other so that there shouldn't be any advantage gained in hopping across the line. So all at once, on the forty-sixth ballot, Mr. Bryan, calmly fanning himself with an evening newspaper, watched with twinkling eyes the whole herd bolting through the gap in the fence he had opened. All the power of the bosses, all their tricks and all of their money had resulted in naught. One man with gumption and sand had whipped the entire gang. And that man laughed at them!



WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS.

From an Article by Theresa Hirschl Russell, which
Appeared in *The Coming Nation* of
May 25, 1912.

Across wide Collins street in Melbourne (which all loyal Victorians hold to be the handsomest street in the world), on a bright mid-summer day in February swung a banner illumined with these words: "Headquarters Australian Women's National League—Enroll Here."

I went in. The rooms of the headquarters were partly filled with a scattering of well-dressed women mainly occupied in drinking tea. One of these, carefully groomed and manicured, sat apart at a desk and seemed to occupy in informal fashion yet with an assured poise the position of presiding officer of the assemblage. She proved to be en-

tirely willing in gracious manner and modulated utterance to answer any inquiries in regard to the Australian Women's National League and I added to my store various information in regard to the scope, influence and statistical strength of the League. Then prompted by some inaccurate association of ideas, I asked:

"One of the members of your organization ran for parliament recently, did she not?"

Horror froze the gracious lady's face.

"Oh, no!" she stated coldly. "Our organization countenances nothing of that sort. We are quite opposed to a woman placing herself in any such position as that. There was a young woman who so far forgot her duty to her sex—her name, I think, was Miss Vida Goldstein—but she does not belong to our League. She belongs to the Women's Political Association, which is a different organization—*quite*."

She placed a distinct emphasis upon the word "quite."

Having naturally assumed that the members of the League were all sympathizers of woman's political activity I was taken aback.

"But are you not a political association? What is your position in the matter? Or do you believe in a woman's voting but not holding office?"

"The ballot," was the reply with dignity, as of one that should enlighten inexcusable ignorance, "was thrust upon us. That being the case we think it our duty to make the best possible use of it."

In view of the long and bitter struggle that had smoldered and raged in New Zealand and Australia before equal rights of citizenship were finally granted there, "thrust upon us" was an unexpected expression. The agitation for woman's rights began in those colonies as early as 1850 and grew from an unpopular and ridiculed cause, whose little band of devoted adherents were jeered at for years and regarded as fanatics, to a great, popular and compelling movement which in 1893 reached its first successful culmination. In that year the Upper House of New Zealand, in response to persistent petition finally passed by two votes a measure that had been repeatedly defeated conferring equal rights of citizenship upon men and women. And only after successive bitter struggles and arduous campaigns did the women of the various Australian states gain similar political rights.

So "thrust upon us" seemed scarcely the term that an accurate historian would employ. But I was gaining information.

"And may one ask what in your opinion is the best possible use to make of the ballot?"

"To be sure." The well-dressed lady's graciousness was entirely restored by my assuming humility. "Here is a copy of our Aims and Objects, which may interest you."

She gave me a pamphlet in which I read the

four objects of the League, which were as follows:

1. To support loyalty to the throne.
2. To combat state Socialism.
3. To educate women in politics.
4. To protect the purity of the home.

"Moreover I shall confide to you that unless the women of our class—the better class of course you understand—awake to a sense of their responsibilities and duties in this matter women's suffrage will become the greatest curse that ever befell Australia."

"You surprise me," I said. "Will you tell me how?"

"It has doubled the labor vote," announced the well-dressed lady with fearsome solemnity. "The labor women all vote as a body and never fail to go to the polls, whereas our ladies—you know how it is with them. They have a bridge one afternoon and a luncheon or theater another and do not always find it convenient to enroll and vote. But unless they awaken soon to the peril that confronts us all and rally to the protection of their husbands and fathers it will be too late.

"You are a stranger in Australia and doubtless do not realize the political situation here. But this labor party with which we are afflicted is the most arbitrary and radical of bodies and they initiate the most unreasonable legislation! Think what this iniquitous land tax means for instance to persons in our position!"

By "the iniquitous land tax" she meant a pending measure designed to return to the state a small percentage of the unearned increment upon which the colossal Australian fortunes are mainly founded. To one that acquires some information concerning the huge estates which the tax is designed to reach, concern in regard to its probable passing may perhaps be not so keenly sympathetic as might be desired.

In the state of Victoria eight families own nearly two and half million acres of which but eight thousand are under cultivation. The rest are used for sheep runs or, like the great landed estates of England, are, with appalling selfishness, kept closed for hunting purposes. In Queensland one estate amounts to 250,000 acres, and such figures may be repeated throughout the commonwealth. Against these conditions the labor party has agitated for a Henry George land tax that would break up these unused estates and open the country to settlers.

In this lady's speech and in the literature of the League that she dispensed were frequent and bitter reference to the labor government. To the uninitiated I may explain that since April, 1910, the Federal government of Australia has been in the hands of the labor or radical party. The political sympathies of the ladies of the National League are with the opposition or liberal (in reality conservative) party. In a somewhat ingenuous monthly publication in which the members of the

League set forth their political views such unexpected statements as the following may be found, intended as an argument against a proposed extension of the powers of the Federal (labor) government:

"Government from one center is undemocratic and tyrannical and would paralyze all local enterprise and the healthy competition so necessary to the progress and development of Australia. America, with an area rather less than Australia, has forty-six state parliaments and six provinces."

* * * * *

It is a curious fact that in the United States today arguments for and against woman's enfranchisement still partake so largely of generalities of sentiment and of what Mark Twain calls the "easy form of prophecy." While we are still engaged in this conflict of abstractions two English-speaking countries, remote from us in miles, but not in civilization, might furnish the practical demonstration of experience.

In Australia and New Zealand theorizing about woman's suffrage is extinct as the dodo. In these countries everybody knows the practical results and can hardly believe that the rest of the world is unaware of them. "A woman's place is the home" or "unsexing womankind," as the subject of an argument against woman's suffrage, would awaken in the average Australian or New Zealander today as much amazement as a proposed discussion of the propriety of a woman's appearing in public with unveiled features.

In New Zealand women have voted now for nearly twenty years. In Australia the Federal ballot was bestowed upon them by the first Federal parliament which convened when the six Australian states were united into the Australian commonwealth on January 1, 1900. The separate states conferred equal political rights at separate dates beginning with South Australia in 1894 and ending with Victoria, whose capital is Melbourne, which grudgingly and belatedly yielded women the ballot in 1908.

Contrary to prediction, in Australasia at least during this period of their enfranchisement, women are proving to be as an electorate more radical than men. They are on the whole less bound by tradition and the sacred rights of property when these conflict with human rights, less ready to continue to tolerate oppression and injustice merely because they have become sanctioned by the ages.

While the female electorate can scarcely in any case be said to vote as a unit they have undoubtedly been largely instrumental in both Australia and New Zealand in the passing of various acts protecting women and children and looking to the removal of those sex disabilities under whose injustice, through the inheritance of barbarous English laws, the sex has labored for centuries.

The majority of them have supported also the various progressive and humanitarian measures,

initiated by the labor government, such as workmen's compensation, old age pensions, the minimum wage law and other measures bettering the hard conditions of labor in mines and factories, in respect to which these antipodal countries have advanced beyond other nations and far beyond the United States.

Inadvertently, in the Australian Women's National League, whose consistent policy is one of obstruction to any measures that the labor party may initiate, I had stumbled upon the only real element of opposition to woman's suffrage and the only reservations concerning its merits still to be found in Australia. Elsewhere it operates there today with general approval and with as little comment as any other taken-for-granted part of the established social order. In the headquarters of the Women's Political Association, the organization of which Miss Goldstein is the honored president, were to be found a different attitude and point of view—*quite*.

This is a large and influential body of women who by no means feel that the ballot was thrust upon them. They gladly avail themselves of its power to support further radical legislation and have as one of the planks in their platform the support of international women's suffrage. . . .

In both Australia and New Zealand the right of a woman to a voice in governmental affairs is today so much an established fact that it is a shock to her conventions to be reminded of countries where her sex is still without it. I recall the complete astonishment of a certain motherly, white-haired lady of Melbourne when I reminded her that this was the case in my own country. Her son, a man of most advanced and democratic sympathies, has recently attained a position in the ministry and her unflagging interest in his career has been both sympathetic and intelligent.

"Women do not vote in America? That is very strange! I thought America was such an up-to-date and progressive country! Why do not women vote there?"

Which was a question I could not answer.



LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 6. The Ranger Women. For The Public.

It was an eventful day in early September, up in the Sierras. Four forest rangers were in the brush, fighting fire, and trying to keep it out of the tall timber. They had at last corralled this fire, as they believed, and now they knew that they were desperately tired and hungry. They gathered close together for a word of good cheer. The leader said: "One more round, boys, and then two of us can sleep, one can go for grub and one can ride the fire line all night."

Even as he spoke, came a mighty whirl-wind out of the dusky distances of far off peaks, and, sweeping over them, drove the fire which they had thought safe, clear outside the fire line in three places.

Instantly roused, forgetting hunger and fatigue, and fresh as when they had begun twelve hours before, the rangers sprang to their conflict with all the wild ardor of Berserkers, and began to make new fire lines. For five hours they charged the enemy, fighting a battle against tremendous odds that deserved far higher rank in the story of Human Endeavor than many a Sedan or Waterloo.

Suddenly they came to the crisis of fate. They had hemmed in, and so conquered two of the three outbreaks; then they found a rock-walled canyon, with new fire leaping up each side, east as well as west. But the four forest rangers were all on the east side!

"Two of us must get across, somehow," said the leader. "The head of this canyon is miles away. If we can't hit both sides at once, we shall lose thousands of acres of pine."

"That's right, Jack," replied one. "Hank and I can slide down them hot rocks. But seems to me some one is checkin' up that fire on the other side."

"Better get over, quick as you can, and help them," said the leader. The two rangers instantly began to let themselves down from ledge to ledge; Jack and Bill, the two remaining rangers, tackled their half of the campaign.

An hour passed; black smoke began to roll up from both sides of the canyon, and at last the circling fire-fighters stood on points of rock at the cliff's edge, and looked across. Three persons were on the western side, flushed with victory, and one was a woman!

"Bully!" the leader cried; "it's Bill's wife! Hurrah for the ranger women! God bless them forever!" They waved their hats and cheered, for they knew now that it was one of their own mountain women who had ridden to the fire, and had "corralled" it, by cutting a new fire-line, and by "back-firing."

"I don't see why you ranger women work so hard. You don't draw any salary from the Government," a lady from the nearest city had once said. "Bill's wife" had replied: "Because we are all of us interested in saving the forests for the American people. Also, if you please, because up here, in this work, we are all traveling along together!" And then the nicely groomed townswoman, who was not a bad sort at bottom, suddenly leaned over and put her arms about this plain, middle-aged, over-worked mountain woman, "Bill's wife," the mother of six children, and "Aunt" by brevet to about forty more.

"That's bigger," she acknowledged, "than my forty-foot lot, my picket fence, and my canary bird in the window."

But this is an aside. Meanwhile, Bill and "Bill's wife" were looking at each other across the chasm. Hank and another ranger had crossed it in the excitement of the fire-battle, but now it appeared a little beyond the possible.

"Hungry, boys?" Bill's wife called out.

"Starved," Bill replied. "Hope to die if I ain't. Thirty hours without grub."

"It's coming!" she answered. "Jack's wife is on the road with a pack mule. Then you will find some way to get half of it over here. Better start your camp-fires for coffee."

In a few minutes more "Jack's wife" rode into the open space, over smoking logs and embers, leading a pack-mule, and "all went merry as a marriage bell." They managed to get a share of the dinner over to the other side; then, camping on the edges, the six forest-workers made a picnic of it. Pretty soon two of the rangers would be sleeping, and two would be "riding fire-lines," while the two ranger women would go home, and try to send more help to the mountaineers. But just now they were only a bunch of merry people, who teased the one unmarried ranger, and urged him to "go and look for a nice pink sunbonnet," and, as Bill's wife sung out, "We want another mountain woman for a sister, who isn't afraid to be left in camp, and who can tackle the work as it comes along."

And the blushing young ranger, fresh from that desperate struggle to save the forests, felt to his inmost soul the comradeship of those strong men and women. He knew—though he could not have expressed it in words—that under the pink sunbonnet, dear to his dreams but as yet undiscovered, there must be the face of a loving and eager fellow-toiler.

Soon the ranger wives rode home together, talking of children, of the daily problems of life, and of other ranger women, far and wide through all that great mountain land, who were close-knit in the joys of the great fellowship of love-service. They spoke, too, of still other women who were helping their husbands carry on shake-camps, and little saw mills, and rugged cattle-ranges, and newly-broken mountain farms.

Then, as they came to the parting of their trails and each went her separate way, the two women, led by that mysterious evolution of thought from thought out of which in due season all creative impulses arise—were impelled to a sudden self-acknowledgment of their own exceeding great happiness.

A latter-day philosopher of Abstruse Things would only have seen two women, plainly clad, riding homeward by separate trails. But their faces shone, and in their hearts was the sense of belonging to their mountains, to their fellow-mortals, and to the work of their hour. And each of them said to herself: "We ranger people are like one big family, all traveling on and on through

the years." Then, thinking still further, they said: "Everyone will be like that before this old earth stops moving." So they rode home, put the horses in the pasture, cooked supper, and slid the children into bed. Then they mended ranger socks, wrote letters to friends, read something light and foolish, and went to sleep beside their babes.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



JANE.

For The Public.

A suffragette she is, of course,
Yet just as winsome as can be.
Who gets her need not fear divorce.
By George, she's near sublimity!

She rows, she rides, she aviates—
In short, she does most everything.
I'd like to bribe the sister Fateq
To make her wear my wedding ring.

I'd like to have her to myself,
To cirony with me in my den,
Debating politics and pelf—
The ways of guinea-pigs and men.

I heard her talk the other day,
While strolling down the shady strand,
Of "unearned increments," and, say,
She handled that to "beat the band."

She knows her Henry George by heart,
She quotes him on his complex laws;
She handles "interest laws" with art,
With ease dissects "effect and cause."

And yet, withal, she takes a steak
And flips it in the frying pan—
Concocts a meal that sure would make
Most glad the soul of any man.

If suffragettes are all like Jane
Let's not restrain them from the vote.
Perhaps, for me she would campaign;
For her, I know, I'd "change my coat."

ROYD EASTWOOD MORRISON.

BOOKS

THE CO-ORDINATE WOMAN.

Woman and Labor. By Olive Schreiner. Published by Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.25 net.

Here and there is a woman, faithful lover of liberty and justice, socially and mentally apt for leadership, still never enlisted among the suffragists—a woman who regards the franchise as her birthright and its withholding from her a stupid political blunder, who yet will not be persuaded to work in suffrage organizations. Why is this? What restrains her? The reasons of

such a woman are not meaningless nor her scruples to be ignored.

Two answers she makes, which underneath are one.

First, she feels that the active woman suffragists in their arguments and methods seem often to forget the subtle oneness of man with woman in racial purpose; that the comradeship of men and women as intimate co-workers, and their vital, harmonious happiness as friends, is in many suffrage speeches rudely disregarded. To her the suffragists appear often to speak *against* men instead of *to* citizens, to assail as enemies those who are merely inattentive friends—and in the good-natured lack of resentment on the part of the men when attacked, she finds evidence of this latent friendliness.

Secondly, this woman's ideal of democracy is frequently offended by the actions and alliances of suffrage organizations. In her eyes the development of the race is a climb toward democracy, political and industrial democracy. Woman's voting is only one of the fundamentals and can not be put foremost in all communities nor at all times in any community without displacing some greater cause. It may be of more moment to democracy at a crisis for the women to cooperate with the men in broadening a limited franchise than to get for themselves that narrow one.

The franchise is only a means to an end, a tool for the builder. The architect's plan must be kept in mind. Direct legislation, land values taxation, free trade, some other step toward political and industrial democracy, might rightly take temporary precedence of woman's suffrage.

That the "anti-man" suffragists are dying out may be said with much truth. But the most modern of "votes-for-women" meetings seldom closes without several wrong twists being given to the suffrage arguments—twists which are more or less subtly antagonistic to men and to democracy.

The practical reason why women should vote is the everlasting, democratic reason. The whole people will rule better than any part of the people whatsoever. It is not that women can do better than men have done; but that women *and* men can do better than men alone. It is not because women know more or are better than men; but because men and women together know more and are better than either men, or women alone.

For this woman aloof—for her especially, and she will know it—a book has been written, a book which speaks not only to her, but for her to those who misunderstand. A brilliant woman, spiritual, profound, far-seeing, has spoken her thoughts on the "woman question," on woman's share in human labor and the progress of the race. In Olive Schreiner's eloquent sentences there breathes the same big quietness as in the silence of her spiritual sister, this woman who brooks no

severance of truth from love, or mother from father, and sacrifices no one little note in the human harmony.

Olive Schreiner's whole book, "Woman and Labor," is a powerful sermon on the essential unity of mankind, on the everlasting co-ordination in soul and mind and body, in economics and politics and religion, of man and woman. Together in the great onward march of the race, they must keep step or together lose place. Together must they meet every obstacle and triumph over it in mutual freedom.

Half the book is given over to the study of a spiritual disease which has come upon the woman of modern times—a disease insidious, deadly to her and through her to the race—Parasitism. Mechanical invention and organization have stolen the home industries from the rich and middle-class woman, and nothing has taken their place.

If woman is content to leave to the male all labor in the new and important fields which are rapidly opening before the human race; if, as the old forms of domestic labor slip from her forever and inevitably, she does not grasp the new, it is inevitable, that, ultimately, not merely a class, but the whole bodies of females in civilized societies, must sink into a state of more or less absolute dependence on their sexual functions alone.

Against this great danger is arrayed the woman's movement of our day:

Slowly and unconsciously, as the child is shaped in the womb, this movement shapes itself in the bosom of our time, taking its place beside those vast human developments, of which men, noticing their spontaneity and the co-ordination of their parts, have said, in the phraseology of old days, "This thing is not of man, but of God."

Vital racial necessity demands that woman shall "take all labor for her province." What of her abilities? Is she fit? In two chapters, perhaps the strongest of the book, one on "Woman and War," the other on "Sex Differences"—Olive Schreiner makes no uncertain answer to this doubt and states her conclusions thus:

We, to-day, take all labor for our province! We seek to enter the non-sexual fields of intellectual or physical toil, because we are unable to see to-day, with regard to them, any dividing wall raised by sex which excludes us from them. We are yet equally determined to enter those in which sex does play its part, because it is here that woman, the bearer of the race, must stand side by side with man, the begetter; if a completed human wisdom, an insight that misses no aspect of human life, and an activity that is in harmony with the entire knowledge and the entire instinct of the human race is to exist. It is here that the man cannot act for the woman nor the woman for the man; but both must interact. It is here that each sexual half of the race, so closely and indistinguishably blended elsewhere, has its own distinct contribution to make to the sum total of human knowledge and human wisdom.

The closing chapter, answering "Some Ob-

jections," dwells again on the deep truth which is the text of the author's sermon: The universal interdependence of man and woman and the irresistible power of their partnership.

We have called the woman's movement of our age an endeavor on the part of women among modern civilized races to find new fields of labor as the old slip from them, as an attempt to escape from parasitism and an inactive dependence upon sex function alone; but, viewed from another side, the woman's movement might not less justly be called a part of a great movement of the sexes towards each other, a movement towards common occupations, common interests, common ideals, and an emotional tenderness and sympathy between the sexes more deeply founded and more indestructible than any the world has yet seen.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PERIODICALS

The Metropolitan Magazine.

For his June number the editor of the Metropolitan Magazine (286 Fifth Avenue, New York) writes a full-page editorial for Socialism; and Morris Hillquit introduces his series of six articles on "Socialism Up To Date."

A. L. G.



From Susan Look Avery.

"In all the great work of the world woman has her place, working side by side with man, for the common good of humanity. Not doing man's work, but her own—each the complement of the other," wrote Susan Look Avery in her letter of greeting to the Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs as one of their Honorary Vice-Presidents. Mrs. Avery's message and portrait and those of many other representative American women, are published in the General Federation Bulletin (Troy, N. Y.) for June.

A. L. G.



The Spanish Singletaxer.

The Spanish Single Taxer for June finishes the printing of Henry George's address, "Thou Shalt not Steal," and of Mr. Baldomero Argente's article on the suppression of the tax on consumption with the substitution of a tax on leases and freeholds, as proposed for Madrid. The writer shows that this change offers no relief to the poor—that it merely shifts the burden from one shoulder to another; and he advocates the Singletax as the only way out. An editorial on "Spanish Traditions" tells of the almost constant opposition to private property in land since the introduction of that system by the Romans, and contains a biographical review of a dozen authors who have written in condemnation of the system.

C. L. LOGAN.



The French Singletax Review.

"La Revue de L'Impot Unique" completed its first year with the June number. The occasion was

signalized by a visit to Paris from Joseph Fels. The godfather of the Singletax movement was present at a meeting of the French League on June 3, and spoke on his favorite theme, "How to Get Rich Without Working." From Paris he proceeded to Denmark, Sweden and Norway to fulfill his mission of converting Christians to Christianity! The Review, in the present issue, returns to a consideration of the position of the peasant proprietor in France, in the light of the investigations of Mr. Toubeau, who found that only one-tenth of the fifty million hectares* of agricultural land was thus owned, by two million individuals. The great bulk of it has passed into large holdings. The result is that three-quarters of the peasantry are excluded from land ownership; and the rest are so heavily in debt that Mr. Toubeau describes them as owners of the rags that cover them. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the soil is very imperfectly cultivated, five million hectares being untilled, and 25 million hectares in all being practically unproductive. In general the present system of land tenure encourages parasitism and usury, prevents intensive cultivation, makes for high prices, low wages, unemployment, waste land and a dwindling population. The tiller of the soil in Great Britain has shown a ready comprehension of the land question, and there is no reason to suppose that the French peasant will be slow to grasp the principle of reform. The military madness retards advance in every country. It offers emoluments and privileges to the same classes who profit by private land ownership. In both instances the people are exploited for the benefit of certain people. France, like her sister nations, has to learn that in the future "there will be no room for the false glory of arms—but rather for the true glory of human thought and action." The French League will begin its second year with enlarged activities. It will undertake the publication and distribution of pamphlets bearing on the land question, and promises a new edition of the French text of "Progress and Poverty" within a few months.

F. W. GARRISON.

*A hectare is equivalent to nearly 2½ acres.—Editors of The Public.



Candidate—"Pretty baby!"

Baby—"No, you needn't kiss me until you have saved me."—New York Sun.



"I insisted on a sane Fourth of July this year."

"How did the children like the plan?"

"They didn't seem to mind it, but their father acted as though he had missed a lot of fun."—Detroit Free Press.

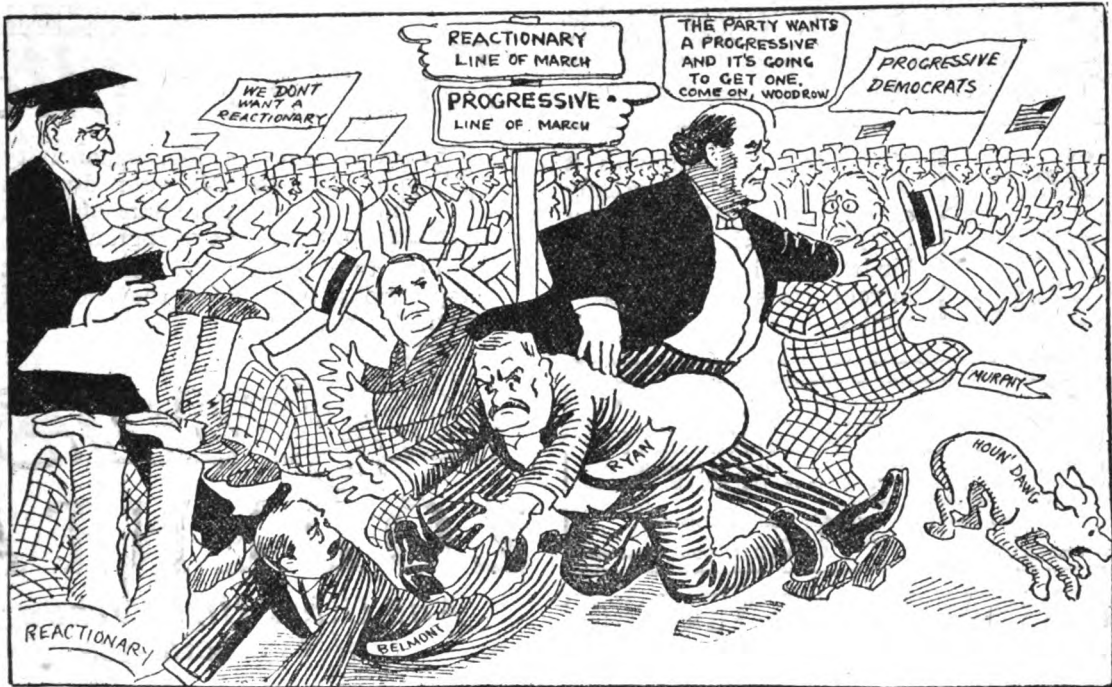


It was a Washington woman, angry because the authorities had closed the woman's rest-room in the Senate office building, who burst out: "It is almost as if the Senate had hurled its glove into the teeth of the advancing wave that is sounding the clarion of equal rights."—Independent.

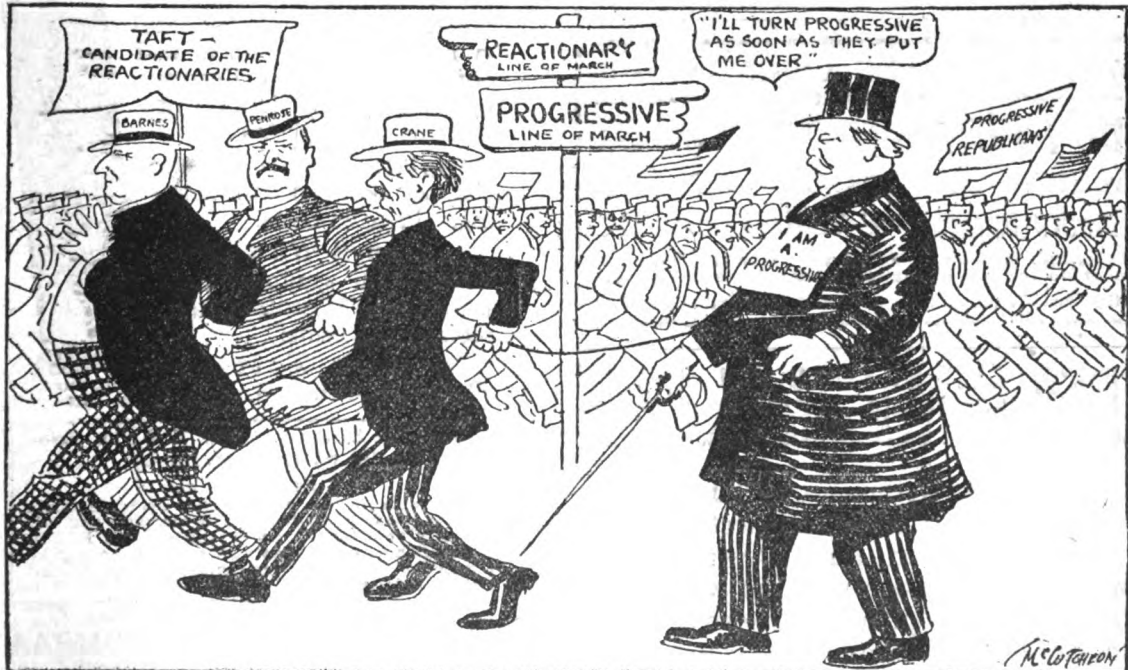
THE DEMOCRATIC AND THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

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—the unprincipled performance we had in Chicago.

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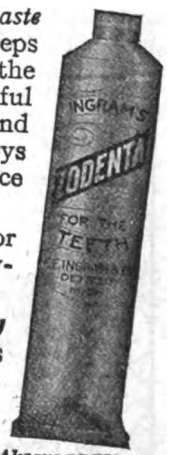
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