

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Class War at San Diego.

For nearly half a year a bitter class war has raged at the city of San Diego in southern California. Its local and immediate merits have been difficult to determine, principally because, as with all such disturbances, there are merits and culpabilities on both sides, and partisanship discolors every fact. With the aid, however, of the impartial report made to Governor Johnson by his special commissioner, Colonel Weinstock,\* together with the light to be had from more general information regarding industrial conditions and tendencies, the San Diego disturbance may be seen to be an accidental and temporary localization, somewhat beyond the ordinary as yet in severity, of a war between classes that promises to become rapidly more general in this country as well as elsewhere. The situation is one which unjust industrial conditions naturally produce, and which is as naturally inflamed by provocative conduct in embittered classes with reference to each other.



The San Diego battle in this war of classes, is explained as springing out of an attempt by the local propertied class, through the local authorities, to suppress local freedom of speech. In that explanation there are elements of both truth and error. The city authorities did exclude a geographical area from street speaking. But this they

\*See The Public of May 31, 1912, at page 512.

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had a right to do. This it was their duty to do, if street speaking within that area interfered with its uses as a thoroughfare. Probably, though, protection of the thoroughfare was not their reason. The evidence indicates that the exclusion, although it applied to all speaking, was made only for the purpose of preventing speeches by speakers of a certain industrial class; and part of that evidence is the ultimate prevention, in the most lawless fashion, of speaking by this class anywhere in the city. In extenuation it is argued that these speeches were offensive to public decency and designed to provoke rioting, which may very likely be true; but there are laws to punish that kind of public disorder (as there ought to be; hearers as well as speakers have rights), and arbitrary prohibition of speaking is not one of those laws. This point need be followed no further, however, for the withdrawal of a small thoroughfare-area from street speaking—curable in this instance by referendum, by the way, if it was despotic—was not necessarily a prohibition of free speech; and while violations of the restrictive ordinance sufficient to test its validity by due process of law would have been entirely justifiable, there could hardly be any excuse for the persistent defiance of it that is reported from San Diego.



That this defiance was in the nature of war is a fair inference from all the circumstances, and that inference is confirmed by general information regarding "direct action" in behalf of the labor side in the class-struggle. Party socialists treat the class struggle as a war with ballots and through peaceable parliamentary processes; be they wise or not in their purposes, then, they are in their method clearly within their rights as American citizens, and whoever uses force against them, whether with physical weapons or judicial decrees, is himself the kind of "anarchist" he charges them with being. But all who regard the class struggle as a war to be fought with violence, and act accordingly, are not within their rights as American citizens nor as members of American society. Their right, simply as men and women, to declare actual physical war against society, or any class of society, in the United States or elsewhere, may be recognized as a primitive right; but in that case the antithetical primitive right must also be recognized. No one can be patiently heard in one breath to declare physical warfare against the law, and in the next to appeal to the law for protection in their warfare of violence against it. When men declare war they renounce civil rights; "the law speaks too

softly to be heard in the noise of war." There can be no lawless warfare in which only one side does the lawless fighting. If, then, public speech is used to advocate a system of lawless violence, why should the guarantees of free speech be invoked for such speakers? Certainly not for their own sake. Law and order, of which free speech is an essential element, is to be maintained under all circumstances, but not for the sake of its wilful disturbers on either side. It is to be maintained for the sake of social progress and the benefit of the community as a whole.



San Diego affords a significant warning. The outbreak there on the labor side has been of the "direct action" spirit in that element of the working class everywhere, which, feeling acutely the injustice of industrial conditions, is at fever heat for violent revolt. Widely advertised opportunities for work have brought to the Pacific Coast three workers for every possible job. This relative inadequacy of jobs has begun to make prospective fortunes for another class, and the fighting blood of that class rises to fever heat as recklessly at interferences with anticipated plunder as does the blood of the working class under economic pressure. In those circumstances the situation at San Diego is symptomatic of a general industrial condition. Rightly or wrongly, the property class interfered with street speaking. Rightly or wrongly there was resistance. Some of the property class thereupon became the wild beasts for which that class has in all ages been notable whenever privileges of labor-exploitation have been menaced. Consequently outrages have been perpetrated in San Diego in utter defiance of law, many of them in shameless disregard of human decency, yet in the name—save the mark!—of "law and order"; and not only perpetrated, but perpetrated by "good" citizens, applauded by "good" newspapers and commended by "good" business organizations. Lawlessness from such sources does more to bring on social chaos than lawlessness from any other.



Unless some of the respectable men are punished for their share in those outrages—worse by far than any with which they charge the labor violence agitators with even intending,—where is the fairness or the wisdom of passing laws or enforcing laws against labor violence? Does not such conduct, if it goes unpunished, tend to prove that labor violence agitators are more or less right in their accusations? This is not, however, the only

lesson of the San Diego affair. It is indeed an admonition to the truly law-abiding citizens of this country to see to it that plutocratic criminals feel "the halter draw" under laws that profess no respect for classes; but it is also an admonition to the "direct action" elements of the labor movement—be they "socialists" or "anarchists," or "syndicalists," or just "labor sluggers,"—that their war policy is calculated to let loose plutocratic dogs of war who, let them once taste blood, will have a raging thirst for it. Greatest of all dangers, though—a danger to the best interests of everyone—is, that out of a general struggle between these two classes, such as the San Diego affair exemplifies on a small scale, hopeless reaction may spring and an interminable period of upper class despotism and industrial exploitation come on.



### Wanting the Earth and Getting It.

A feature of California news noted recently by the Sacramento Bee is "the marked and universal activity of the electric power companies." Similar activity may be noted almost anywhere else where there is water power not yet monopolized or power companies not yet consolidated. What the Bee says on the subject with reference to California should be pondered wherever there is an American citizen with enough patriotism in his soul to inspire him to do anything more patriotic than kiss a flag or let off a fire cracker. "This activity of the companies," says the Bee, "together with the location of open power sites and water rights—presumably by agents of these companies—must bring to the realization of the people two important facts: That this great force for industrial development is fast being controlled by large syndicates which will dominate everything as soon as competition can be eliminated on the lines of a secret or open merger, and that electric power has become a necessity in many of the productive occupations. . . . The electricity which is bringing wealth to power corporations comes from the utilization of resources which the people have allowed to be snatched from their ownership and control. It places in the hands of those companies a scepter which may be swayed at any time against public and industrial interests." And when you think of it, there is more than water-power sites and electrical distribution involved. Mineral deposits, railroad rights of way, terminal facilities, building sites, farm sites—all monopolized—and yet we wonder innocently at the growing pressure of industrial problems.

### "For He Was a Judge, and a Good Judge, Too!"

Hanford of Seattle\* is not the only occupant of the bench in Seattle who fits into that comic opera jingle. Judge Frater is reported to be another. According to the Seattle "P-I" of May 23rd, he instructed 23 men the day before, men "just admitted to citizenship in the American Republic, that when they took the oath of allegiance, and swore to support and defend the law and Constitution of the United States they were not carrying out their oaths if they went out of the court room and began a campaign to change the laws and Constitution of the country." How is that for judge-made law? This astute judge, like Judge Hanford, doesn't appear to regard the amendatory clauses of the Constitution as part of the Constitution. That there may be no lingering doubt of his comical idiocy in that respect, he goes on, according to the "P-I," to explain to those 23 neophytes, thus: "You take a strong oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States; now, if you are going out to try to change it at once, you are not supporting it." Judge Frater or Judge Hanford or some other judicial Constitution-tinker ought to instruct applicants for naturalization—and the rest of mankind—at what point of time in a career of American citizenship the American citizen may Constitutionally avail himself of the Constitutional permission to try to amend the Constitution. Its venerated framers neglected to specify a time limit.



### A Municipal Newspaper.

The Los Angeles "Municipal News" is demonstrating the feasibility of "a newspaper owned by the people." This paper is owned by the City of Los Angeles, it is published by the City of Los Angeles, it is edited officially by public servants of the City of Los Angeles, it sells for one cent a copy, and it is not a mere city record but is a genuine city newspaper. Taking for its motto "City business is your business," it keeps the public informed, in interesting journalistic style, of what they need to know and want to know. There is no suppression or discoloration, nor yet any editorial one-sidedness. So far as news is concerned, the facts are presented intelligently and fairly; so far as opinions are concerned, every side of a question is given its hearing, and every local political party has accorded it editorial space for its own authorized editorial writer. The policy of this paper was well illustrated in the issue

\*See The Public of May 17, page 460.

of May 22nd in connection with a pending election on six Initiative and Referendum questions to be voted upon the following week. Under large and lucid headlines, each was succinctly stated and explained in good newspaper type after this manner:

The fourth question is on the ballot because the Los Angeles railway and the Pacific Electric railway procured a referendum on it. They oppose it because it seeks to investigate their books and accounts, appraise their physical property and fix and regulate rates. The ordinance was proposed by the Municipal League, but the only argument on the question sent out with the sample ballots is one against the measure, in red ink, by the traction companies and bearing their signatures.

This measure, by the way, was overwhelmingly carried on the 28th. Whether or not the Los Angeles News justifies Professor Ross's ideal of an endowed general newspaper, it justifies the municipal experiment in Los Angeles sufficiently to make it the duty of other municipalities to take the question of "following suit" into early and serious consideration.



#### James A. Rose.

Citizens who have had occasion to do business in recent years with the office of Secretary of State of Illinois will be reminded by the death of James A. Rose, who had held the office a long time, of a public office efficiently, conscientiously and courteously administered.



### SWAMPLAND RECLAMATION.

One of the latest as well as most promising schemes for boosting Federal expenditures, is the swamp land reclamation project, as set forth by the National Drainage Congress at its recent meeting in New Orleans.

It was an enthusiastic meeting of earnest and purposeful men and women, and their object was in the main commendable; but one could not but marvel at the steadiness of their gaze towards Uncle Sam's strong box.



Admitting their contention that there are in the United States 74,500,000 acres of swamp lands, and granting that these lands are very fertile, still one may balk at the deduction that it is the duty of the Federal government to drain these lands for the benefit of private owners.

Were it public land it would be a different matter, for then the selling price might be made to include the expense of the work. Or, even if it

were proposed to assess the cost upon the owners of the lands benefited, there would be no objection.

But to propose to confer this great value upon the owners of swamp lands at the expense of those who do not own swamp lands—what shall we say?

As if to still further complicate this point of ethics, the drainage of swamp lands of the Mississippi Valley is to be made part of a scheme to create a navigable channel in the Mississippi River and its tributaries.\* Particular point is given to this feature at the present moment by the floods that are now overflowing the lands that have been drained. The cry is raised that this is a national question; that the Mississippi river is a national river, draining more than half the States of the Union, and should not, therefore, be allowed to run riot through the alluvial lands of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee—not to mention Little Egypt.



The control of the Mississippi River has been a vexatious problem.

From 1840 to 1880 steamboat interests on the river were so great that the Federal authorities made some effort to improve the channel. At the same time the planters in the low lands threw up small levees along the water front to keep out the extreme high water. A levee of three or four feet was sufficient in the early days; but with the clearing of the northern forests and the draining of the farm lands, the spring freshets gradually increased, which necessitated higher and higher levees, until now embankments twenty feet high and a hundred feet wide at the base may be seen.

The owners of the lands fronting on the river were unable to bear this increasing burden, so levee districts were created. By means of special taxes in these districts, a dollar a bale on cotton, etc., the necessary funds were found. The theory upon which this work proceeded was that if the river could be kept within its banks the current would scour out a channel deep enough to carry off all the water.

Unfortunately the swift current scoured the sides as well as the bottom of the river, and the caving banks ate into the levees erected by the planters. This united the levee boards and the Federal authorities in an effort to hold the banks; that is, the levee boards agreed to the necessity, and the Federal authorities did the work. Then followed the work of mattress-laying, and ripping or retting the caving banks, which has

\*See Public of October 6, 1911, page 1019, and October 13, 1911, page 1045.

cost the Federal government many millions of dollars. This method of channel deepening required that all gaps in the levees should be closed, and in certain sparsely settled regions, where the levee boards were too poor to do the work, the Federal authorities did it.

The Mississippi River Commission, which has this work in charge, appears to have been prudent, helping those only who were disposed to help themselves; but with this policy in force an elaborate system of levees has been created from Cairo to the Gulf.

So well was the work done that many people were disposed to think the problem had been solved.

But, alas for the man who wrestles with the Mississippi River—even though he be no less a person than Uncle Sam himself! The cry is now raised that the government must take charge of the whole levee system; and it grew louder and louder as the floods spread. That such a proposition—though it seems but yesterday that the people of the United States lifted their hands in horror at the idea of a One-Billion-Dollar Congress—will carry us far toward a Two-Billion-Dollar Congress cannot be doubted when it is known that it is proposed to spend \$30,000,000 annually for ten years.

Just what we are to spend after the close of the tenth year we are not told. One might hazard a guess, from the frequency with which the statement is made, that the problem of the river control is vastly greater than the construction of the Panama Canal.



There are a few points that the common citizen may do well to keep in mind.

First, the government will undertake this work. Waterways are popular with the people, and politicians are taking advantage of it to tap the public till.

Second, an effort should be made to have the owners of the swamp lands pay for the benefits conferred upon them. An excellent precedent, and to the very point, is to be found in the reclamation of the arid lands of the West, where the cost of the work is added to the price of the land; or, in case the lands have already passed into private hands, is met by a special tax on the lands benefited.

Third, a deep channel is not all, nor is it the chief thing required to revive river traffic. The proposed 14-foot channel from the Lakes to the Gulf will not restore commerce to the Mississippi river so long as the railroads are allowed to charge

more for a short haul than for a long haul. Even a 40-foot channel would not and could not be used so long as the railroads might cut rates to river points and recoup themselves by higher rates to interior points.

Let us have the Two-Billion-Dollar Congress if we must, but let us see that the money is expended for intelligent purposes; and, what is even more important, let us see that it is *collected from the people who derive the benefits*.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.



## THE SINGLETAX IDEAL.

In all countries and ages the theoretical ownership of the land has vested in the people of the land; but while this has been and still is true, the benefits of ownership have gone and still go to holders of the fee. The Singletax proposes a practical reversal of this situation. It says, Let the *title* remain where it may, the *benefits* of ownership shall go to the theoretical (and rightful) owners—the people.

If rent is the measure of land values, and if the Singletax takes rent for the people, the benefits of public ownership are practically realized. They are also exactly realized *in proportion* to the exactness with which this proposition is actually carried into effect.



Let the inhabitants of a city or of a country be likened, for illustration, to the tenants of a skyscraper. A thousand people occupy this office building, we will say. It is a community in itself. There is a transportation system, the elevators. There are open highways, the corridors and stairways. There is a sewer, water, heating, gas, electric light and telephone system, and so on. There is also an elaborate service for the care of the building and the comfort of the inmates. The ground floor is occupied by large banking or commercial concerns paying large rents; there are commodious suites on the street front, and small inexpensive offices on the inner court, and for each is paid a proportionate rental. Many of the inhabitants of this building are employes of the tenants, or of the building management, and pay no rent.

Here is an almost exact parallel of the city community, the rooms of the office building corresponding to the building lots of the city.

We may now further suppose that each one of the one thousand inmates of our building, from bank presidents and members of law firms to sten-

ographers, elevator boys and scrub women, resolve to buy this building, valued at say one million dollars, and that each of them of whatever degree, contributes just one thousand dollars to the purchase fund. A million dollar company is formed with 10,000 shares of \$100 each, and each occupant takes ten shares. The building is bought and its one thousand occupants are exactly equal owners. They have precisely equal rights to the use of the building.

Now the situation is parallel throughout. The office building represents the earth; the thousand occupants stand for all mankind—with "equal rights to the use of the earth," as is so convincingly shown in Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics,"—and their natural birthright free, instead of property by purchase, as in the illustration.

How is that situation to be met? How is the "ideal of public ownership" to be practically realized?



Would any real estate agent consider the situation difficult or perplexing? Surely not.

Rents are collected as in the illustration. Each tenant pays in rent the value of the space he occupies or monopolizes, as tenants everywhere expect to do. Those who are not tenants, who monopolize no space, these pay no rent.

Out of the rentals are paid the expenses of operation, maintenance and repairs.

Each occupant, being an equal owner, has an equal vote at the stockholders' meetings. Each has an equal say in the management and upkeep. Here is equal suffrage and majority rule, with representative government through the board of directors.

After paying from the rentals all necessary and agreed expenses, the balance is paid in dividends to the stockholders. Each stockholder is an occupant of the building, so each has shared in its use and has benefited from its care. Each occupant is an equal stockholder, so each receives an equal share in the dividend.

Here we have the Singletax in perfect operation. It is a practical and exact realization of *common ownership of common property*.



With the Singletax in operation in the larger world, with its larger commercial needs, its unlimited social wants and ever increasing civic and national desires, there is no definable limit to the *common expense* of operation and upkeep except the *common income*. The equal stockholders of

our corporate earth may do what they will with their own.

If each holder of a plot, whether it be at a corner of Broadway and Wall street, or but a few acres of farm land in Dakota, would, through the Singletax, pay into the common treasury the rental value of his holding,—whether it be much or little, or nothing—and if each inhabitant of the country has, by the ballot, an equal say in the disposition of this fund, do we not secure exact justice,—equal rights?



If in applying this plan we only approximate that ideal, is not the mere approximation due to imperfect human performance and not at all to imperfect plan?

MARSHALL E. SMITH.



## VOTES OF WOMEN.

What influence will the votes of women have upon the fall elections?

This is a subject which as yet has never been seriously considered by slate-makers and campaign managers, but the signs of the times present indubitable evidence that hereafter it will have to be.



This year the women will vote in six States, possibly in seven. Five of these States: California, Idaho, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, are Republican, and they cast 31 electoral votes.

Colorado is insurgent, and her six electoral votes are in doubt.

In Ohio the Constitutional Convention has provided for submission of the question of enfranchisement of women to the voters on the 3rd of September. It carried two to one in the Convention; if it carries in the State there will be 24 more electoral votes that may be controlled by women.

There are 531 votes in the Electoral College. It takes 266 to elect, and 61 of them may be dominated by women voters. If there is a candidate in the field who is an out-and-out supporter of "Votes for Women," there isn't much doubt among those who know the temper of the women voters, that it would be possible to turn a practically solid woman vote over to him.



When the Biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs meets in San Francisco this month, there will be a conference among

the delegates present who are voters. It will not be on any program, nor connected with the sessions of the convention. The time and place may even be kept a secret, but for a long time women voters have felt that there should be some plan for unified action among them, and they intend to make one now.

It is well known that Sarah Platt Decker, ex-president of the Federation, is heartily in favor of such action, and the faithful will probably look to her as their natural leader.

Women divide on national policies, but it is believed that they can be prevailed on to unite in a demand for "The Ballot First," and to give their united strength to the candidate who is pledged to bring about the general enfranchisement of their sex. It is easy to see that the united vote of women would control in any State, for the vote of the men is sure to be divided.



For months past, women voters and would-be voters have been writing to prospective candidates asking their views on this question, and the answers have been wholly unsatisfactory, save and except in the case of Senator La Follette.

As Governor of New York, Roosevelt favored it; as President of the United States he afforded it neither aid nor comfort. They find him on both sides in his recent Outlook utterances. They have not forgiven President Taft for his "Hot-tentots" speech to the suffrage convention in April, 1910, and they have expressed themselves with considerable vigor concerning Governor Woodrow Wilson's letter in which he declares his mind at sea. Mrs. Champ Clark is a suffragist, and it is possible, so some of the suffragists say, that Mr. Clark would join them in the strains of what bids fair to become a campaign classic, "You Gotta Stop Kickin' My Dawg Aroun'."

Without a candidate pledged to their cause the women may fail to effect any concerted scheme of action, but they will lay the way for 1916.

ELLIS MEREDITH.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### WOMEN'S SINGLETAX LEAGUE.

Washington, D. C.

The eleventh annual convention of the Women's National Single Tax League was held in Washington during Memorial week. The first session was opened at 10:30 a. m., on Monday, May 27, at the New Ebbitt House, with prayer by the Rev. Chas. Everest Granger of Gunton Presbyterian Church. The only formal address at the opening session was

made by Colonel H. Martin Williams, reading clerk of the House of Representatives. The colonel called attention to the great number of men in enforced idleness who were anxious to work at almost any wage, and pointed out clearly and convincingly that land monopoly is the underlying cause.

At the afternoon session addresses were made by Mr. Herbert J. Browne, Miss Ada Rhodes and Jackson H. Ralston, Esq., of Washington.

Mr. Browne gave an interesting account of the inhabitants of a small island, 200 miles south of Cuba, where there exists no labor problem, no question of unearned increment; where locks, bolts, and bars are unknown; where the entire population live a simple life of brotherly kindness toward one another.

Miss Rhodes gave a vivid description of an English mining town after an appalling accident, such as happens quite frequently in mining regions, quoting a statement from the London Telegraph, one of the most conservative papers of Great Britain, in which it advocated the nationalization of the coal mines as the only remedy for coal strikes.

Mr. Ralston called attention to the progress being made in Oregon and Missouri and showed how the Initiative and Referendum made it possible to force the Singletax into practical politics, incidentally paying a high compliment to W. S. U'Ren of Oregon.

The evening session was held at the Public Library, at which an address of welcome and of commendation was delivered by Prof. Thomas E. Will, who is now a resident of the Capital City. Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, president of the League, responded in a felicitous manner, and then introduced Miss M. Elma Dame of New York City, who is a nurse in the tenement district and also a Settlement worker. Miss Dame pointed out the utter inadequacy of charity, settlement work and other forms of organized philanthropy to cope with conditions under our present system of oppression and injustice which penalizes industry, thereby pauperizing labor.

Miss Grace I. Colbron of New York City followed Miss Dame, speaking on a subject closely allied to the Settlement workers—Child Welfare and Economic Justice. Miss Colbron dwelt upon the futility of legislative action to meet the demands of the situation, which ignored a radical change in our system of taxation. Referring to Miss Dame's address, she said charitable workers soon discovered that this evil was not due to parental greed, nor entirely to the greed of the mill-owners, who were themselves the victims of the system, and crushed out the lives of other men's children in many cases, only to keep their own above the possibility of being similarly crushed if the wheel of fortune turned. "It would be much better to understand the evil of land monopoly which lies at the bottom," she said, "and give the workers justice, than to offer charity while continuing to reduce them to a stage where they have nothing further to lose and, in a fit of desperation, will seize what they can get in any way they can get it."

Henry George, Jr., the final speaker of the evening, spoke on "Taxation in the District." Mr. George is chairman of a sub-committee of the Congressional Committee on the District, which has been making a thorough investigation of the methods of taxation in vogue in the Capital City. Whilst he pointed out

many inequalities and absurdities in the present method of assessing property in the District of Columbia, he intimated that he was withholding some startling facts for a larger audience. "The country at large," he said, "had been generous in its expenditures on the District, but under the present system of taxation, every dollar which the Federal Government pays toward the District expenses only serves to make it harder for the poor to live here."

Mr. Charles Adair of Illinois, Mrs. Mariette L. Johnson of Fairhope, Alabama, and Rev. Chas. E. Granger were the formal speakers at the Tuesday morning session at the New Ebbitt.

Mr. Adair's subject was "The Makers and the Takers." He showed how the introduction of inter-urban railways, or other improved means of transportation, every application of human ingenuity to labor, every improvement in methods of production or distribution, result in increased returns to the man who owns the land instead of the man who performs the labor. "When we are all thoroughly aroused to these wrongs," he said, "we will preach to society what we now preach to individuals, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and we will change the laws which rob the makers and give to the takers."

Mrs. Johnson gave a very interesting address on Fairhope and on Organic Education. In closing her address, she said: "Children should be given stories, games, singing, nature study, gardening, etc., but not have books forced upon them or even given to them until they become interested in them—when they will want them naturally. High schools and colleges should ask, not, 'What do you know,' but, 'What do you need?'"

The Rev. Mr. Granger, whose subject was, "The Church and Social Service," said: "That churches are failing to give the people what they need is strikingly indicated by the fact that the Presbyterian church has increased but 3 per cent, and the Methodist church but 1 per cent during the past year. Many members of my own church oppose the preaching of the larger message and clamor for the old gospel—some from motives of greed and selfishness, fearing it will hurt their business, and some honestly opposing it, not realizing that social service is really the old gospel, rightly understood. And shame on that preacher who, having the vision and knowing the need, is too cowardly to voice it."

On Tuesday evening the annual national banquet of the League was held at the New Ebbitt. The President of the League, Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, acted as toastmaster, and five-minute responses were made as follows:

"Immediate Effects of the Singletax," by Dr. Mary D. Hussey.

"The Female of the Species," F. L. Siddons, Esq.

"What Is Speculative Value?" Miss Amy Mall Hicks.

"The Wise Farmer and the Fool Mule," Mr. Herbert J. Browne.

"The Innate Love of Freedom," Miss Jennie Rogers.

"The Parcels Post," Hon. David J. Lewis.

"The Truth Is Marching On," Miss Grace I. Colbron.

"The Way Out," Hon. Henry George, Jr.

The closing session of the convention was held at the Ebbitt House on Wednesday morning. At this session it was unanimously agreed to change the form and character of the League, turning it into a national committee, with chairman, vice-chairman,

secretary and treasurer, and one woman's representative from each singletax club. Mrs. Henry George, Jr., gave a reception to the ladies of the League on Wednesday afternoon at her residence, 1931 Biltmore street, and on Memorial Day, in the afternoon, a picnic and reception was held at the suburban residence of Colonel H. Martin Williams.

Among the delegates were: Mrs. Maude E. Pearson, British Columbia; Mrs. Mariette L. Johnson, Alabama; Miss Charlotte O. Schetter, Dr. E. E. Bowen and Dr. Mary D. Hussey, New Jersey; Mrs. J. A. Rogers, Miss Jennie A. Rogers, Dr. M. C. Hollister, Mrs. E. Louise Arnim and Miss M. B. Havens, Brooklyn; Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Miss Amy Mali Hicks, Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, Mrs. C. M. Hibbard and Mrs. Margaret Hughan, New York City.

D. S. LUTHER.



## THE ANARCHY IN SAN DIEGO.

San Diego, Cal.

As nearly as I can ascertain there were about 200 active "Vigilantes" under arms, and subject to immediate call. This group was divided into about 20 companies of 10 men each and led by a captain. In case of unusual excitement this battalion would, they thought, be able to summon several thousand men to its assistance, should they desire to tar and feather any I. W. W. whom they found off his guard, or to storm the jail. The jail was guarded by deputy sheriffs or other officers unfriendly to the I. W. W. These officers were perfectly willing to relinquish their prisoners at the first show of strength on the part of the "Vigilantes." Never have I been in a city where such a reign of terror prevailed.

At every possible opportunity I denounced these "Vigilantes" as cowards, thugs and assassins. No one would join in my denunciation. In the hotels and on the streets men would walk away, refusing to be even in a company where anything but sanction was shown.

The situation was interesting in that both sides were in the wrong. One of the leading druggists—a Mr. Ferris—put the matter before me about as follows: "The growth of business required that crowds be not permitted to congregate in certain districts. The I. W. W. refused to recognize the ordinance prohibiting street speaking in certain congested districts, and as arrests were made the I. W. W. proceeded to rush to San Diego hundreds of their unemployed members which soon filled our jail and those of the surrounding cities. The I. W. W. announced their plan to rush 10,000 men to San Diego, and it looked as though they would succeed. While the county could feed a few hundred, to be forced to feed several thousand men would bankrupt the locality in time. In addition to this the business of the courts was being clogged, for every man demanded a separate trial and one by jury. The time that would be required from our citizens even to meet the jury requirements was a serious problem. We could not repeal the ordinance, for the people were for it. An attempt to secure a referendum petition failed miserably, indicating that the great majority of the people approved of the ordinance. We who lived here and enjoyed the climate and scenery and had established ourselves in business,



could not abandon our business and property, and yet this seemed the only alternative unless some extra judicial procedure could be evolved. The courts and the police could do nothing but arrest and try these men, which they were doing; but the invasion must be stopped." After the above statement Mr. Ferris asked: "What would you have done under these circumstances had you been in my place?"

The fault with Mr. Ferris's statement is that no serious necessity existed in the first place for restricting the street speakers. The animus behind the restriction was that the speakers displeased the merchants and real estate sharks. The speakers had denounced various forms of graft and had threatened to put the real estate men out of business. The desire to protect traffic was merely an excuse. However, the citizens were right at the start, as they had the forms of law on their side. Now, however, the I. W. W. are invoking the law.

It was from this serious and embarrassing situation that certain adventurous and energetic men began to club and in various other ways assault the I. W. W. armies. Men brutal enough, however, to undertake this sort of work would naturally place no limit to their actions; so, as they began to realize their power, it came to pass that they extended their rule beyond the I. W. W., and considered it an affront for any man even to comment upon the situation except in terms of praise of these "Vigilantes" as they styled themselves. The police would arrest a man, just to secure his firearms; he would be released after a few hours, and then be immediately grabbed up by the "Vigilantes" who waited at the prison door for his appearance.

During an afternoon I got into a crowd around an automobile accident. I started to comment on the "Vigilantes" and denounced them with all my energy. One man who had been rather friendly called my attention to a person who had listened attentively and stated that he belonged to the detective force of the "Vigilantes." I was in danger of being arrested or assaulted as a "suspicious character," which is the legal form employed by the police when they desire to hold an obnoxious person.

The Weinstock report, made at the request of Governor Johnson, denounced the "Vigilantes" to a finish and seemed to inspire a great many with a new lease of manhood. It was evident that it greatly embarrassed the "Vigilantes" movement. It made them fear martial law and the advent of the militia. But there is likely to be more violence because the "Vigilantes" are insane with anger. They have lost self control. If this happens, a reaction will set in. The people will weary of the strain and excitement. Eventually those in confinement who were not tried during the heat of passion will be released, their cases being dismissed. Then the ordinance that has caused the trouble will either be repealed or will by common consent become a dead letter. The speakers will acquiesce in some trifling and reasonable restrictions and will go on as before. The snobs of San Diego will learn a good lesson; namely, that the "riff-raff" have resources of their own and that their method of resistance can be made effective.

Mr. Fred Moore, attorney for the I. W. W., and the brains of the local movement, impressed me as being a cool, calculating, earnest and able fellow.

I feel, of course, that he is wrong in his general theory, but he possesses the elements of success. Unless he should be assassinated, which has been threatened, before his work is finished, he will win because he is nearer right than the "Vigilantes," and he can now denounce the suspension of the ordinary Constitutional guarantees and gradually win public support. Any small event will turn the tide his way. He does not need to act. He can stand pat. Every act of the "Vigilantes" strengthens his position.

I cannot see wherein the San Diego incident is serious. The fact that an ordinance that merely seemed to abridge free speech would cause such an outburst as has been witnessed in this case shows that the people are awake. Gen. Harrison Gray Otis will not catch them napping. The referendum petition on the ordinance might have won had it been properly handled before excitement got too high.

F. H. MONROE.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### PROFESSOR HOLLANDER—ANOTHER CORRECTION.\*

Brooklyn, N. Y.

In The Public of May 24, Dr. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins, is quoted as saying that I advocate the Singletax "as a social panacea." This seems to me far more clearly and certainly "a surprisingly inaccurate report" than was Mr. Ogle's sincere (though, as it seems, mistaken and exaggerated) description of the Doctor's very courteous and effective supplement to my lecture before his class, as in effect an endorsement of the Singletax.

In full accord with Henry George as to this point, I deem the Singletax not "a social panacea" (i. e., "the remedy for all social diseases or evils"), but the best practical cure for the basic evil, land monopoly, the curing of which is a "sine qua non" to the really effective and successful utilization of other needed remedies for social ills. It is not all that must be done, but it is one thing without which nothing else will be of use. Bailing out the boat may be advisable, but to stop the leaks is the first need.

Dr. Hollander is of course entitled to his own label for his own attitude, but the fact remains—startling as its announcement may be to him—that both Mr. Ogle and myself (militant Georgites, both) were delighted with his comment, and deemed his terse and graphic use of local instances in concrete illustration, a far more telling vindication of our policy than my more general remarks. I suspect the Doctor does not fully realize how nearly the implications of what he said approximate to the essence of Singletax premises. His impression of his aloofness from us may be wholly due to such misconceptions of our view as his notion that we claim a "panacea." From men of his responsibilities we cannot now expect more than "the principle of utilizing some part of future increments in urban rental values, as a fiscal experiment." Let him ask himself, and then tell us,

\*See The Public of May 24, 1912, page 487.

why only "some part," only "future" increments, and only "urban" values?

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, June 4, 1912.

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### The Labor War.

In connection with the London transport strike, a manifesto in behalf of the strikers was issued on the 27th, protesting against the use of police and troops in the interest of employers and warning the public authorities of extreme measures if this policy continues. The number of strikers was estimated on the 29th at 140,000; and they had posted pickets everywhere around the dock entrances in London. In an interview with the Home Secretary the leaders offered to co-operate with the Government in facilitating transportation of necessary food supplies for London; but the Government, regardless of this offer, gave assurances of protection to shippers of food supplies. These assurances were regarded at that date as having made the probability of a national strike more imminent. Even then the port of London was paralyzed—not a truck wheel moving in the streets,—and the shipping companies of Glasgow, Hull and other centers trading with London had been compelled to suspend their sailings. A conference with the Government was scheduled for the 31st, at which representatives of the strikers agreed to be present but which the employing interests announced their unwillingness to attend. The latter met, however, with members of the Ministry on the 30th. Lloyd George presided, and the other Ministers present were Sydney Buxton, John Burns, Reginald McKenna and Sir Rufus Isaacs. This meeting was adjourned to the 3rd. The proposed joint conference of the 31st—the employers, pursuant to their announcement, having refused to attend it—was held with the strikers' representatives alone. It here developed, as reported by the dispatches, that the crux of the controversy is the "closed shop," the organized employers insisting upon employing unorganized men, and the organized men refusing to work along with those that are not organized. [See current volume, page 512.]



Indications of a renewal of the garment workers' strike at Chicago were reported on the 27th. [See current volume, page 369.]

The causes of the Chicago freight handlers' strike produced a supplementary one in Minnesota on the 27th, when the freight handlers at Minneapolis and St. Paul to the number of 1,800 went out. The situation at Chicago on that day was reported as "about the same, with the railroads unable to handle the freight and the shippers and merchants becoming more restless because of the inefficient railroad service." [See current volume, page 487.]



The newspaper strike in Chicago shows no further outward signs, except that it is still somewhat difficult to obtain on the streets any of the evening papers other than the evening edition of the *Daily World*, which has taken the place of the *Daily Socialist* and begun a serious attempt to establish itself as a newspaper. Reports in the other papers to the effect that the striking stereotypers are coming back to work are the only present indication that the larger papers are crippled—the inference being that if they were not crippled there would be no work for the striking stereotypers to go back to. The extent, however, of this return to work does not appear in the reports. Judge Brentano refused on the 27th to enjoin the city authorities from allowing newsstands on the street, deciding that the plaintiffs in the suit had no property interest in the question. A statement in opposition to the pressmen and stereotypers was presented to the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 2d by the Typographical Union. [See current volume, page 512.]



A strike of hotel waiters in New York has extended from the one hotel in which it began, the Belmont, to several others, and has been reinforced by other hotel employes. The Hotel Knickerbocker, for instance, was crippled on the 27th by the unexpected walking out of all the men employed as waiters, cooks, pantrymen, and silver men. At a signal previously agreed upon they stopped work wherever they happened to be and the patrons of the hotel sat helpless at their unfinished meals. Then the men paraded into the street and, joined by other members of the International Hotel Workers' Union, they created excitement in the vicinity of Broadway and Forty-second street which brought on the police reserves, although there were no indications of violence. On the 29th the waiters walked out of the Waldorf-Astoria, the Gotham, the Breslin, and Rector's, in the midst of the evening dinner hours, leaving hundreds of hungry patrons in the lurch. At its meeting on the 29th, the Hotel Men's Association had unanimously voted to increase the wages of all employes 20 per cent and upwards, to abolish fines and make other improvements in working conditions, but protested that this action was

taken irrespective of strikes and without recognition of the employes' organizations. On the next night, the 30th, the waiters, cooks and kitchen help at the Plaza, the St. Regis, the Astor, the Prince George, the Imperial and the Gotham hotels, and Shanley's and Louis Martin's restaurants and the Elks' Club, joined in the strike. Some of the employers forthwith sent to the registrars of Eastern colleges inviting students who are working their way through college and need additional funds, to act as waiters. Arrangements were made by others to bring Negro waiters from the winter resort hotels in Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas, and by others to employ girls. On the 31st the cooks and waiters at Sherry's, the Calumet Club, the Hotel Seville, the Marie Antoinette and the Great Northern walked out. The number of strikers out on the 31st was estimated at 4,000, and there were expectations of a spread of the strike to other cities, especially Chicago and Baltimore at the time of the Presidential conventions.



After his recent visit to San Diego, California, the Attorney General of the State was reported in the newspapers to have said that a special grand jury would be convened and that in his opinion both sides were now satisfied to let the law take its course. [See current volume, page 512.]



#### Presidential Campaigning.

The most important popular campaigning for the Presidential nominations closed with the primaries in New Jersey on the 28th. On the Republican side Roosevelt won all of the 28 delegates; on the Democratic side Wilson won all but four. The popular plurality for Roosevelt was about 16,000, and that for Wilson about the same. Mr. Roosevelt published a signed statement on the 3rd, in which he asserts it to be "the absolute duty of every progressive Republican to oppose the selection as temporary chairman at Chicago of any man put forward in the interests of the supporters of Mr. Taft in this contest." In the same connection and statement he says of Elihu Root, the candidate of the committee for temporary chairman:

In the past Mr. Root has rendered distinguished service as Secretary of State and Secretary of War. But in this contest Mr. Root ranged himself against the men who stand for progressive principles within the Republican party, that is, against the men who stand for making the Republican party in relation to the issues of the present day what it was in the days of Abraham Lincoln. He stands as the representative of the men and the policies of reaction. He is put forward by the bosses and the representatives of special privileges.

[See current volume, page 511.]

#### The Tariff Question in Congress.

Sixteen reactionary Senators absented themselves from the United States Senate on the 30th, in order to give the Democrats a majority on the House bill revising the iron and steel schedule of the protective tariff law. Their object was strategical. Regarding the Democratic revision of this schedule as having ignored the Republican principle of tariff revision—"differences in cost of production abroad and at home"—to which President Taft is committed, they desired to give the President an opportunity to write a veto message that would serve as a campaign document. Some of the progressive Republican Senators, on the other hand, wished to amend the House bill so as to make it a revision downward but with reference to differences in cost of production, thereby forcing the Democratic House to conform to the Republican principle or vote against revision and giving the President an opportunity to veto. In consequence of the absence of the reactionary Republican Senators, who if present would have been obliged to vote for the amendment or else against the bill (thereby casting the onus of defeating tariff revision upon the President's faction in the Republican party), the bill was carried in the Senate by 35 to 22. The absentees for tactical purposes were—

Brandegge (Conn.), Briggs (N. J.), Catron (N. M.), Crane (Mass.), Du Pont (Del.), Fall (N. M.), Gamble (S. D.), Guggenheim (Colo.), Lodge (Mass.), Nixon (Nev.), Penrose (Pa.), Richardson (Del.), Root (N. Y.), Stephenson (Wis.), Sutherland (Utah), Wetmore (R. I.).

The progressive Republicans who voted against the bill were—

Borah (Ida.), Bourne (Ore.), Bristow (Kan.), Cummins (Iowa), and Works (Cal.).

Senator Gronna of North Dakota, a progressive Republican, voted for the bill. Senator La Follette was absent from Washington.



On the preceding day the Republicans of the Senate had carried an amendment to this bill by 37 to 27, which would repeal the Canadian reciprocity law, under which print paper is admitted into the United States from Canada free. [See vol. xiv, pages 1001, 1028; current volume, page 324.]



#### American Report on the Titanic Disaster.

The United States Senate Committee for investigation of the loss of the steamship Titanic at sea, April 15, reported to the Senate on the 28th. Immediate responsibility for the disaster was laid to the captain of the ship, who went down in her, and who seems to have steamed at full speed through a region in which he had been warned that he would encounter ice. Responsi-

bility for unnecessary loss of life was declared to be shared by Captain Lord of the neighboring steamer Californian, through his disregard of the distress signals from the sinking Titanic. The committee, through its chairman, Senator William Alden Smith, further declared that responsibility also rests upon the British Board of Trade, "to whose laxity of regulation and hasty inspection the world is largely indebted for the awful fatality." Punishment for failure of duty is left to the British government and public opinion. The committee has busied itself chiefly with discovering the factors which contributed to the disaster, and suggesting remedies. As enumerated by the press dispatches, the following were the causes of the disaster as noted in the report:

Before the Titanic departed on her maiden voyage there were not sufficient tests of boilers, bulkheads, equipment or signal devices.

Officers and crew were strangers to each other and not familiar with the ship's implements or tools, and no drill or station practice took place and no helpful discipline prevailed.

The speed of the Titanic was twenty-four and one-half miles an hour at time of the accident, although officers of the Titanic had been advised of the presence of icebergs by the steamships Baltic, Amerika and Californian.

Passengers were not advised of danger, although President Ismay of the White Star line, who was taking the vessel's maiden voyage, was informed. No general alarm was given, nor any organized system of safety undertaken.

Of the 1,324 passengers and 899 members of crew on board, there was room in the lifeboats for only 1,176 persons, and because of lack of orderly discipline the boats took off only 704 persons, twelve being rescued from the water.

A further point of criticism was that—officers of the White Star line "battled with the truth" after receiving information from their Montreal office on the Monday morning following the accident.

Senator Smith proposed in two bills a thorough regulation of navigation by steam vessels along lines taught by the disaster, proposed enacting into law a variety of rules and regulations, and embodied in the measures the numerous recommendations for safety made in the official report of the committee. One of the most important recommendations was for stricter inspection of vessels by the Federal steamboat inspection service and the meeting of all requirements of American navigation laws by every vessel clearing from an American port. [See current volume, pages 420, 443.]



The Senate passed, on the 28th, a joint resolution extending the thanks of Congress and appropriating \$1,000 for a medal to Captain Arthur H. Rostron of the steamer Carpathia for his effective rescue of such of the Titanic passengers

and crew as had escaped in boats, and also a vote of thanks to the Carpathia's crew.



An all-inclusive bill, to be denominated "The Ocean Safety Act of 1912," designed to cover all the navigation lessons drawn from the Titanic disaster, was introduced in the Senate on the 3d by Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, chairman of the Commerce Committee. The bill includes stringent regulations for better wireless equipment, continuously operated, on ocean and great lakes vessels carrying fifty or more persons, as provided in a bill which passed the House on the 3rd, and almost identical with a bill already passed by the Senate. This wireless section vests control of the apparatus in the Master of the vessel, and, to avoid the wireless communication being shut off by failure of the vessel's engines, requires a powerful auxiliary power supply that can communicate 100 miles at all times. The Nelson bill would recognize foreign steamship laws whenever they are as effective as American laws and regulations. The bill also would equip every passenger craft leaving an American port with sufficient lifeboats to accommodate everybody aboard, together with other safety equipment, and would create a commission of five persons to investigate here and abroad merchant marine construction. It would require rigid port examination and boat drills, define qualifications of seamen, penalize failure to assist any person in distress at sea, and make criminally liable any master, managing owner, steamship director or principal resident agent of a foreign steamship for sending from an American port a vessel so unseaworthy as to endanger life.



#### Work of the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

The Constitutional Convention of Ohio, which has been in session since January under the presidency of Herbert S. Bigelow, adjourned *sine die* on the 1st after fixing September 3, 1912, as the day for a popular vote on its work. Instead of proposing a new Constitution, the Convention submits to the people of Ohio several alterations of the present Constitution. They are embodied in 42 formal amendments. Among these amendments are the following:

Initiative and Referendum for both legislative and Constitutional measures—the Singletax being prohibited from the former but allowed for the latter.

Allowing three-quarters of a jury to return verdicts in civil cases.

Woman suffrage.

Permitting appointments of women to State institutions in which women or girls live.

Making decisions of intermediate courts final in all cases except those involving the death penalty, life sentence or a Constitutional question; and requiring a vote of five-sixths of the judges of the Supreme

Court to decide that any legislation is unconstitutional.

Eliminating the word "white" from the elective franchise clauses of the present Constitution.

Abolishing capital punishment.

Allowing legislation regulating hours of labor, fixing minimum wages, and providing for the comfort, health and general welfare of hired workers.

Establishing rights of home rule in cities, including ownership and operation of public utilities.

Prohibiting injunctions in industrial disputes except to protect physical property, and providing that in contempt proceedings growing out of labor disputes the defendant shall have a trial by jury.

Prohibiting contract labor in prisons and the sale of prison-made goods, products of prisoners' labor to be disposed of to State and municipal institutions only.

These amendments, to be voted on at the election of September 3rd next, are separately submitted so that any one or more of them may be defeated though the others be adopted. If adopted the Initiative and Referendum amendment will take effect October 1, 1912; the municipal home rule amendment November 15, 1912; the others January 1, 1913. A majority of the popular vote is required to adopt. [See current volume, page 441.]



#### Convention of Women Singletaxers.

The eleventh annual convention of the Women's National Singletax League, held at Washington, D. C., on the 27th, 28th and 29th of May, is reported in our column of Editorial Correspondence. Preceding the convention Miss Charlotte O. Schetter of New Jersey spoke at the People's Church on the 26th on "The Truth Shall Make Us Free." Miss Grace Isabel Colbron of New York spoke on the same evening at the Socialist local organization on "The New Morality." [See current volume, page 399.]



#### Land Value Taxation in Great Britain.

Under the auspices of the United Committees for the Taxation of Land Values and in conjunction with local associations of the Liberal party, petitions are in circulation in Great Britain in favor of the taxation of agricultural land values. The petitions are addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of those in circulation in Wiltshire, the London Daily News of April 27 says that—

it is pointed out in the petition that the wage of the Wiltshire agricultural laborer is a miserable pittance, that his cottage is often damp, dismal, and even hard to obtain, that the land is monopolized and withheld from full use, and that the census of 1901 showed that during the previous ten years 22,000 people had migrated from the rural districts of the county. Finally the petitioners pray that such a tax should be levied on the value of all land, whether in town or country, as would compel its

full use, so that a demand for labor may be created that will ensure a just wage both to town and rural workers.

The object of these petitions, as stated by the News, is "to show that rural England, like rural Scotland, is preparing to support the industrial centers in their demand for a national land value tax."



#### The Negro Uprising in Cuba.

The status of the Cuban insurrection seems to be in doubt. Newspaper dispatches are contradictory as to its strength and its suppression. The United States War Department on the 3rd sold the Cuban government 5,000 rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition, which are to be used to arm the volunteers and the guards organized by plantation owners to protect their property against the insurrectos. [See current volume, page 514.]



The question as to whether the President of the United States has authority under the Platt amendment to intervene in Cuba if the Island government cannot maintain order, has been under discussion in the United States Senate. The Senate on the 25th adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Bacon of Georgia calling upon the committee on Cuban relations to report what legislation is necessary to enable intervention under the Platt amendment. Senator Bacon declared that the resolution was not designed particularly in reference to the present situation. He felt that there should be some official definitely clothed with the authority of determining the necessity of intervention. The Platt amendment, which governs the United States in its relations to Cuba, does not provide this in the opinion of the Senator. In the past this office has been arbitrarily assumed by the President because his was the only available decision to appeal to in a case of intervention. Senator Bacon wants the committee to recommend legislation which will remedy this. President Taft holds the view that the Executive, without further legislation by Congress, has ample authority for intervention in Cuba when necessary. He so advised the Cuban relations committee of the Senate on the 31st in connection with the Bacon resolution.



#### Progress with the Chinese Republic.

Slowly orderly conditions are working out in China. The most pressing need is the financial one, and the Great Powers are deliberating the conditions upon which money will be advanced. For some years Chirra has been financed by a syndicate representing the banks of Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States. Since the establishment of the Republic Russia and

Japan have forced their way into this syndicate, and are bringing pressure to bear to attach to the loan political conditions in the way of the disbanding of the Army of the South, which would leave the Chinese helpless against any possible aggressions from their northern neighbors, and in effect make Russia and Japan free to absorb Mongolia and Manchuria. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Tang Shao Yi, very wisely is refusing such conditions. The amount of the foreign loan required to get the new government properly established is \$300,000,000. [See current volume, page 515.]



Of the business situation in China during the revolution the American Consul at Hongkong, George E. Anderson, states in the Daily Consular and Trade Reports of June 1, that "on the whole the revolution has produced much less disturbance financially than might have been expected. The worst effect commercially has been that foreign middlemen were forced to withdraw credit from Chinese buyers, and this restricted business more than any other single element. Banks, as a rule, paid their usual dividends, though with more difficulty than usual."



The present republican government in China is of course provisional. A constitutional convention is to meet this summer to draw up a Constitution and draft an election law. In the meantime the following Bill of Rights from the provisional Constitution is of interest:

1. The citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal, irrespective of race, class or religion.
2. No person shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished without due process of law.
3. Every citizen shall have the right to own property and follow his occupation.
4. Every citizen shall enjoy liberty of speech, writing, publication, calling meetings and forming societies.
5. Every citizen shall enjoy the right of privacy in correspondence.
6. Every citizen shall have the right to reside in or to remove to any place at pleasure.
7. Every citizen shall enjoy the liberty of religious belief.
8. Citizens shall have the right to petition provincial assemblies.
9. Citizens shall have the right to petition administrative offices.
10. Citizens shall have the right to sue and be tried in the courts of justice.
11. Citizens shall have the right to appeal to the administrative court when officials of the government have illegally infringed their rights.
12. Citizens shall have the right to pass government service examinations.
13. Citizens shall have the right to vote and to be elected to public offices.

## NEWS NOTES

—Under the management of Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, president of the Women's Democratic Club of New York City, a National Democratic Women's League was formed at Washington on the 1st.

—At the Senatorial primaries in Iowa on the 3d, Senator W. S. Kenyon defeated ex-Senator LaFayette Young, for the Republican nomination for United States Senator by 50,000 votes. [See vol. xiv, p. 371.]

—Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was arrested at his home on the 3d upon a Federal warrant based upon charges of publishing in his magazine through the mails, an article on the Catholic church, containing obscene statements.

—Wilbur Wright, inventor with his younger brother Orville of the first practicable heavier-than-air flying machines, died at his home at Dayton, Ohio, of typhoid fever, on the 30th, at the age of 45. [See vol. xi, p. 181, 470, 589, 613; xii, p. 973.]

—At the instance of Congressman Berger, Attorney General Wickersham has begun an official investigation of Judge Hanford of Seattle with reference to his denaturalizing of a citizen for advocating Socialist amendments to the Federal Constitution. [See current volume, page 460.]

—The sixth annual Sagamore Sociological Conference meets at Sagamore Beach, Cape Cod Bay, on the 26th under the direction of George W. Coleman, to remain in session to and including the 28th. Among the speakers on the program are Charles Zueblin and Livy S. Richard of Boston, and Mayor I.unn of Schenectady. [See vol. xiv, pp. 494, 654.]

—As no one could be found to risk his money in a moving picture show in the small town of Haven, in Reno county, Kansas, and as nevertheless every one in the place enjoyed moving pictures, a "show" has been started on the municipal ownership plan, which has proved a great success. When the receipts are larger than the expenses, free shows are given.

—A preliminary injunction in the civil suit of the government against the coffee trust was denied on the 28th by Judges Lacombe, Coxe, Noyes and Ward in the Federal court at New York; and on the same day the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, recommended to President Taft that the suit be withdrawn because of possible complications with Brazil. [See current volume, page 491.]

—In their subjugation of Morocco the French are having a long struggle. Fez, which has been the center of disturbance for months, is now dominated by a new French resident Governor, General Hubert Lyautey, who on the 3rd announced a successful battle against the investing tribesmen. The Sultan, Mulai Hafid, is reported as desirous of abdicating a throne upon which he is only a figurehead. [See current volume, page 398.]

—In the lower house of Congress on the 28th, the Naval appropriation bill was passed without providing for any new battleships, but with a requirement that government contracts must in future come

under the 8-hour labor law. The latter provision was on the 31st adopted by the Senate in the form of a bill theretofore passed by the House. As to the former the naval committee of the Senate adopted an amendment on the 3rd making appropriations for two battleships.

—Aggrieved that the United States is preventing the smuggling of ammunition across her border into Mexico, the insurgents under the leadership of Orozco have threatened the safety of Americans and foreigners generally in those northern portions of Mexico which they control, with the result that all foreigners are fleeing from Chihuahua, Sonora and other places where they have been quite numerous because of mining and business interests. [See current volume, page 515.]

—Plans are being completed for founding in England a "boy republic," similar to the "George Junior Republics" of the United States. A farm in Dorsetshire is to be the seat of the experiment. Harold Large is to be the first superintendent. George Montagu is chairman of a committee of management, on which are the names of Lady Henry Somerset, well known in America, and Mott Osborne, one of the early promoters of the American republics of which there are now eight.

—Since 1907, when the Oceanic Steamship Company abandoned its contract for carrying the mails between San Francisco and Australia, there have been no American ships running to Australia. A ten-year contract from July 1, of this year, has just been concluded by the American Postmaster General with the same steamship company for carrying the mails as before, with calls at Honolulu (Hawaiian Islands), and Pago-Pago (Samoa), running every 28 days and making the trip from San Francisco to Sydney in 20 days.

—The fourth national Conference for City Planning, held last week at Boston, referred the details of arranging for the next conference to an executive committee consisting of Frederick Law Olmstead of Brookline, Mass.; Nelson P. Lewis, Laurence Veiller, Frederic C. Howe, E. P. Goodrich, A. C. Wright, Lawson Purdy, and G. B. Ford, of New York; George E. Hooker and E. H. Bennett, of Chicago; Andrew Wright Crawford and George S. Webster, of Philadelphia; Richard B. Watrous, of Washington, D. C.; W. T. Dana, of Newark, N. J., and J. P. Hynes, of Toronto. The present conference recommended benefit assessments on land values for the expense of executing improved plans.

—Daniel Hudson Burnham, the Chicago architect and city planner, died at Heidelberg, Germany, on the 1st. He was in his 66th year. Mr. Burnham designed a large number of the most important business and other buildings in Chicago and in many other of the large cities of the United States, with one business building in London. Among his best known works are the Rookery, the First National Bank and Marshall Field's retail store in Chicago, the Mills building of San Francisco, the Flatiron building in New York, and the Union station, Washington. He made plans for the cities of Manila and Baguio in the Philippines, for San Francisco after the earthquake and fire; he was chief designer of the grounds and buildings for the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, and to him more than to any one else

are credited the plans for the rearrangement of Chicago, known as "the City Beautiful" idea.

—Sixteen social centers have been established in Chicago public schools during the last two years. Provision has been made in various schoolrooms for dancing parties, gymnastic classes, dramatic organizations, moving picture exhibitions, singing exercises, cooking instruction, libraries and game parlors. Statistics on attendance show the social centers to be popular. During the last year there were 382 sessions held in the sixteen social centers, with a total attendance of 95,217. The committee in charge recommends to the Board of Education that in school rooms in future movable chairs and tables be substituted for the fixed seat and desk; the classroom, they explain, could then become at any time a recitation-room, a game-room, a dancing floor or a room suitable for club or social purposes. [See vol. xiv, page 1293.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The San Diego Situation.

The (Los Angeles) California Outlook (ind.), May 25.—Governor Johnson could have done nothing less than sustain the admirably fair and judicial report of Colonel Harris Weinstock on the San Diego situation, by sending the attorney-general to enforce the law which had been suspended in San Diego. There have been two sorts of anarchy in San Diego, one of which has been suppressed by methods outside of the law, and the other of which has not been suppressed at all. It is the duty of the Governor to see to it that the laws, and nothing but the laws, are enforced on both sorts of anarchists. The first lesson of this San Diego situation is that, no matter who loses, the I. W. W. anarchists win, and they win because they fight intelligently while they have been opposed stupidly and ignorantly. These men are revolutionists. Their purpose is the disruption of society. By themselves they can accomplish only a small part of that purpose. If they have accomplished a larger part in San Diego it is because they have had the assistance of a mob of better dressed anarchists pretending to act for the business community of San Diego. By themselves these invaders can do nothing worse than gorge the jails and clog the courts. . . . Society is not completely disrupted until those who profess to be the guardians of its law and order themselves suspend both law and order and put into practice the very doctrine which the invading revolutionists preached. This is what happened in San Diego.



### Breeding Anarchy.

The Boston Common (ind.), May 18.—The battle for free speech has now forced its way into Massachusetts. In Wakefield, last Sunday, a group of working men tried to voice a protest against the imprisonment of Ettore and Giovannitti. They hired the G. A. R. hall, but the chief of police said they couldn't use it. They went to a vacant field and were dispersed. Then they went to a private house.

What followed is thus described in the Boston Herald: "Chief Pollard has an idea that this house is headquarters of anarchists and has been watching it for some time. When he heard that a meeting was in progress there he went in with three patrolmen unannounced. There is a small hall connected with the dwelling, and it was filled when the police entered. William E. Trautmann and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national organizers, who were active at Lawrence, Joseph Schmidt and Polish and Italian speakers, were told that they would be arrested unless they left town immediately. Their argument that the police had no right to enter a private house and curb free speech, Chief Pollard answered by saying that the meeting was disturbing the peace. The speakers took a car for Lawrence at last. All the while they acted like ladies and gentlemen, according to the chief, but two of their sympathizers moved so slowly that they were hustled to a car by policemen. After the crowd had left under threats, the chief told Salvarti that he must lock the doors and not let anybody in." Remember, this, like the clubbing of children at Lawrence, didn't happen in Russia but in Massachusetts. Does Massachusetts stand for it?



#### The Griffin Achievement.

The (New York) Nation (Ind.), May 30. (See The Public of May 31, page 507.)—That an American architect, Mr. Walter B. Griffin of Chicago, has carried off the first prize of \$8,750 in the international competition for a new capital of Australia is surely a cause for national satisfaction. A number of American and Australian architects, as well as men from other countries, competed. The opportunity was quite unusual, in that it called for the designing of an entire city. . . . The task of the competitors was not, of course, to present designs for each of the many Federal buildings—the national museum, theater, library, the Parliament group, etc.—but to indicate on the plan the precise sites for these and many other monumental structures. It was to accomplish for Australia what Major L'Enfant did for the United States, that the architects entered into competition, and it may be thought fitting that, as France aided the United States to plan its capital, this older federation of States should perform a similar service for the new Australian federation.



Holding one of the principles of eternal justice to be the inalienable right of every man freely to exchange the result of his labor for the productions of other people, and maintaining the practice of protecting one part of the community at the expense of all other classes to be unsound and unjustifiable, your petitioners earnestly implore your honorable house to repeal all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence; and to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects agriculture and manufactures, the true and peaceful principles of Free Trade by removing all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital.—Resolution by the Anti Corn Law League, Manchester, December, 1888.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### OUR MESSAGE\*.

Music of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Words by  
Grace Isabel Colbron.

Our eyes have seen the vision of a world that shall  
be free,  
Where the great Earth's fruitful surface, in its sweep  
from sea to sea,  
Bears a message to the Toiler of the good that  
is to be.

The Truth is marching on.  
Glory, glory, hallelujah;  
Glory, glory, hallelujah;  
Glory, glory, hallelujah;  
The Truth is marching on.

Where the city's tow'ring granite hides the splendor  
and the shame  
Of a vain and vaunted progress that belies fair Free-  
dom's name,  
Let us cry aloud the message till it soars like leaping  
flame.

The Truth is marching on.

The fields lie broad and fertile to the far horizon's  
rim,  
Yet the Toller starves and struggles 'mid a wealth  
that's not for him.  
Let our message with its promise wake the hope that  
had grown dim.

The Truth is marching on.

In many a stately forest future wealth for man is  
stored,  
Wealth created for the Many, to the Few now giv'n  
to hoard;  
'Neath the woodland's leafy arches let us preach the  
hopeful word.

The Truth is marching on.

In Mother Earth's deep bosom riches vast await our  
hand,  
Guarding close the hidden treasure man-made bar-  
riers threat'ning stand.  
They will fall if once Earth's children claim their  
birthright to the land.

The Truth is marching on.

In Creation's flawless harmonies, in Freedom's  
ringing call,  
We can hear the glorious message that will let our  
feters fall,  
Hear the message with its promise of the Earth, the  
Earth for All.

The Truth is marching on.

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\*This song was sung for the first time at the banquet of the Women's National Single Tax League at Washington, on May 28. See pages 535 and 541 of this Public. Clubs, associations, and so on, wishing copies of the song can procure them of Miss G. I. Colbron, 250 West 78th St., New York City, for 15 cents a hundred, including postage. The copies are printed on good, strong paper that will stand being used many times.



## LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

### No. 3. The Man Who Had Gone Wrong.

For the Public.

"He is a jail-bird, that fellow Mike Daley. Served time for theft. I only heard of it tonight. I'll fire him in the morning."

The speaker was the foreman of a construction crew, and the listener was the superintendent. A big company was building a reservoir, which involved roads, mills and all sorts of things.

"Now, Swift, I know just how you feel about it. Suppose you say nothing more, but send him to me. And how did you pick this up? From one of the new men?"

"Yes."

"Well, send the 'ex' to me in the morning, and send the fellow who told you in the afternoon. I want to try an experiment."

The foreman looked frankly disgusted. "I think it's a lot better to let him go quietly, and at once. Perhaps the other fellow had better go, too. But it's all around by now, I haven't a doubt. That 'con' can't live it down."

"You seem to think that I shall keep him on," said the superintendent, laughing. "Perhaps it will not be the best thing. But really, Swift, what I want to do is to take time enough to find out what is the wisest course, considering the man himself. You know that he is a good workman."

"Yes, Mr. Rowland, none better."

Early the next morning Daley came to the office. He was a big, black-bearded fellow, neither young nor old. He had a slouch, and eyes that locked up their own secrets.

The superintendent studied him intently, but invisibly; he liked the man at once.

"Daley," he said, "your foreman says we have no better workman on the job."

Surprise glimmered a little in his eyes, and was banked at once; he had expected a very different salute.

"Now, Daley, I like you myself, and I believe that you have had a hard sort of a fight since you were a boy."

"Yis, sor, Oi hov," the man replied, fully on guard.

"So have I," said the superintendent. "I had to leave school and take care of my mother and sisters. I did all sorts of things. I was awfully tempted to go wrong, but somehow I didn't, though lots of better fellows that I grew up with got off the track. Some of them worked back again, and some did not try quite hard enough."

"Thin," said Daley, with a little twist in his voice, "Ye think a man that runs crooked can get on the thrack agin?"

"I do; of course I do," the superintendent replied.

"There's none knows it, sor," said Daley, "but I served me time for theft. Foive year it was. An' me wife died. Oi hov a bhoy in school, an' he is that innocent about it all. Nivir cu'd I tell him. Now, it is loikly ye'll fire me. Noine toimes this lasht two year thot has happen'd. I kape on at it bekase of the bhoy."

The superintendent did everything his own way; he was ever a law unto himself. He rose, drew a chair close, sat down by Daley, put a hand out on his.

"It's all right, my friend. You ought to be a happy man, because when you did wrong, society found you out, and made you pay the price. You have paid it fully. No one has any right to stick outside expense charges on you, Mike."

Daley looked at the superintendent. Something new and more wonderful than words could describe came up out of the depths of his eyes, and gazed at Rowland. Its name was Hope.

"My friend," said the superintendent, "I mean it all. Go to that shelf, and borrow any books you want. Come in and talk them over with me. You have ability; now study hard, and climb up." He shook hands with Daley and sent him back to his work with the request:

"Please tell Mr. Swift to come in at noon."

Mike Daley went out, in a sort of trembling rebirth, and entered the world of men.

"Twicst he called me his friend, twicst!" he whispered under his breath.

Swift came in at noon, and the superintendent took him into the inner office, looked at him thoughtfully, questioned within himself where to begin.

"I want to tell you about something which happened a great many years ago, Swift, back in Hartford. There was a boy there who became dissipated, fell under the influence of a bad woman, and,—and, Swift, he finally stole quite a lot of money. Then his older brother, who was your own father, came along, and paid the money, hushed it all up, put the youngster at hard work out West, and made a splendid man of him."

"All that is gospel truth," said Swift, "but how in heaven's name did you know about it?"

"The man he stole the money from did not keep his promise not to tell. It became known to a number of people."

"That scoundrel ought to have been thrashed," cried Swift, in rage.

"Certainly," said the superintendent, going on to draw the deadly parallel with the case of poor Daley, and finally sending him out a firm ally in the cause.

Before Swift left, the man who had told on Daley came in. The superintendent neglected him a while, watched and studied him, then suddenly turned loose:

"Malby," he said, "how long did you serve time?"

"Six—no, sir. Never!"

"Where was it?" said the superintendent, overriding the denial. The man told him, yielding to the inevitable.

"That's where you heard of my friend Mike Daley, then?"

"Yes."

"Well, don't you feel just a little mean about all this? Mike is a better man than you are."

Malby began a series of voluble protestations and explanations. "It was an accident; it won't happen again."

The superintendent turned to Swift: "Send this man to the other end of the reservoir. If he talks any more about any of his fellow workers on this job, fire him quick. If he behaves, give him just the same sort of a square deal that the rest are having."

"Come on, Malby," said Swift.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



### THE FOOL.

G. K. Chesterton in the *London Daily News* of March 30, 1912.

For many years I had sought him, and at last I found him in a club. I had been told that he was everywhere; but I had almost begun to think that he was nowhere. I had been assured that there were millions of him; but before my late discovery I inclined to think that there were none of him. After my late discovery I am sure that there is one; and I incline to think that there are several, say, a few hundreds; but unfortunately most of them occupying important positions. When I say "him," I mean the entire idiot. . . .

He was very well dressed; he had a heavy but handsome face; his black clothes suggested the City and his grey moustaches the Army; but the whole suggested that he did not really belong to either, but was one of those who dabble in shares and who play at soldiers. There was some third element about him that was neither mercantile nor military. His manners were a shade too gentlemanly to be quite those of a gentleman. They involved an unction and overemphasis of the club man; then I suddenly remembered feeling the same thing in some old actors or old playgoers who had modeled themselves on actors. As I came in he said, "If I was the Government," and then put a cigar in his mouth which he lit carefully with long intakes of breath. Then he took the cigar out of his mouth again and said, "I'd give it 'em," as if it were quite a separate sentence. But even while his mouth was stopped with the cigar his companion or interlocutor leaped to his feet and said with great heartiness, snatching up a hat, "Well, I must be off. Tuesday!" I dislike these dark suspicions, but I certainly fancied I recog-

nized that sudden geniality with which one takes leave of a bore.

When, therefore, he removed the narcotic stopper from his mouth it was to me that he addressed the belated epigram, "I'd give it 'em."

"What would you give them?" I asked; "the minimum wage?"

"I'd give them beans," he said. "I'd shoot 'em down—shoot 'em down, every man Jack of them. I lost my best train yesterday, and here's the whole country paralyzed, and here's a handful of obstinate fellows standing between the country and coal. I'd shoot 'em down!"

"That would surely be a little harsh," I pleaded. "After all, they are not under martial law, though I suppose two or three of them have commissions in the Yeomanry."

"Commissions in the Yeomanry!" he repeated, and his eyes and face, which became startling and separate, like those of a boiled lobster, made me feel sure that he had something of the kind himself.

"Besides," I continued, "wouldn't it be quite enough to confiscate their money?"

"Well, I'd send them all to penal servitude, anyhow," he said, "and I'd confiscate their funds as well."

"The policy is daring and full of difficulty," I replied, "but I do not say that it is wholly outside the extreme rights of the republic. But you must remember that though the facts of property have become quite fantastic, yet the sentiment of property still exists. These coal owners, though they have not earned the mines, though they could not work the mines, do quite honestly feel that they own the mines. Hence your suggestion of shooting them down, or even of confiscating their property, raises very—"

"What do you mean?" asked the man with the cigar, with a bullying eye. "Who yer talking about?"

"I'm talking about what you were talking about," I replied, "as you put it so perfectly, about the handful of obstinate fellows who are standing between the country and the coal. I mean the men who are selling their own coal for fancy prices, and who, as long as they can get those prices, care as little for national starvation as most merchant princes and pirates have cared for the provinces that were wasted or the peoples that were enslaved just before their ships came home. But though I am a bit of a revolutionist myself, I cannot quite go with you in the extreme violence you suggest. You say—"

"I say," he cried, bursting through my speech with a really splendid energy like that of some noble beast, "I say I'd take all these blasted miners and—"

I had risen slowly to my feet, for I was profoundly moved, and I stood staring at that mental monster.

"Oh," I said, "so it is the *miners* who are all to be sent to penal servitude, so that we may get more coal. It is the *miners* who are to be shot dead, every man Jack of them; for if once they are all shot dead they will start mining again. . . . You must forgive me, sir; I know I seem somewhat moved; . . . the fact is I have just found something, . . . something I have been looking for for years."

"Well," he asked, with no unfriendly stare, "and what have you found?"

"No," I answered, shaking my head sadly, "I do not think it would be quite kind to tell you what I have found."

He had a hundred virtues, including the capital virtue of good humor, and we had no difficulty in changing the subject and forgetting the disagreement. He talked about society, his town friends and his country sports, and I discovered in the course of it that he was a county magistrate, a member of Parliament, and a director of several important companies. He was also that other thing, which I did not tell him.



## THROUGH THE OUTLOOKING GLASS.

From the *New York Nation* of May 30.

"Whichever way you look at it," said the Red Knight, "there is only one possible conclusion. I am the logical candidate at Chicago."

"What is a logical candidate?" said Alice.

"A logical candidate," said the Red Knight, "is one who, when the necessity arises, can prove that 'I won't' means 'I will.'"

"That should be a very difficult thing to do," said Alice.

"I find it the easiest thing in the world," said the Red Knight. "Let us look at it in this way: No one will deny that the President of the United States should be a man about fifty-four years old, about five feet ten inches tall, powerfully built, wear glasses, and live on the north shore of Long Island. That, I believe, is axiomatic."

"That's another word I don't know the meaning of," said Alice.

"An axiom, my dear girl, is something which is so obviously true that the man who denies it must be a crook or an infamous liar. Very well, then. In the second place, a candidate for the Presidency should be a man of wide experience. He must have lived in the White House at least seven years, and before that he must have been a member of the Legislature, a Police Commissioner, a cavalry colonel, and the author of a short but masterly treatise on the Irish sagas."

"Is that axiomatic, also?" said Alice.

"Naturally," said the Red Knight.

"Then it means once more you."

"Exactly," said the Red Knight. "And in the last place he should be a descendant of the old Dutch patroons, a native of New York, and his name should begin with an R and end with a T and have at least two O's and a V between. Now what does all that prove?"

"Axiomatically, you mean?" said Alice.

"Of course," said the Red Knight.

"It means you again," said Alice.

"You are a very bright child to see the point so quickly," said the Red Knight. "Thus I am the logical candidate of the moment. But please observe that I am much more than that. I am also the physiological candidate, because I can speak faster and louder than any man in the country, and can slug a man harder through the ropes. Then I am the zoological candidate, because of my record in Africa. And I am the entomological candidate, because I am the broadest-minded man in the world, and my views are absolutely insectarian."

"I don't think that is a very good pun, do you?" said Alice.

"I think it's one of the best puns I ever heard," said the Red Knight, hastily, and went on. "The successful candidate must be one who knows how to make hay when the sun shines and how to get in out of the rain; therefore I am the meteorological candidate. He should be the man brought forward by a vast national upheaval; that makes me the geological candidate. And, above all, he must not be thin-skinned when accused of bad faith and personal motives; that makes me the dermatological candidate. So what does all this show?"

"It shows," said Alice, "that you *are* the logical candidate."

"It does," said the Red Knight, and, having divested himself of his armor, he thrust his hands into his pockets and whistled cheerfully.

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## BOOKS

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### A LIFE OF MARK HANNA.

Marcus Alonzo Hanna: *His Life and Work.* By Herbert Croly. With portrait. The Macmillan Co. \$2.50 net.

The attitude of too many reformers toward politicians of the old school is a Pharisaic attitude of condemnation as if those gentlemen had been guilty of personal unrighteousness in being what they were. Mr. Croly, in writing the life of "Mark" Hanna, sees the falsity of this attitude.

Marcus Hanna certainly did stand for what we now call privilege, but Mr. Croly shows us that he did not deliberately choose it after seeing a vision of privilege on the one hand and purity and democracy on the other hand. To him no

such vision was granted. He was a product of contemporary conditions. "Only one explanation will account for his peculiar success. He must have embodied in his own life and purposes some vital American social and economic tradition, which gave his personality, individual as it was, more than an individual meaning and impulse." This tradition, thinks Mr. Croly, was that of the pioneer.

But how, the reader may ask, can a man whose career did not begin until after the Civil War, represent the pioneer? In virtue of the fact, the author answers, that that spirit was only partially expressed in its immediate overt work: "The completer revelation must wait on history and experience. Generations must pass before a national social and economic movement develops fully its own latent tendencies and capabilities."

Mark Hanna, then, carried on the tradition of fighting for one's self on the one hand, but of "doing things" in the process on the other hand. To him the Republican party, as Mr. Croly observes, was the government (just as to Parson Thwackum, the Episcopal Church was Christianity), and insurgency was therefore a sort of treason.

Obviously the whole attitude is one that we Democrats of a later date and wider insight must deplore, but if we recognize evolution at all, there must be a rough if there is to be any evolution to a smooth. And so we must judge Hanna by the rough of his day rather than by the smooth of our own. And without losing his own sense of democracy, Mr. Croly does succeed in showing that Hanna was more of a man than many people since his day have been willing to credit him with being. Instead of a flattering or a condemnatory biography, Mr. Croly has written an analytic and a just biography.

LEWELLYN JONES.



### THE IDEAL LIFE.

**Christian Healing.** By Charles Fillmore. Unity Tract Society, Kansas City, Mo. Cloth, \$1.50; paper, 75c.

In the midst of the hard utilitarian facts which we are discussing in the common every day light of our observations, it is a novel experience to take the viewpoint of a metaphysician like Mr. Fillmore and seek to see things from the inner world of causes rather than from the surface realm of effects where we admit that we often labor with unsatisfactory results.

It is not a matter of mere physical healing to which this book—now in its third edition—directs the reader's attention. The place where we habitually dwell in thought is shown to be our true arena of action and the order or disorder of life

in general flows from that inner consciousness where burns the secret fire of our love and desire.

It is always the real and permanent in contrast to the false and transitory which Mr. Fillmore persistently urges us to accept as the be-all and cure-all of every mental and material ill under the sun. His philosophy relates itself to every condition of life and applies the healing balm and vitalizing power of thought to the correction of whatever trouble the human mind has ignorantly or wilfully brought upon the individual or the race.

To comprehend a state where it is possible to exist, even for a moment, free from the limitations of time, space and conditions, is really to come into a perception of the power which rules these things and makes men and women superior to them.

This interpreter of the Word which has been with us from the beginning proves his position by the statements and example of one who has been named the Savior of the world, but whose teachings, either in letter or spirit, have been so rarely followed that the dreamer who boldly attempts it may be styled a mad man or a fool by such as pride themselves on their plain, matter-of-fact reasoning about appearances which they mistake for realities.

A. L. M.



### THE HISTORY OF A GRAND VIZIR OF TURKEY.

**Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent.** By Hester Donaldson Jenkins. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 115. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

A timely and well done essay comes from Columbia University—a doctor's thesis on the magic rise and sudden fall of an Ibrahim of the 16th century, the comrade and favorite of his sultan. His story, told by a traveled student of history intimate in modern Turkey, gives sympathetic glimpses into the Turkish character and customs of today, though describing the earliest diplomatic intercourse between Christian and Mohammedan in Europe.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



### STATISTICS.

**The Elements of Statistical Method.** By Willford I. King, M. A., Instructor in Statistics in the University of Wisconsin. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1912. \$1.50 net.

Protectionists should avoid this book. For example, it instructs the investigator wishing to make a study of comparative wages that "he must first decide as to whether the requirements of his

problem demand a knowledge of money wages or real wages," and then make "sure as to whether he needs to know the wages paid for a definite amount of effort, for making a certain product, or for working a certain length of time."

Careful thinking like that would "play hob" with the finest collection of Protection statistics ever gathered, but it is typical of the book; which is equivalent to saying that this is a kind of book that has long been badly needed for purposes of statistical study and criticism.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—Applied Socialism. By John Spargo. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Super Race. By Scott Nearing. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, 50 cents net.

—Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Monopolies and Trusts. By Richard T. Ely. New Edition. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, 50 cents net.

—Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

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The Church and the Laboring Man.

In a little pamphlet entitled "The Church and the Workingman" (Golden Rule Publishing Co., Nashua, N. H. Price, 10 cents), the Rev. Edgar F. Blanchard finds that the underlying purpose of the Mosaic Poor Laws and of the early Christian church was "to prevent destitution and distress, rather than to help people as objects of charity after they had come to distress"; and prophesies that the new church soon to appear will be "a Religious Brotherhood—a religious system organized on positive ethical and fraternal principles." From this combination of lodge, labor union and church, the workingman will not stay away.

A. L. G.

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## PERIODICALS

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Halidon.

On the Presumpscot River, six miles west of Portland, Maine, and within the limits of the city of Westbrook, is the village of Halidon—a new community founded by William L. Price, Frank Stephens and Fiske Warren on a land nationalization plan akin to those of Fairhope, Arden and others. The purpose of this colony, its written constitution, deed of trust and form of lease, all are printed and explained in "The Enterprise" of September, 1911, issued by

the Westbrook Board of Trade, Westbrook, Maine, at 8 cents a copy.

A. L. G.



Syndicalism.

The Metropolitan Magazine (New York) for June gives us an article by Keir Hardie on "Labor's Victory in England" and one by Carl Hovey on "Haywood and Haywoodism," which help to an understanding of that class war in which San Diego is one of the battles and Lawrence was recently another.



Forest-Rangers.

Charles Howard Shinn writes for The Outlook of May a dramatic story of United States ranger life in the San Joaquin forest, where half-broken

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## Women's Trade Union League

OF CHICAGO

### JUNE FESTIVAL

Colonial Hall, 20 W. Randolph St., Near State

SUNDAY, JUNE 9, 1912, 3 P. M.

Speaker: MISS VIRGINA BROOKS

Subject: "WOMEN IN CIVIC WORK"

SINGING BY MISS JULIA MANIERRE

Everybody Welcome  
Miss Emma Steghagen, Sec.

Ice Cream and Cake  
Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres.

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horses stampede, and fire-water robs the service of a good man.

A. L. G.



### The Budkavlen.

Budkavlen (Stockholm) for June, just to hand, is a Canada number, and illustrated. In a well-assorted series of articles from the pens of Messrs. Johan Hansson, Karl Elander and A. J. Nock, it gives an account up to date of the progress of the Singletax movement in Canada, which is at the same time compact and comprehensive, instructive and interesting. There is also an article on "The Henry George Movement in China," with portrait of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and a translation of the editorial in The Public of April 5, "Toward the Light."

S. T.



When Miss Ann Pickett dropped in on her neighbor, Mrs. Spicer, and found her moping over the fragments of a gilt vase, Miss Ann sympathized generously. "It must have been quite a costly vase," she said, looking admiringly at the pieces.

"No, it only cost six bits," Mrs. Spicer acknowledged. "Tain't that I feel so bad about."

"Maybe it was a gift that you prized because of associations——"

Mrs. Spicer shook her head. "Jim and I bought it over in Tompkinsville a long time ago; I prized it because it was such a saving to the family. The first year we had it I kept it on the front shelf for a general ornament; then when Jim's birthday came and I hadn't anything else handy to give, I gave him the vase for his own. Next Christmas, instead of paying out good money to buy something new, he gave it back to me for a Christmas present; then I gave it to Jim junior on his birthday, and he gave it to Sue Belle on hers.

"The next spring all the kinfolks got up a birthday party for old Aunt Sallie Spicer, and we took her the vase; after she'd kep' it a good bit, she gave it to Jim's sister Jane for a weddin' present, and afterwards Jane gave it to me and Jim when we had our china weddin'. I was counting on giving it to Jim again on his next birthday, and now here it is smashed to flinders.

"I tell you, Miss Ann, it most makes me cry to think of losing such a useful family article—so near Jim's birthday, too!"—The Youth's Companion.



"A penny stamp, please—and, by-the-way, haven't I seen you before?"

"Yes, Madam. I had the good fortune to save your life last week."

"To be sure—to be sure—er—two penny stamps, please."—Punch.



A large boarding house caught fire during dinner, and much confusion resulted.

After the worst was over, the landlady, who was a philosophical soul, remarked that it was a blessing that the fire had not happened at night, as some life might have been lost.

A little later the colored boy, who heard this,

mysteriously called her aside and cautiously exhibited a great bunch of dark, tangled hair. "Don't say nothin', Miss Nora," he whispered. "Dis fiah is worse dan it 'pears. One o' dem ladies in de room ovah de liberry done get burnt up. I ben up dar to see, an' I found her hair."—Ladies' Home Journal.

## CANADA PAYS 3 TO 1 ON INVESTMENTS

It is wonderful how much can be made on city lots in Canadian railroad towns. If a man had put \$200 to \$300 in choice locations in Calgary, Edmonton, Prince Rupert, Saskatoon or Fort George a few years ago, today he would be worth anywhere from \$5,000 to \$50,000 because of the increase.

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The railroad is due to come this summer, and as soon as it does, values will in all probability double or triple almost over night. Think of the opportunity now before you in Fort Fraser, with not only this railroad but three others headed that way. Lots, if taken quickly, can be had for \$200 and up, on the easy terms of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent per month. The British Columbia Government itself guarantees the titles. No interest or taxes until lots are fully paid for.

Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. G, Marquette Bldg., Chicago, who are the official representatives of the townsite. They are employed to give you free plat, full information and their best aid in selecting the choicest locations. They will also tell you about choice selected garden land near Fort Fraser to be had on easy terms.

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