

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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The "City with the Civic Mind."

How Tom Johnson gave to the city he labored and died for, the "civic mind," as Edmund Vance Cooke has called it, was told with extraordinary but simple eloquence at the Conference of Charities and Correction at Cleveland on the 17th by Mayor Johnson's successor as Mayor of Cleveland, Newton D. Baker. The secret, according to Mayor Baker, lay with the development of the responsibility of citizenship. This worked even into at least a partial solution of that most difficult of all civic problems, the personal vice question. Mayor Baker asserted that Mayor Johnson had made Cleveland freer than any other large city of the United States, from city vices, not by closing up vicious places, but by making every man feel himself to be a responsible citizen. This policy has now been extended on new lines to the boys of the city, among whom 200 have been organized as a Junior Sanitary police force, authorized by the Mayor, wearing badges of office, officered by themselves, and having a superintendent from their own membership and of their own choice, who reports weekly to the Mayor. Self-control—that is democracy in morals.



Roosevelt and the "Steam Roller."

When Mr. Roosevelt was nominated for the Vice-Presidency in 1900, and for the Presidency in 1904, he knew that the "Steam Roller" was working for him. He knew it, and was glad. In

1908, he himself worked the Roller for Taft; and he was glad about that, too. But in 1912, at a nominating convention in which he has been persuaded that he has a chance, he discovers that the Roller is a bad thing—a very bad thing, you know; and he announces that he would be “de-lighted” to have it consigned to the junk-pile, the scrap-heap, or any other old place. This, however, is probably not to be. History has marked a great deal of progress, but “Steam Rollers” are never banished so suddenly as Mr. Roosevelt thinks the G. O. P. Roller ought to be. In fact, one of the troubles with Mr. Roosevelt is that he seems to be unable to draw the line of distinction as to the wisdom and justice of Steam Rollers, except by the test of Roosevelt on the Roller, or Roosevelt under the Roller. And now that the Roller begins to roll over him he emits wild cries for help in the name of Justice, which he spells with an initial R. If Roosevelt had been eaten in Africa by a Rollipotamus, how calm the Republican Convention might be!



China Shops and Bulls.

An untethered bull in your competitor's china shop may be well enough in a way, but what about untethering him in your own?



The Money Trust.

The facility with which the business of the country is harnessed in the stables of Wall Street, and the power of J. Pierpont Morgan when he mounts the box and cracks his financial whip, are coming into the limelight at the investigations of the Congressional committee into the money trust.



Good Scheme.

An enterprising advertising concern offers to privileged corporations an educational service—that is, a literary output of a kind calculated to convince the public that it is good for them to be stolen from by law,—the literary output aforesaid to be published as advertising matter, and candidly as such. Corporations ought to subscribe liberally. They may not suppose that pleasant literary matter about them would be a very valuable purchase if it is to appear candidly as a paid “ad.” But let them think again. Who can tell how much editorial matter “on the side,” might find its way into publications that got the candidly paid for “ads”?

Fiscal Progress in Houston.

With his introduction of the Somers system of valuations, Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza* of Houston, Texas, has closed that city's tax books with extraordinarily satisfactory results. He has assessed land values at 70 cents on the dollar, and improvements at 25 cents on the dollar; and has secured exemptions of all personal property except automobiles and the capital stock and the surplus and undivided profits of banks. He has also procured the repeal of the license tax for erecting buildings, and has been relieved of the duty of levying taxes on any kind of useful occupation—the requirement that no one could do business in Houston without paying an annual vocation tax, having been repealed. The public service corporations of Houston, heretofore untaxed, are now assessed nearly \$2,000,000. Naturally the big land monopolists made all the trouble they could, in an effort to cut down the assessment on land, but after many difficulties, the results noted above have been obtained. How unfair the previous taxation must have been may be inferred from the fact that the 70 per cent assessment of land and the 25 per cent assessment of buildings, raises the total assessment from \$64,000,000 in 1910 to \$94,000,000 in 1912; and yet that more than 3,000 property owners pay less taxes at the \$1.50 tax rate of 1912, than they did at the \$1.70 tax rate of 1910. A few experiences of this kind may make small property owners “sit up and take notice.” They may possibly take notice enough to arouse a wholesome suspicion as to the motives that actuate Big Business in its opposition to the Somers system of land valuations and to the Singletax policy of lessening taxes on improvements and increasing taxes on land values.



Labor and Life, Here and Abroad.

A busy statistician announces that while the cost of living of a railway employe in the United States is not 50 per cent more than that of such a workman in Great Britain, his pay is more than double. It is possible, of course, to make comparative statistics of the money wages of different countries, but one should see the figures before concluding that a fair comparison has been made as to cost of living. The question at this point cannot be settled by paralleling market price lists. Whether a railway employe of Great Britain could live as well in the United States as in Great Britain, without more grinding work, may at least be

*See The Public of March 29, 1912, page 298.

questioned until more enlightening facts appear than any which price lists alone afford.



Public Railways.

It is hardly to be expected that the reluctant acknowledgment, no longer possible to withhold, that public ownership and operation of railways in Switzerland is a demonstrated success, will end opposition in the United States to this method of railway administration. Vested interests do not so easily collapse. It is now urged that differences between Switzerland and the United States, to the credit of the Swiss, are reasons for not profiting here by the Swiss example. For the present, therefore, we shall hear much of the failure of public ownership and operation of railways in Australasia, Switzerland being no longer available as a horrible example and Australasia being far enough away to be safely misrepresented. But the truth is gradually forcing its way out, and private ownership and operation of public highways is doomed, in this country as everywhere else.



THE CITY PROBLEM.

The tendency of population to the city is irresistible. The genius of modern industry inevitably forces the people from the country to the city. Every addition to labor-saving mechanism attracts a worker from the farm to the factory, where only that mechanism can be economically fabricated. Every labor-saving device for the farm disemploys a farm hand (in some instances thousands of farm hands) whose sole refuge is the city.

Fifty years ago troops of men and boys could be seen in every cornfield, planting and hoeing, and, with the double-shovel plow, "cultivating" the corn, twice the length of the field to each row. Today, one man and team, with the modern planter, will plant two rows as fast as the horses can walk, and will "cultivate" one row by traveling half the distance, as fast as the horses can walk; and will do it so completely that hoeing is entirely dispensed with.

Fifty years ago the mechanics and laborers of the towns, or villages, spent several months of the year haying, harvesting, threshing and performing other work on the farm that is now done by machinery, which latter is produced by the laborers, now kept permanently in the city, by force of the changed conditions. The always growing and absolutely irresistible tendency of the increasing population is to the city.

"Back to the farm"? You might with equal consistency cry: "Back to feudalism!" The city is the goal of human progress.



There is but one thing that could possibly turn the people from the city back to the farm; and that is a decline in the efficiency of labor-saving machinery. Destroy all agricultural implements, and forget how to make them—kill the inventive faculty in man—and the dream (or nightmare) of Professor Reaction will be realized: "Back to the farm" the hungry, barefooted, one-shirted populace will pour, with crooked sticks for hoes and ox teams for power!



Why is it that ten cities of the world today contain twenty-eight millions of souls?—to say nothing of the many millions living in the hundreds of other cities. It is because they cannot live anywhere else. Labor-saving machinery has driven them from the farm. Every year it is, by its increased efficiency, driving more and more of them from the farm. And there are but two places in all the world—the "country" and the city.

The tendency of population to the city is accelerating. The day is not far hence when the whole civilized world will live in the city. For the city is the final goal of human progress.

At the bottom of this tendency is that law which is in human nature what the law of gravitation is in physics—the law, namely, which impels men to gratify their desires by the way of least resistance. The force of resistance diminishes step by step, with each movement from the solitude of the back woods to the multitudinously populous city.

There are those who will dispute this. It may be worth while to mention to such that the way to the back woods is open; but the fresher footprints point cityward.



Oh, yes! the condition of the poor in the city. No, I had not forgotten that.

All that I have thus far written was precisely because I had not forgotten that. They that are well need no physician. But the multitudes in the city who are, economically, sick, if we are physicians shall we not minister to them?

First, the city is, by forces implicated in human progress, and therefore irresistible, the only place on earth where they can exist.

In the city center are the means by which the

wealth of the world has been many times multiplied. In the city are a thousand modes for the employment of labor where one may be found elsewhere. In the city the opportunities for employment multiply and expand perennially, while elsewhere they steadily diminish. And the city is rich, beyond the dreams of our fathers. Yet the poor swarm in squalid wretchedness in the great centers of population where wealth is massed beyond computation!

If not this wealth—this particular substance of wealth here massed—shall supply the need of the poor, then whence shall, or can, relief come? They have toiled and produced, and the product is here. They will toil through another year, and the accumulation of wealth here massed will be increased by their product; but their poverty will not be less; for, somewhere in the labyrinth of exchange a portion of what should go to them is withheld, and is added to the mass of wealth which alone could supply their need, but which not they who need, but others who already have redundancy may enjoy.

We must not ask that they who possess the surplus wealth distribute it to the poor, for we assume that they got it lawfully. Neither should we wish any such distribution, for it could afford no permanent relief, if it were possible, which it is not. The remedy must be preventive. We must find the cause of the vast accumulation in the possession of the few, while so many of the producers starve.



If I build a house, it immediately begins to decay; if I build a factory and fill it with machinery, the whole aggregation declines in value from the start; in a short time all the products of human labor vanish away.

But the land, which no man has produced, forever increases in value where there is progress. So rapid is the increase of the value of land, that, in the ten cities above mentioned, where dwell twenty-eight million souls—land that, before the city arose, would not have brought the price of a breakfast—the land on which the cities stand would today sell for more than all the wealth that has been built upon it! Build the house one story high, or raise the mercantile pile till its roof pierce the clouds, yet the average value of the city's site overtops all!

Who produces this value in the site of the city? Is it the owner of the land?

During the great aviation meet in Chicago last year I visited the city. On the train I got into conversation with a gentleman from Iowa. In

the course of our chat he said: "I bought a building lot in Brooklyn some years ago, paying sixteen hundred dollars for it. Lately I refused ten thousand for it." "Ever see the lot?" I asked. "Yes, once before I bought it," he answered, "and once since."

Kind reader—gentle reader—honest reader, did that man produce the eight thousand four hundred dollars increase in value of that building site?

Let us ask him—I did.

"How do you account for that great increase in value?" I asked.

"Oh," he replied, "the city is growing fast—enormous increase in population. They've lately built a big passenger station near by, and every improvement adds to the value of the land."

Let us take his word for it—he did absolutely nothing, gave absolutely nothing to the rapidly increasing population in exchange for that increase in value of his land. But, of course, he credits that value to the increasing population, with its industrial activities.

Now, if he had lived in Brooklyn all those years, and had carried a hod alongside of Tam O'Shanter every working day, would he have added any more to the value of that building lot than Tam O'Shanter would have done? But he did not live there, while Tam O'Shanter did; and Tam worked faithfully every working day. And Tam was one of the increasing population to whose presence and work the owner credits the increase in the value of the land. But times are hard, and Tam is out of a job, and out of money, and he and his wife and children are now added to the number of the city's poor.

Out on an Iowa farm is a man who owns a snug portion of the surplus wealth massed in that great center of population, the city of Brooklyn. And while the problem of the city's slums is brooding over the world, the millions of dollars in rent of the lands on which the cities of the world stand, produced by Tam O'Shanter and his fellow workers, are pouring into the coffers of the individuals among whom the earth has been partitioned, while the disinherited stand perplexed, in common with most others, in the contemplation of ever-increasing wealth and ever-increasing poverty!



I said, above, that "somewhere in the labyrinth of exchange a portion of what should go to the toilers is withheld, and is added to the mass of wealth which alone could supply their need, but

which not they, but others may enjoy." Have we found that "somewhere"?

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE REFERENDUM AS A FIFTH WHEEL.

W. W. Buchanan of Winnipeg, Canada, who has been a public advocate of Direct Legislation for twenty years and of Singletax for thirty years, at a banquet of the Direct Legislation League at Winnipeg on May 9, put one over on the Premier of his Province with an illustration that will live. R. P. Roblin, the Premier, had stated that the Referendum, if not absolutely mischievous, would be as useless as the fifth wheel on a coach, and Mr. Buchanan replied:

"I thank the Premier for a thought-starter toward a splendid illustration. The referendum is certainly like the fifth wheel of a coach, and the use of the maxim in this connection indicates that the Premier is easily ten years behind the time. The coach of today is a motor car, and the man found fifty miles from his garage without a fifth wheel on his automobile would not require a commission in lunacy to help him to gain admission to an insane asylum. Time and the automobile have made the old maxim as obsolete as a wooden gunboat. It is true that we do not change the mechanism of the car, nor put the fifth wheel upon an axle to increase wear and friction. We strap it on behind and cherish the ardent hope that it will stay there. We do not want to use it—until something goes wrong, and then we know where it is, and we are not left in the mud, or sitting by the side of the road, where the races of men go by, to sneer at us. The Referendum will not interfere with the legislative or administrative processes of government, unless something goes wrong, and then it can be used to keep the coach of state moving splendidly forward on the road of human progress."

S. S.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, June 18, 1912.

The Republican National Convention.

In the Coliseum at Chicago the national Republican convention met on the 18th for the purpose of formulating the party platform and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, to be voted for at the election on the 5th day of November next. [See current volume, page 563.]



Prior to the assembling of this convention, the

national committee of the Republican party had been in session for more than a week adjusting preliminary details. Principal among the details with which it was charged was the decision of contests for seats as delegates. Under the rules of the party, the decisions of this committee are not final, but under the present circumstances they seemed on all hands to be probably final in effect. For as the temporary roll of the convention is thus made up, and as the convention organizes on the basis of this roll, all its subsequent proceedings may turn out to have been dictated by those preliminary decisions of the national committee. For illustration: Suppose a close race between rival candidates for the Presidential nomination; suppose contests which if decided one way would give to one candidate a majority of the delegates on the temporary roll; but if decided the other way would give it to the other candidate. In those circumstances the faction having a majority on the temporary roll could seat its own choice for temporary chairman of the convention, pack the credentials committee of the convention so as to secure confirmation of the previous decisions of the national committee, name its own candidate for permanent chairman, determine the factional color of all committees, and finally name its own candidates for President and Vice-President—all by the narrow majority given it originally by the national committee's pre-convention decisions on questions of contested seats for delegates. This is what could happen, subject of course to many variations in detail; and this is what the Roosevelt faction asserts that the Taft faction intended to have happen. When the national committee closed its work on the 15th it had completed the temporary roll, which indicated the following distribution of delegates: Taft, 563; Roosevelt, 466; La Follette, 36; Cummins, 10; Hughes, 1; Lincoln, 2; a majority of 24 for Taft.



According to the Roosevelt view, the preparation of this temporary roll showed a bold attempt by the Taft faction to make the convention misrepresent the party. The substance of their argument is that the national committee is a hold-over body, appointed at the previous quadrennial convention (which is true except as to a few vacancies); that most of the members of this committee, such as Crane of Massachusetts and Penrose of Pennsylvania, were defeated both personally and as to their "standpat" policies by the voters of the Republican party at the recent primaries (which is true as to those Taft leaders, and is probably true altogether); that these discredited representatives have decided contests with manifest factional partisanship in favor of Taft by a solid "steam roller" vote of about 36—a majority of something like 20—regardless of the

merits of the contests, and notwithstanding that the other members have voted according to the merits of the contests even when this was against their own factional interests; that the primaries preceding these factional decisions of the committee demonstrated an overwhelming demand of the Republican voters for Roosevelt as against Taft; and that these decisions by the hold-over committee are pursuant to a plan to steal the nomination from Roosevelt, whom the rank and file of the party want, and to give it to Taft, whom they do not want.

Mr. Roosevelt rushed to Chicago to meet the emergency in person, arriving late in the afternoon of the 15th. He was received by an immense crowd, and from the balcony of the Congress Hotel he made the following speech, as reported on the 16th by the Chicago Tribune, which is strongly pro-Roosevelt:

My friends: (Applause.) Chicago is a bad place for men to try to steal in. (Applause.) I wish you to look at that placard of California. The placard says California refuses to try title to property before the thieves who stole it. California's twenty-six votes are mine and shall be counted as such. And, mind you, the receiver of stolen goods is no better than the thief. This has come down to mean a fight for honesty against dishonesty, for honesty against theft. The people have spoken and the politicians, dead or living, who opposed them will be made to understand that they are the servants and not the masters of the rank and file of the plain people of the republic. This is no factional fight. This is a contest between the people themselves and the professional politicians representing all that is worst in the corruption of business. And the people will win. (Applause.) And we had in the primaries (a voice, "Illinois"). Yes, sir, 56 to 2. And from States where the people could express their will we have obtained your votes two to one, three to one, and even eight to one. And now the people are stronger than ever before. Our opponents of that day contain many hundreds and thousands of men who, while they were against us then, refuse to countenance theft and robbery now. It is a naked fight against theft and thieves, and thieves shall not win. (Applause.)

When the convention assembled on the 18th it was called to order by Victor Rosewater, chairman of the holdover national committee, and proceeded to election of temporary chairman. After a spectacular six hours' contest, Elihu Root, the nominee of the Taft majority in the national committee, was named by a vote of 558, as against Governor Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin, the nominee of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters, who received 502 votes; with 18 votes scattering. The presentation of McGovern's name had been op-

posed in the Wisconsin delegation by a vote of 15 to 11, on the ground that it diverted strength from La Follette.

Socialist Politics.

The first campaign in which the Socialist party has had a complete ticket in every State was opened in Chicago on the 16th, at Riverview Park, where Eugene V. Debs and Emil Seidel, the Socialist candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, made addresses. [See current volume, page 487.]

At the Social Democratic State convention held in Milwaukee on the 16th, Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee was nominated for Governor, H. M. Parks of Superior for Lieutenant Governor, and Ray Weaver of Beaver Dam for Secretary of State. W. R. Gaylord of Milwaukee was elected State chairman, and Miss E. H. Thomas of Milwaukee, secretary.

The Labor War.

In consequence of the dockworkers' strike in London, the "Majestic," White Star liner, canceled its sailing from Southampton to New York on the 11th. Yet dispatches from London of the same date stated that the backbone of the strike had been broken by the refusal of the dockworkers of Ireland and Scotland and the English cities of Hull and Liverpool to make the strike national. By the same dispatches it appeared that work was going on as usual in London through strike breakers protected by the police. [See current volume, pages 562, 564.]

The Chicago stereotypers' strike figured for two or three days at the International convention of stereotypers, which has been in session at San Francisco. The Chicago union having been suspended by the International officers, the question of its delegates, decided in their favor by the committee but appealed by the International officers to the whole convention, was considered in committee of the whole, and on the 14th that body refused to seat those delegates on the ground that the members of a suspended union are ineligible. On the same day the convention decided against the Chicago union on its appeal from the action of the International officers in suspending its charter. This decision excludes the present Chicago union from the International organization. A committee consisting of W. P. Keegan, Charles Sumner and Elmer Johnson was appointed by the convention to reorganize the stereotypers of Chicago. [See current volume, page 538.]

At a conference of the heads of International labor unions, closely allied with the freight handlers, held in the headquarters of the Chicago Federation of Labor, on the 12th, it was decided to support the railway clerks and freight handlers in their present strike against the railroads. The meeting was called by President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in compliance with a resolution passed by that body at its regular meeting, June 2. The international unions represented at the conference were the telegraphers, carmen, teamsters, switchmen, machinists, steamfitters, blacksmiths and freight handlers. After the meeting President Fitzpatrick stated that organized labor will lend every ounce of support at its disposal to the strikers, and that the railroads will be fought to a finish, in the present strike. When asked about the plans decided upon at the conference, he said:

We are not in position to say at this time what assistance will be given the clerks and freight handlers. That will have to be decided later. The meeting today was for the purpose of getting the several organizations into conference for concerted support. It is concerted action that will bring the greatest results and it is results that the strikers want. I understand that the strike of the clerks and freight handlers has paralyzed freight traffic. What the railroads had hoped was that the men would desert their cause and go back to work. But they are putting up a brave fight and by standing firm they will force the railroads to make an honorable settlement.

[See current volume, page 565.]



In a strike at the Perth Amboy works of the American Smelting and Refining Company and of the Barber Asphalt Company, a battle between strikers and special deputies was fought on the 14th, the strikers armed with stones, the special deputies with repeating rifles and automatic revolvers firing what the Associated Press reports describe as "deadly soft-nosed bullets." The battle lasted over two hours and more than 200 shots were fired. One strike sympathizer, one strike breaker, and a night watchman, were killed, and six strikers were wounded. The sheriff was hurt with stones thrown at him as he patrolled the strike district in his automobile. The county authorities offered rewards on the 14th for the arrest of William Haywood and Arnoff Linds, as leaders of the "I. W. W.," said to be in charge of the strike.



The Charities and Correction Conference.

Industrial conditions and their causes have received special consideration at the Thirty-ninth National Conference on Charities and Correction, which began its sessions at Cleveland on the 12th under the presidency of Judge Julian Mack, and

is to close them on the 19th. The most notable feature of the proceedings was the report of a committee of investigation appointed three years ago. The committee consisted of Owen R. Lovejoy, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Dr. John B. Andrews, Julius Henry Cohen, John Golden, W. B. Wilson, M. C., Mrs. Florence Kelley and the Rev. C. S. MacFarland; and its report recommends a "living wage," sufficient for a normal standard of existence, with forty consecutive rest hours each week, education, recreation, support for immature members of the family, sickness and old age. To gain these ends minimum-wage commissions are urged. In addition the report recommends an eight-hour day, abolition of night work for women and children, minimizing of night work for men, publication by employers of wages they pay, prohibition of the manufacturers' use of poisons dangerous to workers when harmless substitutes are possible, no child under 16 to drudge, insurance against unemployment, a workmen's compensation act, women not to work steadily in standing positions.



At the meeting in the auditorium of Engineers' Hall on Monday at 11 o'clock, Louis F. Post read a paper on "The Distribution of Industry in Relation to Congestion, Rent, Taxes," which was discussed by Warren D. Foster of Boston, Alexander Johnson of Indiana, John R. Shillady of Buffalo, Congressman W. B. Wilson and Mrs. Florence Kelley. At 1 o'clock Mayor Newton D. Baker gave a luncheon to the Conference at Weber's Restaurant, with Mr. Lovejoy in the chair. The subject of discussion was "The Responsibility of the City for Industrial Conditions." Alexander Johnson made a straight-out Singletax speech, and Harris R. Cooley an eloquent speech on the sanitary and correction responsibilities of cities, and their responsibilities for the co-operative industries they permit. Mayor Baker held the large audience literally spellbound with his narrative of how Tom Johnson had given Cleveland a "civic mind."



The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an affiliated conference organization, held a meeting at Engineers' hall in the afternoon of Tuesday. Among the announced speakers were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Miss Mary Ovington and President Thwing of the Western Reserve University. [See current volume, page 420.]



The Anti-Imperialist League Commends Non-Intervention.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, held in Boston on the 6th, the following minute was adopted:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist

League records its emphatic approval of the policy of non-interference with the internal affairs of foreign countries, including those of the American continent; any sort of responsibility for them having ceased with the outgrowth of the Monroe doctrine. The Committee especially desires to commend the dignified abstention of the President of the United States from intervention in Mexico. Urgency has doubtless been resisted for forcible interference to protect pecuniary investments, by interests similar to those which half a century ago were demanding action from European powers looking to the enforced termination of our Civil War.

The Committee devoutly hopes that our people generally may increasingly recognize and appreciate the fundamental necessity for respecting the inviolate sanctity of each nation's self-government and independence, as essential to the maintenance of liberty both at home and abroad. And those in power are exhorted to eternal vigilance against aggressive policies inherited from former generations which, unless reanimated by the deliberate efforts of demagogues or by those commercial interests which thrive upon the misfortunes of mankind, would naturally fall into desuetude with the changed conditions of our day.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

NEWS NOTES

—Helen Keller, the famous blind and deaf author, has been appointed by Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, N. Y., as a member of his cabinet.

—Instead of adjourning sine die, as reported in the press dispatches, the Constitutional Convention of Ohio adjourned until August 26, 1912. [See current volume, pages 540, 555.]

—Frederic Passy, the French economist and peace advocate, died at his home at Neuilly-sur-Seine on the 11th, in his 91st year. Mr. Passy was the first recipient of the Nobel prize for peace.

—Twenty-six persons were killed and 50 injured by a tornado which tore through Bates, Johnson and Henry counties in Missouri on the evening of the 15th, mowing down trees and demolishing homes.

—The first woman in Austria to win a Provincial Diet election is Frau Vyk Kumoticka, who has been elected to the Bohemian diet at Jungbunzlau. It is reported to be doubtful whether the Bohemian Constitution will allow her to take her seat. [See current volume, page 420.]

—Petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of voters in all parts of the United States, demanding a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution, were presented on the 14th in the House of Representatives by Congressman Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee. [See current volume, page 85.]

—Attorneys representing five citizens filed letters patent for the "Roosevelt Party" in the Common Pleas Court at Pittsburgh on the 15th. The petition recites that the signers are residents of Allegheny county and have adopted the name of "Roosevelt Party" to designate the party or policy of themselves and their associates; and the petitioners state that it is their intention to place in

nomination a full ticket for all county offices to be voted at the next November election.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission held on the 13th that pipe-line companies transporting oil between the States are common carriers, with the obligations of such, and ordered thirteen of the largest oil-pipe lines to file schedules of rates by Sept. 1, and to comply with the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act.

—George Wingfield of Reno, Nev., was appointed by the Governor of Nevada on the 12th to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Senator George S. Nixen. Mr. Wingfield is head of the Goldfield Consolidated, a large corporation, and is known as "the Napoleon of Nevada finance." [See current volume, page 566.]

—The abolition of the opium trade with China proceeds on the lines determined on during the last years of the Empire, with possibly an acceleration of zeal. At the end of the year the prohibition of the importation of all non-Indian opium became operative, and December 31, 1913, is set as the last day upon which the importation of Indian opium will be permitted. [See current volume, page 178.]

—A Chinaman with a queue is rapidly becoming a rarity in South China ports, according to the American consul at Amoy. Foreign hats are now more common than Chinese hats, and foreign clothing and shoes are becoming very popular. The Japanese are shipping enormous quantities of foreign clothing into China, and Chinese tailors are booked for months ahead with orders for foreign clothing. There is also a big demand for buttons, thread, sewing machines and tailors' implements.

—By a vote of 23 Democrats and 6 Republicans in the affirmative, to 22 Republicans, the United States Senate proposed the following amendment to the House bill abolishing the Commerce Court: "So much of the Act of 1910 creating the Commerce Court, and so much of Section 9 of the General Judiciary Act of 1911 with reference to the Commerce Court which provides for five additional Circuit Court judgeships, are hereby repealed, together with so much of said Acts as authorized the President to appoint five additional Circuit judges, and the number of Circuit judges is hereby reduced to twenty-nine." [See current volume, page 567.]

—President Gomez of Cuba has assured the government of the United States that the rebellion in Cuba will be quelled in ten days. Mr. Orestes Ferrara, the speaker of the Cuban house of representatives, who is now in Washington, also says that the reports of conditions in Cuba, which have reached Washington through the American legation in Havana, have "been greatly exaggerated diplomatically." Mr. Ferrara calls attention to the feeling of unrest created in Havana by the widespread doubt as to the intentions of the United States government toward Cuba, and solicits some sort of declaration on the subject from the American government. [See current volume, page 566.]

—Prof. Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago sails from New York on the 20th for a six months' expedition to West Africa. With him are Harry Foster Dean, who has made repeated trips into different regions of Africa, and Campbell Mar-

vin, who has just graduated from the University. The party will carry facilities for extensive photography, with a regular camera, a stereoscopic camera, and a moving picture machine. They will spend a short time in Holland, Belgium, Germany, and Morocco, in museum study. At Freetown arrangements will be made for supplies and caravan leaders, and the men will strike into the interior from there, with a caravan journey into Liberia. Especial attention will be paid to native arts and industries, religions and folk lore. Coming out at the mouth of the St. Paul river, the coast towns of the America-Liberians will be visited. Professor Starr is a special commissioner of the Panama Exposition of 1915. [See current volume, page 515.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Something Doing.

(Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), June 17.—As we understand it, History herself will report the proceedings at the Coliseum this week.



British Comment on American Titanic Report.

(London) Daily News and Leader (Lib.), May 29.—Senator Smith, who delivered his report yesterday, has no need to apologize for his committee. The Senatorial inquiry got the witnesses when they were all available and when the facts were too fresh in the memories for art or delusion to color them, and the questions put by the committee were on the whole a model of rigorous investigation. The report distributes the blame for the catastrophe among the Board of Trade, the captain of the Titanic and the captain of the Californian, the ship which was only five miles away when the Titanic ran into the iceberg. It points out that the ship and its gear were not properly tested, and that the crew were not drilled for the eventuality of an accident. After the ship struck discipline was bad, not because there was a lack of courage or self-control, but because there was no proper organization. Men and officers did not know what duty fell upon them, no general alarm was sounded, and the work of saving life was haphazard. Some at least of these conclusions are irresistible, and they are very disturbing. We cannot believe that the Titanic alone of British ships had these defects; they are probably very general among liners, and if that be so one of the proudest of British institutions needs very considerable overhauling.



Tom L. Johnson's "My Story."

The Survey (New York), June 8.—As we turn our faces toward Cleveland, where we shall pay three-cent fares on the street cars for a week, we can hardly fail to think of Tom Johnson, and it would not be a bad idea to put his "Story" into our bags to read on the train. Written in the last five months of his life, when he knew the active fight was over, because his friends urged that in this way he might continue to be of use, it has a certain quality of detachment, and it leaves the impres-

sion of sincerity and single-mindedness. During the civil war, when newspapers were at a premium, a conductor on a Southern train said to a small boy, "How would you like to sell papers, Tom? I could bring 'em in for you on my train and I wouldn't carry any for anybody else, so you could charge whatever you pleased." In the five weeks that this deal lasted the boy made \$88.00, and thus learned the lesson that money comes "most easily through privilege." Though he gave his later years to a fight against privilege, it was through privilege that he made his fortune. How he made the fortune, in street railways and the manufacture of steel; how, at the height of his prosperity, he chanced to read one of Henry George's books and became his foremost disciple; how as a member of Congress he worked against that very class legislation which he took advantage of as a business man; how, when he became mayor of Cleveland in 1901, he entered upon his long and bitter fight against privilege,—all this makes a thrilling narrative. Behind the record of events may be read the still more thrilling story of the development of a man's character, by the influence of a master purpose.



A small colored boy was conspicuously displaying a campaign button with the letters "T. R." on it. "So you're for Theodore Roosevelt, are you?" said the stranger with the suit case that might need carrying.

Noting a touch of disapproval in the tone of the remark, the boy answered:

"No, sir. Dat don't stand for 'Theodore Roosevelt.' Dat stands foh 'Taft Republican.'"—San Francisco Chronicle.



"I've got to be fair with thim an' say this, that up to th' prisint minyit nawthin' has been done in th' campaign that I cud improve on. Th' language passed round has been magnificent. This is partly joo to th' supeeryor iddycation iv th' Republicans. Th' curse iv th' Dimmycrat party has always been its lack iv culture. Often whin confronted with gr'eat issues we've been unable to think iv annything bad enough to say about each other. But th' Republican leaders ar-re niver at a loss f'r a wurrud. I wondher who ar-re th' professors iv personal abuse at Yale an' Harvard? They're good men, wholver they ar-re. Their scholars come out, as Hogan says, fully equipped for th' battle iv life on anny dock in th' wurrud. I've seen a coal heaver readin' an account iv a debate between th' prisidint an' th' exprisidnt an' weepin' because his father had drunk up all his money an' hadn't give him an iddycation that wud fit him f'r th' station to which he was called."—Mr. Dooley on the Republican Convention, in the Chicago Tribune of June 16.



"Well," said Mr. Hennessy, "us Dimmycrats ought to profit be their mistakes."

"What do we care about Raypublican mistakes?" said Mr. Dooley haughtily. "The Dimmycratic party can make its own mistakes."—Mr. Dooley on the Republican Convention, in the Chicago Tribune of June 16.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THESE LITTLE ONES.

E. Nesbit in the *New Age* of London.

"What of the garden I gave?"

God said to me,

"Hast thou been diligent to foster and save

The life of flower and tree?

How have the roses thriven,

The lillies I have given,

The pretty, scented miracles that Spring

And Summer came to bring?"

"My garden is fair and dear,"

I said to God,

"From thorns and nettles I have kept it clear—

Close-trimmed its sod.

The rose is red and bright,

The lily a live delight;

I have not lost a flower of all the flowers

That blessed my hours."

"What of the child I gave?"

God said to me.

"The little, little thing I died to save,

And gave in trust to thee?

How have the flowers grown

That in its soul were sown,

The lovely, living miracles of youth

And hope and joy and truth?"

"The child's face is all white."

I said to God.

"It cries for cold and hunger in the night;

Its feet have trod

The pavements muddy and cold;

It has no flowers to hold,

And in its soul the flowers you set are dead."

"Thou fool!" God said.



THOUGHTS OF A SETTLEMENT WORKER.

Address of Miss Elma Dame of New York, Before
the Women's National Singletax League,
Washington, D. C., May 27, 1912.

It may be that some Singletaxers feel that settlement houses, along with all other forms of organized charity, are, though with the best intentions, actually delaying the arrival of fundamental social justice; because all action that is merely palliative tends to obscure the need of radical change.

I do not propose to go into this question. It is not possible that all persons devoted to reform movements should have the same angle of vision: people must work in their own way, for the good within their reach; and there is no fact more significant for progress than the steady increase

in the numbers of those who are eager to give themselves to social service.

Jane Addams said in the early days of Hull House, that that settlement did more good to its own workers by educating them than it did to the people they were trying to help.

I speak to you not merely as a settlement worker, but as a nurse; one whose attention has been chiefly directed to the physical handicap suffered by the poor, under our system of economic injustice.

As a rule, every settlement in addition to its clubs and classes and general neighborhood work maintains one or more nurses—one such organization alone in New York City employing 70. These visit the homes of the sick poor and give such nursing service and instruction as they can.

A nurse makes in a day ten or a dozen calls. She sees the lives of the poor in a very intimate way, and can more easily and naturally win their confidence than can the other representatives of organized relief. The nurses don't come as inquisitors or investigators, full of impertinent questions, bound to make sure of the worthiness of an applicant before they give aid; they don't go prying into cupboards and under sinks to see if people are trying to impose upon them. They have the immense advantage of coming only to give their own personal service. Their eyes see the need, and their hands get busy.

Everyone has a natural right to conditions that conduce to health; we all admit this. As a nation, we solemnly declare that the pursuit of happiness is the right of all. Then we proceed to create, and to sustain by law, conditions that make health impossible to a large number of our people. Who can pursue happiness successfully with an ill-nourished body, living in unsanitary surroundings? Who can even gain the fundamentals of happiness? Because a few people own all the land in the country, the many must pay tribute to the few, with the result that the large majority must live in such quarters as this privileged minority provide for them.

Our land system crowds millions into noisome, ill-ventilated tenements in the large cities, and then settlement-nurses are paid to undo the damage done to health, so far as in them lies. Our work is largely to patch up the evil results of society's blunders.

I know a baby who at the age of twenty months was having its fifth attack of pneumonia. Does anyone suppose that its surroundings had nothing to do with this? That it was at most only the ignorance or carelessness of the mother that was to blame? In that house, as in very many homes of the poor, no fire is built on an average winter day until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and then only one room is warmed. The older children are away at school until after that time, and the mother thinks that to save fuel she and the

very little ones can put up with a half day of cold. This is verily to "save at the spigot and lose at the bung." She has learned to resist the cold, has proved fit to survive; but the babies are tender and suffer. We are called to more cases of infant pneumonia in winter than to any other class of illness. To the cold room is added more or less complete absence of ventilation; the little bodies are under-fed and insufficiently clothed—often having no underclothing at all. Coal is far more expensive to these tenement-dwellers than to the householder, for they have no storage bins, and must buy in very small quantities, paying at least one-third more for it. Truly that was a wise man of old who said, "The poverty of the poor is their destruction." Because they are poor, they must become *more* poor.

The nurse vainly urges the absolute necessity of a fire; to the mother, the absolute necessity of rigid economy is more apparent, and she takes the chance that the children won't get sick; takes it, because she has to take it.

In some sleeping-rooms I have found the walls so wet that my finger-prints left a mark, owing to lack of any ventilating facility. The Tenement House Department can do little with these old houses. When I lately reported one such building the tenant said with rather smiling sarcasm: "What do you think the inspector can do? Tear down the walls of the building?"

In one tenement that we reported for damp walls and floors, a girl of twelve lay ill with bronchitis. It took much correspondence, many visits from health officers and inspectors, to get anything done; but after two months, the house was overhauled, the drainage improved, etc. The girl, however, in the meantime, had been taken to a hospital and had died.

The terms of the new tenement house law forbid the wholly dark rooms that were formerly legal, and order that every room be provided with a window of a certain fair size. This window, however, need not open to the outer air—it being obviously impossible to adjust these old style houses with dark inside rooms to any such desirable condition. New York City is not yet sufficiently civilized to order them torn down from garret to cellar in the name of justice. So it happens that a series of rooms even four deep may open only once to the out-of-doors, and be quite legal. But it is admitted by the Department of Tenements that there are still many thousands of wholly dark rooms that they have not yet reached in their process of gradual elimination. Here stalks tuberculosis: from these rooms we replenish the ranks that pour into our hospitals and fill our cemeteries.

One winter day I was in a group of settlement nurses that visited the well-managed tuberculosis hospital boat at foot of East 26th street. We saw scores of bright children sitting out in the

sunshine—their bodies covered up to the waist with warm sleeping bags; we saw an open-air school in progress; we saw them well stuffed with good milk and eggs—all absolutely free; and a nurse near me said: "Isn't it lovely to see what wonderful provision the city makes for its sick-poor?" The Singletaxer made answer: "Why did the city let them get into this condition before it took any notice of them? And many of them will be its victims after all, when they are pronounced cured, or arrested cases, and are sent back to the old conditions. Moreover, for every one that is on this boat, there are a hundred that will have no such opportunity."

That same day we visited our clean and tidy Municipal Lodging House, where no man can come if he has 25 cents left from his earnings. This establishment also filled the gaping crowd of visitors with admiration. But the Singletaxer asked within herself: "Why does the interest of the community in the individual begin only when he gets down to his last quarter?" We were told that any man so reduced might take advantage of its hospitality for three nights in a month—a record being kept against each name. Shortly afterward the secretary of the Bowery Mission told me that a man may indeed receive a third night's lodging, but if he does he is shipped promptly over to Blackwell's Island in the morning—arrested for vagrancy. The overseer of the house had forgotten to tell us this!

I asked an old C. O. S. worker if their efforts were resulting in less poverty? The question seemed a new one to her. She thought a little, and finally said: "No, she feared there was even more poverty than there used to be—she could perceive no decrease."

The settlement nurses are dependent on the various charity organizations to supplement their nursing with food. We can get from them free milk in small quantities—never more than one quart a day per family, unless there is an invalid, when sometimes two quarts are allowed. The abundant supply of pure milk that every growing child needs to keep him well is out of the question. The single quart is used in tea and coffee which all poor children drink from the time they are weaned, and for cooking purposes. No child in the family drinks clear milk. Bread is often the only food for many meals in succession; the formality of sitting down at the table to eat it is generally dispensed with. I once saw a man open a can of fish and hand out chunks of it with his fingers into the children's hands as they stood waiting for it. Eating in such families is a purely animal function without social graces of any kind.

The head-worker of one of the New York Diet Kitchens told me approvingly of the wonderful thrift of a mother whose daily lunch for a family of five was three cents worth of yellow beans! She

said what one mother could do, all could do, and three cents was plenty for any family's lunch. (I wondered if three cents was what she allowed for her own lunch.)

But what must be the result in a child's body and a child's brain of that kind of diet—beans being, even if well cooked, one of the most difficult of foods to digest? In an Italian family of six, where all were pale and anaemic and all were coughing and snuffling—the mother, a woman with a Madonna-like face, told me of her revolt from the Catholic church—saying pathetically: "The priests eat chicken, while I starve." How great must have been the pressure that had turned this gentle soul from a faith that has a most wonderful hold on its adherents! We got clothes and a little food for this family, where the father, a laborer, had only occasional jobs. The gratitude of these people was so utterly out of proportion to the service rendered as to make me feel ashamed. What right had we to such thanks—to such love as that women poured out, when we gave her, *not justice*, but a dole of charity? In my embarrassment I tried to show her that in one thing at least she was rich: life had given her motherhood—a family of dear children. Then came her protest that rings even yet in my ears: "Where is the joy of motherhood if I must see my children lack all the good things of life?" What answer could be made to her? I knew she was right.

Not less necessary to children than food and clothing is the opportunity to play. As we run things now, our New York children have to play in the streets—our playground facilities are so meagre. If we allow each child three square yards the small parks and playground space available for children below Fourteenth street will accommodate at one time just seven per cent of them. Last year over 400 children were killed while playing in our New York streets. It is not the children's fault; it is our fault. Childhood would not be childhood—its dear charm would be gone—if we demanded of these little ones the cold calculating prudence that looks on all sides for automobiles and prancing hoofs before springing to catch a ball.

Thus a system that robs the toiler of the fruits of his toil, robs the mother of *her* fruits. There is scarcely a family among the very poor that has not one child dead for every two living. We need to think very seriously of the deadening moral effect upon a mother, to bear and nurture a child, giving long months of her own life and strength, only to see her work *frustrated, blotted out, as if it had not been*; and to see this happening again, and again, from causes that she cannot control, but which the community as a whole could control, if it had reached a proper state of civilization. I say, that we have not even begun to be civilized, while we can look calmly upon this

waste of the birth-supply—this robbery of her who supplies it through her pain and sacrifice. I know one poor overworked woman who bore six children, and lost them all, one by one, in early childhood. What would be the mental state of a man who should spend a year in making a house, and then see it burn to the ground, and the next year the same thing should happen, and the next, and the next? Do you think he would retain much of his enthusiasm, of his courage, of his faith, of any of the moral values that make life beautiful?

One woman whose husband was out of work was subject to moments of frenzy, when she felt ready to kill herself and her unborn child, because she was confronted by such dire poverty. Without the baby she could earn moderate wages at making waists, and so support her other child of three; but with the baby the prospect for all was depressing enough. It seems to be the policy of organized charities to goad a man on to find work, by letting him see his wife and children suffer. They insisted he was lazy, and could find work if he would. Whether this was true or not is immaterial here; the point is that the wife and the future member of society were deliberately left to suffer in order that the man might be disciplined. Appreciating the situation, he did what is often deliberately done under these circumstances; he deserted his wife temporarily and disappeared from the scene, leaving a note to say he was gone for good. This was for the C. O. S. to read; for between him and his wife there was collusion. The scheme worked, and now the charities came to the wife's help. Think of it! Our conditions are so cruel that a man's sensitiveness, not his brutality, compels him to leave his family when properly he is needed the most; for he can manage to pick up a living for himself, when it is beyond his power to earn enough for a family.

As we Singletaxers perceive that our present system of taxation penalizes the man who makes useful things, so must we see that we live under a system that penalizes the responsible parent who tries to stand by his family. We put a premium upon desertion. We also give a cash reward to the unmarried mother who secretly destroys her baby; it is an economic advantage to her to crush out the little life. We make quite inhuman and impossible demands on human nature when we make semi-starvation the price of constancy and responsibility. How many can stand that test? Surely not those who have lived all their youth under conditions of squalor and congestion that preclude the development of high moral ideals.

To the home of a certain Mr. F. came the fourth baby. The oldest child was 6. The father's earning capacity was \$8 a week, he was an ordinary sort of man, not likely ever to get more. The home was destitute of all comfort. I told the need to the ladies of a charitable society who were

so sympathetic they could not do enough at the start, and gave me authority to buy every necessary thing at their expense. But after awhile they said: "Look here, how long must this thing be kept up? We are pauperizing this family." I said: "It will be eight years before the oldest child can help at bread-winning; they will need help until then, at least." This raised a problem which had not occurred to them. They were not prepared to cope with it.

Private alms-giving can never take the place of the justice which the state owes to its lowliest citizen.

The fear of doing too much for the poor on the part of the charity organizations is further illustrated in the home of Mrs. S., who worked all day on pants, earning about 40 cents. Her husband broke his leg two years before and it was so badly mended that he can only hobble a short distance, so sits at the street corner selling fish. He can make 30 cents a day when trade is good. Five people are expected to live on 70 cents or less a day. Shoes were needed for the father and a child. I sent for the C. O. S. worker, who not finding the father in the house took the attitude that he was probably working somewhere on a good job, and refused to do anything about the shoes, and a good many days passed before she got proof that the need was real. This matter of footwear among the poor is a serious one. How few of them ever had the luxury of a well fitting shoe. Flat foot and bunions are the affliction of the majority. When shoes are given to them, any old thing is supposed to be good enough. "Don't look a gift-horse in the mouth." A woman with a number four foot showed me the number seven shoes of wide cut she was shuffling around in. We know that aching feet make the whole body sick and tired. A few kind-hearted people have their old shoes neatly mended before giving them away, but most of those that reach the poor are run over at the heels and badly broken.

In the homes where women sew on pants or other clothing it often happens that a contagious disease appears. This is supposed to be reported by the doctor to the health department, whose inspector comes to post the house, and orders the work to cease. Sometimes the doctor fails to report the case. May it be that his sense of justice is outraged at the thought of making one woman the scapegoat for the sins of society? So long as we sit smugly indifferent to the economic conditions that make sweated labor necessary and contagious diseases inevitable, ought we not as a community to bear the consequences? Why put a still further handicap on the woman who is already the victim of a vicious system? If we must protect society by taking away her work, should we not, in decency, recompense her with a living wage during the time we compel idleness?

We don't do this, and so I say we deserve all the contagion that she spreads among us.

On my visiting list at this time are two women, one of 50, one of 65, stiff with rheumatism, who say in plain words that they want to die—life holds out ends that are altogether too meagre. One is childless, her husband in a home for incurable consumptives, while she hobbles about in loneliness, keeping herself by taking five lodgers in her three rooms, she sleeping in the kitchen. The other has an invalid husband and a drunken son, whose abuse is a constant grief. An old German woman who knits stockings lives in a back room on the ground floor that smells like a tomb. A row of outside toilet-rooms close against her windows cuts off nearly all light. She is so afraid someone will climb in and steal her wretched belongings that she keeps the windows closed and locked night and day. Rheumatic and scrofulous, she would be infinitely better off in the city home on the Island; but wild horses could not tear her away from her pitiful semblance of freedom. Our city homes are unfortunately run in the name of charity, *not* of justice, and the proud-spirited prefer independence, even if it be not the real article but a pitiful imitation.

I hear these people tell their stories, and the one great common cause of poverty is poured into my ears—"Unemployment!" "Too many men for the jobs." Competition for opportunity has crowded at least one worker in ten to the wall. Of what use for the nurse to tend them in their sickness, to teach them hygiene, to preach against dirt and flies and cold rooms—to advise rest to the overworked, food to the underfed, air to the unventilated when the poor are like rats in a trap, absolutely at the mercy of those who have so cornered natural resources that the competition for jobs has become literally fratricidal?

When the charity societies try to find jobs for the needy men they discover for themselves how few of them are in reality lazy. Look at the seats in the parks, overflowing in the main with discouraged, half-fed men; look at the want columns of the papers—such discrepancy between the "help wanted" and those "wanting work"! Is the needful work of the world indeed all done? Is there no need for more workers? Are there sufficient clothing, food, furniture, houses for all the people? Have they all the flowers, music and works of art that they need? Are our public utilities so perfect that they do not need perfecting nor enlarging? *It is not so.* The worker is needed with a need that cries out to heaven. But he is powerless to obtain the work that needs him. Could we not use more food, more coal, more iron, more brick? Our land system forbids that we shall employ needed workers in all these things, except on terms which the owners of land may dictate.

A double wrong is done to the poor man—first

he fails to get work, and next he must pay a big price for the necessities of life which monopoly has cornered.

I am not blaming the charity organizations for not doing more. (After the workers' salaries are paid, they probably do their best with the inadequate means at their disposal—as we nurses do our best, yet fail to make the slums healthy.) I blame popular apathy and ignorance for the continuance of this burden of undeserved poverty. Every one of us who does not work his utmost to spread knowledge of the principles of justice, involved in the Singletax, is personally responsible.

I want to close with some words of the Chinese sage Ye Yen, the greatest minister of the Shong dynasty, who with high sense of duty took upon himself the heavy charge of the Empire. Thus spoke Ye Yen: "If among all the people of the Empire—even the most lowly men and women—there are any who do not enjoy such benefits as the gods confer, it is as if I myself have pushed them into a ditch." And again he said: "The purpose of heaven in the production of mankind is to cause those who first apprehend, to instruct those who are slower to apprehend; and those who are awakened, to awake those who are slower to wake. I am one of heaven's people who have been first awakened. I will take these principles given to me and awake this people in them. *If I do not awake them, who will do so?*"



THE CHARITY POULTICE.

Forms of Letters Used in Reply to Appeals for Charity.



1. From Bolton Hall, of New York.

The following appears to me to be good sense:

I am trying to do what I can to relieve those who are suffering; but long experience and observation has convinced me that benevolent donations or charity can do little more than relieve a few individual cases of distress. What the poor need is not even education, but a change in social conditions that will make donations and charity unnecessary. Only to help in bringing about such a change can I give work or money.

Lest this seem unreasonable, I cite the case of what seems to me the most meritorious benevolent work—the tuberculosis sanitariums are for the care and cure of poor consumptives; but we cannot help seeing, when we look, that the conditions under which the poor must live and work inevitably breed more consumption and more poverty.

Our social system so restricts opportunities and employment that thousands must work under the most harmful conditions; this inevitably produces

invalids by the thousand. Our system puts a premium on withholding valuable land from use and crowds millions into disease-breeding tenements. Yet we are tempted to believe that, when we care for a few hundred victims of this system, our whole duty has been done. The cause of this evil and of similar evils should be removed, so that the further wholesale production of misery may be stopped, and existing invalids and their relatives enabled to become self-supporting so as not to need charity.

Your work is doubtless excellent in its intention, but we cannot deny that every improvement in the condition of the earth, whether agricultural, mechanical, educational, political, ethical or even religious, must go eventually and mainly to the profit of the owners of the earth. We are all responsible for the system that gives the use of the earth to a few.

Asking help from supporters of things as they are is merely asking the persons responsible for poverty, misery and disease to do something to relieve their victims. But asking help from Singletaxers is practically asking those who are using all their spare means to prevent further mischief to relax their efforts in order to enable others to evade the duty of relieving those whom they have made poor.

For these reasons I do not feel that I can comply with your request.



2. From Dr. Walter Mendelson, of New York.

About twice every week, year in and year out, I (and you) get appeals for "charity."

The ever increasing number and variety of these appeals must convince any thinking person that this method of combatting a great evil is useless. True, many poor individuals are doubtless relieved, but does not Poverty itself stalk as gaunt and as hideous as ever? Is there less poverty, or is there more today, in New York, in London, in Paris, Berlin or Bombay, than there was thirty years ago?

From my means I can give to about one one-hundredth of all the appeals I get. Why give to yours more than to any other? And would it not be more logical, as well as more just, to appeal rather to those who are the beneficiaries of this social system that makes millionaires on one side and paupers on the other? They get the benefit, let them pay the cost.

What we need is not pitiable alleviation, but *cure*; not "charity" but *justice*. A cancer poultice may be agreeable to the victim; but, slowly and ever beneath it, his vitals are being remorselessly eaten out. To my mind every "charity"—and by that I mean any essential thing that is given a man because his poverty denies it to him—is a mere cancer poultice.

As a physician I would despise myself, and be rightly held contemptible by my colleagues, did I content myself with treating symptoms alone and never touching the cause. For the whole tendency of scientific modern medicine is to cure by prevention—to go to the root of things—and not merely to dabble with effects.

Yet—think of it!—in not one single one of all the appeals for “charity” that I have received in the past thirty years has there been so much as a hint that poverty is a curable disease of the social body, and that the charitarians, in addition to relieving, were seriously trying to eradicate poverty by going down to its cause! How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable to the medical mind seems all this ceaseless cry of “Relieve, relieve, relieve!” untempered by the faintest whisper of “Cure”!

Now I, and many, many besides me, believe with Henry George that poverty *can* be cured, that it is not a divine institution but a devilishly infernal one. And because one thousand people will blindly give money for measures merely alleviative where one will give for eradication, therefore shall I devote what money and time I can to means that, to my mind, strike deep down at causes—strike not at symptoms but at the disease—and I shall give nothing, or next to nothing, to “charity.”

Perhaps you have never seriously considered the philosophy of Henry George. If so, do me the favor to read the enclosed. It will at least give you an outline of a doctrine that has encircled and enriched the world, that has infused new life and hope and religion into thousands, that is daily gaining new adherents and losing no old ones, and that is based on reason, on justice and on brotherly love.



IN A SWEATSHOP.

Richard Burton in *The Atlantic*.

Pent in, and sickening for one wholesome draught
Of air,—God’s gift that cities sell so dear,
They stitch and stitch. The dim lights fall upon
Bent bodies, hollowed bosoms and dead eyes.
Their very mirth is horrible to hear,
It is so joyless! Every needle-stroke
Knits into dainty fabrics that shall go
Where Fashion flaunts, the protest and the pain
Of ravaged lives, of souls denied their food.
At last the clock-stroke! From the beetling shop
The prisoners file, and up and down the street
Scatter to hitches humorists call Home,
To sin, to die, or, if it may be, clutch
Some pleasure fierce enough to drown the thought
That on the morrow they must meet again.



The co-operation of all for the benefit of the few,
we are going to put into the rag-bag where Reform
keeps the other old clothes of history.—Henry
Demarest Lloyd.

POVERTY AND ORGANIZED CHARITY.

First Part of Address of Louis F. Post, Editor of
The Public, Before the Thirty-ninth National
Conference of Charities and Correction of
the United States, at Cleveland, Ohio,
June 17, 1912, on “Distribution of
Industry in Relation to Con-
gestion, Rent, Taxes.”*

As I understand the matter, I have been invited here in consequence of a letter which was addressed to the Charities and Correction Conference of last year by Joseph Fels. It seems to me well, therefore, to read that letter by way of introducing my subject and for the light it may throw upon what I shall have to say. This is the letter:

June, 1911.

To the Members of the National Conference Charities and Correction, Boston, Mass.:

Nineteen hundred years ago a charitable man was so eager to help the poor that he openly found fault with a woman who used costly oil in a ceremony in honor of One she highly esteemed. “It would have been better,” remarked this philanthropist, “to sell the oil and give the proceeds to the poor.” But he was soon informed that there are better ways to use wealth than in alms-giving.

The ceremony in which this oil was used was a practical method at that time of calling attention to the principles for which the man stood to whom honor was shown. Popular education on fundamental principles of justice and on practical means of enforcing them are required to establish conditions which will make alms-giving unnecessary.

That it is better to use money to remove the causes of poverty than for alms is a truth that is no longer denied by most prominent contributors to charity. But though the fact is conceded, action in accordance with it is not so freely taken. I have particularly in mind a remark made by a Kansas City gentleman who is prominent in the charitable circles of that city. He said that social workers admit the injustice on which the modern industrial system is based and that modern charity only aims to support helpless ones until the basic evils can be removed. If such is the case, I will be glad to co-operate with charity organizations in spite of the inexpediency of alms-giving, but I have seen too much that convinces me that it is not so.

The greater number of charitable contributors whom I know are either bitterly opposed or utterly indifferent to the reforms that will remove the fundamental wrongs which cause poverty. It will not do to plead in excuse for these that they do not know the cause, and are trying to find it. The cause is known and any one who sincerely wants to learn can easily do so in a short time. It is more than thirty years since Henry George showed in “Progress and Poverty” how land monopoly deprives the masses

*The Second Part of this address will appear in the next issue of *The Public*, under the title of “Poverty and the Singletax.”

of mankind of opportunities for self support. He moreover proposed a simple and practical method of abolishing the evil. He proposed a tax on land values with the name has since been given of the Singletax. There is no reason why any one sincerely interested in the welfare of the poor should not be familiar with the truth made clear in this book and should not be working for the opening of natural opportunities for employment to all the people.

If it is a fact that charity workers are anxious to learn how to remove the cause of poverty, would it be unreasonable to ask this Conference to take some action in the matter? Why not, for instance, appoint a committee to report to your next meeting, the duty of this committee to be a thorough investigation of the merits of different proposed plans to put an end to poverty? The details of this investigation must, of course, be so arranged that nothing concerning any proposed remedy may be misunderstood. The personnel of the committee must also be such that there will be no ground for lack of confidence in its fairness or intelligence on the part of those who have remedies to suggest.

Should this suggestion meet with your approval, I will be glad to do what I can to furnish the committee with information, and feel sure that other Singletaxers, as well as advocates of other reforms, will do the same. Your organization will then be in a position at your next meeting, to take definite action in the war against poverty. Yours very truly,

JOSEPH FELS.

From the program of the present Conference of Charities and Correction it may be said in reply to Mr. Fels's letter, that any grounds previously existing for his criticism have been removed, at least in some degree. Certainly the subject assigned to me is broad enough for all the purposes of a fundamental discussion. The "distribution of industry" opens up the whole matter, if we are agreed upon the meaning of those words, and I trust we are not at variance there. If there turns out to be a variance, let me remind you of the anecdote of the Dakota man who laughed at the Upper Michigan man for spelling "soo" s-a-u-l-t, insisting that the only sensible way of spelling "soo" is s-i-o-u-x. Definitions as well as spellings may be a matter of habit. So I shall ask the privilege of defining Industrial Distribution, in my own habitual way.

Now, I imagine that Mr. Fels was not altogether wrong in his criticism; for such subjects as are found on the program of this Conference might until recent years have seemed quite alien to the functions of any conference on charities and correction. But the innovations are their own sufficient defense. It would be very narrow, I should suppose, to regard charities and correction as having no broader functions, no deeper purpose, no more brotherly motive, no higher civic spirit than merely to deal with methods of relief. Yet I heartily concede that it would by no means follow that the narrower functions ought to be wholly abandoned in favor of fundamental re-

forms, nor even neglected. Important though it be to police the Jericho road, the compassion of good Samaritans is nevertheless not to be censured. What should be censured, as I conceive it, would be the straight-jacketing of rudimentary charities in a fixed purpose to ignore the poverty-producing conditions of a wealth-producing society. Was it because he let Lazarus eat the crumbs which fell from his table that Dives was condemned? Surely he would have been pardoned for that. Amelioration can be objectionable only in so far as it fosters or conceals the causes which, now as aforesaid—essentially the same though outwardly different—evolve a privileged Dives with crumbs to spare and a famishing Lazarus to devour them. If rudimentary charities are blameworthy, it cannot be because they are rudimentary. It must rather be because they may exact generous giving above righteous getting.

Of course you will understand that my allusion here is not to unrighteousness of the law-breaking kind. Since we are all averse to conduct that may send us to jail, there is little danger of our exalting generous giving above lawless getting. My allusion is to industrial distributions which, though unrighteous, are lawful. Obscuration of this unrighteousness would logically be the besetting sin of any organization for the relief of poverty which resisted exposure of its social causes. You will also understand, of course, that I am not blaming individual beneficiaries of this lawfully unrighteous getting. Were they to renounce their industrial advantages they could only substitute other beneficiaries, leaving the unrighteous distribution to go on; and of what benefit would that be to anybody but the substitutes? Since lawful unrighteousness is confirmed and perpetuated by social action or inaction, the obligation upon its beneficiaries is not to renounce but to denounce. No individual duty of theirs is it to reject their own shares in industrial privilege. It may be an individual duty of theirs, however, to help eradicate industrial privileges from the social system; and if any were to foster such privileges in the social system, whether by approval or by silence, in order to retain or to acquire vested rights in unearned incomes, wouldn't it be disloyal to every sound principle of truth and justice not to single him out and say: "Thou art a guilty man!"

But if its beneficiaries ought to denounce industrial privilege in the social system, precisely what shall they denounce, and precisely how shall they do it? Each beneficiary must answer for himself, under the impulse of his own conscience and in the forum of his own intelligence. The answer that appeals to me I thrust upon no one. It is to facts that I shall direct attention; not to any theory you might call fanciful or out of date or ahead of the time, but to facts; and not to any milky-way of statistical facts, either, but to a group of those large facts of our common life

which all of us observe and any of us can test for their verity.

Among the greatest of the large facts of our common life, there is one so prominent that we are hardly able to overlook it when we try to. All can see that poverty prevails almost altogether in that part of our population which, in spite of our democratic reluctance to acknowledging that there are classes in this country, we instinctively call "the working class." To be sure there are individual delinquencies in this class, and in abundance; but after making full allowance for them, a question of social culpability nevertheless remains. Charity workers must know, and I am told that when they get experience, those who whole heartedly throw themselves into their work do know, that their real problem, whatever it may prove to be, is not upon the whole a problem of individual delinquencies among the poor. Charity workers must surmise, furthermore, that such of those delinquencies as there are, may possibly hark back to causes for which industrial institutions are not blameless. It won't do any longer to lay the blame for poverty wholly upon its victims. These cruel theories can not face a growing suspicion that poverty is somehow involved in the ethics of industrial distribution. Is it not universal, that principle which the first great historian of the English people applied to a particular instance when he said of poverty in Ireland toward the end of the 18th century, that much of it was "the direct result of unjust law"? And of those crimes that come within the purview of corrective agencies, the same great historian again applied a universal principle to the history of a particular instance. Writing of what he called "a terrible pauperization of the laboring classes" in England a hundred years ago, Green observed that "with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, increase of crime." Be the inferences what they may, the plain fact is that the poverty and its crimes which rudimentary charities would ameliorate, prevail significantly in "the working class."

To forestall captious criticism, let me explain that I do not credit "the working class" with all useful work. Many employers, perhaps most of them, are in greater or less degree useful workers, though they are seldom thought of as in "the working class." Confusions at this point rise out of the impossibility of making accurate economic contrasts by personal classification. But unfortunately industrial discussion has run into habits of classifying by persons. We talk, for instance, of profit-takers instead of profits, of big business men instead of big privileges, of landlords instead of landlordism, of capitalists instead of capital, and of employers, workers and so on instead of their respective and often overlapping industrial interests. Accordingly we get the conception of a distinct working-class in the personal

sense. But so inaccurately does personification distinguish economic differences, that a little abstract thinking might be wholesome. The contrasts in industrial distribution are between economic *interests*, not between personal *classes*. At the social extremities there are indeed personal classes whose work is so slight or so useless that they might be regarded as having no working interests at all; those at one extremity boasting of the leisure of aristocracy, while those at the other acknowledge themselves vagrants and vagabonds. Some one has said that the vagrants and vagabonds are to industry the less burdensome of the two classes, since it doesn't cost so much to keep them; but let us look alive to the fact that both groups, correlative products as they are of maladjustments in the distribution of industry, may be more sinned against, or sinned for, than sinning. The point for emphasis is, however, that although those extremes may be personally classified as parasitical, yet every personal class between them may rightly claim to be in some degree a working class. Nevertheless, it is in the so-called working class alone that we find working-interests exclusive of other economic interests. Take the day laborer, for instance. He owns no tools, no land, no investments of any kind. He has only his own personal working power to sell. His income is therefore confined to wages for work. He is distinctively a workingman. His income is not as much as it should be, not so much as it would be if there were no unearned incomes, not so much as the earned incomes of other men may be; but of working incomes pure and simple. The income of the day laborer is a type. When such workers are out of employment, their working power goes to waste and they have no income at all; when they are employed, the wages of the lowest-paid among them are so low that we are forced to resort from very shame to minimum-wages laws; when they give up the dispiriting struggle, they drop into one of the two classes of the perennially workless—the lower and cheaper one. Now it is because there is a fringe of the working class, at the minimum of subsistence when employed and on the edge of vagrancy when disemployed, a fringe which grows relatively wider while the working class itself grows larger in proportion to population,—it is because of this that we instinctively think of the working class as personifying all working interests. With this apology for adopting the personal class distinction, I invite your attention back again to the fact that the poverty which charities would ameliorate prevails distinctively in the working class.

It is an amazing fact. Poverty is lack of things produced by work; yet poverty is a phenomenon distinctively of the working class! Isn't it a little like carrying coals to Newcastle—the charitable giving of products of work to workers? One might reasonably think so, but the facts would

be against him. A great and growing proportion of workers, "the worthy poor" we call them, are often in dire need of charity. This is a fact, and it is facts that I am discussing. And legislation protecting workers as workers—legislation fixing a maximum of hours and a minimum of wages, let us say,—doesn't that present the same curious anomaly? There is no escape from it, though, not as a fact, not under prevailing methods of industrial distribution. The only alternative, unless society mends its ways, is to abandon large and increasing numbers of the working class to a fate from which every person in circumstances at all prosperous would shrink as from a scourge. Industrial conditions oblige us to be our brother's keeper. Let us redeem the obligation. But let us not allow its soothing satisfactions to tempt us into tolerating distributions of industry that necessitate his having a keeper. Only by uprooting those conditions can we bring on the good time coming when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together—each on the outside. No longer may we reasonably look forward, as once we did, for advances in productive power to solve our poverty problems. A century of marvelous invention goes to prove that increased productivity of work does not imply better industrial distribution. The poverty of the working class persists in spite of increase in its own industrial productiveness.

These characteristics of the working class, that poverty prevails especially in that class, and that in spite of continuous augmentation of working power it persists, must be accounted for as industrial disease. Dr. Walter Mendelson of New York has made the pathological figure definite. He likens mere meliorative charity to poulticing a cancer. The figure is true, but it would not be true if poverty itself were thought of as the cancer. Poverty is a cancerous effect. Some one has defined physical cancer as "a parasite of normal cells become abnormal which take without giving." May we not paraphrase that definition by saying that "a parasite of normal industrial interests become abnormal which take without giving" defines the industrial cancer. Thus defined there is involved in either kind of cancer, the physical or the industrial, a destructive conflict with the law of life; for no getting without giving is possible in any direction unless there be giving without getting in another. When this abnormality occurs in the physical system, the cancerous parasite impoverishes the physical body; when in the social system it impoverishes the industrial body. Is not some such cancerous growth in our social system fairly indicated, then, by the prevalence of poverty in the working class?

If we disregard personal classes, discussing economic rather than personal contrasts, as I prefer to do, we shall find impoverishment just the same. It ramifies all the industrial interests which the working class personifies. Few things

are clearer to human vision than that work alone is not rewarded with wealth. Occasionally an individual's industry may secure him economic prizes, but wealth is not as a rule associated with the work of producing it. If we wish for wealth, which do we hustle the harder to do—to produce it or to command opportunities for its production for us by others? Are we more eager, for instance, to help dig coal than to help monopolize natural deposits of coal?—to produce oil or to "strike oil"? The questions are answered in the asking. We all try to lay up our treasures in the economic heaven of monopoly; and we all acknowledge by our conduct that work is hell. By the ordinary but short-sighted tests of mere self-concern we are right. Industrial interests do suffer perpetual impoverishment. We may not know the cause, but we know the fact. Somehow industry is forced to give without getting.

If there were no other evidence, that fact alone would suggest the presence in the social body of some parasitical growth which gets without giving. But there is other evidence. Vast interests which do not thrive upon the industry of those that own them, nevertheless do thrive. Along, then, with producing interests that languish, we have non-producing interests that prosper. Either fact by itself might be difficult to account for, but considered together they account for each other. If in social life, lack of products of work is characteristic of productive workers, and superabundance of products of work is characteristic of aristocratic leisure, there is but one inference and that inference is irresistible. It won't do to say that aristocratic leisure is purchased with products thriftily saved or fortunately inherited. The magical secret can not be in saved-up products which in fact won't save; it must be in unrighteously lawful power over producers as they produce. The only reasonable inference is a social cancer.

But what is the cause of it? Let me emphasize *what*, for I do not accuse any person or any class. I present no personal indictment, unless it be against those who, consciously domiciled in this parasitical growth, or trying to be, cover it over with "no trespass" signs. Even on that indictment I ask a merciful sentence. Wholly apart, then, from all considerations of individual turpitude or innocence, what is it that causes this abnormality of industrial distribution?

One of the most common explanations is monopolization of machinery by a capitalistic class. This would hardly be satisfactory if we thought only of unrelated machines; for if the working class makes and repairs and renews and uses machines, why does not the working class itself monopolize them and their products? But if we think of machinery as an intricate whole, as an organization of the world's industry into one great mechanism, historically as well as mechanically,

and interrelated throughout, the monopolized-machinery explanation would put before us a serious fact.

Little more may be necessary here than to suggest to the imagination such a unified machine, such a universal factory, all under one roof and all upon one foundation, a vast complex of interlaced parts and processes. Those who work would be workers there, their several functions minutely specialized; and upon access to this industrial equipment they would depend for opportunity to make a civilized living. Unless you own a proprietary interest in that world factory you must find a place at one of its work benches or fall helplessly into one of its scrap heaps. Exclude yourself from it or be excluded, and you are an economic outlaw as forlorn as the masterless man of feudal times or a homeless dog in a modern city. Outside of this comprehensive organization of industry, outside of this world factory, apart from this machine by which civilized man is fed and clothed and housed, you might find spots of earth suitable for an independent but primitive life,—more primitive than Crusoe's; but if to make it less primitive you co-operated with others, thereupon you would of necessity become a cog in the machine. Every mere worker would be helplessly appurtenant to that mechanism in a sense too desperately literal to be thought of as metaphor. If a world work-shop thus comprehensively organized be regarded as the monopolized machinery that explains the impoverishment of industry, may the explanation be considered inadequate? Possibly. But at any rate we should have to admit that it is an explanation not to be ignored.

Consider, then, that this monopolized workshop is no mere figure of speech. Though our social cancer be only an analogue, that interrelated and monopolized mechanism with which all the world's work is done, and at the benches of which the working class have to earn their living or go to the scrap pile, is one of the large facts of modern life. Our whole industrial system is in very truth a comprehensive, intricately adjusted and monopolized machine—a vast complex of factories, stores, offices, farms, mines, ranches, railroads, steamships, docks, mills, telegraphs and what not, organized and equipped and unified for enabling the modern world to get its work done day by day.

Those who have proprietary interests in that complex machinery are only a few of the people living at any given time. Such of these as have absolute control are fewer still, while those of them that have subordinate proprietary interests draw dividends—shall we say, unearned? Perhaps not always so nor wholly so—ranging from a comfortable income to a Christmas present or a charity dole. But as to the working class distinctively, they have no proprietary interests in the world's unified mechanism of production, no

interest in it at all beyond fragile hopes of steady or occasional participation in the opportunities it affords for productive work. Now ask yourselves this question: What would certainly occur if the necessities and the productive power of the working class at any time were to exceed the market demand for production? No one should hesitate for an answer. Every era of hard times, and every intervening displacement of labor, cry out the answer like a chorus of megaphones. Workers would underbid one another for admission into that world factory, for access to that machinery, as for their lives.

In those circumstances tendencies of working hours to the limit of endurance and of wages to the starvation point, necessitating short-hour laws and minimum wage-laws, would seem to call for no further explanation. In those circumstances the grim eagerness of workers to earn incomes pitifully low at risks to life and limb and health so inhumanly unnecessary as to require labor-hazard laws, would be less of a puzzle. In those circumstances the reason for persistence of poverty among the working class in spite of augmentation of their working power would begin to clarify, and the necessity for perpetual and increasing charity relief for workers would have its convincing apology. Proprietary laws making the privilege of access to that workshop of the world increasingly valuable, would afford even to the most obtuse at least a hint of why the working side of the industrial system is steadily impoverished.

Does not this explain our problem? It certainly would if the process of monopolization were explained. But still the question rises: Why is it that this universal and intricate and artificial industrial mechanism, which must be constantly repaired and renewed by the working class, continually slips out of their own proprietorship and into the control of non-working classes or interests? What is it that causes continuous monopoly of that working mechanism to the detriment of the working class?

Some reply that the cause is of the past, and is therefore of no importance now. But the cause cannot be of the past alone. It is evidently a continuing cause, and continuing causes of present industrial maladjustments must not be ignored so lightly.

Others argue that we are confronted by a condition of life and not a theory of causes: wherefore, regardless of causes, they purpose taking this great mechanism over as common property for management hereafter in social partnership. The practicability of such an enterprise I do not now dispute—nor the desirability of its hoped-for outcome; neither would I join with those traditional objectors to every change (from sail vessels to steamboats in commerce, and from monarchy to democracy in government) who explain why im-

provements can't work which afterwards prove that they can work by working. I suspect, however, that the task of seizing this universal industrial mechanism, taking it by law away from the monopolistic interests that control it, may be no child's play. Such a revolutionary adventure might call for the qualities attributed to Hotspur when upon washing his hands for breakfast after a morning's kill of six or seven dozen Scots, he remarked that he was tired of this quiet life and wanted work. Yet it may be feasible. Possibly those are right who think they can organize the working class into political parties out of which, through class warfare at the ballot box, a working class republic will eventuate and take peaceable possession of the industrial mechanism of the world. But theirs is not the only plan. More thrilling if not more convincing is the plan of those who are organizing the working class for "direct action" in contradistinction to political action, and who hope by class warfare regardless of the ballot box—peaceable when and where possible; destructive when and where serviceable for its purpose—to seize the industrial mechanism of the world without either the formalities or the moralities of legal process. For one I can see no future for this criminal policy but destructive vendettas, with carnivals of hangings for climax and a paralyzing reaction for outcome. He must be a hopeful observer of the signs of the times, however, or a foolish one, who does not fear that as we go now we are rushing headlong toward a hideous war of classes, and a war of violence at that. Doubtless this social catastrophe can be averted. But if the past is prophetic of the future, it can be averted only by intelligent readjustments of industrial distribution in the direction of social righteousness.

In promoting those readjustments, no greater service could come from any source than from such sources as these Conferences represent. The truly charitable, the sincerely humane, the men and women of righteous instincts and purposes who are devoted to rescuing the worthy poor from their economic thralldom, could declare with exceptionally beneficial effect for prevention as well as melioration of poverty. If they would do that, however, they must first find the primary causes of continuous monopoly of the mechanism of modern industry—not secondary causes merely, but primary causes. Removal of secondary causes alone would not be effective; old troubles would quickly reappear in new ways, as upon removal of secondary causes they always have. Why, then, to repeat my crucial question, why is the industrial mechanism of the modern world continuously monopolized to the prejudice of working interests and the working class?

There may be many reasons. There doubtless are many reasons. In a mechanism so vast and intricate it would be strange if there were not a

puzzling complexity of reasons. But the primary reason, as I see it, is suggested in the description of that world-wide mechanism which I have already given: The mechanism is "*all under one roof and all upon one foundation.*" Its all-enclosing roof is the canopy of heaven, its all-controlling foundation is our revolving planet; and they are monopolized.

BOOKS

PARTY GOVERNMENT.

Readings on Parties and Elections in the United States. By Chester Lloyd Jones, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1912. Price, \$1.60 net.

The framers of our Federal Constitution carefully separated the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Government, vesting each in a separate department, intending that each department should be independent of the others. Had this intention of the Constitution makers been realized, confusion and inefficiency would have resulted. If Government is to be efficient, these departments must work in harmony. The Constitution provided for a dispersion of the powers of government; but the political parties which have grown up have by pressure from the outside brought and kept the several parts of government into a workable combination and made them effective. Party, then, is a big thing in our Government. If we are to have efficient Government we must have strong parties, and if we are to have popular Government those parties must be controlled by the people.

Recognizing this condition of affairs, and to make "easy of access some of the discussions illustrative of the development, present organization, abuses and remedies for the defects in our party Government," Professor Jones has brought together from books, magazine articles, reports of organizations and state papers something of the best that has been written on the development of parties and party organization, the methods adopted by party leaders to secure and keep control of the organization, and the system used to select the party candidates, together with some suggestions for the correction of the abuses that have grown with the development of our party system.

It is an informative book.

Among the authors drawn from are Bryce, Goodwin, Woodrow Wilson, Ostrogorski and Merriam. The development of the caucus and convention system of nominating candidates and formulating platforms is traced, the defects of our present primary laws and the need of supplementary legislation shown, and the abuses arising from electing

our legislative officers from single member districts discussed.

W. H. HOLLY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Waterways Versus Railways.** By Harold G. Moulton. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Life's Responses to Consciousness.** By Miriam I. Wylie. Published by Desmond FitzGerald, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**Sulzer's Short Speeches.** Compiled from the Records of Congress, with other Official Data and a brief Biographical Sketch by George W. Blake. Published by the J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 57 Rose St., New York. 1912. Price, 25 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Why Monopoly Is Superseding Competition. By R. L. Green, South Bend, Ind.

The Church and the Workingman. By Rev. Edgar Franklin Blanchard. The Golden Rule Publishing Co., Nashua, N. H. Price, 10 cents.

Do Our Courts Stand in the Way of Social and Economic Justice—and if so, by What Authority? Speech by William J. Gaynor, at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., May 7, 1912.

The University of Wisconsin Course in Journalism, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, General Series, Number 281. Published by the University, Madison, Wis., July, 1911.

A World-Wide Demand—The Improvement of Electoral Methods. Report for the Year 1911-12 of the Proportional Representation Society, 179 St. Stephen's House, Westminster Bridge, London, S. W.



"Papa, what was your class oration when you went to school?"

"Why, come to think of it, Willie, I believe it was called 'The Tyranny of the Monopolies.'"

J. W. Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 29, 1912. Reproduced in The Public by courteous permission of the Editor of the Plain Dealer.

Isn't any paper going to be enterprising enough to get Roosevelt and Taft to report the Baltimore convention for it?—Chicago Record-Herald of June 18.



First Passer-by: "If I hadn't been so closely buttoned up, I'd have given that poor beggar a shilling to get something to warm him up a bit."

Second Passer-by: "Ah! You always let your heart get the better of your head. He doesn't feel the

How much

of Monday do you spend at the wash-tub? Far too long if you wash clothes any way except the Fels-Naptha way. One of the great blessings of Fels-Naptha, a half hour's soaking in cool or lukewarm water will thoroughly 'loosen the dirt. Then rub lightly, rinse and the clothes are ready for the line.

Fels-Naptha soap robs Monday of its drudgery. But it must be used the Fels-Naptha way—no boiling, no hot water.

Follow directions on the red and green wrapper.

cold like us; and I've got an extra waistcoat under this fur coat, and yet I'm none too warm."—Punch (London).



An anxious correspondent wishes to know whether a lady who is sent by her constituents to a national convention should be referred to as a delegatess or a delegatrix. Why not make a bid for the German vote by calling her a delegatessen?—Chicago Record-Herald of June 18.



Gentleman: "Er—where can I find the silk counter?"

Floorwalker: "Third battle to the right."—Judge.



Finding one of her pupils in peculiar distress over his lesson, a teacher in a primary school inquired as to the trouble. The boy stated this arduous problem:

"If Richard has three red apples and John has four, how many have they both together?"

"Is that so very hard?" she asked.

"Yes, ma'am."

"But surely," the teacher continued, "you know

already that three and four make seven. There can be no trouble about that."

"I know that, ma'am," was the pathetic response. "But the process! It's the process that wears me out!"—Lippincott's.



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