

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

The Bryan Boom.

From friendly sources in some degree, but also from unfriendly ones, there are efforts to thrust William J. Bryan into the contest for President of the United States as a candidate. Mr. Bryan himself has treated with contempt such of these efforts as come from hostile sources, and in so far as they spring from friendly purposes he has strenuously urged their immediate abandonment. His latest request to that effect was made no longer ago than the 14th, when he urged friends of his who were organizing a Bryan League in Iowa, not to do so. These demonstrations of the friendly kind are inconsiderate. Whoever really knows Bryan, knows that he is not in any sense or in any way a candidate for the Presidential nomination. They know, moreover, that his nomination would impose upon him a personal burden, and his election a heavier one, which nobody has any right, under existing circumstances, to ask him to assume.



That a moment might come when, with no other alternative than Bryan's nomination or party defeat or worse, he could fairly be urged to lead the democratic masses against plutocracy once more in a Presidential contest, cannot of course be denied. No one is able to tell in these times of political transition and turmoil what a day or an hour may bring forth. But no such time has yet come, and no such alternative is as yet probable.

Under those circumstances the efforts to bring a Bryan candidacy into discussion can hardly have any other effect than to distort the critical situation if a necessity for Bryan's nomination should unexpectedly arise, and meanwhile to embarrass him in his performance of public services of a far higher order than would probably be possible for him as a candidate for the Presidency or as President. While the circumstances remain as they are, Bryan's unmistakable and well founded wishes, which his enemies will not respect, ought at any rate to be respected by his friends.



Licensing Journalists.

It is not very long since the newspapers were making fun of barbers and blacksmiths for seeking legislation enabling them to keep the incompetent out, as lawyers and doctors and dentists do in their professions. But now there is a newspaper movement of the same kind. A recent issue of *The Editor and Journalist* states that the Pennsylvania State Editorial Association has decided that journalists should be licensed and that a State board should be appointed to examine and pass upon their qualifications. This Association goes so far as to draft a bill, for introduction at the next session of the Pennsylvania legislature, to provide for the creation of such a State department of journalism. To make their measure more nearly perfect in its absurdity, it should provide for the licensing of writers of "letters to the editor"; and possibly also for requiring newspaper subscribers to take out licenses. Perhaps, however, the Pennsylvania licensing plan is neither as absurd nor as innocent as it seems on the surface. It may have the political crooks behind it. The licensing of journalists might be a short cut to reviving the old autocratic system of a "licensed press."



Lawlessness in San Diego.

Scrappy newspaper reports from San Diego have indicated from time to time that an extraordinary reign of riotous crime has prevailed in that California city for several months. The truth about it all is not yet sufficiently clear to warrant a conclusion as to who the criminals are, but the evidence begins to reflect in the strongest kind of way upon the local authorities. Governor Johnson ordered an inquiry, sending a special commissioner to San Diego to make it; and his commissioner has now submitted a report, which, judging by so much of it as has percolated through the press dispatches, finds reason for drastic action against the local

authorities by the State authorities. The whole affair seems to be one of the most sinister of all the indications of a violent class war which has yet come to the surface anywhere in this country.



Public Transportation Terminals.

Calvin Tomkins, the Dock Commissioner of New York, made a proposition before the New York State Food Commission a few days ago, which should not be forgotten and the adoption of which might well be prayed for and worked for. The inquiry was on the subject of high prices for food and with special reference to retail markets. "All of the railroad and steamship terminals of the port," said Mr. Tomkins, "should ultimately be converted into *public terminals* publicly controlled. Private control of terminals means private license to exploit commerce, industry and the needs of the community. The city should seek to provide railway terminals at the most convenient points around the harbor, so that car deliveries may be made direct and expensive drayage through the streets avoided. Why should produce received at the Desbrosses street terminal of the Pennsylvania railroad be trucked to The Bronx and South Brooklyn when direct car deliveries can be made to these outlying boroughs? At the same time that products are being hauled from lower Manhattan to Harlem, building materials (including coal, iron, sand, brick and lumber) are being hauled from Harlem to lower Manhattan as a consequence of the exclusive but unnecessary occupation of the waterfront by the railroads in lower Manhattan. Local retail markets, like local postoffices, distributed about the city at convenient points, may be found necessary as adjuncts to the wholesale terminal markets above referred to. In my judgment these wholesale terminals should be municipalized, and it will be easy to do this in most cases since they can be made self-sustaining enterprises from the start." This proposition is a sound one. Goods terminals in a city are in the highest degree monopolistic. If given over to private ownership, they are in principle, substance and effect, licenses from the public as a mass to plunder the public in detail.



If we would fain learn something of the Infinite, we must not sit idly repeating the formulas of other men and other days, but must gird up our loins anew and diligently explore on every side that finite realm through which still shines the glory of an ever present God for those who have the eyes to see and the ears to hear.—John Fiske.

AGRICULTURE AND LAND MONOPOLY.

Among the valuable bulletins of the Census Bureau at Washington is a series exhibiting agricultural conditions in the several States. For a brief consideration of the relations of agriculture to land monopoly as exhibited in those Bulletins, we refer to the one for Illinois. Any of the others, however, would doubtless be as interesting; and in somewhat greater or less degree, probably as significant.



Certain official definitions must be understood. The language of this Census Bulletin is to be interpreted as follows:

A "farm" is all the land which is directly farmed by one person, either by his own labor alone or with the assistance of members of his household or hired employes; and it may consist of a single tract of land or of a number of separate tracts, even though the separate tracts be held under different tenures.

When a landowner has one or more tenants, renters, croppers or managers, the land operated by each is considered a "farm."

As to size, any tract of three acres or more is a "farm" if used for agricultural purposes, no matter what the value of the products or the amount of labor; and so are all tracts of less than three acres producing \$250 worth of farm products or more.

A "farmer" is a person who directs the operations of a farm. Owners of farms who do not themselves direct the farm operations are not farmers.

Farm owners include (1) farmers operating their own land only, and (2) those operating both their own land and some land hired from others.

"Farm tenants" are operators of hired land only, whether tenants, renters or croppers.

"Managers" are farmers who conduct farming for wages or salaries.

"Farm land" is reported as (1) "improved," including all land regularly tilled or mowed, land pastured and cropped in rotation, land lying fallow, land in gardens, orchards, vineyards and nurseries, and land occupied by farm buildings; (2) wood land, including all land covered with natural or planted forest trees which produce or later may produce firewood or other forest products; and (3) other unimproved land, including brush land, rough or stony land, swamp land, and "any other land which is not improved or in forest."

Bearing in mind those official definitions, we shall find in the Census Bulletin for Illinois much significance for farmers, both those who *farm farms* and those who *farm farmers*.



For instance: The average value of farm *land* in Illinois, which in 1900 was \$46.17 an acre, was \$95.02 an acre in 1910—an increase of 105.8 per cent in those ten years. This increase in farm

land-values was at a rate six times greater than the increase in population; which suggests either a more productive population or more intensely speculative tendencies.

But perhaps the most significant, at any rate the most sinister, disclosure is the fact that while the increase in farm *land-values* was 105.8 per cent, the increase in farm *building-values* was only 71.9 per cent, in farm implements and machinery values only 63.9 per cent, and in domestic animals on farms only 59.4 per cent.

To help appreciate the value of this comparison, the actual increase in values may serve better than percentages, and we tabulate them:

	1900.	1910.	Increase.
Land value (un-earned)	\$1,514,113,970	\$3,090,411,148	\$1,576,297,178
Buildings	\$ 251,467,580	\$ 432,381,422	\$ 180,913,842
Implements and machinery	44,977,310	73,724,074	28,746,764
Domestic animals.	193,758,037	308,804,431	115,046,394
Land values (earned)	\$ 490,202,927	\$ 814,909,927	\$ 324,707,000

So we see that in the brief space of ten years, and in so far as Census figures may be trusted, the total increase in *earned* values of all kinds on Illinois farms, is enormously less than the increase in the same time of the *unearned* values. The total increase of earned values is only \$324,707,000, while those that are unearned rise to \$1,576,297,178. For every dollar's worth of those earned values farmers had to toil hard and save carefully, but for the other values the owners did nothing. It was done for them by increase of population, growth of towns, villages and cities, and general improvement in farming communities.

The contrast is still more striking if we put the land values against buildings, implements and animals separately. To make the increase of \$180,913,842 in buildings, farmers had to work; but the increase of \$1,576,297,178 in land values (8 times as great) cost them no work—they got it from society as an unearned gift. To make the increase of \$28,746,764 in implements and machinery, they had to work; but the \$1,576,297,178 in land values (50 times as much) cost them no work—they got it from society as an unearned gift. To make the increase of \$115,046,394 in domestic animals, they had to work; but the \$1,576,297,178 in land values (14 times as great) cost them no work—they got it from society as an unearned gift.



But please observe that in growing degree he who gets from society those rich and unearned gifts is not the farmer—not the kind of farmer who *farms farms*. His function is to play in the role of

"goat" to the farmers who *farm farmers*. Some indication of this may be got from that same Census bulletin for Illinois.

To begin with, Illinois farms have in the decade been passing out of the proprietorship of farmers who farm them. Here is a tabulation of the figures by farms:

	1900.	1910.	Decrease.
Total Illinois farms....	264,151	251,872	12,279
Owned by the farmer.....	124,128	107,300	16,828
Owned and hired by the farmer	34,375	37,807	*3,432
Total farmer ownerships	158,503	145,107	13,396
*Increase.			
Operated by tenants.....	103,698	104,379	681
Operated by managers....	1,950	2,386	436
Total exploitation	105,648	106,765	1,117

So, with a total of 264,151 farms in 1900, and of only 251,872 in 1910, we have not only a decrease in the total number, but also a decrease in farmer ownerships and an increase in tenancy and hired management. The decrease in the number of Illinois farms in that decade was 12,279; the decrease in farmer ownerships was 13,396; the increase in tenancy and hired management was 1,117. At the rate, then, of somewhat more than 100 farms a year, and with a diminishing number in the aggregate, the farms of Illinois have for the decade of 1900-10 been passing from working owners to capitalistic exploiters.

Yet the working farmers of Illinois are told, and some of them are simple enough to believe it, that the exemption from taxation of everything but land values would impoverish *them*. While the farmers who are deceived by such "dope" are farmers who farm farms, the farmers who profit by the present situation and administer the dope, are plainly enough farmers who farm farmers.



How soon will working farmers begin to do their own thinking about taxation and land monopoly, instead of allowing land monopolists to do it for them?



You are beaten to earth. Well, well, what's that?
Come up with a smiling face.

It's nothing against you to fall down flat;

But to lie there—that's a disgrace.

The harder you're thrown, why the harder you'll bounce.

Be proud of your blackened eye.

It isn't the fact that you're licked that counts,

It's how did you fight, and why.

—Edmund Vance Cooke.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Indianapolis, May 17.

The contrast between the factions of the Socialist Party came out with new distinctness in the national gathering at Indianapolis, May 12-18.



The revolutionary "left," standing flat-footed on the Marxian platform, has grown more aggressive and militant. Its tendency is to make terms with the ideals and principles represented by the "Industrial Workers of the World," an independent labor crusade which undertakes the organization of working people by industries instead of by crafts or trades, and which promotes concerted action of the entire wage working class against the employing class.

In connection with the "I. W. W." crusade, the movement called "Syndicalism" in France and England has made its appearance in the United States, and has become a factor in the councils of the American Socialist Party. This term refers to the massing, or "syndicating," of labor in response to the consolidating of capitalism.

Another phrase now heard frequently is "direct action," referring to working-class tactics which may or may not involve violence. The extreme direct-actionist has little or no faith in political activity by or for the working class. According to this view, political action, which is by its nature indirect, has but little promise for the common people. This tendency is making its influence felt among the Socialists.

The I. W. W. itself (the independent labor organization just referred to) includes a purely "militant" wing of direct-actionists, as well as those who also believe in connecting political activity with the working-class program. Through the combination of these two methods of activity, William D. Haywood is a leader in the I. W. W., and also a factor in the political Socialist Party.

Haywood believes in the ideal of Socialism—i. e., ownership of the means of industry by the wage-working people themselves; he is a member of the Socialist Party, and he was recently placed on the National Executive Committee by party votes. Haywood has been connected with labor troubles in Colorado, as a consequence of which he was dubbed an "undesirable citizen" by Roosevelt; and he was an active manager of the great strike at Lawrence, Mass.



One of the largest and most spectacular problems before the convention at Indianapolis was, What shall the Party do with its revolutionary "left" wing, and especially with Haywood? The national convention this year was looked forward to with more than usual hope and fear by the entire party. Adherents of both factions had been throwing mud and calling each other bad names with great in-

dustry and ferocity. The "right" wing called the revolutionary faction anarchists; and there was talk of putting the militant Socialists out of the party. On the other hand the extreme radicals taunted their more conservative comrades with being office seekers, "intellectuals," "yellows," etc.

The crisis came to a head over the report of the Labor Committee; and there were some extraordinary occurrences in this connection. The committee included six men from the opportunist faction, and three from the radical faction, the latter being under I. W. W., or Haywood, influence. The majority report, with six names attached, was printed and given to the convention. A stated time was set for the final disposition of the matter. When the set time arrived, the convention was told that the minority report had not been delivered by the printer, but was expected soon. A motion accordingly prevailed postponing action for one hour. Meanwhile there was much activity among the leaders, who were still engaged in shaping the matter up to an issue. When the subject was at last officially before the delegates, the minority report had completely evaporated; and the majority report was read to the convention over the signatures of the entire committee. After speeches from representatives of both factions, this report was adopted by the convention with practical unanimity amid tremendous enthusiasm.

The report begins in a conservative tone by declaring that the Socialist Party "reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor." It sounds no clear note on the subject of trade-unionism versus "industrial unionism" (the I. W. W. plan); but the document goes on to urge closer affiliation in various ways between Socialism and the Labor movement, declaring "that it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the Labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against Capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers." At the same time, and with great significance, it is distinctly asserted that the Socialist Party has no concern with "technical methods of action" employed by organized Labor in the industrial struggle. The meaning of this is that the Socialist Party undertakes to come into closer touch with Labor, while at the same time asserting that the party is not responsible for the acts of Labor.

In accordance with this principle, the convention appropriated money to support the fights in Lawrence, Mass., where laboring men are still in jail, and in San Diego, Cal., where hundreds of people have been imprisoned. The possibility of legal complications entailed by this policy cannot be overlooked; and it also remains to be seen how long the Socialist Party can maintain this rather vague attitude on the Labor question without a new fight between the factions. In a word, the problem of the Socialist "left" wing is not solved; it is merely compromised.



A clever political move has undoubtedly been made by the American Socialist Party. Temporarily, at least, the compromise is advantageous to all factors and elements in the party. Both extremes

claim to be satisfied, for the present; and they are satisfied in a way. While the "left" wing radicals and I. W. W. men have not been officially endorsed by the party, they have not been denounced, nor excommunicated, nor even told to sit down and be good. While Haywood did not get all that he says he wants, this leader of the Lawrence fight made a strong and favorable impression at Indianapolis. He and his lieutenants were active in all the work of the convention. Haywood himself delivered an illustrated lecture on the strike at Lawrence. His references to the dramatic experiment of sending away the children of strikers during the fight were very appealing. In spite of his opponents, Haywood has made progress; and he emerges from Indianapolis in some sort of triumph and with more prestige than hitherto.

Turning to the "right" wing, or opportunist section, of the Socialist Party, we meet equally interesting and important facts. While a great many reforms were officially adopted and recommended by the convention, looking toward the immediate relief of the wage-earning class, the critical item here, and the one on which the convention spent the most time, relates to the "farmer question."

In recent years, many Socialists have become convinced that the party cannot succeed by appealing merely to the working classes in the city. Two years ago a report was presented to the Socialist National Congress at Chicago,* which emphasized that Socialism could not go on forever ignoring the interests of the farmers, "the largest single division of the working class." That report recommended the exemption of farm buildings and stock from taxation up to the amount of one thousand dollars, and the imposition of a graduated tax on the value of land, whether the land were held for use or speculation. It was charged by "left"—wing revolutionists that this proposal was false to the Marxian principle; the report was tabled, and the problem was put in the hands of a new committee with instructions to report in 1912.

The report now adopted points out (very largely on the basis of Government statistics) that there has been a rapid concentration of farm-ownership in the hands of a small class of proprietors, and a corresponding vast increase of renters and mortgagers in farm communities. The recommendations put forward are more vague and less consistent than those embodied in the 1910 report. In general, this modification reflects the desire of the opportunists to avoid the charge of unorthodoxy, made by the revolutionaries; and it led to dissatisfaction among the "farmer" delegates.

The Socialist Party now comes before the farmer with a complex program which involves a number of contrary principles: Taxation of uncultivated farm land at its full rental value. Retention by the public of land now under public title, and the acquirement of "other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation, or otherwise," in order that there may be established a system of "socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises." "Social ownership of the means of transportation and storage, and of the plants used in

*See The Public of May 27, 1910, page 484.

the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery."

This bulky program is dictated more fully from the Socialist point of view than that advocated in the 1910 report. The Socialist is bound to put "capital" at the center of his philosophy. Otherwise the "comrades" are likely to suspect his orthodoxy.

According to Marx, anything that can be treated as an item of sale, on the basis of income-bearing quality, can be viewed as "capital." In this, Marx differed from the classical economists; but he foreshadowed the tendency of present-day academic theorists, and he was also at one with the "businessman's point of view." The capitalistic logic of Marx must be held constantly in mind when studying the proposals of his followers.



The Indianapolis convention of 1912 will be a distinct landmark in the evolution of American socialism.

Political socialism in the United States has advanced in voting power by leaps and bounds during the last twenty years. Starting out with a few thousand votes, it had 650,000 votes at the last Presidential election; and it expects to poll a million or more votes in the election of 1912.

As the party emerges more conspicuously on the field of political action, it more and more takes on the character of a huge, amorphous mass, held together by the name "Socialism." In order to maintain party solidarity and the prestige of a united, mass organization, it finds itself under the necessity of compromising the problems of both "right" and "left" wings. The "left" wing is more and more influenced by revolution. The "right" wing is more and more affected by Singletax tendencies. Neither faction can be satisfied permanently with the Indianapolis compromises.

LOUIS WALLIS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SIDELIGHTS ON THE ALDRICH BILL.

Indianapolis, Ind., May 10.

The facts disclosed by the Comptroller's Abstract of the condition of national banks on February 20, 1912—No. 77—are interesting and important.



From January 7th to December 5th, 1911, the aggregate increase of loans and discounts of national banks was less than \$94,000,000, or at a rate of less than \$334,000 for each business day during that time, almost a year.

From December 5th, 1911, to February 20th, 1912, the aggregate increase of loans and discounts was over \$151,324,000, or at the rate of over \$2,364,000 for each business day of that time, considerably less than three months.

Every dollar of this enormous increase, and more, was made by the 57 central reserve banks. During the time these banks increased their aggregate loans and discounts \$159,486,325. The 324 reserve banks

decreased their aggregate of loans and discounts \$2,243,638; and the 6,908 country banks made an aggregate decrease of \$5,918,576. This was a total decrease of the banks outside of the central reserve and reserve cities of \$8,162,211.

What was the occasion for this enormous manufacture of credits by the central reserve banks? What legitimate business—confined to the reserve cities of New York, Chicago and St. Louis—demanded any such increase, when there was no increase whatever (but a decrease) in the aggregate credit outside of these cities?



During the same time, it appears, the 57 banks increased their holdings from national banks, State banks and bankers outside of these cities by almost \$200,000,000, so that on February 20th, 1912, they held of the resources of these outside banks about \$1,200,000,000.

On February 20th, all this enormous sum had gone into loans and discounts until the 57 banks held, in the aggregate, less than \$24,000,000 with which to meet the daily demands of individual depositors, to keep up their legal cash reserves, and return the amount owing to other banks outside of these cities.

There can be no question that such a situation is dangerous. What is to be the result if this concentration of bank funds, in the central reserve cities, and the enormous inflation of credits is to continue?



The reason for the passage of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act and for urging the present Aldrich currency association scheme ought to be plain to any intelligent man. It ought to be equally plain that the purpose of the influences behind these schemes is to protect the New York banks without any regard whatever to the welfare of other banks, or of the business interests of the country.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.



MASSACHUSETTS AND THE SINGLETAX.

Cambridge, Mass.

The Singletax is fast becoming an issue in Massachusetts. Five speeches in four days in and near Boston indicates the tendency. These speeches were before the following organizations: Cambridge Political Equality Association; Young Men's Hebrew Association of Boston; the Aberdeen Club of Boston; the Men's Club of the Weymouth Baptist Church and the Boston Chapter of the American Institute of Bankers. Congressman Henry George, Jr., spoke before the Political Equality Association. About 150 were present.

One most interesting meeting was before the American Institute of Bankers. It was addressed by Prof. Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard. About 150 of the younger banking men of Boston were present, and although Prof. Johnson spoke after the business meeting the reports of the committees and an address by the national president, he kept the attention of his audience for over an hour. When he had finished, most of those present stayed while questions were asked of the speaker.

REGINALD MOTT HULL.

PROFESSOR HOLLANDER— A CORRECTION.

Baltimore, Md.

In my letter at page 416 of *The Public* of May 3, I wrote of Dr. J. H. Hollander as having on the occasion of Charles Frederick Adams's address before the political economy class at the Johns Hopkins University come out "most surprisingly for the Singletax." I so understood Dr. Hollander when he spoke, but as he has since assured me that what I wrote was "a surprisingly inaccurate report" of what he said and what he believes, and as I had no intention of putting him in a false position, will you kindly make correction? Dr. Hollander writes: "With the Singletax as a social panacea, in the form enunciated by Mr. Adams, I have not the slightest sympathy; with the principle of utilizing some part of future increments in urban rental values, as a fiscal experiment, I am much in accord." While regretting the necessity, I am glad to be set right.

CHARLES J. OGLE.

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, May 21, 1912.

The Socialist Convention.

Continuing their national convention at Indianapolis, the Socialist party of the United States adjourned on the 18th after formulating their platform for the Presidential campaign and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. [See current volume, page 466.]



Committees were chosen in open convention by votes of all the delegates, the candidate having the highest number of votes being chairman. Following is the personnel of the committees so chosen:

Platform: Russell, New York; Berger, Wisconsin; Carey, Massachusetts; Wilson, California; Ghent, District of Columbia; Duncan, Montana; Dobbs, Kentucky; Hogan, Arkansas; Ricker, Kansas.

Constitution: Hillquit, New York; Branstetter, Oklahoma; Brewer, Kansas; Goebel, New Jersey; Richardson, California; Berlyn, Illinois; Oneal, Indiana; Floaten, Colorado.

Resolutions: Cohen, Pennsylvania; Spargo, Vermont; Roewer, Massachusetts; Wilson, Kansas; Thomas, Wisconsin; Slobodin, New York; Collins, Colorado; Meitzen, Texas; Wells, Okla.

Labor Organizations and Their Relation to the Socialist Party: Ameringer, Oklahoma; Maurer, Pennsylvania; White, Massachusetts; Lee, New York; Rodriguez, Illinois; Harriman, California; Clifford, Ohio; Lewis, Oregon; Hickey, Texas.

Party Press: O'Reilly, Illinois; Maynard, California; Jacobs, Wisconsin; Bachman, Ohio; London, New York; Wesley, Utah; Pwen, Oklahoma; Beardsley, Connecticut; Krafft, New Jersey.

Ways and Means: Le Seur, North Dakota; Boehm, Ohio; Bacon, Pennsylvania; Watkins, Minnesota; Reguin, California; Brown, Iowa; Irwin, Oklahoma; Stewart, Idaho; Jones, New Jersey.

The chairmen of other committees were—

State and Municipal Programs, Thompson, Wisconsin; Reports of National Officers, England, Maine; Foreign Speaking Organization, Aaltonen, Michigan; Co-operative Movement, Gaylord, Wisconsin; International Relations, Barnes, Pennsylvania; Auditing, Fritz, Mississippi; Publicity, Clarke, Connecticut.

An editorial review of the character, work and significance of the convention, from the pen of Louis Wallis, who represented *The Public* there, appears in another column of this issue.



Nominations were made on the 17th. The candidates for Presidential nomination proposed on roll call and without nominating speeches were Eugene V. Debs, Emil Seidel, Charles Edward Russell, Job Harriman and Duncan McDonald. Harriman and McDonald withdrew. When Debs received 165 votes, Seidel 56 and Russell 54, Seidel moved the nomination of Debs, which was thereupon made unanimously by acclamation. For the Vice-Presidential nomination the vote was 159 for Seidel, 24 for John W. Slayton and 73 for Dan Hogan, whereupon Seidel was nominated unanimously by acclamation. The Socialist party candidates, therefore, for President and Vice-President of the United States at the election of 1912 are Eugene Victor Debs of Indiana and Emil Seidel of Wisconsin.



Labor Strikes.

Extensions in the West of the freight handlers' strike which began at Chicago, were reported during the week; but the managers of the union of railroads centering at Chicago, called the General Managers' Association, assert that the strike is no longer effective. They refused on the 17th an offer of the services of the Illinois State Board of Arbitration for an adjustment, the chairman of the Association, W. A. Garrett, saying that it "was contrary to the policy of the railroads to arbitrate with men who had left the service and that so far as they were concerned the strike was a closed incident." Mr. Garrett added "that the railroads were not being seriously inconvenienced and that reports that freight was being shipped out of this city in bulk and distributed at outside points was not true." He explained, however, "that some freight was being routed around Chicago instead of through it, wherever it could be done." [See current volume, page 466.]

At the anthracite coal miners' convention at Wilkesbarre on the 18th, an agreement made on their behalf by a joint committee of miners and operators was ratified by 323 to 64. Resumption of work began on the 20th, after a cessation of seven weeks, work having stopped on the 31st of March with the expiration of the old contract. The new contract was formally signed at Philadelphia on the 20th. [See current volume, page 466.]



Surface indications of the newspaper strike or lockout at Chicago are disappearing. The regular newspapers have resumed their former look and are again to be had on street newsstands and at Elevated railroad stations. Whatever the merits of the controversy may have been, the publishers' association seems now to have defeated the pressmen and the stereotypers. Indignation in labor circles is, however, still alive. The Allied Printing Trades Council have censured the typographical union for refusing to join in the strike; and on the 19th the Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously adopted resolutions indorsing "the action and attitude of Chicago Newspaper Web Pressmen's Union No. 7, Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4, Chicago Newspaper Delivery and Mail Wagon Drivers' Union No. 706, and Chicago Newsboys' Union No. 12,935," and announcing that

all unions affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor be requested to make such financial contributions to the federated trades as their means permit and action be taken requesting them to refrain from purchasing any Chicago newspapers not produced under union conditions, and urge upon their friends to do likewise.

One of the results of the strike is the apparently permanent establishment of a Socialist morning daily, The Chicago Daily World, which is commending itself to public patronage as a real newspaper. [See current volume, page 465.]



Labor Injunctions.

The House of Representatives at Washington on the 14th, passed the Clayton injunction-limitation bill by a vote of 243 to 31. This measure provides that no injunction shall be issued without previous notice giving an opportunity to be heard on behalf of the parties to be enjoined; but if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court or judge that irreparable injury is likely to ensue, authority is given to issue a temporary restraining order, which must define the injury and state why it is irreparable and which shall run for only seven days unless extended or renewed for a like period. The bill also provides that no restraining order shall prohibit any person or persons from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means to terminate their employment, or from attending at or near a house or place where any person resides

or works or carries on business or happens to be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from work or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to a trade dispute or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means so to do. It concludes that no individual shall be enjoined from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of any dispute between an employer and employes. The bill now goes to the Senate.



Presidential Politics.

At the California primaries on the 14th the Republicans declared for Roosevelt and the Democrats for Clark. From 2,855 precincts out of a total of 3,700 (the latest report of detail), the popular vote was as follows:

Republican.		Democrat.	
Roosevelt	122,702	Clark	35,481
Taft	62,392	Wilson	15,691
La Follette	40,825		

[See current volume, page 467.]



The Democratic convention of Iowa, which met at Burlington on the 16th, instructed its national delegates to vote as a unit for the nomination of Clark. On the same day the Maryland Democratic convention gave similar instructions. [See current volume, p. 467.]



Throughout the week, the campaign in Ohio has been keen between Roosevelt and Taft on the Republican side and Harmon and Wilson on the other. Roosevelt, Taft and Harmon have campaigned in person, and Harmon has been opposed by William J. Bryan. There are strong intimations from Taft sources to the effect that if he does not carry Ohio, or for any other reason cannot carry the convention, his support will be thrown to Judge Hughes, formerly Governor of New York; equally strong intimations come from Roosevelt sources to the effect that if he is defeated it will be through fraudulent methods, and he will lead a bolt. Senator La Follette has also spoken to large audiences in Ohio on the eve of the primaries of the 21st. At Toledo on the 19th he vigorously denounced both Taft and Roosevelt as "tools of Wall Street." [See current volume, as "tools of Wall Street." Early returns from the primaries on the 21st indicate a victory for Roosevelt as Republican, and Harmon as Democratic candidate. [See current volume, page 467.]



When the sub-committee of the Republican national committee met at Chicago on the 18th to make arrangements for the opening of the national

convention, they were reported to have chosen supporters of Mr. Taft for temporary officers of the convention. For temporary secretary Lafayette B. Gleason of New York was chosen, and for temporary sergeant-at-arms, William F. Stone of Maryland. The name of the temporary chairman, Elihu Root, was not made public until the 20th, this delay being due apparently to his delay in accepting. The members of the committee in attendance were Harry S. New of Indiana, Victor Rosewater of Nebraska, ex-Gov. Franklin Murphy of New Jersey, William Hayward (secretary of the committee), William F. Stone (sergeant-at-arms), David W. Mulvane of Kansas, Edward C. Duncan of North Carolina, and Ralph E. Williams of Oregon.



The Singletax Fight in Oregon.

Supplementary to the local campaign for land value taxation in certain counties of Oregon, including Multnomah (the Portland county) and the adjoining county of Clackamas,* a State-wide campaign is being initiated by the Graduated Singletax League of Oregon. Petitions for amending the Constitution of the State by Initiative so as to effect the purposes of this League, are now in circulation. It would appear that the outcry of the great landed monopolists of Oregon against the various county Initiatives for exemption of all property but land values from taxation for local purposes, to the effect that this is a movement of rich men like Joseph Fels against the farmers of Oregon "whose land values it would take away," suggested the supplementary Singletax campaign as a backfire. Whatever suggested it, however, it is reported to be growing in popularity throughout the State and to be recognized by the organs of land monopoly there as an alarming menace to their special interests.



The Initiative petition calls for an amendment of Section 2 of Article IX of the State Constitution so as to provide for State revenues to be raised in part by certain graduated land value taxes. The more important of these provisions are comprised in three clauses of the proposed amendment, distinguished respectively as clauses *a*, *d* and *i*. Those clauses are as follows:

(a) To provide a part of such revenue the following annual graduated specific taxes are hereby levied: first, upon every public service corporation on the total assessed values within the county greater than \$10,000, of all the franchises and rights of way under and by virtue of which such corporation operates in the county; second, upon every person owning land and natural resources and interests therein within the county the total assessed value of which is greater than \$10,000: \$2.50 on each \$1,000

above \$10,000 and not above \$20,000; and in addition thereto \$5.00 on each \$1,000 above \$20,000 and not above \$30,000; and in addition thereto \$7.50 on each \$1,000 above \$30,000 and not above \$40,000; and in addition thereto \$10.00 on each \$1,000 above \$40,000 and not above \$50,000; and in addition thereto \$12.50 on each \$1,000 above \$50,000 and not above \$60,000; and in addition thereto \$15.00 on each \$1,000 above \$60,000 and not above \$70,000; and in addition thereto \$17.50 on each \$1,000 above \$70,000 and not above \$80,000; and in addition thereto \$20.00 on each \$1,000 above \$80,000 and not above \$90,000; and in addition thereto \$25.00 on each \$1,000 above \$90,000 and not above \$100,000; and in addition thereto \$30.00 on each \$1,000 on all above \$100,000.

(d) Water powers shall be assessed in the county where the same are situated on the value per horse power of the water claimed or appropriated, and the assessed values thereof shall be listed by the county assessor in the assessment rolls separately from the value of the lands and improvements in connection therewith.

(i) The people of any county may at any time by a county law assess and tax personal property and improvements on, in and under land in their county, but except as such property may be assessed and taxed by and under such county laws the same is exempt from taxation in Oregon. Such local county law may be enacted, amended or repealed at any regular general election, or at a special election if such special election is demanded by Initiative petition of not less than 10 per cent of the registered voters of the county. The County Court shall give at least sixty days' notice of every such special election.

The other provisions of the proposed amendment relate to its effective execution. It is specifically declared to be self-executing; and while "laws may be enacted to aid its operation" none may be enacted "in any way to restrict its effect." "Natural growths, deposits and other natural resources not expressly provided for are to be assessed as a part of the land on, in or under which the same are situated"; the specific graduated taxes are not to exempt any of the values upon which they are levied, from the regular general and special tax levies of the taxing districts in which the property is located; and the amount of the graduated specific taxes collected in each county is required by clause *b* to be applied by the county in the following order:

First, for the county's share of state revenues; second, for the county general school and library fund; third, for the county road and bridge fund; fourth, for other expenses of the county; fifth, for any public purpose approved by the voters of the county.



In its comments upon this proposal, which it calls the "Graduated Singletax and Exemption Amendment," the "Singletax Broacher" of Portland, a campaign publication widely circulated in the State, states that—

farmers and other home owners of Oregon have been

*See current volume of The Public, page 174.

paying more than their share of public taxes for more than 50 years. The "Graduated Single Tax and Exemption Amendment" is now proposed so as to collect a fair share of the public revenue from the owners of large amounts of community-made values of land, water powers and corporation franchises and rights of way. Owners of these great values have never paid their share of taxes in Oregon. In the last 50 years they have never proposed any law or amendment that would make them pay their share.

... Graduated taxes on railroads and other franchise corporations will not take a dollar from them unjustly. Besides leaving them income enough to pay interest on every dollar the stockholders have actually invested, it will still leave them half of what they collect from the people over and above that interest and operating and maintenance charges. . . . On railroads and other franchise corporations the graduated taxes, in addition to the regular and special tax levies, would have been as follows in the counties of Oregon in 1910:

Baker	\$226,251.00	Lincoln	\$ 12,922.00
Benton	16,215.50	Linn	89,884.90
Clackamas	307,626.25	Malheur	29,338.00
Clatsop	21,533.25	Marion	110,433.25
Columbia	53,980.25	Morrow	92,342.75
Coos	4,341.50	Multnomah	720,944.75
Douglas	167,319.25	Polk	39,133.00
Gilliam	110,955.00	Sherman	63,634.00
Grant	251.50	Tillamook	561.75
Hood River.....	56,299.25	Umatilla	363,549.25
Jackson	111,873.75	Union	100,259.25
Josephine	44,816.75	Wallowa	39,251.00
Klamath	4,324.00	Wasco	53,801.50
Lake	29.00	Washington	40,288.25
Lane	86,441.75	Yamhill	29,673.75

At this time the figures showing the value of lands worth more than \$10,000 owned by corporations and individuals are not complete for all the counties, but the following will give some idea of how the farmers and other home owners will have their taxes cut down by the graduated taxes on the individual owners of more than \$10,000 worth of land:

Clackamas	\$ 52,602.75	Malheur	\$ 3,074.00
Coos	187,701.75	Union	6,170.00
Grant	14,751.00	Wallowa	21,953.00
Josephine	50,291.75	Wasco	1,633.50
Lane (part).....	15,678.50	Washington	17,772.75

In Clackamas county 176,648 acres are owned in tracts of more than 300 acres by 31 owners, corporations and individuals, and each tract is worth more than \$10,000. All these lands are unimproved. The assessed value of the 176,648 acres in 1910 was \$2,648,595. The graduated taxes for 1910, under the proposed amendment, would have been \$52,000. The Oregon & California Railroad Company would have paid \$31,315 on its 89,070 acres assessed \$1,105,555. The land was given to the company by the people of the United States on the basis of \$2.50 an acre. It is now worth \$12.37 an acre, assessed value. That is an increase in value of \$9.87 an acre, and the people of Oregon have made that increase. They are certainly entitled to a large part of the increase, and they are adding value to it every year. In Coos county seven corporations, including the Oregon & California Railroad Company, own 379,633 acres of land, assessed \$6,569,055 in 1911. The graduated taxes on those owners, under the proposed amendment, would be \$184,529. Not one of those seven

corporations owns less than 20,000 acres in Coos county. It is hoped that complete figures for all the counties will be at hand by the time the next number of The Broacher is issued. The people of Oregon really do not know what enormous values, created by the people, are going into the pockets of great land owning corporations and individuals. The people of Oregon do not know now, but they will know before the next election, what it will mean to them to make the great land owning corporations and men, and the railroads and other franchise corporations, pay a fairer share of the public taxes. The people of Oregon are so used to being taxed on their labor and industry, and the savings of their labor and industry, that some of them think that is the best and only way to raise money for public purposes. Oregon farmers have been told so often that the great land values are in the farms that many of them believe it. How many of them know that the six most valuable blocks of land in Portland, not including the value of improvements, were assessed \$6,345,000 in 1910. Those six blocks contain only five and a half acres. The assessed value of those five and a half acres in 1910 was \$562,000 more than the assessed value of the 95,595 acres of improved land in Clackamas county in 1910. The average assessed value of those five and a half acres of land in Portland was \$1,151,595 an acre. That was the unimproved or community-made value. The assessed unimproved value of those five and a half acres in Portland in 1910 was \$26.44 a square foot. The assessed improved value of the 95,595 acres of cultivated farm lands in Clackamas county was \$60.49 an acre, on an average. How much is that a square foot? On the 1910 assessments, one average acre of improved farm land in Clackamas county was worth \$1.20 less than two and a third square feet of those six Portland blocks; and those farm lands were assessed on their improved value. The raw-land community-made value of the 95,595 acres of cultivated land in Clackamas county in 1910 was only \$23.84 an acre on an average. So the community-made value of the five and a half Portland acres was \$4,066,015 more than the community-made value of the 95,595 acres of cultivated lands in Clackamas county.



The land monopoly interests of Oregon are circulating Initiative petitions to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the Singletax anywhere in that State, and circulating anti-Singletax literature in large quantities and extensively.



The Singletax in British Columbia.

On the basis of the recent report of the British Columbia Royal Tax Commission, the daily Colonist of Victoria, a Conservative paper, predicts that "one of the first Government measures of the new session [the present Government is overwhelmingly conservative] will be that affecting various reductions in taxation and rearrangements in the assessment system, based wholly or in large measure upon the recommendations contained in the exhaustive report of the Royal Commission on Tax-

tion," and it quotes the Honorable Charles H. Lugin as saying:

The Royal Tax Commission of British Columbia, of which I was a member, went to work with open minds and without preconceived ideas as to what they were going to do. The conclusions we reached were forced upon us by our knowledge of the conditions of the country and of the evils of some of the taxes now levied. I confess that at the outset I was even in favor of the poll tax, against which our Commission is now unanimous. The same thing applies to the tax on improvements and personal property. We felt from our investigation of the Province that they were unjust, that they could not be fairly levied, and that it was only right that they should be abolished. And we believe that this will be done by the legislature. The city of Victoria, after carefully observing the results in Vancouver, has now also abolished the tax on improvements, and I am satisfied that within two years neither personal property nor improvements on land will be taxed anywhere in British Columbia. That this will encourage enterprise and investment in the Province goes without saying. In the communities that have adopted this system of Singletax there is no influence that can be brought to bear that could lead them to depart from it.

[See current volume, pages 109, 155, 161.]



Land Monopoly in England.

The London Daily News of May 2 reports the abandonment by Joseph Fels of his experiment in small holdings at Mayland, in Essex, near Althorne, England. Including the cost of the land, about 700 acres, the experiment has cost nearly \$250,000. Upon purchasing the land Mr. Fels had it divided into 5 and 6-acre lots, on each of which he built a brick house with five rooms and bath, besides farm buildings. Three acres of each lot were laid out with fruit; the remainder was prepared for general market gardening. Only about a third of the original small holders remain in possession and liberal opportunities are afforded them for acquiring full title. The rest of the property is to be disposed of at once. "I am giving up the experiment," said Mr. Fels, "simply because I am convinced that under present conditions of the land question in England no experiment either public or private, can assure that the cultivator, whether large or small, shall get what belongs to him—the full result of his labor." He explained, as reported in the News:

I have come to a full realization of the hopelessness of trying to promote agriculture in a country the land of which is monopolized by a few ground landlords, who are beginning to be called here, as in America, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, "land hogs." This ownership by the few of the land of the many makes for monopoly and special privilege in more directions than at first would seem possible. Perhaps my special scheme has been quickened in its failure by my inability to give it the per-

sonal attention that such an undertaking would seem to deserve. While I frankly acknowledge this, it is in no sense the principal cause of failure, if failure it may be called. It was by no means a complete failure, for scores of men and women have been trained to country life, but it simply has not been a commercial success. Perhaps the distance from market—50 miles from London and over three miles from the railway station—had something to do with this, and yet these are only minor objections and would be easily overcome under free conditions. Not being a farmer, I cannot say under present conditions how commercial success could be obtained. But I do know that if the present taxation upon labor, machinery, and buildings were lifted, as it will be, and placed upon land values, where it belongs, monopolists and other idle persons, such as myself, would not be looking around to play the philanthropic game, the benevolent wheeze, or the charity act to benefit the poor, but would be getting off their backs, and these people would be teaching themselves agriculture and other pursuits unaided by our alleged superior wisdom.

NEWS NOTES

—The first Mississippi Valley Conference on Votes for Women met at Chicago on the 21st. [See current volume, page 278.]

—On his return to London on board the "Mauretania," Joseph Fels addressed his fellow passengers on "Getting Rich Without Working."

—The trial of Clarence S. Darrow, on charges connected with the McNamara trials, began at Los Angeles on the 14th. [See current volume, pages 255, 338.]

—The Ministerial bill for disestablishment of the English Church in Wales, passed its second reading in the British House of Commons on the 16th by a vote of 348 to 267.

—The Twelfth International Congress of Navigation will convene in Philadelphia on May 23d. It is expected to bring together representatives of more than thirty nations.

—The meat-packing firm of Armour & Co. of Chicago was indicted on the 17th by the Federal grand jury at Chicago for criminal violation of the Federal meat inspection laws.

—At the Methodist General Conference at Minneapolis on the 18th a proposal to abrogate the church rule against dancing was defeated by a vote of 446 to 369. [See current volume, page 443.]

—Floyd Allen, one of the mountaineers accused of killing the judge sitting at a Virginia trial, was convicted of murder in the first degree on the 17th at Wytheville, Va. [See current volume, page 278.]

—An equity suit was begun in the Federal courts at New York on the 18th by the United States Government for an injunction against a coffee-cornering scheme as in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

—The Federal troops of Mexico continue to gain ground on the revolutionists. Guadalupe, 32 miles east of Juarez on the Rio Grande, was taken by the Federals on the 20th, and they are threatening the

revolutionary stronghold at Juarez. [See current volume, page 469.]

—A last victory over the revolutionists of Paraguay is reported as having occurred on the 10th. Their leader, Colonel Alvino Jara, a former President of the Republic, though wounded, succeeded in escaping. [See current volume, page 301.]

—Scattering returns from the Denver municipal election on the 21st indicate the election of Henry J. Arnold, Citizens' candidate for Mayor, and the entire Citizens' ticket, including Judge Ben B. Lindsey as Judge of the Juvenile Court. [See current volume, page 459.]

—An exhibition with a series of discussions relative to the transportation problem in Chicago is to begin under the auspices of the City Club, at its club house, 315 Plymouth Court, on the 23d and continue to June 8th. It will be open from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., daily except Sundays.

—The Supreme Court of Wisconsin on the 14th declared unconstitutional the law permitting cities of Wisconsin to legislate for all matters not prohibited by the Constitution or general laws. Under their decision a Constitutional amendment is the only way in which Wisconsin cities may get home rule.

—Judge McKinley of the Superior Court of Chicago has convicted County Judge John E. Owens, Sheriff Zimmer, the Chief of Police, the Assistant Chief of Police, and Election Commissioner Czarnicki of contempt for violating his injunction regarding the Democratic county convention, and on the 17th he sentenced each of them to pay a fine of \$500. [See current volume, page 421.]

—Meetings to protest against the Dillingham alien bill, which has passed the Senate of the United States and is now pending in the House, were held in Chicago on the 19th. One was at the Auditorium on the call of the Immigrants' Protective League, another at Wicker Park Hall and the third at Hull House. The measure is denounced especially as an attempt to exclude from the United States political fugitives from European tyranny.

—Under injunctions against picketing in a corset factory strike at Kalamazoo, Michigan, Josephine Casey of Chicago has been sentenced by Judge Knapen to 20 days' imprisonment for contempt. The strike, which has been on for fourteen weeks, is for a minimum wage of \$7 a week for the girls after the first four weeks and \$9 a week after being employed for a year. The men workers are striking for a scale of \$1.75 and \$2 a day and fifty-four hours' work a week. An appeal for strike funds has been sent out through all the international unions that have locals in Kalamazoo.

—King Frederick VIII of Denmark died suddenly at Hamburg, Germany, on the 14th. His oldest son was proclaimed King under the name of Christian X at Copenhagen on the 15th. The deceased King was on a return journey from the south of Europe, with the Queen, whence he had been for recovery from inflammation of the lungs. He was nearly 69 years old, and had reigned since January 30, 1906, in succession to his father, the aged "good King Christian IX," "the father-in-law of Europe." The new King Christian X is 42 years of age. He married a princess

of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin and they have two sons. [See vol. viii, p. 728.]

—A majority and a minority report on the Lorimer case were presented to the United States Senate on the 20th. The majority report finds that Senator Lorimer's election was not brought about or influenced by corrupt methods. The minority report, which finds that corrupt methods were employed in Senator Lorimer's election, and that it was therefore invalid, is signed by Senators Kern and Lea (Democrats), and Kenyon (Republican). [See current volume, page 324.]

—Immense sections of Louisiana are still under water from the floods in the lower Mississippi and its tributary rivers. After being threatened for days the town of Melville was inundated on the 19th, when the levee on the west bank of the Atchafalaya broke. In reply to a telegram of inquiry from Oswald Garrison Villard of New York, in regard to a report that Negro flood refugees were being compelled to work on the levees without pay, Governor Sanders of Louisiana telegraphed: "All able-bodied men, regardless of color, are given the option of working and eating or doing neither. Thousands of citizens, including myself, are working day and night on the levee, voluntarily and without pay, trying to hold the flood area down to a minimum. The resources of the State are being strained almost to their utmost to save lives and property and care for the refugees, nine-tenths of whom are Negroes. New homes are being provided for all refugee families who care to take advantage of the opportunity." [See current volume, page 443.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Bryan's Candidacy.

The New Haven (Conn.) Union (dem-Dem.), May 16.—We know that Mr. Bryan is not a candidate for the Democratic nomination; that the party would have to force him to enter a fight for the Presidency again; but if Theodore Roosevelt is nominated at Chicago the Democratic party has but one logical course to pursue, if the party, that is its rank and file, is to be held together; and that is, to make William J. Bryan the standard bearer. Bryan is the only Democrat today that has a grip on the hearts and consciences of the great mass of the people to an extent sufficient to overcome the hypnotic influence and spell which Theodore Roosevelt seems to have cast over the nation.



The Bloomington (Ill.) Daily Bulletin, May 14.—Mr. Bryan has said that he could conceive of no possible conditions under which he would be a candidate, and has forbidden the use of his name in primaries; and it is a perfectly safe conclusion that he will countenance no movement to start a boom. What he or any other American would do in case of the stampede of a deadlock convention, is quite another matter.



Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph Herald (dem-Dem.), May

2.—Concurrent with the Roosevelt movement grows the conviction that the Democratic party should again nominate Mr. Bryan. Suggestion of this comes from all sides, from Democrats who have not been personally friendly to the Nebraskan as from others who have been his loyal supporters.



The Lawless Judge at Seattle.

The Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), May 15.—Judge Hanford of the Federal District Court at Seattle has canceled the naturalization of a Socialist because of his political opinions. This action is being hotly denounced even by non-Socialists in Washington and other Pacific Coast States as unprecedented and lawless. It has not been thought of elsewhere, not even in Milwaukee. The man whose citizenship has been thus annulled is not a believer in physical force or in the propaganda of force. He is a Socialist who advocates change by means of the ballot and Constitutional reform. He preaches and teaches doctrines that are very radical, but he depends on the majority of the citizens to embrace and carry out his doctrines. He has as much right to advocate Socialism as other citizens have to advocate the recall of judges and decisions, government railroads, the Singletax. The Constitution guarantees him and all other pacific radicals the right of free speech and a free press. If a naturalized citizen is faithful to his oath and respects the Constitution and laws in practice, on what ground can his citizenship be canceled or annulled? Was it a "fraud" on his part to undertake to support the Constitution? Can a Socialist be "loyal" to the existing Constitution while agitating for a change? This, we understand, is the real issue in the unusual case. The case will, of course, be taken to the Supreme Court, where the novel question will be settled once for all. It should be added, as mere information, that Judge Hanford has rendered several highly unpopular and arbitrary decisions which have caused considerable talk about his impeachment.



The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 16.—A Federal District Judge in the State of Washington has given effect to a decision which must be regarded as ludicrous in a land of free political opinion. The citizenship papers of a man have been annulled because he is a Socialist. Because the man "admitted that he advocated a propaganda for radical changes in the Constitution of the country," and because he admitted he had held to Socialistic principles when he applied for papers two years before, Judge C. H. Hanford ruled that he was not admissible to citizenship. . . . It would be scarcely more extravagant if it were held that an applicant for citizenship were required to swear allegiance to the administration of national affairs by the Republican party. To bar a man who is willing to submit loyally to existing government merely because he cherishes what the rest of us may believe to be an impossible ideal of good government certainly is raising a new question in this country. . . . When Socialism submits to what exists, and merely seeks to convert the electorate to another set of political and economic principles, its advocates are well within the rights of citizens in a land of free opinion.

Direct Legislation in Oregon.

The (Portland) Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), May 11.—Twenty-seven measures are already in sight for the November ballot, and more are expected. It is an over-use of the Initiative and Referendum. But why are they over-used? Because many people have lost confidence in the legislature.



Tax Reform in Ontario.

The (Ottawa, Ont.) Citizen (Conservative) April 22.—Sir James Whitney has at last shown some disposition to meet the clearly expressed will of the people in regard to tax reform. The bills upon this subject introduced by Mr. J. A. Ellis and Mr. Rowell were read a second time and referred to a special committee to report upon at the next session. If tax reform legislation is passed, then Sir James will be forgiven much, but the subject can no longer be shelved or the legislation refused.



Radical Conservatism in Canada.

The Christian Science Monitor, April 17.—While to be a Liberal in British Columbia means that you are willing to go farther than do Liberals elsewhere, to be a Conservative means that you are willing to go much farther still. That is to say, it is the Conservative party in British Columbia that fathers advanced, or, as some will have it, radical measures. . . . It is with reference to taxation matters that the Conservatives seem most aggressive. . . . The Conservatives are behind the Singletax movement, and are convinced by actual demonstration in Vancouver and Victoria that a general extension of the principle, as laid down by Henry George, will lead to a more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry. From all accounts, Vancouver and Victoria are prospering under Singletax, even though it must still be applied with certain restrictions. There is reason to believe that these restrictions will now be modified, if not altogether removed. Notwithstanding the recent rejection of Singletax in Seattle, the leaven of British Columbian progressivism is unmistakably spreading southward and doubtless will manifest itself later in local elections in Oregon and Washington. There is no doubt as to its spread eastward, since it is already influencing public affairs in Alberta and Manitoba.



Great Britain's New Taxes.

The (Grand Rapids, Mich.) Evening Press (Ind.), April 22.—Almost everyone who reads the papers has heard of Lloyd George's budget, the budget which had its sequel in the curbing of the House of Lords after the upper branch of the English Parliament had refused to pass its sweeping reforms. Probably few, however, know just what it has accomplished and what it will mean to Great Britain in the future. Without adding one cent to the cost of living, this budget during the year ending April 1, 1912, according to Lloyd George's own statement in Parliament the other day, has produced \$115,000,000 from absolutely new taxes alone. Of this, \$40,000 came from luxuries, chiefly liquor and tobacco.

Incidentally the increased tax has caused a decrease of 20 per cent in the consumption of alcoholics. More than \$20,000,000 has been derived from the tax on unearned incomes of more than \$750 a year and on earned incomes of more than \$15,000. The super-tax on incomes of more than \$25,000 has produced \$15,000,000. The extra death duties falling on estates of more than \$25,000 yielded \$35,000,000. Idle, undeveloped land produced in revenue \$2,500,000 this year, and next year will return \$3,500,000. The big feature of the budget, however, is the tax on the unearned increment of land, and this will not be levied until all the land in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales is valued by the state. Experts now are working at this gigantic task, but will not complete the work for three or perhaps four more years. When it is finished the world will have the opportunity of seeing a radical departure in taxation methods put into operation. The new tax, which is expected to yield many millions in revenue, will be levied when land is sold or is transferred on account of death. On these occasions 20 per cent of the increase in value above the state valuation, provided it is more than 10 per cent and is not due to improvements, must go to the state. This is an application of the Henry George principle which will be watched with interest the world over.



Patent Monopolies.

The Boston Common, April 20.—Monopoly may be tremendously entrenched by patents. Monopoly uses patents to oppress as well as to serve the public. Therefore, make the law read that an inventor may collect a reasonable royalty from all who use his invention, but that neither he nor any manufacturer with whom he contracts may monopolize the process of manufacturing under a patent. This would stop the purchase of patents with a view to their suppression, as in the case of the United Shoe Machinery Co. and Thomas G. Plant. It would remove one picket from the high fence of privilege.



The Radicalism of Sun Yat Sen.

The (Johnstown, Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem.-Dem.), May 15.—Dr. W. E. Macklin of Nanking, China, who has done so much to inculcate Singletax doctrine in the minds of progressive Chinese, finds it necessary to state that he is not responsible for the conversion of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Provisional President of China. The notion that he was responsible was perhaps a natural one to those who knew the good work that he has been doing. But Dr. Macklin wants no credit to which he is not entitled and requests his friends to give the widest publicity possible to his denial. Dr. Sun, it seems, learned about the Singletax and read the works of Henry George while in this country. It is gratifying to know that he has shown a very lively interest in the remarkable work Dr. Macklin is doing in the new Republic.



First Lady: "What are they striking for? More wages?"

Second Lady: "Either for more or less—something like that."—Punch.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE EAGLE THAT IS FORGOTTEN.

John P. Altgeld: Born Dec. 30, 1847—Died
March 12, 1902.

Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, in Illinois State Register.



Sleep softly,—Eagle forgotten,—under the stone.
Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.

"We have buried him now," thought your foes, and in secret rejoiced.

They made a brave show of their mourning, their hatred unvoiced.

They had snarled at you, barked at you, foamed at you, day after day.

Now you were ended. They praised you—and laid you away.

The others that mourned you in silence and terror and truth,

The widow bereft of her crust, and the boy without youth,

The mocked and the scorned and the wounded, the lame and the poor,

That should have remembered forever—remember no more.

Where are those lovers of yours, on what name do they call,

The lost, that in armies wept over your funeral pall?

They call on the names of a hundred high-valiant ones;

A hundred white eagles have risen, the sons of your sons.

The zeal in their wings is a zeal that your dreaming began,

The valor that wore out your soul in the service of man.

Sleep softly,—Eagle forgotten,—under the stone.
Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.

Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O Wise Man that kindled the flame,—

To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,

To live in mankind far, far more than to live in a name.



THE ALTGELD TEMPERAMENT.

Written for The Public by Nicholas Vachel Lindsay.



From the Chicago Record-Herald of Thursday,
March 13, 1902:

Throughout Mr. Altgeld's public career, and every moment of it was beset by bitter criticism, no one

seriously questioned his honesty as a public official, doubted his courage to do what he believed to be right, or impugned the sincerity of his advocacy of any cause. He proved the contrary whenever there was a chance. In the 1895 session of the legislature, for example, franchise corporation bills were passed, very like those which made the session of 1897 a reproach. Mr. Altgeld could have made a million, and probably millions, by letting them become laws. But they were vetoed. . . . Mr. Altgeld died poor.



It happens to be my good fortune to have been born in the house where I live today, a house on an embankment that looks out on the Governor's yard and mansion. From the earliest years I have stepped across the street to processions, speeches and the like. I have witnessed the political pageants of Deneen, Yates and Tanner, of Altgeld, Fifer and Oglesby.

Once upon a time I was in the Governor's yard when an escort of the Illinois National Guard arrived for Altgeld, the then chief executive. He was a shaky invalid, and would have been excused for riding in a carriage. His black horse threw him, and rolled upon him, but the Governor refused help and managed to climb back into the saddle. He went through it all with a sort of Spartan quietness. I can this moment recall the grim, mesmeric face, the lack-luster eye, and the unstable frame. I well remember the ease with which he led the procession, emphatically the Governor of Illinois, the horse still snorting, his conceit still vexed that this creature with the feeble knees should somehow ride him.

When Altgeld was in his prime, about the time he was riding that black horse, brainy radicalism was unknown, so far as big party policies went. Roosevelt was a "gold standard" Republican, and Debs was in jail, meditating. The widespread, amiable radicalism that pervades the upper middle class had not come. As for brash revolt, not even the crude Hearst had raised his head. The principal function of a magazine was to exploit C. D. Gibson. The principal function of a lecture course was to talk about life's noble lessons. Most of the men who, a little later, voted for Bryan in his first, the 1896 campaign, were people of a stand-pat turn of mind who had under temporary exasperation clothed themselves in rebellious words. The insurance companies were still immaculate in the land. Hughes had not yet investigated. Big Business was assumed to be automatically on the square. The "Pittsburgh Survey" had not yet appeared. No man had read after Ray Stannard Baker, Ida Tarbell or Lincoln Steffens. Brand Whitlock and Judge Lindsey had not yet emerged.

Altgeld anticipated the enthusiasms of these writers and leaders and was as studious as any of them. He received upon his devoted head

the opposition now pleasantly distributed among many reformers, some of them Governors. The Corporate powers cannot completely pulverize the chief executive of California, because the chief executive of New Jersey is exhibiting streaks of courage. But once there was only one Governor, John P. Altgeld, called the Wire-haired Anarchist of the Plains, caricatured as Guiteau the assassin.

Under the surface of his dramatic public life Altgeld's spirit worked subtly to make the forces that champion the under dog permanent in America, as Richelieu worked to buttress monarchy in France. He set himself tasks that took a lion's courage and a martyr's heart. He planned each step of his immolation amid a stupid people. He threw his reputation and health into the furnace every hour. It is a wonder that some of the men he thwarted did not die of apoplexy. And as for his ostensible friends, there must have been a sad humor in his heart when he made his appeals to the thick-necked, in convention assembled, Illinois Democrats, but none the less, little Mark Hannas. He used to speak in this wise: "Respond to the call of the age! Respond to the cry of humanity, and you can write your name against the skies in letters of glory, and win the blessings of all generations to come!" They wept at this eloquence, but little they cared.

In 1896 Altgeld controlled the Chicago convention, nominated William Jennings Bryan as a mild representative of the sort of a thing he championed, and wrote the Chicago platform, a document something more aggressive than Bryan has ever been. As I conceive the Governor, he admitted the 16 to 1 proposition as bait to get the rest of it down the throats of a somewhat frightened national party.

O present-day reformer, with your picture in every magazine, consider your debt to this man with never a magazine to back him up! Was not the opening for your career made possible, in part, by Altgeld's courage? Does not some thread of your glib and fashionable radicalism go back to that gritty Chicago platform, to what was in it beside the silver plank? Does not a great deal still in the future, depend upon the fact that Altgeld forced the sloppy, mushy Democratic party to be absolutely uncompromising for once?

Dodge it if you will, O follower of William Howard Taft, or of Theodore Roosevelt, or Robert M. La Follette, or Victor Berger, your idol owes his present relations on the chessboard to the forgotten player. In some fashion or manner Altgeld's voice speaks through every faction now. They may not like it, they may champ the bit, but that strange Richelieu is in the saddle. Aspiring young souls may not know it, but they spread their wings easily because he aspired at fearful cost, not only the death of his body, but the death of his name.

What I say of him might be asserted, from a dif-

ferent point of view, concerning one or two other figures of his time. But Altgeld was my idol, my particular idol among public men, and I can not help saying why.

I have before me a collection of discussions of the Governor the day after his death. The paragraphers eat their own words. He would have been immortalized, if the memorial notices had been printed as many days in succession as the lifetime attacks. They were careful not to praise him till quite sure of his demise. They chronicle with literary sobs how twelve thousand of the unfortunate filed past his coffin that lay in state in the Chicago public library. The procession continued long after dark. Some estimated that twenty-five thousand went by.

The death notices reviewed with full justice all his doings but one. It received such casual mention as is indicated by the clipping which begins this article. It was set down more elaborately by Louis F. Post in *The Public* for March 22, 1902, as follows:

One of Altgeld's acts as Governor was never openly criticised. It is briefly told by the *Chicago Record-Herald*, a Republican paper, from which we quote:

In the 1895 session of the Legislature . . . franchise corporation bills were passed very like those which made the session of 1897 a reproach. Mr. Altgeld could have made a million, and probably millions, by letting them become laws, but they were vetoed.

The truth is that one million dollars in cash had been placed at Altgeld's disposal, under circumstances which would have enabled him to appropriate it with absolute safety to himself. The sole condition was that he should sign those bills. But he vetoed the bills.

At that time Altgeld's pecuniary difficulties were pressing. From a rich man he had become comparatively poor, through no fault of his own but chiefly because he refused to join any of the respectable rings that make money for themselves and squeeze money out of others by means of predatory laws. The legislature had been bribed to enact the corporation bills in question. They were so thoroughly bribed that the Senate passed them even over Altgeld's veto, and in the House only a few votes of the necessary two-thirds were lacking. The latter body remained in session long past its hour for sine die adjournment, turning back the official clock for the sake of appearances, to allow the corporation lobbyists time to buy their goods. But Altgeld's veto stood, in spite of the Democratic leader on the floor, in spite of the Republican speaker in the chair, in spite of the lobbyists all over the House, and in spite of as fine an aggregation of respectable gentlemen at Chicago furnishing the funds as one could wish to meet.

Yet all this might have been avoided. Nothing was needed but another respectable gentleman of the same marauding type in the Governor's chair. Had Altgeld signed those bills he might have retrieved his broken fortunes, have grown as rich as the richest, have been honored by a debased press and fawned upon by the sycophants, might

have gone to associate and conspire with other such characters in the Federal Senate, and instead of being denounced as a reactionary demagogue been lauded as a progressive statesman. But he was too able to be beguiled and too honest to betray his trust. He held the mercenary plotters back, knowing full well that the rich and influential ones among them would punish him without mercy. And they did. They plotted against this able and honest Governor until even this wreckage of his fortune had disappeared. Yet, through it all he defied them and went his way—impoverished, lonely, but faithful.



THE JUDGMENTS OF SOCIETY.

From "Defence of Criminals," an Essay by Edward Carpenter.

A criminal is literally a person accused—accused, and in the modern sense of the word convicted, of being harmful to Society. But is he there in the dock, the patch-coated brawler or burglar, really harmful to Society? is he more harmful than the mild old gentleman in the wig who pronounces sentence upon him? That is the question. . . . The judge pronounces sentence on the prisoner now, but Society in its turn and in the lapse of years pronounces sentence on the judge. It holds in its hand a new canon, a new code of morals, and consigns its former representative and the law which he administered to a limbo of contempt. . . .

When the ideal of Society is material gain or possession, as it is largely today, the object of its special condemnation is the thief—not the rich thief, for he is already in possession and therefore respectable, but the poor thief. There is nothing to show that the poor thief is really more immoral or unsocial than the respectable money-grubber; but it is very clear that the money-grubber has been floating with the current of Society, while the poor man has been swimming against it, and so has been worsted. Or when, as today, Society rests on private property in land, its counter-ideal is the poacher. If you go in the company of the county squire-archy and listen to the after-dinner talk you will soon think the poacher a combination of all human and diabolic vices; yet I have known a good many poachers, and either have been very lucky in my specimens or singularly prejudiced in their favor, for I have generally found them very good fellows—but with just this one blemish, that they regard a landlord as an emissary of the evil one! The poacher is as much in the right, probably, as the landlord, but he is not right for the time. He is asserting a right (and an instinct) belonging to a past time—when for hunting purposes all land was held in common—or to a time in the future when such or similar rights shall be restored. Caesar says of the Suevi that they tilled the ground in common, and had no private lands, and there is abundant

evidence that all early human communities before they entered on the stage of modern civilization were communistic in character. Some of the Pacific Islanders today are in the same condition. In those times private property was theft. Obviously the man who attempted to retain for himself land or goods, or who fenced off a portion of the common ground and—like the modern landlord—would allow no one to till it who did not pay him a tax—was a criminal of the deepest dye.



LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

1. The Reckless Youth.

For The Public.

According to his lights the Professor of Mathematics at Worthington Private Academy was a good man, obedient to the regulations of his social world. It was not altogether his fault that like many other people he only carried with him in his journey through the darkness of life a somewhat ill-smelling and spasmodic acetylene lamp of local manufacture. He had never cared to connect with those everlasting currents of electric flame in which the planets float like midges on a ray of sunshine. He had heard that men's comfortable shelters were sometimes thus burned to ashes, and that they had to create new ones by making their own bricks, hewing their own timbers.

Painfully the Professor toiled along the road, paying little attention to his fellow travelers, dealing in narrow honesty with all men, voting his straight party ticket, contributing according to his means to "worthy objects," suffering blindly at times, but not without efforts to bear witness to the things in which he believed.

Day after day he taught an unimaginative species of commonplace mathematics out of his text books; he never once rose into the realm of those great living conceptions which make *Pure Mathematics* as wonderful a science as the Universe holds.

The Professor was on a railroad train, and he heard the conversation going on in the seat behind him. There sat one of his former students, a young man of promise and of prospects, the son of a rich merchant whom he knew. The youth was hardly eighteen. He was being educated with especial care to become his father's successor in business, and before long he would be sent abroad with a valet and a tutor. With this youth of such promise sat an ill-dressed, hard-handed young man, a farm-laborer from the next county.

They were talking together in an amazing fellowship, full of fishing and other outdoor things, then of people and of books they had read. The Professor continued to listen; it seemed so strange and so dangerous a fellowship.

"There is that fine young Ellsworth McMasters," he thought, "with all his high-class family connections, chumming with that long-legged Link Jones, exactly as if they were friends and brothers. I wonder whether I ought to try and interfere in some shape?"

But he kept on listening, and after awhile it dawned on his comprehension that these two young men were really exchanging life-experiences; were asking each other lots of questions, and were hammering out problems of many sorts with entire self-satisfaction. Pretty soon Link was telling Ellsworth about his hard times, his secret ambitions, and Ellsworth was telling Link a story out of Plutarch's "Lives," and quoting something from Shakespeare.

Then Lincoln Jones had to climb off at his station. Ellsworth went with him along the platform; spoke to a dozen people he knew; took off his hat to an old woman in a buggy, and sent his regards to an invalid husband. When the train was ready to start he ran back to his seat with the great and joyous vitality which was born in him.

Before long, however, he fell into a "brown study," gazing out of the open window, and up into the sky, as the train moved across a blossoming valley. The Professor, whom the youth had long before greeted, watched his thoughtful face.

"Ellsworth," he said at last, "I wish you would tell me what is on your mind."

"I am worried, Professor Dayton, about the unfairness of things in this world."

"Is not that very much like criticising the laws of your country, or Providence itself?"

"I hope not," said the youth. "But if so I don't much care. Because things might certainly be more decently arranged. The world is full of nice people like Link Jones; who get less than they earn, and full of other equally nice people—such as myself—who get more than they earn. It isn't right, Professor Dayton."

"It seems to be the way the world is made. Ellsworth; it's only the working out of the great Law of the Survival of the Fittest."

The youth leaned forward, close to the Professor. "But see here," he said. "Wouldn't you like to have all people, everywhere, rich and poor, strong and weak, black and yellow, white and green and brown and spotted, begin to live together like good and helpful neighbors?"

"Ellsworth," he said, "I must confess that I have heard a good deal of the strange conversation which went on between you and your seat-mate. I listened to much of it with surprise and regret. I cannot understand why you found that ignorant farm-hand interesting. You seemed to have no conception of the difference in your respective stations in life. Otherwise you would not have sympathized so strongly with him in his criticisms of our industrial system. Lastly, you

were telling him stories out of classic authors which were very appropriate for a literary club, but in this case it was but 'the casting of pearls before swine.'

At this the face of the youth became a sight for gods and for men, so troubled, questioning and astonished it grew. He answered with utter simplicity:

"But, Professor Dayton, Link told me exactly what he was doing and thinking; so I told him exactly what came uppermost in my own mind. That's all there was to it."

The Professor began to feel the presence of a force beyond his comprehension, newly at work in this highly-gifted young man.

"Had you met Lincoln Jones before today?"

"Why, no! We just happened to sit together. We were fellow-travelers, you see; we had to be nice to each other. Then we began by comparing notes."

"Most persons ride to their journey's end without making acquaintances on the road; it isn't always safe, you know, Ellsworth."

The youth cast a swift glance around the car. Most of the people in sight were dolorously inadequate to the task of entertaining themselves, and conventionally averse to the desperate adventure of introducing themselves to their neighbors.

It staggered the youth for a second, but he rose to the situation.

"So they do, Professor Dayton. But I hope to be different." He slipped his hand over on the Professor's hand, smiling with a winning audacity upon the gray-haired man who had once taught him Algebra and Geometry. "You won't mind my saying it, but my friend Link has given me more pearls than I could give him. Really, now, if there's any porcine individual in this game, it's the fellow like me, who has never earned a cent by his own labor to pay for his keep."

The Professor shook his head, but somehow he was not angry. The youth's station was called; he sprang up, shook hands, and jumped off, greeting and being greeted by everybody.

"Thot young McMasters is just plain everyday folks," said the old brakeman to the green hand. "He's thravellin' the same road with the rest of us."

The Professor of Mathematics leaned back and thought it over. "Fellow-travelers," he said under his breath. "All of us—on this railroad train of a planet." Something like that seemed to be the boy's notion of life. In a long-unused cell of his brain a certain desire for fellowship began to waken. The idea stayed with him to some extent. He looked with new interest upon his neighbors, he somewhat entered into their modes of thought; he gained a fuller expression, and taught a better sort of mathematics.

Although he never knew it, the things done and said by the Reckless Youth formed the real

reason why the cleaver-wielding Academy Committee at their annual meeting changed its mind for the first time in its history and concluded not to retire Professor Dayton. Said one of the Committee men afterwards, in extenuation of its weakness: "The old Professor has been picking up his gait. He seems to be coming out of his shell these days, and he travels very well with the procession."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



EQUITY.

Edmund Vance Cooke in the American Magazine.

We envy no man what he makes;
We challenge only what he takes.

BOOKS

WHERE AND HOW TO LOOK FOR LAND.

Hill's Reference Guide for Land Seekers, Travelers, Schools, Tourists, Emigrants and General Readers; Including Description and Outline Maps with a New Method of Quick-finding Location, in Each State, of Any City or Village of 200 Population or More. By Thomas E. Hill, author of "Hill's Manual of Social and Business Forms" and Other Reference Works. Chicago. Hill Standard Book Co. Price, 2.50.

"There is plenty of land in the United States for anybody that wants it and will go where it is to be had," is one of the commonplaces of social controversy; and "back to the land" is easy advice to give. But where is all this land to be had? How is it to be had? What can be done with it when it is got, and what will it cost? These questions are answered by Mr. Hill in so far as they admit of an answer. Take Oregon, for example. Mr. Hill tells an immense deal about it that a land seeker would wish to know, including the fact that there are free homesteads in central Oregon which "will raise tremendous crops of wheat, grains, alfalfa, grasses and hardy root crops," but that "they are going fast, and once they pass into private ownership there is no more free land with which to replace them." Such general information is supplemented with details of transportation facilities, school lands, crops, timber, prices of land privately owned, altitudes, climate, dimensions and history. And as of Oregon so of every State, and also of Alaska. Information and advice about the acquisition of government land is also given. It all seems like minutely telling a man where and how to get a drink of fresh water if he will first swim a fresh water lake. So long, however, as the lake is monopolized and its water too dear to drink, the thirsty are in need of information about drinking places beyond.

Mr. Hill gives it. A further use for his book might be suggested than as a guide to the land seeker who leaves so much land unused at home to find land in distant places. It is rich in suggestion and data for the thoughtful agitator who would set free monopolized land at home, wherever his home may happen to be.



POSTAL HISTORY.

The History of the British Post Office. By J. C. Hemmeon, Ph. D. Published from the Income of the William H. Baldwin, Jr., 1885, Fund. Cambridge. Harvard University, 1912. Price \$2 net.

Written by a professor of economics in McGill University and published under the direction of the Harvard department of economics, this seventh volume of the "Harvard Economic Studies" may be regarded as a trustworthy account of what is probably the most progressive postal system in the world. It begins with an early date in the sixteenth century when postal service in Great Britain became a government function, and carries the story down to the present time. The parcels post and the postal telegraph and telephone system being included in its survey, this volume has special value just now with reference to the defective postal service of our own country.



SCIENCE IN ART.

The Science of Poetry and the Philosophy of Language. By Hudson Maxim. Illustrations by William Oberhardt. Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York and London. 1910. Price \$2.50.

Convinced that the elemental constants are discoverable by which poetry may be scientifically judged so far as to make extravagant differences of opinion impossible, Mr. Maxim expounds his theory interestingly and with abounding wealth of illustrative quotation. "Poetry is no haphazard art," he argues, "but is the child of law," as one may learn by selecting the finest lines from great poems; "assay them for poetic gold, and we find that the distinguishing features of the lines are that the intangible assumes tangibility, the abstract becomes concrete, the inanimate is made animate, the impersonal is personified, and the dumb speaks." Here is the clue-thread of the tangled skein. For the rest, the follower of Mr. Maxim in his quest for the science of that which he concedes to be the antithesis of science, will suffer no loss of enjoyment in the pursuit.



"Is there anything you can do better than any one else?"

"Yes," replied the small boy. "I kin read my own writing."—Tit-Bits.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**False Modesty.** By E. B. Lowry, M. D. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1912. Price, 50 cents.

—**The Fun of Getting Thin.** By Samuel G. Blythe. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1912. Price, 35 cents net.

—**Cutting It Out: How to Get on the Water Wagon and Stay There.** By Samuel G. Blythe. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1912. Price, 35 cents.

—**A Hoosier Village: A Sociological Study.** By Newell Leroy Sims. Whole Number 117, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878.** By Harriette M. Dilla. Whole Number 118, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Isidore of Seville, An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages.** By Ernest Brehaut. Number 120, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**The United States Beet Sugar Industry and the Tariff.** By Roy G. Blakey. Number 119, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**The Migration of Birds.** By T. A. Coward. Prehistoric Man. By W. L. H. Duckworth. The Natural History of Clay. By A. B. Searle. The Modern Locomotive. By C. Edgar Allen. Earthworms and Their Allies. By F. E. Beddard. Numbers 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32, respectively, of The Cambridge University Manuals of Science and Literature. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price, 40 cents net, per volume.

PAMPHLETS

A Spanish Singletax Pamphlet.

Antonio Albendin has translated into Spanish, and the Singletax League of Spain has published in pamphlet form, "Extracts from the Science of Political Economy" by Henry George. (Imprenta Rondena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain. Price, 20 cents.) The Table of Contents and General Introduction are literal translations from the original. The rest of Henry George's book is briefly summarized chapter by chapter.

A. L. G.



The Hygiene of Sex.

An address by a St. Louis physician, Walter H. Fuchs, to the Doctors of Dentistry on Sex Hygiene. rings true. He contrasts the American youth's almost total lack of teaching on sexual subjects either at home or in school, with the most efficient

instruction, ethical and medical, given in all European countries. There they are teaching—as does the author most emphatically—the importance of absolute sexual continence as “not only compatible with good health,” but “positively conducive to the perfect preservation of the physical and intellectual faculties.” A thorough believer in the benefits of education in Sexual Hygiene, Dr. Fuchs advocates “public and private lectures to the fathers with their sons, and to the mothers with their daughters,” and finds that by thus “bringing parent and child together a certain noticeable feeling of reticence is removed” and what was before a subject studiously avoided becomes one for mutual confidences.

R. E. G.



Pamphlets Received.

How to Raise Wages and Keep Them Raised. By W. F. Daggett. Published by Van-American Press, 522 Kimball Hall, Chicago. Price, 5 cents.

British Columbia and Her Imperial Outlook. By F. B. Vrooman. Paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, March 19, 1912. Reprinted from the “Proceedings” of the Institute.

100 Reasons for Taxing Land Values. By Chapman Wright and Arthur Withy. Published for the Midland Land Value League. For copies address Chapman Wright, 20 Cannon St., Birmingham. Price, twopence.

Independent Labour Party. Twentieth Annual Conference at Merthyr, April 8 and 9, 1912. Resolutions, Amendments and Nominations. Francis Johnson, Secretary, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Sq., Fleet St., London, E. C.

Report of the Second Annual Singletax Conference Held in Chicago, November 24, 25 and 26, 1911, under the Auspices of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission. Containing also a Report of The Public and of the Public Sustention Fund. Published by the Fels Fund Commission, Cincinnati. 1912.

PERIODICALS

The Survey.

An intimate appreciation of Mayor Baker of Cleveland by Elizabeth J. Hauser appears on the “Personals” page of The Survey for May 11. Praise for his able successor comes fittingly from Mayor Johnson's chosen biographer.

A. L. G.



The Twentieth Century Magazine.

“Shall the Tail Wag the Dog?” asks George French in the second of his articles on magazine advertising in the Twentieth Century Magazine. The May number shouts “No!” and to make doubly sure cuts off the tail. It contains one hundred pages of reading matter and one page of advertising. Somehow this affects the reader with a new and unaccustomed feeling of importance. Here is a magazine published for him—to entertain, to instruct, perhaps to discipline him, but not to plead with his purse. He reads with a wide-awake interest. This is a “May Day Labor Number” centering on the Minimum Wage as an industrial reform, with “A History of the British Labor War of 1911,” “A Workman's View

of Homestead” and the first of a series of papers on the “Farm Tenant of the South” as texts for the Editor's essay on “The Common Life.” Anne Cleveland Cheney's poem, “The Forsaken Looms,” and Alice Henry's appreciation of Bernard O'Dowd, the Australian poet, are music all in tune.

A. L. G.



While Others Are Safe and Clean.

Two sorry pictures of modern industry are given in Life and Labor for May: “Bath Tubs and Their Makers” by Mary Gray Peck, and “Miners' Wives in Kansas” by May Wood-Simons. “The danger to life and limb in these mines is beyond description,” writes Mrs. Simons of the soft coal mines in South-eastern Kansas which she recently visited. “In few places is human life held so cheap. No mine could open if the laws were enforced. At one mine a few weeks ago the conditions in the mine were so dangerous that no shotfirer would go down to fire the shots. The usual wage is \$3.50. The men were offered \$7 if they would go down. They begged the superintendent to have the mine sprinkled. He refused. Finally a father of four children and a youth of twenty went down. They never came up again. The law of the State requires that the dust in the mines shall be sprinkled once each day and oftener if necessary. Yet in this mine dust lay piled along the passage ways twelve inches thick. There is plenty of water to be used in the mine and the small expense of laying iron pipes is all that was necessary to protect these men.” That out in Kansas. This in Chicago: “One hundred and seventy-six iron enamelers went on strike in the L. Wolff Manufacturing Company's plant in December, 1911, because the conditions, they said, were dangerous to health, and because they could not earn a living wage. Enameling is a difficult and dangerous process, in which lead, arsenic and other poisonous chemicals are used. It is dangerous even when the latest safety appliances are employed. In the Wolff factory there were not even lavatories for washing the enamel powder from the hands, and the men were obliged to eat while they worked.” A mere description of the process of enameling turns one sick with the poisonous smells and scorching heat, and the enamelers' wages have been lowered over 30 per cent in the last two years!

A. L. G.



The Cat in the Swedish Riksdag.

The last number of Budkavlen (Stockholm) performs a great service to its readers by giving a full report of the discussion in the Swedish Riksdag on March 2 last, over the Singletax proposition introduced by Mr. K. Lindhagen. It was a proposition to have a special committee investigate and report upon the feasibility of a land value tax. This debate turns out to have been much more extensive and interesting than the newspaper accounts of it had led us to believe. The report occupies twelve closely printed pages. Eight speakers, pro and con, had the floor, and five of them twice. The committee to which the proposition had been turned over had reported adversely without even considering the whole of it. But as far as the arguments

in the debate went, the pros had very much the best of it, some of the opposition speeches being such that Mr. K. Elander in his paper, the Smallposten, calls them twaddle. Mr. Lindhagen opened the debate, and acquitted himself splendidly, being well supported by two other social democrats, Messrs. Fabian Manson and Rickard Sandler. He did not have two kinds of land values this time;* the definition he gave was about as concise and perfect as could be made for the instruction of his audience—"Land value, technically, means that part of the value of real estate which is produced, not through the possessor's own labor or expenditure, but through the growth, industry and undertakings of society; it is part of the market value, to-wit, that part of it which society itself creates." Count Raoul Hamilton (tory and large land owner), who said that even he had studied Georgism and the land reform theories, was afraid it would be a tax on the homes of the small farmers and therefore undesirable. To this the editor in his review replies thus: "Tax on the homes! That is what we now have. Or what are taxes on buildings, furniture, on the bread, clothes, incomes, etc., but taxes on our homes? The very aim of our reform is to free the homes from these burdens."

S. T.



The land in London is worth about £500,000,000— . . . more than all the municipal debt of the kingdom. Who created that wealth? It was not the landlords. London was a swamp, and the landlords did not even create that. All the wealth has been created by the industry, the energy, and the enterprise of the people who dwell in London. Every year the value of that land goes up by ten millions. Every year the value of the land is improving in London by the capital sum of £10,000,000 by the energy of the people and without anything to do with the great landlords into whose coffers this enormous sum of money pours. Whilst they are going to their race courses their property is increasing by this enormous sum. Out of this sum of money what do they contribute to the public expenditure? If these great communities were not to expend money upon sanitation and lighting and roads, this value would never have been created. These communities could not have existed at all without this great public expenditure that has enabled the landlord to get this value for the land. It would hardly be believed by any one outside this country that they had not contributed a penny towards that great local expenditure. The first duty of any reforming, progressive Government is to compel those gentlemen to contribute their fair share. London, of course, is the great illustration, but you can find the same thing in any other great city or town or even in villages throughout the country.—David Lloyd George at Newcastle-on-Tyne, March 4, 1903.



A Scotsman landed in Canada not long ago. The very first morning he walked abroad he met a coal-black Negro. It happened that the Negro had been

born in the Highland district of Scotland and had spent the greater part of his life there. Naturally, he had a burr on his tongue. "Hey, mannie," said the pink Scotsman, "can ye no tell me wheer I'll find the kirk?"

The darky took him by the arm and led him to the corner. "Go richt up to yon wee hoose and turn to ye'r richt, and gang up the hill," said he.

The fresh importation from Scotland looked at him in horror. "And ar-re ye from Scotland, mon?" he asked.

"R-richt ye ar-re," said the darky. "Aberdeen's ma hame."

"And hoo lang have ye been here?"

"About twa year," said the darky.

"Lord save us and keep us!" said the new arrival. "Whaur can I get the boat for Edinbro?"—Cincinnati Times-Star.



After having spent a million in erecting a modern office building in the heart of the great city, Mr. Bounderly was haled before the lunatic inquiringly by friends who feared for his mental capacity.

"What makes you think Mr. Bounderly is mentally incapacitated?" queried the chairman of the commission.

"Well, he has just completed a million dollar twenty-story office building, and a few days ago announced that he was ready to rent office rooms therein. I went to look at the rooms and found that the building had no inside stairways, and that while there were elevator shafts there were no elevators. I asked Mr. Bounderly why this was so. His answer convinced me that he was crazy."

"What was his answer?"

"He said that as soon as there were enough tenants to make an elevator profitable he would grant a franchise to some corporation to operate it, providing further that as the need increased the number of elevators should be increased. He added that the tenants could meet and establish a maximum charge for elevator service. I knew at once that poor Bounderly's mind had given way under the

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*See The Public of April 12, page 356.

strain of overseeing the construction of such a great office building."

After duly considering the matter the commission decided that Bounderly should be put under restraint and his property managed by a guardian.

A few weeks later the proposition that the city should acquire the ownership of its street railway system met with the determined opposition of Bounderly's friend and every member of the commission. They said it was preposterous.

But they had committed Bounderly to the asylum for holding exactly the same opinion.

For, after all, what is the difference between an elevator that runs horizontally and one that runs perpendicularly?—Will Maupin in *The Commoner*.



Two little Selinsgrove urchins played in their mother's kitchen the other day while the cook boiled some water. Hearing the sound of the boiling, they drew near the gas range.

"What is in that pot?" asked the first urchin.

"Water," said the second. "Just water."

"What is the sound I hear, then, brother?"

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"Sister, it is the microbes crying?"—New York Tribune.



The lady was reading a nautical novel. She struggled along bravely for a few minutes, but finally had to appeal to her husband.

"Gerald," she said, "the author says that the boat was sailing 'wing and wing.' What does that mean? I've been on a yacht, but I never heard that before."

"That means," answered Gerald, rejoicing in the

Do women

cling to delusions longer than men? That's an open question. In China, men do the washing; been doing it the same old way for 4,000 years.

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fact that he, too, had spent several hours on a sailing vessel, "that means that the schooner had her mains'l out to port and her fores'l out to starboard—or vice versa."

"O, I see!" cried the lady. "It's just like a chicken—a wing on each side. And now I understand why they call those little sails in the middle 'jibs.' It's short for 'giblets,' of course. Isn't sailing interesting?"—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

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