

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
HENRY F. RING, Texas
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
HERBERT QUICK, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio
JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
LLEWELLYN JONES, Illinois
STOUGHTON COOLEY, Illinois

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
LINCOLN STEFFENS, New York
FREDERIC C. HOWE, New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New York
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri

W. G. EGGLESTON, Oregon
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, England
ERNEST BRAY, Australia
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1912.

No. 758.

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Edward F. Dunne and the Traction Question.....	961
For Governor of New York.....	962
Religion and Politics.....	962
Authentic Forgeries.....	962
Hearst and Roosevelt.....	963
The "Quid Pro Quo".....	963
Senator Dixon and Campaign Funds.....	963
Legality of the "Closed Shop".....	964
Doings in Piedmont.....	964
William Brothers.....	964
Cheap Labor (Stoughton Cooley).....	964
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Singletax Campaign in Missouri (J. R. Hermann and Robert Cumming).....	966
Syracuse Convention Unbossed (J. H. Fink).....	968
Taxation Home Rule in California (Edward P. E. Troy).....	968
The Labor War in Duluth (J. S. P.).....	969
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
A Correction (Herbert Adams Gibbons).....	969
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
The Presidential Campaign.....	970
Campaign Funds.....	971
Sulzer for Governor of New York.....	971
Referendum Voting in Colorado.....	972
Singletax in Missouri.....	972
Leasing Instead of Selling Public Lands.....	973
Taxation in Illinois.....	973
The Labor War.....	973
American Intervention in Nicaragua.....	973
The Threatened Balkan War.....	974
British Conference on Land Values Taxation.....	974
News Notes.....	975
Press Opinions.....	975
RELATED THINGS:	
Richard F. George (Joseph Dana Miller).....	976
The Riddle of the Sphinx (Harlan Eugene Read).....	976
Land Values in China (W. E. Macklin).....	976
"Scum o' the Earth" (Robert Haven Schauflier).....	977
BOOKS:	
City Problems.....	978
Poems of the "Sixth Estate".....	978
Pamphlets.....	979
Periodicals.....	979

EDITORIAL

Edward F. Dunne and the Traction Question.

Another of the outcries against Edward F. Dunne as candidate for Governor, is that as Mayor of Chicago he *did not* redeem his pledges for municipal ownership of the street car system. But that is not the question. The question is whether he *tried*, and *why* he failed. If he didn't try, or trying failed from his own fault, the outcry against him now is reasonable and just; but if he did try, and failed without fault of his own, the outcry against him on this ground is unreasonable and unjust.

The fact is that Mayor Dunne did all that any man could do to redeem his pledges for municipal ownership in Chicago. He did more than most men similarly situated would have done or tried to do. He stood by his pledges to the last hour and second of his term of office; and he sacrificed his re-election rather than ensure it by an agreement to abandon those pledges. What more could be asked?

Mayor Dunne's efforts for municipal ownership were frustrated by a combination of corrupt interests in Wall Street. These were backed by newspapers and big business houses in Chicago. They were backed by the political bosses and the slums. They were backed by a majority of the City Council. They were backed by some of the

Democratic bosses. They were backed by both the Deneen and the Lorimer factions of the Republican Party. And most unfortunate of all, they were backed by a small majority of the people at the referendum on which Dunne made his last stand in support of his pledges. To charge Dunne with responsibility for the present Morganized traction system in Chicago is intolerable meanness, in so far as it comes from intelligent sources. It is impenetrable ignorance in so far as it comes from elsewhere. The responsibility lies with those interests and influences and voters who made his pledges impossible of fulfillment.



For Governor of New York.

When "Boss" Murphy was forced to give up the unit rule at Syracuse, all possibility of Governor Dix's renomination was at an end. A revival of Mr. Murphy's power, however, may be inferred from the nomination of William Sulzer, inasmuch as Sulzer has for years been a Tammany man. But this would be estimating Sulzer without reference to his political history.



That he came into politics years ago through Tammany is true; that he has always affiliated with the Tammany organization is also true; and so is it true that his many successive elections to Congress have been upon Tammany nominations. But Mr. Sulzer ceased long ago to obey the commands of Tammany bosses, either express or implied.



On more than one occasion he has been able to defy the bosses, and has in fact done so. His continuance in Congress has not depended upon them. Tammany has needed him more than he has needed Tammany. He has got his nominations and elections not by favor from Tammany bosses, but from his own popularity with the people—men, women and children—in his own Congressional district. Although in the course of his political career Mr. Sulzer has stood for some measures that should be opposed on democratic grounds, he has not on the whole stultified the fundamental democracy he professes and which we believe he feels. On the contrary, he has frequently, and not by any accident, stood for democracy when the breakers ahead of him for doing so were audible and visible.



One of those occasions was in Bryan's first campaign. It cost something at that time to be for Bryan in public life in New York. But Sulzer did

not count the cost. Such tests have been borne by him on several occasions. That he has been nominated for Governor of the State he has represented these many years in Congress, represented it at times when to do so he had to defy the Tammany bosses, goes to show that Tammany bossism may have gone to the wall for good at the Syracuse convention, as Thomas M. Osborne predicted that it would. It is inconceivable to those who understand his political career, that Mr. Sulzer would be a boss's tool as Governor. To all such his election would come as a guarantee of an unusual extension of democratic Democracy at the Albany capitol.



Religion and Politics.

In approving the example of an Illinois religious congregation for using their auditorium for the orderly discussion of live political questions* under their own supervision, we mistakenly located this religious body at Evanston. But the "North Shore Congregational Church," the body in question, is located, as we now learn, at Wilson avenue and Sheridan Road, a spot within the limits of Chicago. The experiment appears to have been as successful in truly relating religion to politics as we had hoped it might be.



Authentic Forgeries.

When Hearst published the Standard Oil letters in fac-simile, it was universally supposed that they were genuine reproductions in form as well as substance. Not only did they purport to be so, but there was no legitimate object in printing photographic copies instead of copies in printers' type unless they were genuine photographs of originals. Hearst did not then explain that these were photographic copies of renovated imitations of blurred originals, nor that the signatures to the copies were forged. That explanation would have spoiled the effect. He reserved it until Collier's proved beyond dispute that five of the photographs as published are forgeries. "Ah!" exclaims Mr. Hearst's paper at this embarrassing juncture, "but it does not say that the five letters in question are spurious." A forged document which is not spurious is one of the handiest discoveries Hearst has ever made. May it be out of place, however, to suggest that when a document is admitted to be a *forgery*, the burden of proving that it is not also *spurious* rests so heavily upon the publisher thereof that more than his mere word is needed to support his case? This curiosity in ethics—a forgery that is not spurious—may be of little importance

*See current volume, page 914.

in this particular instance. But it is of great importance as a standard for testing Hearstism in general. Readers of his periodicals may now know that their photographic reproductions of documents are no better proof of genuineness than their copies in printers' type would be.



Hearst and Roosevelt.

There appeared recently in the New York Sun, and with credit to the Sun in Hearst's Chicago Examiner of September 29, 1911, a statement over the signature of "William Randolph Hearst," in which Mr. Hearst appears to have said:

Mr. Roosevelt says that if I will tell him exactly what letters I have he himself will make them public. If Mr. Roosevelt wishes to make any letters public, why does he limit the publication to the letters that I possess? Why not give the public the benefit of all the letters he possesses on this interesting subject?

In this extract and its context there is a plain implication that Mr. Hearst possesses letters of Mr. Roosevelt's which Mr. Roosevelt is concealing, and which if made public would reflect upon Mr. Roosevelt's innocence. It is now "up to" Mr. Hearst to make those letters public before the Senate committee of which Senator Clapp is chairman; for Mr. Roosevelt has testified under oath before that committee that he has produced all the correspondence in question that with diligent search he can find in his files or of which he has any memory. What he has produced appears to add nothing to the case against him. Mr. Roosevelt, therefore, has either perjuringly concealed or curiously forgotten incriminating letters, or else Mr. Hearst's insinuations are false. Which? The burden is on Mr. Hearst to help the Senate committee decide that question.



The "Quid Pro Quo."

When Mr. Morgan testifies that his huge contributions to Presidential campaign funds were made without promise of return in any way, he is to be believed: no man of his sophistication would exact such promises. When he testifies that they were made without expectation on his part of any return, he must be regarded as speaking in the narrow sense of something specific by way of return: a fortune maker of his mentality and knowledge of the world would have to be very impersonal to make big campaign contributions without some thoughts amounting to expectations in general. But when Mr. Morgan says that his business combinations never in fact got any return for their rich campaign contributions, he

raises an important question. The notorious Tennessee coal and iron company affair*—what was that Presidential indulgence a return for?



Senator Dixon and Campaign Funds.

It was a sorry figure that Senator Dixon, as Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, cut before the Senate committee which is investigating campaign contributions. Instead of frankly answering questions regarding Roosevelt's campaign contributions, and leaving the committee to ignore the other candidates at its and their peril, he adopted the "you're another" policy. "You are investigating Roosevelt only!" was the turn of his complaint. But if Mr. Roosevelt's skirts are really clear, what harm would that do him? Wouldn't it put him in the advantageous position of having proved his innocence while his opponents dared not go through the ordeal? The course Mr. Dixon did pursue could have had no other tendency than to create an impression that Roosevelt is sunk as deep as anybody in campaign-fund mire. This is unfortunate for a candidate who poses as immaculate—not relatively but absolutely.



Yet Senator Dixon made one contribution to the inquiry which is of genuine value. He produced documentary evidence of a campaign of newspaper bribery, instituted in behalf of Mr. Taft's candidacy, which ought to react with stunning effect. An advertising house, which has the Standard Oil trust among its customers and also the Republican national committee, is doing the bribing. Its manager has admitted this since Senator Dixon's disclosure. He denies that the Standard Oil or the Tobacco trust has anything to do with the matter, but he confesses that the Republican national committee pays the bribery bills. The bribery consists, as disclosed by Senator Dixon, in offering to foreign-language newspapers large sums of money—\$1,000 in the particular instance regarding which Senator Dixon unearthed the documentary evidence, upon this contract:

The undersigned, publisher of....., a newspaper issued in....., hereby agrees to publish in every issue from..... up to and including the last issue before the next Presidential election, any articles or cuts on the editorial page which you will furnish, or any articles which we supply to be printed in the language of our paper, not less than one column in length each time. Further: The undersigned agree, that no article or

*See The Public, vol. xi, pp. 651, 678, 679, 866, 913; vol. xii, pp. 51, 59, 193, 194, 208, 209, 227, 252; vol. xiii, pp. 267, 588, 589; vol. xiv, pp. 443, 515, 819.

advertising of any kind or nature will be published on this or any other page of our paper advocating the election of any candidate of any party for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States other than William H. Taft and James S. Sherman, their Electors and the Republican nominees for the different State offices.

That this kind of corruption of foreign-language papers has been fostered by Republican managers ever since Hanna's time has been an open secret. But it has never before been so well proved. That Mr. Taft was to have the almost unanimous support of papers of that class has been a boast for two or three weeks. That this support was to be secured by some such bribery was taken for granted. But now, thanks to Senator Dixon, the truth about it is out. Whenever you hear of a foreign-language paper supporting Taft, for some unknown reason, you will know the reason.



Legality of the "Closed Shop."

At last, and conclusively, the Supreme Court of Illinois has established the legal right of labor organizations to strike in support of "the closed shop." Its decision was made last June,* but it was not until last week that the court denied a motion for rehearing. This decision is made in a Chicago case in which Judge Julian W. Mack wrote the dissenting opinion in favor of the doctrine which the Supreme Court has now recognized as the law of Illinois. While he contended ably for that doctrine, his associates in the decision took the opposite view. The decision of the higher court is, therefore, in no sense perfunctory. It is an emphatic judicial victory for the principle of "the closed shop" as a legitimate weapon of Labor warfare. At the same time it is a tribute to Judge Mack, who had the courage to stand out against his associates in support of the principle.



Doings in Piedmont.

Mayor Craig of Piedmont, California, is making that town famous by enforcing the existing tax laws. Finding that the laws of California require property to be appraised at full value, and that building-lots in Piedmont have been grossly under-assessed, he has set out on a crusade of tax law enforcement. "We're valuing the land at what it is worth, that's all," he is reported to have said to an indignant millionaire owner. "But it isn't worth that," the owner replied. "I'll sell it for you at that for 5 per cent commission," retorted Mayor Craig, who is a real estate dealer. "Well,

a man can't afford to have a home here, that's all," was the only reply the owner made. But Mayor Craig had his retort. "That's just where you are wrong," he said; "the man who owns a home here is going to pay less this year than he did last. He's going to pay less because the land speculators and real estate men are going to pay their just share."



William Brothers.

Within a stone's throw of the spot where Henry George was born in Philadelphia, there was in 1830 a hatter of the name of Brothers who used his leisure time for radical writing. He was known beyond his shop in those days by a periodical called the "Radical Reformer" which he published, and by one of several books he wrote—"The Rights and Wrongs of the Poor." To this hatter in that year, almost ten before the birth of Henry George, there was born a son, William Brothers, into whose hands there came a copy of "Progress and Poverty" soon after its publication. Its message seized upon him and did not let him go. Even when second childhood came naturally in his old age, he thought and spoke of the work for that message which he had done in his mature life as if he were doing it still. This devoted man died on the 27th of September at Arden, Delaware. We tell so much of his story for its historical interest in connection with the revolution that is coming into the world through such as he, peacefully beneath the boisterous surface of affairs. The details of his story are bound up in the agitations in and about Delaware which marked the earlier years of the Singletax movement.



CHEAP LABOR.

The Capitalist protests, with great show of disinterestedness, that a protective tariff is needed solely for the benefit of Labor. Capital can take care of itself; but Labor, beset by cheap labor abroad, must be hedged about, guarded and protected, lest it perish. And though the protection asked for goes primarily to the Capitalist, in the shape of increased prices for what he has to sell, he assures us it is merely incidental. He does not need it; indeed, he would scorn to keep it. He passes it on to his employes, in order that they may not have to descend to the level of the Chinese, the Hindu, or the Egyptian.

This solicitude of the Capitalist for the welfare of Labor is beautiful. It warms one's heart, and tends to revive one's faith in the innate goodness of man. Yet there are those who question its sin-

*See Public of June 28, page 612.

cerity. Or, if it be sincere, they question the wisdom of his judgment. They say the so-called cheap labor abroad is a myth, a bugaboo used to frighten ill-informed Congressmen into voting liberal largesses to Capital under cover of aiding Labor. They say American labor is the cheapest in the world; and that the enhanced prices of home manufactures go to swell the great fortunes of the employers, rather than into the pay envelopes of the employes.

Is there no way of determining the truth of this matter? Must we go on forever fighting campaign after campaign, and never reach a decision? Administrations rise and fall, statesmen come and go, and parties wax and wane, while learned men dispute. Commissions are appointed, statistics are compiled, and reports issued, but still the discussion goes on.

The whole question would long ago have been settled, but for the prejudice of self-interest. If there were sufficient pecuniary interests involved it would be possible to hire able men to prove that Lake Huron is higher than Lake Superior. But if one, no matter how illiterate he may be, will take his stand at Sault Ste. Marie he will quickly determine for himself which lake is the higher.

The same simple test will dispose of the cheap labor question. Just as one can tell where wages are highest by watching the flow of Labor, so can one tell where Labor is cheapest by observing the flow of Capital.

Patriotism and sentiment have little to do with investments. Capital seeks always the highest return; and since labor is the highest single item in the cost of manufacture, it will go to the place where, other things being equal, labor is cheapest. Toward what countries, then, is manufacturing capital flowing?

England has no protective tariff. The Englishman seeking a place to engage in the manufacture of cotton cloth may set up his mill in Lancashire, in Cairo, or in Calcutta. The cost of transporting coal to Egypt or India would be little if any greater than carrying the cotton to England, and the cloth back to those countries. But in the item of wages the pay of the Lancashire operatives, small as it is, is many times that of the Egyptian fellaheen and Indian ryot. Hence, if *low wages* are synonymous with *cheap labor*, should we not expect the mill to be erected in Cairo or Calcutta? Is not the fact that the English capitalist, seeking the largest possible return on his investment, and free to manufacture cloth in England, Egypt or

India, yet choosing the former, proof that *high wages mean cheap labor*?

To one who will reflect, the reason is apparent. The low-waged peoples do not lend themselves readily to factory methods, and never become efficient enough with modern machinery to make their output for a given sum equal to that of the higher waged labor. And if by any ingenuity or device it could be made as efficient, wages would quickly rise.

Japan offers an illustration in point. That remarkable nationality seemed to offer an ideal location for factories. It combined high efficiency with low wages. But what was the result? No sooner was this efficient low-price labor discovered than there occurred such competition of capitalists to get it that there was a sharp advance in Japanese wages; until now the labor of that country is no cheaper than that of any other country.

This must inevitably be so. As the aggressive, industrious, ambitious man moves to the country of highest wages, so does the wide-awake capitalist put his plant in the country of cheapest labor. And just as the movement of population tends to equalize wages, so does the movement of capital tend to equalize interest. Tables of wages in different countries convey no more idea of the cost of labor than the color of cloth indicates the wearing quality of a garment.

Consider the greatest American industry, farming. For a century past the American farmer has been exporting wheat and cotton, to be sold in competition with wheat and cotton raised by the lowest-waged people in the world; but the fact that his products sold in England and in free competition with those of India and Egypt did not prevent him from having higher wages, and enjoying a vastly better scale of living than the Indian ryot and the Egyptian fellaheen.

That the same thing is true of manufacturing industries has been proven again and again. Wm. M. Evarts, as Secretary of State, issued a report in 1879, based on the findings of the American Consuls in Europe, in which he said: "*The average American workman performs from once and a half to twice as much work as the average European workman.*" James G. Blaine, another good Protectionist, made a report in 1881 on the cost of manufacturing cotton cloth in Massachusetts and in Lancashire, in which it appeared that although American operatives received nearly dou-

ble the amount of wages paid the English operatives, they were so much more efficient that the labor cost per yard of cloth was less. Mr. Blaine's comment was: "Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor."



That Protectionists themselves do not believe that high wages mean dear labor is evident from their efforts to send manufactured goods into foreign markets. If they cannot compete with foreign goods in the home market, how can they sell goods abroad? And if the price of labor indicates its cost, and American wages are highest in the world, how can American manufacturers compete with those of any other country through the open door of China?

Query: Is the Protective Tariff a Joke or a Crime?

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SINGLETEX CAMPAIGNING IN MISSOURI.

St. Joseph, Mo., Oct. 5, 1912.

At Savannah I called on a friendly man, an ex-soldier and respected citizen. He was glad to see me, but as soon as I asked him about the prospects for a meeting in behalf of the tax amendment he said:

"Friend, I spent nearly four years in the war, I lived in this country in its most troublesome times, and I have faced all kinds of danger. According to law I am a peaceful citizen, and all my children are. But even if I were able, I wouldn't attempt to make a speech on that amendment anywhere in this county for fear of my life."

I then began to understand why some of our friends had become lukewarm. "So," I said, "you advise me not to speak?"

He replied, "I have told you what I know, and you can do as you like."

Then I asked him if I could get a hall, and he said I couldn't; that no hall would be rented to me.

"What about the street?" I asked, and he replied: "You may speak in the street if you wish, but you will get rotten-egged, or hurt, or maybe hanged, if you do."

A little later I asked him if he would go up town with me and show me some of these wild men. He assented and introduced me to a few business men. It didn't take me long after meeting them to realize that his fears were well grounded, at least in part.

Then I took to the sidewalk and made conversation with people who looked sane. In less than five minutes farmers and business men on the street were looking at me as if I were the three-legged calf or the wild man from Borneo. They appeared to conclude, however, that I was just human, and then they

started in to ply me with questions. Perhaps it was I that plied them, for I wanted to learn just what they had been taught about the Singletax.

It turned out that they knew more about it than one would suppose. They knew, at least, that it would cheapen land. But there were also some very wild notions.

It was supposed that we designed to turn the State into a huge landlord, that the tax commission would parcel the State out to dukes and the like, and that every one else would be tenants. Francis Neilson of the British Parliament having spoken here, they took it for granted that he was on a mission from the dukes.

Another notion was that after the Singletax had gone into effect, and the bottom had been knocked out of land values, and the man with a mortgaged farm had lost his equity, the mortgage holder would get busy and repeal the law, and that then the land would jump back to its present value and with the moneyed men owning it all.

Another notion was that the tax would be \$10 per acre, and that the rich man would escape.'

As this crowd became more familiar with the humanity of me, they ventured close enough to find out that after all I was only flesh and blood like themselves. Then they began to get into a fairly good humor. So I told them I would speak on the street that night. They said I had better not. I saw them exchanging sly winks with each other, as they said they would come out to hear me if I did.

In the evening my old soldier friend came to my hotel to warn me again not to speak. He said telephone messages had been sent to all the farmers in the region to come into town prepared for business.

It was evident that the matter had become serious, and I debated with him as to what might be best to do. I didn't want the town to think that I had been bluffed, and yet I knew enough about mobs to sense the danger that was brewing. I knew, too, that I couldn't rely upon any one. The only question for me to decide was just what action on my part would serve my mission best.

Consulting with my soldier friend, he and I finally decided that I had better issue a challenge to Judge Sullinger, the leader of the opposition in this region, asking him to join me in a debate at the opera house.

My soldier friend took my challenge to the crowd which had gathered on the street and read it to them. A committee of citizens then waited on me and assured me that they believed in free speech, and that they would see me protected. I thanked them with all friendliness, but told them it was not in their power to protect me if I spoke on the open street in the dark. Then they left me. But very soon they returned with the Mayor and Marshal, who told me they would give me the town hall and would deputize enough men to protect me, and that the first disturber would go to the "bull pen" in a hurry.

I saw I had won my point, and accepted their terms.

They then went out and laid down the law to the mob, giving them to understand that I was the guest of the town.

Was that hall filled? Don't ask foolish questions. Old men, young men, middle-aged men, women and

children, not only filled the hall but thronged the street.

Did I make them a speech, or was I intimidated? It was the most radical speech I have made in Missouri. For an hour and a half you could hear a pin drop except for the sound of my voice. When I asked for questions they had forgotten what to ask me, and there were none at first. But pretty soon they woke up. Then came the questions. Wise questions, foolish questions, and questions that were not questions, came in pairs and in bunches. Pretty soon they saw that this wouldn't do, so they agreed among themselves to ask one question at a time; and they sat down on the noisy ones after each question until I had finished my answer.

Such anxiety and interest I have never seen since I started making Singletax speeches, and that is 17 years ago.

Now you want to know what the results were. All I can say is that when they had worn me out I asked to be excused, and then that mob of wild men filed past me, one by one, in silence, each taking a handful of Singletax literature. When I had duly thanked the town authorities, I went to bed; and this morning as I passed up the street, I was greeted everywhere with a "Good morning," "Fine meeting we had last night," and so forth, and I was frequently told, "By gum, there's another side to this story after all."

The conditions here are, I think, fairly typical of the situation in the farming districts throughout the northwestern part of Missouri. I asked them just when this spirit began, and they told me it had begun since that Englishman—meaning Mr. Neilson—and I had come to St. Joseph. They said they didn't "intend to have any consarned outsiders dictating" to them.

The pot is boiling. We can fill any hall in the State if we give proper notice, and merely run the risk of our necks. But that neck business is no joke. I feel safe if I can once get a crowd to listen. They are like a big boy, and can easily be tamed with the right spirit. Until they are tamed, though, it is dangerous. Yet it is great sport, even if it is harder than climbing a 40-foot ladder, and twice as risky.

J. R. HERMANN.



Slater, Saline Co., Mo., Oct. 5.

I came here from Lexington, Lafayette County, today. Arrived at 1 o'clock and arranged for a street corner talk at 3:30. Began on the minute. Was interrupted by all sorts of impertinent questions and was assailed with threats of violence. "Brave men are never eager to take advantage where there are many against one," I said, "and I refuse to believe that old Missouri is truly represented by the kind of men who are trying to break up this meeting." I appealed to their manhood, to their pride, to their patriotism. It was of no avail. The decent men in the crowd were easily distinguished, but they were afraid of the others. Several times I frustrated attempts to knock the box from under me. Responding to their shower of questions, I asked, "Are the men asking these questions willing to answer one? Are they farmers of the soil, or farmers of the farmers?" The shout came back,

"We are anti-Singletaxers, every man, and we don't want you to speak here."

When I had asked for a box early in the afternoon of a merchant, he warned me that the mob would hang me if I advocated the Singletax. "Then let me have a good box to stand on for the last time," I said, jokingly. I hadn't the slightest idea of what was to come. Before I was through, however, I realized that the merchant's warning had been serious and sincere. Upon my announcing to the various groups that I would speak on the Singletax at the bank corner, one man said, "We will run you out of town," and as I went on without having replied to him, he added, "I look upon the man as a thief who advocates the Singletax." At the meeting itself, when I protested against the interruptions, a cry went up, "We have something else waiting for you."

The first man I spoke to in this town—it was in the Y. M. C. A.—told me of the bitter feeling prevailing here. He said a meeting of farmers had been held in Marshall, the county seat, to decide on a course to be pursued for resisting efforts to adopt the Singletax amendments.

Judge Wallace of Kansas City, a Prohibitionist who spoke in Lexington on the 3d, had branded the Singletax as the most damnable, the most infamous, the most diabolical proposition ever made. His whole speech was an appeal to the passions and prejudices of his audience. It turns out that he owns 600 acres of land. He especially denounced those who send speakers into the State as "bad men." Following his speech I spoke at Lexington to a good audience in the court house square, and told them about some of the "bad men" back of this movement—men like Father McGlynn, Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, Tom L. Johnson.

Without going further into detail, my observations in general are that the landed interests are murderously aroused in this State, and are determined to prevent discussion, as one of the means of defeating the tax amendments. Farmers are consequently not in a frame of mind to be approached or reasoned with. After my meeting here, though, I was told by one gentleman that, notwithstanding the interruptions, I had made votes for the amendment. I was told also of a retired farmer living here who had taken my part in favor of free speech, against a man who said I ought to be run out of town. One of the men in the group told him that if those were his sentiments, he ought to be run out of town himself. The farmer and one other resident of the town who saw me after the meeting, said that two-thirds of the audience wished to hear me, and that one told them that he believed what I had said was true.

Of the bitterness of sentiment among the farmers there is no question, and it is doubtful if it can be overcome during the short period before election. It is all due to misrepresentation by landed monopolists who have made the farmers think that their taxes are to be increased. This misapprehension has driven them wild. But the campaign, no matter how the election comes out, will set a blaze of Singletax education going through the State which nothing can withstand; for when the farmers once know what the truth is, that these amendments are

for their benefit as well as for the benefit of every other man who earns his living, and will hurt nobody but land monopolists, the working farmers will be for the reform to a man.

ROBERT CUMMING.



SYRACUSE CONVENTION UNBOSSSED.

New York, Oct. 5.

The man who staged the Democratic State Convention at Syracuse, Oct. 1, 1912, was a past master in stage wizardry. There was one poor actor in the company—Alton B. Parker. He could not carry out his part of the program. While the vote for permanent chairman was being taken, Parker sat beside Mr. Murphy, as delegate after delegate stated what he thought of the proceedings. It was an open convention, as far as surface appearances went.

When delegate Mott of Jamestown quoted some of the remarks of William Jennings Bryan, referring to Parker as a reactionary, the applause from the galleries was tremendous. Parker realized at once that while he knew he would be chosen chairman the voters were against him.

The Progressives had no chance to win. The odds were against them, but they made friends by their action on the floor. Osborne led a losing fight, but covered himself with glory. While reading the minority report of the resolutions committee (he being the minority), he made a "bad break," but it worked out in his favor. The spokesman for the Boss rushed to the platform in defense of the machine, and admitted that Mr. Murphy was in full control of the convention. There was one charge that the satellite would not answer, the one made by Sagin of Poughkeepsie, that if the delegates were free to express their own view, Parker would not get 100 votes for chairman. A number of the delegates applauded, but it took the audience by storm. The Baltimore convention was still fresh in their minds.

Parker's address was flat and halting. He was evidently hurt by the lashing of the opposition, and was so tiresome that Murphy yawned several times. "I am a Progressive," was his opening remark. He tried to prove it by the fact that he once invited "the gentleman from Lincoln" to visit him and the invitation was accepted. He did not dare mention the name of Bryan for fear of an expression from the audience.

After the nominations were made and the roll was called, some of the up-State counties voted as a unit; but when New York, with 105 delegates, and Kings with 69, were reached, the county chairman requested that the roll of delegates be called. This action pleased the audience. They were in favor of an open convention. It appealed to them. It was something new. But it did not take long to see that Boss Murphy had his hand on the lever, most of the delegates from Greater New York voting for any name they could think of.

When it was seen that Sulzer on the third ballot had a majority of the up-State delegates, the county chairman of New York and Kings voted the delegation as a unit. The delegates were not consulted; they did as they were told.

The rest of the ticket was made up by the Boss

in "room 216," and put through without a dissenting vote.

Sulzer's nomination had been sanctioned by the State machine, immediately after Straus was nominated on the Bull Moose ticket.

JOSEPH H. FINK.



TAXATION HOME RULE IN CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco, Sept. 29.

The California League of Municipalities, which at its session in Santa Barbara a year ago adopted resolutions in favor of giving cities power to adopt local systems of taxation, has this year met in Berkeley, at the College of Mines building of the University of California. The following resolution was on the program for discussion on the 25th:

Resolved: That the city officials of California be and they are hereby requested to do all in their power to secure the adoption of the Constitutional amendment providing for Home Rule in Taxation.

The leader for the affirmative was Mayor J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley.

It is worthy of note that not one of those who opposed the amendment is a member of the League of Municipalities. The opposition came from two University professors and an attorney.

In order that the members might properly consider the subject, the vote was postponed to the 27th. Upon being taken, 73 favored the home rule amendment and only 15 opposed it. This action practically means adoption of the amendment.



Our success is due chiefly to Mayor Wilson and H. A. Mason, secretary of the League. Mr. Mason was chosen to write the argument in favor of the amendment. It is printed along with the amendment in the pamphlet issued by the State and sent by the county clerks to each voter.

Besides that of the League of Municipalities, we have received the following endorsements for the amendment:

City Councils.—Alviso, San Bernardino, Anaheim, Tulare and Dunsmuir.

Organizations.—State Federation of Labor, San Francisco Labor Council, Labor Councils of every city in the State, New Era League of San Francisco (formerly the Women's Suffrage Club), Commonwealth Club, Anaheim Chamber of Commerce.

We have also branch Leagues for Home Rule in Taxation in the following counties: Alameda, Los Angeles, San Diego, Humboldt, Fresno and Butte.



The serious crime of being Singletaxers has been charged against us by agents of the public service corporations who are the only real opponents we have. "It is a veiled attempt to impose the Singletax on the State," is what one public official said in opposing the amendment at the Commonwealth Club. No Singletaxer has denied that he favors it because Home Rule in Taxation will offer opportunity for that system. Yet we have many supporting it who are not Singletaxers. Some do so be-

cause they believe it will enable them to prevent the imposition of the Singletax on their district; for instance, the assessor of the little town of Oxnard, where the sugar refinery pays 20 per cent of the total town tax.



William S. U'Ren writes that the California fight is helping them in Oregon, where corporation influences have proposed an amendment for the repeal of home rule in taxation. We all feel confident that the California amendment will be adopted.

EDWARD P. E. TROY.



THE LABOR WAR IN DULUTH.

Duluth.

Held by the court: That it is the first duty of a street railway company to serve the public; that the public need not walk while the company is coming to terms with its men. Therefore let mandamus issue to resume service.

It does not seem to the court's self that this is much of a remedy, but no other appears. Whether this mandamus order is valid will be known some time next summer when the Supreme Court has passed on the company's appeal from the order.

The strike which provoked this proceeding has been long brewing. Accumulated grievances of wages, hours and conditions were brought to the company last summer. The grievances were adjusted after a fashion and the men who brought them to the company were let out. Organization was then undertaken secretly.

A week before the strike began, nine men, officers of the union, and new recruits, were meeting in Axel Peterson's kitchen. Came to the door two subalterns of the company, brushed past Peterson, who would have kept them on the porch, went through the house to the kitchen. At the end of the week those nine men were discharged, "for the good of the service."

The union men walked out at once, about one-fourth of the men; most of the remainder quit during the day from sympathy, fear or pressure of class opinion. Though the management was taken by surprise, strikebreakers were on their way from Chicago six hours before the walkout.

For three days there was considerable turbulence, followed by similar disturbances in Superior, where the street railway is operated by the same company. Cars were stoned, barns were bombarded, a few men were beaten and there was that touch of terror which is always bred by a touch of tyranny.

A mayor's committee of fifty, in which the business element predominated, offered its services to both sides in the controversy. The manager of the street railway stood pat that there was no strike and that he had nothing to arbitrate.

Popular opinion is largely with the strikers. Many people wear buttons, "We Walk." The newspapers are talking public ownership, led by the morning paper whose leading stockholder happens to be interested in street railway stock. The strikers have borne themselves well; there is no charge that they were mixed in the rioting and in a number of cases

they have shown their good faith in helping to keep order.

The chief exhibit so far is the inadequacy of any legal remedy. The city brought this action for mandamus and the court in granting the order made the comment that it was not a very effective remedy at best, but no other seemed available. The memorandum admits that it is little more than an admonition and that the jurisdiction is open to attack.

Outside of legal tradition another opinion is rising. The court's opinion runs clearly that the first duty of a public service corporation is to furnish public service. So to the layman it appears that another course is equitable. If the company defaults in its interest payments a public administrator is appointed. How much more should a public administrator be put in charge when the company defaults in its more fundamental duty.

The second phenomenon of importance is felt rather than seen. The public is strongly moved to believe that private management of a public utility is incompetent. The men on strike may be defeated; but the company has lost.

J. S. P.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A CORRECTION.

Constantinople, Turkey, September 19, 1912.

On page 804 of your issue for August 23rd, I was astonished to read: "The permanence and bitterness of the Albanian revolt rests on the fact that the Albanians are Christians under Mohammedan rule." As The Public is generally well informed and accurate in its statements, I know you will be glad to correct such an error. The Albanian nation is mixed in its religious affiliations, as it contains tribes which are Greek Orthodox, Latin Catholic and Mohammedans. The Albanian revolt against Turkish rule has never rested on religious grounds. In their enmity to the Turk, the Moslem joins hands with the Christian. In fact, the revolting tribes this summer are wholly Moslem. There are no Christians at present among those who are fighting the Turks. Last year the revolting tribes were mostly Christian. The Albanian question is a racial and economic one.

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS.

[The statement in our News Narrative of which the foregoing is a correction, was based on a current dispatch from the East. Had we verified the assertion by reference to the Statesmen's Yearbook, as we usually do in such cases, we would have avoided the regrettable error. As we now understand the matter, of the inhabitants of Macedonia, which includes Albania, about 1,300,000 are Christians, some 800,000 are Moslems and probably about 75,000 are Jews. We earnestly thank our correspondent for his correction, and also for the light he throws on a situation of increasing interest, since it is a factor in the war now opening in the Balkan Peninsula.—Editors of The Public.]



Reason is the life of the law; nay, the common law itself is nothing else but reason.—Sir Edward Coke.

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; October 8, 1912.

The Presidential Campaign.

A curious Presidential situation in California results from a decision on the 3rd by the Supreme Court of that State. [See current volume, page 874.]

The circumstances grow out of the California primary law. Since the beginning of the Roosevelt agitation, the machinery of the regular Republican Party in California has been under the control of the Roosevelt faction. Its treatment at the national convention is one of the causes assigned by Mr. Roosevelt's followers for his having "bolted" that convention. When the primaries in California came on last month, the Roosevelt faction in the Republican Party were supported by a tremendous majority. The vote appeared in the State convention to be nearly 90 per cent. This convention, acting not as a convention of the Progressive Party, but as the regular Republican convention, nominated Presidential Electors pledged to vote for Roosevelt in the Electoral College. The vote in convention on those nominations was 88 for, to 13 against. Thereupon the minority "bolted" the convention, and, holding a convention of their own, nominated Electors pledged to vote for Taft.

Their next step was to procure from the courts a restraining order enjoining the Secretary of State from certifying the Electors pledged to Roosevelt and commanding him to certify those pledged to Taft. When the question of making this order permanent came before the Supreme Court of the State on the 3rd, that body, with apparent reluctance, decided unanimously that under the primary law of California, which they denounce as operating to disfranchise the voters of the State, they were bound to declare the convention which nominated Electors pledged to Roosevelt to be the only legally constituted Republican convention of the State. They therefore decided that the Electors pledged to Roosevelt must go on the ballot as the regular Electors of the Republican Party, and that the Electors pledged to Taft have no right at all upon the ballot.

Inasmuch, then, as it is now too late, under the primary law, to nominate Electors by petition, and

as the Taft faction had neglected to take this precaution, there will be no Taft Electors on the ballot in California at the coming election. It will consequently be impossible for voters in that State to vote for Taft otherwise than by themselves putting the names of Taft Electors upon their ballots individually and in the voting booths.

In Kansas the Progressive Party Electors have voluntarily withdrawn their regular Republican nominations and gone upon the ballot by petition.

Mr. Wilson's campaigning carried him into Nebraska last week, and on the 5th he was received by the people of Lincoln as the guest of Mr. Bryan, at whose house he spent the week-end. At Omaha, prior to his visit at Lincoln, Mr. Wilson addressed a large meeting in a speech in which he is reported by the news dispatches to have said that—

if he were elected President he would have associated with him in his cabinet a Minister of Labor especially charged with looking after the interests of labor.

His allusion was probably to the fact that there is now pending in Congress a Democratic bill providing for a Labor Department. [See current volume, page 946.]

In speaking in Colorado on the 7th Mr. Wilson enlarged upon the fact that while in campaigning "the old method was campaign contributions, the new method is legalized monopoly." He did so in connection, as he is reported in the news dispatches, with this statement:

The gentlemen, about thirty, I believe, who constitute the directors of the United States Steel Corporation, are so connected, by being presidents or vice-presidents or directors in the railroad corporations of this country, that they control 55 per cent of the railways of the United States. These are the gentlemen who are now backing the program of the leader of the third party.

Mr. Roosevelt at Albany on the 7th, as reported—called on Woodrow Wilson either to prove or retract his statement, that the United States Steel Corporation is behind the third party program in regard to regulation of the trusts. "As far as I know," said Col. Roosevelt, "the statement has not the slightest foundation in fact. Mr. Wilson has no business to make such a statement unless he has the proof, and if he has any proof I demand that he make it public immediately. If he has not, let him retract his statement as the only manly and honorable thing to do. The only big man connected with either the Steel Corporation or the Harvester Trust who is supporting me is Mr. Perkins, as far as I know. All the others in both the Steel Corporation and the Harvester Trust are

supporting either Mr. Taft or Mr. Wilson, as far as I know."



Campaign Funds.

At the hearing before the Clapp committee of the United States Senate on the 2nd, Senator Dixon, Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, charged that the committee was unfairly directing its inquiries at Mr. Roosevelt's campaign funds and ignoring those of Mr. Taft, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Harmon and Mr. Underwood. Chairman Clapp rebuked Senator Dixon for reflecting "on the one man in this committee who is friendly to Col. Roosevelt." All the details of the hearings, said Senator Clapp, who is campaigning for Roosevelt, had been in his own hands as chairman, the other members of the committee having deferred to him. [See current volume, page 950.]



Other witnesses were before the committee on the 2nd, among them being George R. Sheldon, former treasurer of the Republican national committee, who testified that in 1904 the Standard Oil Company contributed \$100,000, J. P. Morgan & Co. \$100,000, H. C. Frick \$100,000 and George J. Gould \$100,000. Mr. Sheldon said that he had no personal knowledge of these contributions, but that the late Cornelius N. Bliss, then treasurer, had shown him his report. Asked what percentage was contributed by corporations, he replied: "To be frank, 73½ per cent." Mr. Sheldon said the Standard Oil contribution was not on the list as coming from the Oil company, but was credited to John D. Archbold.



John Pierpont Morgan was the star witness on the 3rd. He testified to having contributed \$150,000 to the Republican campaign of 1904 and \$30,000 to that of 1908, but he explicitly denied Charles E. Russell's assertions as to a telephonic talk between himself and Roosevelt, adding that he had never had any communication of any kind with Mr. Roosevelt. He testified further that he had made no contribution to the Presidential campaign of the present year, to which he added:

I want it distinctly understood that J. P. Morgan & Co. never made a single subscription to any election with any promise or expectation of anything, or return in any way, shape or manner, and we never made it without we deemed it advantageous for the government and the people. We never had a communication from any candidate. We never had an application from any candidate for money, and anything that we did or that was done under my suggestion—and we were all in harmony—was that it was necessary for the good of the country and the business of the people, and it was done, and there was never a commitment or any expectation of any return—and we never got any return, either, from anybody, if I may be allowed.

On the 4th Theodore Roosevelt testified. He swore to ignorance of the Archbold contribution, and in other respects exonerated himself, by sworn statements, from responsibility for campaign corruption. As summarized by the Chicago Tribune of the 5th, Mr. Roosevelt testified—

that he had no knowledge of the alleged contribution of \$100,000 by the Standard Oil Company to the 1904 campaign; that he specifically forbade the acceptance of a contribution from the Standard Oil Company; that he was assured that no such contribution had been made; that it being reported to him that, in spite of his direction, the Standard Oil Company had contributed, he sent explicit instructions to return any money the Corporation might have subscribed; that the Standard Oil Company was hostile to him because of his action in the matter of the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations; that the only testimony quoted against him is in the form of hearsay statements attributed to men who are dead; . . . that he never solicited a dollar from Standard Oil, the Morgan, the Harriman, or any other interests; that Harriman, on his own initiative, came to see him to solicit aid from him in connection with the New York State campaign of 1904.

Mr. Roosevelt demanded that the committee call the managers and financial men of the Taft and Wilson campaign without delay and not limit the investigation upon the Roosevelt campaign receipts and expenditures just before the election.



Charles R. Crane was the principal witness on the 7th. His testimony related principally to assertions by Senator Dixon that he, Crane, had contributed to both the Republican and the Democratic campaign funds—\$70,000 to La Follette and \$70,000 to Wilson. He explained that he had given \$26,684 to La Follette's fund, and \$10,000 to Wilson's and no more; that he had done so without secrecy; and that his object was to have a progressive candidate succeed in one party or the other. He did not give to Wilson until La Follette's nomination seemed hopeless. Of accusations that he was influenced by his interest in the bath-tub trust he said that he had no connection whatever with it directly or indirectly.



Sulzer for Governor of New York.

At the Syracuse convention of the Democratic Party of New York on the 2nd, the unit rule was abrogated and on the fourth ballot Congressman William Sulzer was nominated for Governor. During the convention, Thomas M. Osborne made an attack upon the Tammany leader, "Boss" Murphy, in which he is reported by the dispatches to have said:

His hour is about to strike. The delayed storm which conditions in New York City long have been preparing, already has burst; the lightning already is flashing, and already one great reputation has come

crashing to the ground. And this man who sits here now, surrounded by his satellites dispensing favors, dictating policies and distributing the nominations of a great party—look at him well, for this is the last time you will look upon such a scene. For him, too, the hour will soon strike and upon the ruins of his fall will arise the New York Democracy of the future. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve. On the one side stand Woodrow Wilson and the principles of the progressive Democracy; on the other Charles F. Murphy and the cohesive power of public plunder.

The platform demands a Constitutional convention to pass on the Initiative, the Referendum and the Short Ballot, and declares for an amendment giving the largest possible rights of home rule to cities and villages. It also favors submitting the pending woman suffrage amendment to the people of the State as soon as possible. Alton B. Parker, the permanent chairman, declared himself in his acceptance speech to be a progressive Democrat. The convention adjourned on the 3rd, after completing its nominations for a full State ticket. [See current volume, page 949.]



Referendum Voting in Colorado.

In consequence of the decision of the Supreme Court of Colorado sustaining the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution of that State the following Constitutional amendments will be voted on by the people of Colorado at the election in November:

- Statewide prohibition of the liquor traffic.
- Recall of certain kinds of court decisions.
- Recall of elective officials, including judges.
- A public utilities "commission."
- A mothers' compensation act.
- Extension of civil service merit system to all State, county and city offices.
- Use of school houses as social centers.
- The headless ballot.
- The Oregon pamphlet system of submitting Initiated and Referred bills.
- An annual tax levy for the State Board of Immigration.
- An eight-hour day for women.
- Search and seizure in local option territory.
- Good roads.
- An eight-hour day in mines, smelters, etc.
- New procedure in submitting Initiated or Referred bills.
- A public utilities "court."
- Abolition of constructive contempt of court.
- A State fair.
- Home rule for cities above 20,000.

Following are legislative bills to be voted on by the people at the same time:

- The Carpenter reservoir bill, bitterly opposed by those who must irrigate from running streams.
- Eight-hour bills for mines and smelters.
- Bill to transfer the department of brands from the Secretary of State to the live stock inspection board.

Bill requiring State officials to make daily remittances to the State treasurer.

Bill providing for the establishment of a summer school for teachers.

Bill changing qualifications and grades of certificates for teachers.

For the Moffatt road tunnel.

For \$10,000,000 bond issue for good roads.

Limiting bonded indebtedness of counties.

Concerning fees of public officials not on salary.

Declaring all ore-treating plants subject to State regulation and condemnation (aimed at the smelter trust).

Abolishing the State board of equalization and giving all its powers to the State tax commission.

[See current volume, page 920.]



Singletax Campaign in Missouri.

There is greater excitement in Missouri over the Singletax campaign than there is in that State over the Presidential election. Presidential politics have been swallowed up by it. Owing to the mistaken notion among the tax-ridden farmers of Missouri that the Singletax would increase their taxes (it would in fact reduce them), the farming regions are boiling over with hostility, and the monopoly interests in land, both within and without Missouri, are fanning this flame. In many farming regions of the State it is not only disagreeable (from rotten eggs), but dangerous (from lynching), to advocate the Singletax amendments which are to be voted on in November. Interesting local reports on the subject from different places will be found in our Editorial Correspondence this week, one from Robert Cumming and the other from J. R. Hermann, both of whom are effective Singletax workers and seasoned campaigners. The situation they describe has resulted in platform declarations against the amendments by both the Democratic and the Republican parties. Senator Reed (Democrat) came out strongly against them in a speech at St. Louis. Progressive Party papers and speakers that were favorable have been forced by the political situation to become lukewarm or hostile. Yet the organized labor elements, both in the cities and in the mines, are favorable to the amendment and are becoming more and more active for them under the spur of the opposition from anti-labor sources. No predictions as to the result can yet be safely made; but Singletaxers express their gratification that the question in Missouri is at such a heat that general discussion will soon remove misapprehensions and make a clear alignment between land monopolists on one side in opposition to the Singletax, and all the industrial interests—farm, factory and store—on the other side, in favor of it. Whatever the result at the election, the Missouri campaign is evidently the most tremendous campaign of education the Singletax movement has ever had outside of Great

Britain. [See current volume, pages 800, 876, 893.]



Leasing Instead of Selling Public Lands.

Associated Press dispatches of the 6th from Washington report that the Department of the Interior has decided to lease public coal lands hereafter instead of allotting or selling them. In consequence of this decision those dispatches continue—

Van H. Manning, assistant director of the Bureau of Mines, left for Wyoming, where he will complete the details of leasing 2,480 acres of Government coal lands in that State to a local corporation. The leasing experiment will be carefully watched, and, if successful, probably will mark a revolution in the policy of the Government in dealing with the public lands. The land to be leased is located near Lander, Wyoming. The corporation desirous of mining the coal is to pay \$1 for each acre in the tract and a royalty of 6½ cents a ton for each ton mined during the first five years, and 8 cents for the following five years. After that the royalty will be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, the leasing corporation having the right to renew the lease up to thirty years in all.

[See current volume, page 898.]



Taxation in Illinois.

Opposition to the proposed tax amendment in Illinois was officially declared on the 6th by the Chicago Federation of Labor. This amendment is the one for which the organized liquor interests and the Civic Federation of Chicago, have secured signatures for an advisory Initiative at the coming election. The Federation of Labor had referred the question to its committee on legislation, and on the 6th Margaret A. Haley presented the committee's report. The report explains that the proposition presented to the voters by this Initiative is the same as that which the last legislature refused to pass, that the petitions for it were procured by the liquor interests, and that its purpose is to prevent the submission of the amendment for a mandatory Initiative and Referendum which the voters of Illinois have twice demanded through the advisory Initiative. This report of its committee was adopted by the Federation of Labor, and delegates were urged by the Federation to work and vote against the proposed tax amendment. [See current volume, page 877.]



The Labor War.

A large crowd, composed mostly of members of the Industrial Workers of the World, was reported in the news dispatches of the 6th as having gathered on that day in the Square outside of Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mayor Fitzgerald having refused them permission to meet within this historic hall.

The object of the meeting was to protest against the imprisonment of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso, who are on trial at Salem for alleged murder in connection with the strike at Lawrence. A special dispatch of the 6th to the Chicago Record-Herald quotes speakers at the meeting as threatening to burn Lawrence if violent hands are laid on Haywood or any others of the working class there, and to tear down the Salem jail, stone by stone, if Ettor, Giovannitti or Caruso are harmed. [See current volume, page 947.]



At Lake Charles, Louisiana, on the 6th, nine workmen out of the 58 (most of them Industrial Workers of the World) who are under indictment for riot and murder, were put on trial on the 7th. The specific accusation has to do with the killing of four men and the wounding of 39 others in a labor controversy at Grabow, a lumber-mill town.



The Spanish military reserves who have left active service within six years were summoned to rejoin the colors on the 3d, and 60,000 men who ordinarily would not have been called to their regiments until next March also were ordered to report for duty. The decree mobilizing this vast army is regarded as showing that the government considers the railroad strike serious. Premier Canalejas asserts that the railroad men have virtually declared a social war, and that their demands are impossible. On the 4th King Alphonso convoked the Spanish Parliament for the 14th to discuss the situation. The strike on the Spanish railroads holds up almost the entire traffic of Spain.



American Intervention in Nicaragua.

The operations of Rear Admiral Wm. N. H. Southerland, with his American marines and sailors, have continued to prove effective in driving back the revolutionists in Nicaragua, and opening up the railways. One little battle has followed another, the most serious occurring on the 4th and 5th, when General Zeledon and his revolutionists were driven from hilltop fortresses commanding the railroad from Managua to Granada. General Zeledon escaped, but later was cornered and killed by Nicaraguan cavalry. As the other revolutionary leader, General Mena, is an American prisoner at Panama, the revolution is practically leaderless. The former President of Nicaragua, General Juan Estrada, is reported to have reached Bluefields from the United States, and to have been received with enthusiasm. [See current volume, page 950.]



The question of the relation of the United

States to the Nicaraguan situation became of increased seriousness with the battle referred to above, for in the final assault on the 5th four privates of the United States marine corps were killed, and a number were wounded. This loss of life in battle when the United States is not at war with any country is expected to bring to a climax in Congress the dispute over the right of this government to intervene in Nicaragua. It is maintained by the Department of State that Admiral Southerland has strictly refrained from interfering in any way between the warring factions in Nicaragua, and has confined himself entirely to opening up railway communication and maintaining it free from interruption, that the large foreign element scattered through the Nicaragua towns might be able to receive food. The Associated Press dispatches thus summarize the State department's justification for the intervention:

An examination of the authorities appears quite clearly to show that one State may without just cause for offense to another State thus interpose in favor of its residents in the other State, and there is not a little authority for the proposition that such interposition by the one State as against the other is a matter of right and indeed duty.

It is related in the dispatches that privation and suffering without precedent in the history of Central American warfare have been endured during the present revolution, foreigners as well as natives having been brought to destitution and many women and children having perished for lack of food. This unusual experience in a tropical country where ordinarily some kind of food may be obtained from the jungle and native crops, is explained by the fact of a disastrous drought which has blighted the crops and dried up the native fruits, so that to keep the railroads open has been the only way of escaping starvation. [See current volume, pages 829, 849.]



The Threatened Balkan War.

The latest ultimatum of the Balkan states to the Turkish government is said to demand for Macedonia, Albania and Old Serbia an autonomy at least as great as that enjoyed by Crete under the guarantees of the great Powers. A few skirmish engagements are reported to have come off on the Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin frontiers, and war has been formally declared by Montenegro. Greeks and Bulgarians in the United States are rushing to the port of New York to embark for the seat of the expected war. Among the hundreds arranging to go from Chicago are two men in training at the aviation field at Cicero for military flying. The American government has forbidden the ships bearing the returning exiles to carry ammunition. [See current volume, page 917.]

The great Powers are endeavoring to prevent the war by inducing Turkey to grant sufficiently extensive reforms to satisfy the protesting states. The least that would suffice for this is given in a dispatch from Paris on the 6th, as—

Complete national autonomy for Macedonia.

Christian governors of the provinces inhabited by Christians.

Creation of a local militia and the withdrawal of Turkish troops.

The proposals for intervention not yet fully agreed upon by the Powers, include—

Declaration that the reforms demanded shall not affect the sovereignty of the Sultan nor the territorial integrity of Turkey.

Assurance that the reforms shall be applied not alone to Macedonia, but to the Turkish empire as a whole.

Provision that the demand for reforms be made not in the form of a joint note, presented in writing, but shall be made verbally by the representatives of the great Powers at Constantinople.

Russia and Austria to inform Balkan states that in event of war, hostilities must be confined to the Balkans and that territorial changes must not follow the war.



British Conference on Land-Values Taxation.

A large and representative British Conference was held on the 7th in Caxton Hall, London, under the auspices of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, at which Charles Trevelyan, M. P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, presided. It was specially convened in view of the prominent position the question of taxing land values now holds in Liberal Party politics. There were some 700 delegates from local taxing bodies, and from political, industrial, economic, social and land-reform associations. Additional interest was lent by the recent announcement of Lloyd George, in connection with his proposed investigation into the facts regarding land and local-taxation questions in town and country, that there will be a Liberal campaign on the land question. [See current volume, pages 891, 898.]



Alexander Ure, Lord Advocate for Scotland, moved the first resolution, which was seconded by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., and adopted by the Conference. It declares that—

the value of the land, which is not due to the exertion or expenditure of the holders of the land, but springs from common need and activity, and is enhanced by public expenditure, is the proper basis for rating and taxation, and that the existing system, which imposes the burden on industry and the earnings of industry instead of on the value of land, is unjust, and constitutes a hindrance to social progress.

A resolution endorsing the Memorial to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

signed by 173 members of Parliament and presented May 18, 1911,* urging a tax on land values for education, highways, police and poor relief, in substitution for local rates and for taxes on food, was adopted by the Conference on motion of C. E. Price, M. P., seconded by R. L. Outhwaite, M. P. Another resolution, which was moved by E. G. Hemmerde, K. C., M. P., urged a speedy completion of the Imperial land valuation now in process, and its publication, "so that at the earliest possible moment provision may be made for the abolition of rates upon buildings and all improvements, and the adoption of the value of land as the sole standard of local rating." The fourth and last official resolution of the Conference, moved by Joseph Fels and seconded by P. Wilson Raffan, M. P., affirmed the conviction of the Conference that—

the existing deplorable condition of the people in regard to bad housing, low wages, and unemployment in town and country, is directly traceable to the withholding of land from its best economic use, and is further aggravated by the existing system of taxation and rating, which penalizes industry and hampers development.

The same resolution declared the opinion of the Conference to be that—

the just and expedient method of solving social problems is by the exemption of all improvements and all the processes of industry from the burden of rates and taxes, and the substitution of direct taxation, both for local and imperial purposes, on the value of all land, a value which is entirely due to the presence, growth and industry of the people.

*See Public of September 15, 1911, page 956.

NEWS NOTES

—Dr. Belisario Porras was inaugurated President of Panama on the 1st. [See current volume, page 684.]

—Wm. A. Peffer, the United States Senator from Kansas whom the Populist legislature of 1891 elected to that office, died at Grenoble, Kansas, on the 7th, at the age of 81.

—Hamlin Garland was forced to leap from the second story window of his house at West Salem, Wisconsin, early in the morning of the 7th, to escape death from fire. His home and its contents were destroyed.

—The legislature of Vermont on the 2nd, elected Allen M. Fletcher as Governor. This is the second time in the history of Vermont that the choice of a Governor has gone to the legislature. [See current volume, page 873.]

—At the four-day session of the fourth national Conservation Congress, held at Indianapolis last week, Charles Lathrop Pack of Cleveland was elected president. The constitution was so amended as to place the Congress on a permanent basis, with a membership roll, instead of having the delegates

appointed by States, municipalities and organizations.

—The municipal summer dancing pavilion of Cleveland, one of the 3-cent public enterprises of that city, closed its first session on the 5th, with a balance of receipts over expenses to the amount of \$3,000. [See current volume, page 757.]

At the first dinner for the season of the Economic Club of Boston, held at the American House on the 8th, the subject for discussion was "The Regulation of Monopoly versus the Regulation of Competition." William H. Lincoln presided and the following were the speakers: Louis D. Brandeis, Charles Zueblin, Norman Hapgood, Harvey N. Shepard and Prof. Lewis J. Johnson.

—The League of German Landreformers held their 22nd convention, October 4th to 7th at Posen, near the eastern border of Germany. The announcement of a most attractive program was prefaced in Bodenreform by a letter from the League committee urging members to avail themselves of this opportunity to become acquainted with this country way east of Berlin, a part of the Empire too rarely visited by the Germans of the west and south.

PRESS OPINIONS

One Man's Power for Evil.

The Sacramento Bee (Ind.), August 22.—William Randolph Hearst certainly has the ear of the reading public. He owns a big string of dailies in the United States and at least three great magazines—the Cosmopolitan, Hearst's and Good Housekeeping. In England it is known the London Budget and Nash's Magazine are his. And there may be others, both here and abroad. What an immense power for good those publications could be made. And what an immense power for evil they are as Hearst conducts them!



Corrupt Campaign Contributions.

The (Indiana) New Era (dem. Dem.), August 31.—The big fellows have fallen out and are telling truths and untruths about each other. The incidental things connected with this debauchery of American politics are not worth considering. Every man in the country who has taken any time to think over the subject knows that big business and government have been in partnership for the last quarter of a century. They know too that the plutocrats of the country paid for the privilege of plundering the rest of the people. Big business has a way of taking care of its henchmen, whether they are petty city officials or men clothed with great power in the arena of national politics. It isn't a party fault either, but of course the Republicans are vastly more to blame than the Democrats, because they have had more to sell. We ought to get away from calling each other names about these contributions and lend some help to make conditions so that future bribes given in shape of campaign contributions will be useless.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

RICHARD F. GEORGE.

Died September 28. Buried beside his father, Henry George, the author of "Progress and Poverty," in Greenwood, September 30, 1912.

For The Public.

The merry jest, the kindly mood,
The modest soul that dwelt apart
From all save us who understood
The greatness of his mind and heart,

Is silent now. How strange it seems
That he should lie where green trees nod.
Is this the end of all his dreams—
A little dust, a patch of sod?

Yet to have sought to wrest the soul
Of Beauty from the passive clay,
And dwell with her, were worth the whole
Of Life that merely lives its day.

Dust unto dust—yet nothing dies,
For here where Life its tents has furled,
Like him his mighty father lies
Whose thought now shakes a world!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.



THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX.

For The Public.

The sphinx was a fabulous animal with the body of a lion, the wings of a bird and the breasts and head of a woman.

It was sent by the goddess Hera, to punish the people of Thebes, and like many a modern promoter of distress, its method of punishment was to propose a riddle.

Anyone who undertook to answer the riddle and failed was immediately devoured; and it was no picnic for anybody but the Sphinx. She ate 'em alive.

The riddle of the Sphinx was this: What is it that walks on four legs in the morning, two at noon and three in the evening?

A gentleman named Oedipus finally answered the question. The answer was "Man," for man in the morning of life goes on all fours, at noon erect on two legs, and in the evening of life hobbles along on a cane.

Her riddle being answered, the Sphinx, like all other monsters and superstitions, destroyed herself, and troubled man no more.

There is a Sphinx, or more properly, a dozen of them, for every man and every nation in the world, propounding riddles which we must answer or be destroyed.

There was a Sphinx in the time of Christopher Columbus, when Europe was being overcrowded with people and enthralled by religious bigotry and persecution. Its riddle was. "What is it that makes men free from persecution?" The answer, like the reply of Oedipus, and the reply to every really great question, was perfectly simple. It was, "Plenty of land for men to go to when somebody is after them with a club." And when Columbus answered the riddle in his simple way, the Sphinx destroyed herself.

Today we are facing a riddle of the same kind. The question is not religious, but industrial. It is: "What must workers secure to be free from oppression?" Millions have been devoured because they have failed to answer this riddle, and millions of working men and their innocent wives and babes are being slowly ground to pieces in the jaws of this cruel monster because they cannot think and act in unison when the reply is demanded. Yet the reply to this question today is simple, like the answer to all great questions. It is: "The right of each man to the use of what land there is."

This answer to the oppressor, given by a hundred million voters at once, will destroy forever the incubus of poverty and prove the fallacy of the evil doctrine that progress can only come through the suffering of the masses.

HARLAN EUGENE READ.



LAND VALUES IN CHINA.

Dr. W. E. Macklin, of Nanking, in the China Daily Republican (Shanghai) of August 13.

China is a country peculiarly adapted to the initiation of the Singletax method. As described by Mencius, Ju Fu Ty and others, it was the ancient system of China. There was a tax of one-ninth of the crop of farmers in the "well" method. In the towns, according to Ju Fu Ty, there was a site tax and no tax on personal property and none on houses. At the barriers on the borders there was an examination but no customs tariff. If this old system were adopted the educated classes would support it and urge it on the people as a restoration of the ancient order.

As China's mines are hardly touched yet, it would be simple to use the land value tax on all mining land. As these mines are opened up an enormous revenue could be secured. Lloyd George, the celebrated Chancellor of the Exchequer of England, stated that the rents or royalties of the mines of England were worth £8,000,000 or say \$40,000,000. England is as large as one province of China. China's mines should as they are opened up be worth more than twenty times as much, or about \$800,000,000 a year rent. China should not be obliged to kowtow in order to borrow a few millions with such assets.

China's city values are small at present, but as trade and manufacture increase these values will grow enormously. The value of the land of New York city is about \$4,000,000,000 gold or \$8,000,000,000 Chinese money. At a rental of 5 per cent there would be a revenue of \$400,000,000 for this one city, an amount equal to all of the revenues of China. By and bye there will be greater New Yorks in China.

The value of all land in the United States of America is about \$40,000,000,000 of American Money at \$80,000,000,000 Chinese money. This at 5 per cent would realize \$4,000,000,000 of revenue.

When China opens up she will have as great a land value as the United States of America. China is rich and loans to her should be a gilt-edged investment.

Of course a strong and stable Government and an honest administration are absolutely necessary to produce great land values.



"SCUM O' THE EARTH."

By Robert Haven Schauffler.*

At the gate of the West I stand,
On the isle where the nations throng.
We call them "scum o' the earth";
Stay, are we doing you wrong,
Young fellow from Socrates' land?—
You, like a Hermes so lissome and strong
Fresh from the master Praxiteles' hand?
So you're of Spartan birth?
Descended, perhaps, from one of the band—
Deathless in story and song—
Who combed their long hair at Thermopylæ's
pass? . . .

Ah, I forget the straits, alas!
More tragic than theirs, more compassion-worth,
That have doomed you to march in our "immigrant
class"
Where you're nothing but "scum o' the earth."

You Pole with the child on your knee,
What dower bring you to the land of the free?
Hark! does she croon
That sad little tune
That Chopin once found on his Polish lea
And mounted in gold for you and for me?
Now a ragged young fiddler answers
In wild Czech melody
That Dvorák took whole from the dancers.
And the heavy faces bloom
In the wonderful Slavic way;
The little, dull eyes, the brows a-gloom,
Suddenly dawn like the day.
While, watching these folk and their mystery,
I forget that they're nothing worth;
That Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians,
And men of all Slavic nations
Are "polacks"—and "scum o' the earth."

Genoese boy of the level brow,
Lad of the lustrous, dreamy eyes
Astare at Manhattan's pinnacles now
In the first, sweet shock of a hushed surprise;
Within your far-rapt seer's eyes
I catch the glow of the wild surmise
That played on the Santa Maria's prow
In that still gray dawn,
Four centuries gone,
When a world from the wave began to rise.
Oh, it's hard to foretell what high emprise
Is the goal that gleams
When Italy's dreams
Spread wing and sweep into the skies.
Cæsar dreamed him a world ruled well;
Dante dreamed Heaven out of Hell;
Angelo brought us there to dwell;
And you, are you of a different birth?—
You're only a "dago,"—and "scum o' the earth!"

Stay, are we doing you wrong
Calling you "scum o' the earth,"
Man of the sorrow-bowed head,
Of the features tender yet strong,—
Man of the eyes full of wisdom and mystery
Mingled with patience and dread?
Have not I known you in history,
Sorrow-bowed head?
Were you the poet-king, worth
Treasures of Ophir unpriced?
Were you the prophet, perchance, whose art
Foretold how the rabble would mock
That Shepherd of spirits, erelong,
Who should carry the lambs on his heart
And tenderly feed his flock?
Man—lift that sorrow-bowed head.
Lo! 'tis the face of the Christ!

The vision dies at its birth.
You're merely a butt for our mirth.
You're a "sheeny"—and therefore despised
And rejected as "scum o' the earth."

Countrymen, bend and invoke
Mercy for us blasphemers,
For that we spat on these marvelous folk,
Nations of darers and dreamers,
Scions of singers and seers,
Our peers and more than our peers.
"Rabble and refuse," we name them
And "scum" o' the earth, to shame them.
Mercy for us of the few, young years,
Of the culture so callow and crude,
Of the hands so grasping and rude,
The lips so ready for sneers
At the sons of our ancient more-than-peers.
Mercy for us who dare despise
Men in whose loins our Homer lies;
Mothers of men who shall bring to us
The glory of Titian, the grandeur of Huss;
Children in whose frail arms shall rest
Prophets and singers and saints of the West.
Newcomers all from the eastern seas,
Help us incarnate dreams like these.
Forget, and forgive, that we did you wrong.
Help us to father a nation, strong
In the comradeship of an equal birth,
In the wealth of the richest bloods of earth.

*See review on page 978 of this Public.

BOOKS

CITY PROBLEMS

Great Cities in America. Their Problems and Their Government. By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Franchises of the Public Service Commission for the First District of New York; author of "The Study of City Government," "The American City," "Municipal Franchises," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Price \$1.25 net.

The city as an individual, in form and function a larger man, with responsibility in results to natural laws of physical and moral growth, is illustrated by Mr. Wilcox with six American cities for his examples—Washington, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Boston. This is an instance, a highly useful one, of the exceptionally good work a competent municipal expert can do if he happens also to be a fundamental democrat. -



POEMS OF THE "SIXTH ESTATE."

Daily Bread. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.25 net.

The facile thanks which comfortable people render for their "daily bread" is nothing short of blasphemy if they receive that bread unaware of and uncaring for the blood and tears which are spilt that it may be forthcoming. Perception of this daily sacrifice of life and happiness, perception, and the realization of one's responsibility for it, rather than the intellectual holding of economic theories is the only dynamic of social reform. Hence social reformers owe their cause a duty in recommending this true and strong piece of work from the pen of that brilliant young English realistic poet, Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. His brief dramatic sketches of the life and deaths of the poor—the "common" people who do "unintelligent" and mean labor which "isn't worth any more" than they get for it—will come as an irremediable shock to all those complacent people who have thought that the poor are not to be pitied—that their lot is as good as they deserve or as nature will allow.

But this should not be taken as implying that Mr. Gibson has written didactic poetry. Unlike Mr. Shaw, he has no prefaces to tell us how the conditions he describes may be altered. If art ceases to be art as soon as it becomes overt advocacy of reforms, then Mr. Gibson has not prostituted himself. He paints the thing as he sees it and lets it go at that. His art is in the fact that people who will not see the thing in reality have to see it in his pages; and after having seen it there nobody could be in more than one mind about the necessity of change. The following quotation is typical of the author's simplicity, though there

are many poems in the book in which the tragedy is more fundamental or its expression more dramatic. A girl from a country village has followed her lover to a large city whither he had previously gone to look for work.

Isaac: Nay, Adah, I'm not ill
Save for the want of work.

Adah: A man like you
Who used to work . . .

Isaac: Aye, lass,
While there was work for me.
You know how hard I toiled at home,
Until my father died,
And Stephen married;
And there was room for me no longer;
And not a cottage in the countryside
That I could get for love or money
To make a home
For you and me.

And I was forced to turn my back
On all familiar things—
On all that I'd grown up with,
And all that had not changed.
Since first I blinked in daylight.
To leave my friends,
And go out into the world,
To seek my fortune among strangers—
A stranger among strangers—
To seek my fortune.

Adah: And have you not found . . .

Isaac: My fortune?
Aye, here is my fortune, lass,
This empty garret
In the mouth of hell.

.
Yes, I was hopeful,
For I was strong,
And full of meat,
And did not know that in cities
Strong men starve—
Starve in the midst of plenty.

While that particular situation is yielding slowly to enlightened democracy, there press upon the poor perils from every side; and those perils and pains, from whose brunt the more fortunate are in some measure protected, are portrayed by Mr. Gibson, not hysterically or complainingly but in a manner that exhibits the dumb and stoic dignity with which they are usually met.

LLEWELYN JONES.



Scum o' the Earth, And Other Poems. By Robert Haven Schaffer. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

A favorite Atlantic Monthly poem of this year gives name to the collection of its author's verses now published. After "Scum o' the Earth"—a big-hearted and fair-spoken greeting to America's unwelcome immigrants—one reads with the charm of mood-contrast the unrhymed and beautiful lines which re-tell the Marsyas myth. The book's pretty brown binding and artistic frontispiece delight the eye and incline the ear to the poet's words.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PAMPHLETS

A French Singletax Pamphlet.

"Le Capital de la France, et le Rôle qu'il Doit Remplir" ("The Capital of France, and Its Proper Function"), by Ernest Mansuy (53, rue de Bagneux, Fontenay-aux-Roses, France), is a handsome, well-printed brochure. Mr. Mansuy is a bookkeeper, and he declares that "there is a fundamental sociological principle, which is well known to bookkeepers, but of which students of political science are completely ignorant." "This principle, of which it is absolutely necessary to take cognizance in the foundation and organization of all normal societies," he says may be thus formulated: "A society, no matter what, cannot exist without a capital fund, that is to say, without a common fund, producing a sufficient revenue, not only to satisfy all social expenses, but to furnish besides a profit to the members of that society." Mr. Mansuy examines societies, voluntary and involuntary, including the nation among the latter. He believes that though politics depraves the spirit and demoralizes the conscience, and the social heart stifles the expression of new truth, still the question of the land will force itself upon society through a world-wide agitation. This question which has received attention during only two centuries, has been completely solved by Henry George. How Mr. George's solution would work out as a matter of bookkeeping, Mr. Mansuy shows with "A National Balance-sheet," with assets on one side, liabilities on the other, and receipts and expenditures below. Chief among the assets appears the productive public domain, valued at 100,000,000,000 francs (\$20,000,000,000). The annual rent of this domain is put at 5,000,000,000 francs (\$1,000,000,000). Arguments follow to show that the Singletax is in reality a suppression of taxes; that the expropriation of the holders of the land would be just and easy; that such a course would be favorable to landed proprietors, who would be forced to utilize the soil logically and legitimately; and that it would only injure speculators and forestallers of locations. The book is simple and readable, and would appear to be excellent propaganda material.

A. T. P.

PERIODICALS

Everybody's.

The answer by H. J. Chase in the October Everybody's, to a breezy criticism of the Singletax which appeared in the August number of the same magazine, while it is as breezy as the criticism and peculiarly interesting as an answer in kind, is nevertheless complete, clear and flawless in its exposition.



Some Panama Indians and Their Land.

"He who made this sand made it for the Cuna—Cuna who live no longer, for those who are here today, and also for the ones to come. So it is not

ours only and we could not sell it." Down on the Isthmus of Panama, eastward from the canal, live the San Blas Cuna Indians, and this was their reply to the high official of the Canal Commission when he wished to buy the sand of Caledonia Bay. A description of this little known region and its native Henry Pittier. The vast areas of forest, rich in people is given in the July Geographic Magazine by cocoa and ivory-nut are the main sources of wealth of these natives, "among whom money is never scarce and poverty an unknown thing." . . . "The land belongs undivided to the community, so that any encroachment is considered as a public damage. Annual crops are seldom produced several years in succession on the same piece of ground, but once this is cleared and tilled it belongs to the individual or family who have done the work, until it returns to the public domain through voluntary abandonment."

A. L. G.



Ret.

The August number of "Ret," the monthly journal of the Singletax cause in Denmark, published under the sound, vigorous and successful editorship of S. Berthelsen, contains half-tone reproductions of two charming photographs of Mr. Joseph Fels and Mrs. Mary Fels. A passage from an accompanying note runs: "Finally the journey concluded with an improvised open air meeting in Ulvedalen in Dyrehaven (Wolvesrally in the Deergarden)* where, besides Mr. Fels, Mrs. Mary Fels for the first time in Denmark, delivered an address on the Struggle for Woman's Emancipation. And the little lady won all her hearers with her intelligent and warm-hearted presentation." This item would seem to be of considerable interest for the Woman Suffragists in the United States.

C. M. KOEDT.



The French Singletax Review.

The discussion in "La Revue de L'Impot Unique" on "The Relation of the Individual and Property to the State" caused so many questions to be addressed to the editor that he returns to the subject in the September issue. A speech delivered by Henry George in Paris in 1889 is reprinted as an answer to the points raised by correspondents. In his resumé of the Singletax argument Henry George rejects the idea of State ownership. We are too much governed as it is and should seek to simplify, rather than extend the functions of the State. Singletaxers are in substantial agreement regarding the dangers of land nationalization, but Mr. Darien raises a contentious point when, emphasizing the *laissez faire* doctrine as stated by Quesnay and George, he insists that there is "no difference between land nationalization and the right of the community to seize, a priori, the entire ground rent." To do so, he argues, would encourage the government, which the wise man justly looks upon with suspicion, to be more wasteful and

*The Dyrehaven is an inclosed, wooded tract of land about 3,000 acres in area, containing thousands of deer. It is a well kept park and the principal pleasure ground of the people of Copenhagen, situated six miles—half an hour's ride—from the city.

despotic. It is time to put an end to the crimes committed in the name of the public welfare. Let land values be socialized, but nothing else. Give individual initiative free play in every possible direction. The intelligent, hard-working, self-denying middle class, which has waited in vain for a movement of genuine reform to be launched by the government, patiently pays the income of the rich and supports the indigent poor. It will be crushed "between the anvil of the parasite and the hammer of the disinherited" if it does not grasp the weapon forged by the Physiocrats. The taxation of land values would soon give it possession of the land now in the hands of speculators, and make it the determining factor in the decision as to the proportion of economic rent to be contributed to the yearly budget. By supporting intelligent expenditure and refusing

to countenance wanton finance it would create a civic sense and (Mr. Darlen believes) earn that part of the rent which it was able to save from the clutches of the State. Space does not permit us to dwell on other interesting contributions to the Review showing the evils that have sprung from a false system of land tenure. "The moral and physical health of a nation varies in strict accordance with the use made of its land."

F. W. GARRISON.



Betsey, an old colored cook, was moaning around the kitchen one day, and her mistress asked her if

The Chicago Single Tax Club

Schiller Hall (Twelfth Floor), Schiller Building,
Friday, October 11th, 8 p. m.

EDWIN S. JEWELL

Subject: "Behind the Scenes in a Renting Office."

All interested are cordially invited to attend. Regular meeting of Club at Room 508 is canceled. George C. Olcott, Act.-Sec.

When You Select a Shorthand School be Sure That It Teaches BENN PITMAN PHONOGRAPHY

The Standard Shorthand of America. Written by more than half the Government employees. Taught in the best schools. Briefest, most legible, most easily mastered. Published by THE PHONOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE COMPANY, Cincinnati, Ohio
BENN PITMAN, Founder JEROME B. HOWARD, President

Women's Trade Union League

OF CHICAGO

PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, October 13, 1912, 3 P. M.
Colonial Hall, 30 W. Randolph St., Near State
FIRE PREVENTION SUNDAY

Speakers:

Miss Mary McDowell and Other Fire Experts.
Ice Cream and Cake

MRS. RAYMOND ROBBINS, President
EMMA STEGHAGEN, Secretary

EVERYBODY
WELCOME

MORSE DESTRUCTOR FURNACE

Improved modern method of disposal of refuse for Towns, Hospitals, Hotels, Dwellings and Business Establishments.

WRITE FOR BOOKLET "P."

Atkinson-Morse Destructor Co.
90 West Street, New York

SOLE OWNERS OF THE MORSE PATENTS

7 Issues of The Public 10c

The seven issues of The Public from September 27 to November 8 (inclusive), will be sent to any address in the United States for 10c.

Club of Fifteen \$1

¶ This special offer will be open for the remaining weeks of the Presidential Election Campaign. Every Singletaxer should take advantage of it. Why? Because it's "cheap"? No, but because of the possibilities it offers for effective propaganda work.

¶ Everyone at all liberal minded will at least dip into those editorials and articles in The Public that deal with the campaign. In more humdrum times many of the same people wouldn't bother to take off the wrapper.

¶ Don't you think the headquarters of each of the parties in your town or city should have at least two copies of The Public "lying 'round"? And what about your local barber's shop? And—\$1 pays for fifteen subscriptions.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.

she was ill. "No, ma'am, not 'zactly," said Betsey. "But the fac' is, I don't feel ambition 'nough to git outer my own way."—Harper's Bazar.



"Professor," said Miss Skylight, "I want you to suggest a course in life for me. I have thought of journalism——"

"What are your own inclinations?"

"Oh, my soul yearns and throbs and pulsates with

**A TARIFF MANUAL
BY ROGER SHERMAN HOAR**

The demand for this convenient tariff manual (see The Public of September 6, page 859) has been so great that a large edition has been published to sell at the reduced price of ten cents a copy. The Manual is invaluable to debaters, public speakers, journalists and students who would know the arguments for and against Free Trade.
Order from
THE AMERICAN FREE TRADE LEAGUE, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

**The Edwin Burgess Letters
on Taxation**

(First published in 1859-60)

An original and remarkable Statement of the Singletax and an almost forgotten curiosity of 19th Century Literature.—*Republished by WM. S. BUFFHAM, Racine, Wis. Price 15c postpaid.*

The Mission of a Liberal Church
By HERBERT S. BIGELOW

This is one of the most useful, timely and inspiring sermons that the Rev. H. S. Bigelow, the Cincinnati preacher and democratic leader, ever wrote. In pamphlet form it makes an ideal piece of literature for distribution amongst liberal-minded churchgoers, or amongst people who have "left the fold," technically speaking, because they felt the church lags behind instead of leading the advance towards democracy.

Single copies 5c: Twelve copies 50c.

The Public, Book Dept., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

BOOK BARGAINS

MUHLBACH, Historical Romances, 18 vols., 4 Black Mor. Originally sold at \$54.00, for \$17.25 net.

VOLTAIRE, Complete, 22 vols., cloth, 132 Illus., Gilt top, uncut. Special net price, \$18.50.

WORLD WIDE ENCYCLOPEDIA, 12 vols., 10,000 pages, 96 colored maps. Sells regularly at \$30 net. A few sets at \$8.75 net.

Books of all publishers and magazines at Cut Prices—

Write us, **TIMBY'S BOOK SHOP, Ashtabula, Ohio**

A few sets of Henry George left, 10 vols., cloth, \$12.00 delivered.

an ambition to give the world a life-work that shall be marvelous in its scope, and weirdly entrancing in the vastness of its structural beauty!"

"Woman, you're born to be a milliner."—Tit-Bitt

GUARANTEED

**8% INVESTMENT
AT PAR.**

Principal and interest guaranteed by a corporation whose surplus (all earned) is four times its capital.

(Fools say "Impossible!"
Wise men say "Show me!")

SEND CARD FOR PARTICULARS TO

TAX LIEN CO. of N. Y.
68 William Street,
New York, N. Y.



Cool or lukewarm

water is the only thing necessary to use with Fels-Naptha Soap. You don't have to scrub or scour to make dirt and grease disappear. You don't have to boil clothes to get them white and clean. Nor hard rub them to pieces on the washboard either.

Fels-Naptha dissolves grease, loosens dirt, and entirely removes all kinds of stains, even stubborn blood-stains.

It is the cool-way, every-day, all-kinds-of-work soap. It is the Easy Soap, and the Harmless Soap.

Directions on Red and Green Wrapper.

Make Your Reading Count

Read This Course

(Thirty-fifth C. L. S. C. Year).

- Social Progress in Contemporary Europe.** Frederic Austin Ogg, A. M., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Simmons College, Boston, author "Saxon and Slav," etc. \$1.50
- Mornings with Masters of Art.** H. H. Powers, Ph.D., President Bureau of University Travel, Boston. 125 illustrations 2.00
- The Spirit of French Letters.** Mabel S. C. Smith, A. M., Asst. Editor THE CHAUTAUQUAN. Author "A Tarheel Baron" and "Studies in Dickens" 1.50
- Home Life in Germany.** Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick 1.50
- THE CHAUTAUQUAN MAGAZINE (Monthly—Illustrated, C. L. S. C. membership included if desired.) Containing:
- European Rulers: Their Modern Significance.** (Arthur E. Bestor, A. B., Director Chautauqua Institution);
- A Reading Journey in Paris.** (Mabel S. C. Smith.) The monthly magazine also serves in many interesting ways as a "don't read at random" teacher for the reading course 2.00

Total \$8.50

All Four Books (cloth bound) and the Magazine **\$5.00***
 *Remit 30c extra for postage or prepaid express. "Collect" charges are more.

"Easy for Anybody, Worth While for Everybody"

If in doubt, send stamp for handbook of Testimonials.

Address Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York.

Don't Read at Random

COMPLETE WORKS

OF

HENRY GEORGE

Ten volumes, handsomely bound in buckram. Gilt tops. Portraits.

- I. Progress and Poverty.
- II. Social Problems.
- III. The Land Question. Property in Land. Condition of Labor. (Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.) Protection or Free Trade.
- V. A Perplexed Philosopher.
- VI. and VII. The Science of Political Economy.
- VIII. Our Land and Land Policy. Contains the Miscellaneous Writings, Speeches and Lectures.
- IX and X. The Life of Henry George.

Price \$12.00

Expressage paid anywhere in the United States or Canada.

THE PUBLIC BOOK DEPT.

Ellsworth Building - CHICAGO

The Public

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
 Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription.

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.

Free of postage in the United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts and money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one, stating with what issue the change is to take effect.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires.

All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due, or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Advertisements bring grist to the publisher's mill. Please mention The Public when you write to our advertisers.

POST'S Illustrative Charts

Of the fourth edition of **Post's Chart Lectures** on the Singletax, rearranged and enlarged, under the title of

"Outlines of Lectures On The Taxation of Land Values,"

The Philadelphia North American of August 17, says:—

"This volume, after fifteen years, still remains the clearest and most informing exposition of Singletax philosophy."

And The Chicago Record-Herald of September 15, says:—

"Even those who do not agree with all of Mr. Post's views will enjoy his able defense of the cause in which he thoroughly believes."

Price per copy, Thirty Cents; 12 copies for \$3.00.

Address

THE PUBLIC

Ellsworth Bldg. :: CHICAGO