

The Public

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

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

The Labor War in Chicago.....	433
"Collectivism"	433
Good Trusts and Bad.....	435
Secrets of the "Money Trust".....	436
Charles Frederick Adams.....	436
Typical Objections to Land Value Taxation.....	436

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Reflections From the Eastern Shore (Western Starr).....	438
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Labor War in Chicago.....	439
Railroad Strike	441
The Ohio Constitutional Convention.....	441
The New Mexican Revolution.....	441
Italo-Turkish War	442
News Notes	443
Press Opinions	443

RELATED THINGS:

China (Anne W. Rust).....	445
The Spade Guinea (G. K. Chesterton).....	445
Mr. Powter Thinks He Thinks (A. J. Portenar).....	446
The Double Portion (H. L. Pickett).....	447
Charter Making in America and Effective Voting (C. G. Hoag).....	448
The Thrampin' Body (Augusta Hancock).....	449

BOOKS:

World Politics	450
Municipalities	450
Money Questions	451
Labor and the Law.....	451
Pamphlets	451
Periodicals	451

EDITORIAL

The Labor War in Chicago.

The contradictory statements that make it impossible to pass fair judgment upon the technical merits of the newspaper labor war which began in Chicago last week, are on the one side those of the pressmen theretofore employed by the Hearst papers, and on the other those of Andrew M. Lawrence. Mr. Hearst's factotum, Mr. Lawrence's statements appear to have been received at face value by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which has accordingly assumed responsibility in behalf of the employing interests. There is, however, no reason why anybody else—Mr. Hearst excepted, of course—should attach presumptions of superior veracity to Mr. Lawrence's declarations. The pressmen, who outnumber Mr. Lawrence if witnesses are to be counted, and whose motives for misrepresentation are not especially obvious if testimony is to be weighed—should at the least have the benefit of any doubt excited by conflicts of statement.



Vastly greater considerations, however, are involved in this labor war than those that concern merely the technical merits of the specific quarrel with which it began. More distinctly than any labor controversy the United States has yet experienced, does this one exhibit the essential character of that actual class war to which certain socialistic groups look for the overthrow of what all socialists call Capitalism. Neither the Lawrence

strike nor the San Diego episode are likely to compare in importance with this affair in that respect.



To enter into details very minutely might be premature, but the larger details are plain. One of these is the perfect organization of newspaper publishers, from coast to coast, with an apparent purpose of destroying the effectiveness of labor organizations throughout the newspaper field. Their form of organization is indeed not at all military; but their adaptation of Napoleonic methods to economic strife is highly significant of military genius in a new sphere of action. Another of the larger facts is the readiness and skill with which similar military genius has formed a battle line on the labor side. Into a commonplace strike or lockout over a petty contractual dispute, syndicalistic socialists have breathed the fighting spirit of class warfare, and thousands upon thousands of the hired-man class outside the particular craft concerned, few of whom are conscious revolutionists, are angered to the heart's core. It is no insignificant thing, at a time of prevailing economic injustice and of widespread human misery in consequence, that organized workers whose opportunities for a livelihood are snatched from them should be re-enforced by organized workers of kindred crafts at peril of their own livelihood. Since for this kind of devotion there are few parallels outside the sphere of national patriotism, is it so very far-fetched for revolutionary agitators to welcome it as a sign of the coming of the labor-class patriotism they long for?



What the immediate results of any such class war would be, requires no gift of prophecy to foretell. It may be summed up in a few sentences: Extensive strikes; splendid loyalty; intense suffering; deadly animosities between individuals and groups whose interests are for the most part identical if they would but take pains enough to readjust them with reference to interests that really are hostile; slugging on both sides; blood spilling; pitchforks and cobblestones against muskets and artillery; defeat; convictions for crime; appeals for sympathy in quarters where sympathy has been crushed out by the bitterness of class warfare; hangings; peace, the peace of the cemetery; reaction; and for climax a more powerful plutocracy on the backs of a worse oppressed working people. If a universal co-operative social state in which all shall serve and none are masters be a dream, it is nevertheless a dream that can be

gloriously realized. But realization must come from brotherly feeling through the direct action of straight thinking. Direct action to promote class war involves a species of crooked thinking that can but turn the realizable dream of brotherly co-operation into a realized nightmare as horrible as any that history records.



For this danger, and an imminent danger it is, where shall the blame rest? Shall it rest upon those who work, or upon those who exploit workers? upon those that are shut out by law from equal industrial opportunities, or upon monopolists of industrial opportunities? upon those whom our institutions drive to the extremities of poverty regardless of their productive industry and thrift, or upon those whom those institutions lift to the extremities of wealth regardless of their idleness and waste? There is but one true answer, but one manly answer. The blame for industrial violence, if unhappily this shall seriously disturb our communities, ought to rest—we cannot say it will, but it ought to rest—not upon working masses, exasperated at an injustice they do not understand but do feel, who angrily rise in hopeless rebellion. These will be shot down or gibbeted with no more consideration than the crucified followers of Spartacus got from a Roman plutocracy as sensual and selfish and cruel as our own. But the blame, if not the punishment, ought to rest primarily upon defenders of the indefensible legal privileges by which those uprisings are provoked. To be as specific as the occasion calls for, let the accusing finger of the preacher with his "Thou art the man!" point in this particular instance at the Chicago "local" of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. If that body has nothing better to propose than coercion of organized hired-men by organized employers, the latter fortified with laws of property that spell privilege and wealth and power for them but exploitation and poverty and weakness for their adversaries, then the blame ought to rest upon that newspaper publishers' association, its members and managers and sympathizers.



In controversies like this, it cannot be that there is nothing better to stand for than coercion of organized labor by organized wealth. Somewhere in the industrial scheme there must be a place and a function for the elementary principles of justice. If not, then indeed will barbarism with its law of might and misery come again. But if there be a place and a function in the industrial scheme for the elementary principles of justice, how can

the chief responsibility for the inevitable horrors of crowding out those principles be saddled upon the victims of the laws that do it? Beneficiaries of perennial injustice should not escape, they must not escape, they ought to rise superior to so much as a wish to escape, that greater responsibility for social disaster which goes with their better opportunities for understanding the social injustice which causes social disasters, and their larger powers of education and influence for bringing that injustice peacefully to an end.



“Collectivism.”

In an admirable address on “The Trend Toward Collectivism,” delivered before the Chicago City Club and published in its Bulletin of April 19th, Professor Rauschenbusch makes a distinction which needs to be emphasized. By “collectivism” he means, as in this address he explains, “something larger than Socialism usually means.” In its organized form, Socialism seems to him to be “only one section of a far larger movement;” and this larger movement he designates “by the word ‘collectivism,’ not because that is the ordinary use of the word, but simply in order to have an algebraic symbol for something we want to express.” Socialists would probably shrink from regarding “collectivism” as larger than Socialism; and many persons who are not Socialists would be at least surprised to learn that Socialism and collectivism are not identical. It is nevertheless true that the movement or trend which Professor Rauschenbusch symbolizes as “collectivism” is larger than the Socialism which makes class-war its *sine qua non*, be that war considered as peaceable or as violent; it is also true that the idea he indicates with the term “collectivism” is not necessarily technical Socialism either in part or altogether. The trend toward collectivism, while socialistic as all things societary are socialistic more or less, is in some of its aspects not Socialist at all in any of the legitimate senses in which the term “Socialism” is now current.



But it may be that in his definition of what he means by “collectivism” Professor Rauschenbusch has fallen short of a precise definition of what he probably does mean. As it is difficult to believe that he is not as solicitous for private welfare and private rights as for public welfare and public rights, he may fail to guard his terms completely when he speaks favorably of “collectivism” as putting “emphasis on public welfare and

public rights rather than private welfare and private rights,” and of increasing “the amount of public property as against private property.” Of course *emphasis* may be placed upon public welfare and public rights without at all minimizing private welfare and private rights; and a desire to increase *the amount* of public property as against private property may be realized without in the slightest degree impinging upon just rights of private property. Yet criticism, even if only captious, might be made. We do not presume to speak for Professor Rauschenbusch, nor in any wise to substitute our phrases for his in the expression of his thought. For the purpose, however, of expressing our own thought, which we regard as quite in agreement with his, and to express it so as to prevent misapprehension, we offer this slight paraphrase of his explanation, as our statement of our own view: “Our proposition is that we are all moving in the direction of what we may call ‘collectivism.’ By ‘collectivism’ we mean the putting of emphasis on public welfare and public rights *for the sake* of private rights, and a desire to extend public ownership as against private ownership of *public* property.” By this paraphrase we do not mean that “collectivism” has yet become thus definitely discriminating in its tendency. That would not be true. There is probably as yet no great sensitiveness to the importance, both to individuals in the mass and to the mass itself, of the distinction *between private and public* welfare, rights and property. But that this distinction indicates root differences, and that those differences should be clearly distinguished in promoting the manifest trend toward “collectivism,” is of vital importance alike to public interests, to personal freedom, and to permanent progress.



Good Trusts and Bad.

This is the trust issue in Mr. Roosevelt’s mind, as he discloses himself: Good trusts or bad trusts. President Taft interprets his policy as meaning that Mr. Roosevelt would by paternalistic methods determine between trusts, on the question of their goodness or badness, arbitrarily. We surmise not. Judged by the trusts he seems to like and has favored, Mr. Roosevelt’s method is not arbitrary. He would seem rather to intend a distinction between the trusts that connive and fight and contract and conspire to choke competition, and those which are fortified by law, through their basic property holdings, against all effective competition. Take the Harvester and the Steel trusts for example. These appear to be in Mr. Roosevelt’s category of good trusts. Yet they are the

most powerful, and the most absorbent of power, of all the trusts. They may not contract contrary to the Sherman law, they may not conspire, they may not connive and fight to choke competition. But they don't need to. They have it choked to begin with. The Steel trust with its monopoly of mineral deposits and terminal points, and the Harvester trust with its control directly of its lumber supplies and indirectly through the Steel trust of its mineral supplies and terminal facilities, can absorb the earnings of the masses and yet be as "good" as a star-scholar at Sunday school. If Mr. Roosevelt's distinction between good trusts and bad were defined, the difference would probably not be far from this: A good trust is an exploiting industrial organization which has its feet firmly upon the ground, and, reaching out lawfully for what it wants, gets it; a bad trust is an exploiting industrial organization which has its feet in the air, and, kicking about boisterously for what it wants, gets it if the good trusts don't want it.



Secrets of the "Money Trust."

Great anger has been excited among the senior crowd in Wall Street by impudent interrogatories of the Congressional committee investigating the "money trust." Mr. Morgan is reported to be much wrought up over the "impudence" of that committee. Another finance "sharp" of renown "would like to be jailed" for refusing to answer these impudent questions, for then he would "get a writ of habeas corpus and fight the action right up to the Supreme Court of the United States," which "would probably take three years and by that time most if not all of the politicians now in Congress would be out of office." His confidence in the supreme power of the courts blinds him to the fact that if Congress refused to obey the mandate of a branch of the government only co-ordinate with itself, he might have to remain in durance until his financial friends had bowled out those inquisitive Congressmen. These irritated financial gentlemen are perfectly willing to have the "money trust" investigated, *provided its secrets are not exposed!* That is the substance of what they say. But if its secrets are not exposed, how are its crimes to be checked?



Charles Frederick Adams.

Charles Frederick Adams, the New York lawyer of whose interesting career we told two years ago,* has since that time made two lecturing tours

across the continent—through the Canadian Provinces as well as the Middle, the Northwestern, the Rocky Mountain and the Southern States,—and is now devoting three weeks to the filling of daily appointments in Chicago. His speaking style and charming personality have been cordially recognized in every part of the country and by every class of auditor; and his fairness to all persons, theories and interests, his wide and profound learning and clear thinking, his exactness and eloquence yet spontaneity in exposition, make his message universally welcome whatever his special subject may be. The confidence and affection in which Mr. Adams has been held in Brooklyn, Washington and New York from early manhood, have begun to attach to him in the wider society of the whole continent in his maturer years. He is to speak on the 10th, in Kimball's Cafe, at the dinner tendered to Margaret Haley by the Chicago Single Tax Club on her return from the Pacific Coast and in honor of her work in the Seattle Singletax campaign.



TYPICAL OBJECTIONS TO LAND VALUE TAXATION.

The intense weakness, intellectually, of the opposition to land value taxation, a weakness which was demonstrated in the recent anti-Singletax campaign in Seattle, is emphasized in the Missouri Singletax campaign now opening, and also in the campaign in New York City, for progressively shifting taxes from improvements to land values.



In Missouri, an opposition organization has been set on foot which, in the name of "the farmers of Bates County"—though not with the approval of any considerable number, as we venture to hope out of regard for their intelligence—puts forth these extraordinary "arguments" against the Singletax:

That it places the financial burdens of government upon producers, though all receive equal protection and benefits; that when applied to the fullest extent it is destructive of land values; and that in this country land values do not belong to the people as a whole, because the government, which is of the people, has by Constitutional laws duly, conveyed the public domain to individuals for a consideration and provided that all property should be taxed.

If it were possible to bring fallacy to the aid of falsity more transparently than do those apologists for land-value grabbing in Missouri, the

*See The Public of June 10, 1910, page 532.

organized real estate owners of New York City would have achieved the feat. Against the Sullivan-Brooks bill, those private-spirited persons argue that the shifting of taxes from improvements to land values would increase taxes on improved real estate, where the value of the buildings is less than the value of the land, thereby lessening taxes on skyscraper property and palaces and increasing them on cottages and vacant land; that it would so reduce the value of vacant land as to wipe out slender equities, thereby causing mortgage foreclosures and panic; that it would encourage intensive use of land, thereby increasing congestion of population; and that the expense of civil government is for the protection and benefit of buildings and their inhabitants and not for vacant land.

Let us take a bird's-eye view of those objections. There may be interest in the matter beyond the confines of New York and Missouri.



Objection: The Singletax places the financial burdens of government upon producers, though all receive equal protection and benefits. **Answer:** (1) *The Singletax exempts all producers from all taxation.* (2) *It takes for public revenues only land values, those values of land which are due not to individual effort but to general conditions.* (3) *To the extent that those values are untaxed for general use, the benefits of government are not equal; for land owners are thereby allowed private incomes out of a common fund.*

Objection: The Singletax, when applied to the fullest extent, is destructive to land values. **Answer:** (1) *As to capitalized land values (selling price), this is true; but as to annual land values (ground rent), it is not true except to the degree that ground rent is now abnormally high because land speculation abnormally lowers the supply of land.* (2) *Both as to capital value and annual value, the Singletax would deprive land owners of only so much land value as is due not to individual effort but to general conditions—approximately to the full if fully applied, and in degree if only partly applied.*

Objection: In this country land values do not belong to the people as a whole, because the government, which is of the people, has by Constitutional laws duly conveyed the public domain to individuals for a consideration. **Answer:** (1) *No government of the past may irrevocably sell in perpetuity the natural heritage of future generations.* (2) *Our government never sold the land values of the present and future; and could not, for that would be in effect the sale in per-*

petuity of a power of private taxation. (3) *As the Constitutions and laws under which our government sold were by their own terms amendable, any rights acquired are subject to that reservation; and when those laws and Constitutions are duly amended, all transactions under them are void if the amendment so declares or to the extent that it so declares. Therefore, the question raised by a Singletax amendment is not whether it would destroy private ownership of land values but whether it is in the public interest. Any of our Constitutions and laws which provide that all property shall be taxed, may be amended without depriving any one of any rights. The power of taxation is a power about which all publicists are agreed that it must not be tied up.*

Objection: The shifting of taxes from improvements to land values would increase taxes on improved real estate where the value of the building is less than the value of the land, thereby lessening taxes on skyscrapers and palaces and increasing them on cottages and vacant land. **Answer:** (1) *If taxes were increased on improved property where the value of the building was less than the value of the land, the increase would be at the expense of land monopoly and to the gain of the building trades. What real objection is there to this?* (2) *To exempt palaces and skyscrapers would tend to make palaces and skyscrapers cheaper, and thereby to increase employment and stimulate trade in building lines; to increase ad valorem taxes on vacant land would tend to make all land cheaper, and thereby to increase employment and stimulate trade in all lines.* (3) *To increase taxes on cottage sites while lessening taxes on cottages is quite a different thing from increasing taxes on cottages.*

Objection: It would so reduce the value of vacant land as to wipe out slender mortgage equities. **Answer:** *If the tax were high enough this would be true. If it were enough higher it would wipe out the whole capital value of vacant land. But if it did either, only land monopolists would lose while land users would benefit. Since one or the other must lose, which shall it be?*

Objection: It would encourage intensive use of land, thus increasing congestion. **Answer:** *This objection needs explanation in connection with the one immediately preceding. If shifting taxes from the value of improvements to the value of sites would reduce the value of vacant land, how could it increase congestion? Do people huddle most where land is cheap, or where it is dear?*

Objection: The expense of civil government is for the protection and benefit of buildings and not

of vacant land. *Answer: How much would vacant land be worth in the real estate market of any community where titles to land were not protected? Little or nothing. Civil government increases the market value, not of building but of land. It must therefore be for the benefit, not of buildings but of land, including vacant land. Does any one honestly and seriously deny it?*

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

REFLECTIONS FROM THE "EASTERN SHORE."

Westover Farm, Md.

Between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic lies the Eastern Shore, originally explored from Virginia by people who crossed the bay to "make" salt, by evaporating bay water in "pans" fashioned on the flat, clean, sandy beaches of the Peninsula. While the well-filled "pans" were drying down, excursions were taken into the heavily wooded interior, by way of tide water streams that wound by "many a curve" deep inland from the bay. Settlements were made along the streams, for generations the natural and only highways, which accounts for the late development of country roads. These settlements by individual families were on lands granted by patents from the Crown. Some of the old grants are still held in the families of the original grantees, and the houses first built, of brick imported in ballast, are still in use.

At the head of navigation on the longer streams, clustered settlements became villages and towns. Ships from England engaged in traffic with the factors, merchants, planters of these towns; and many plantations had wharves and docks to receive and ship without aid from middlemen.

Large estates, great areas of land, are of no value to any proprietor unless he can find labor to operate his land; so the lace bedecked cavalier had to have his servants. Therefore English magistrates, from Cromwell down, transported to the Colonies vagabonds produced by industrial conditions, and the captives of pillaged cities, in vast numbers as bondsmen. This form of slavery continued until the importation of Negroes took its place. The labor of those bondsmen and of Negro slaves gave the landowner that life of luxurious ease which sustained the distinction between "landowner" and all others. The "poor white" became a distinct complementary class at the same time.

While landowners as a rule were kind to their slaves, the "poor white," unenfranchised, had no one to pity him or his family. His condition was one of hopeless, helpless poverty and ignorance. At times, invited to the tables of men who despised while they used them, "poor whites" were also complimented by invitations to become "patrollers." Bands of them, led by one "respectable" landowner,

mounted on landowners' horses, armed with raw-hide whips, roamed the highways—"patrolled" the roads at night, lashing till all hands were tired out, every Negro, slave or free, they chanced to find. The landowner spent half his time visiting, and the other half entertaining. Tables groaned with an abundance and quality that gave name and style to a famous cuisine; while a continuous merry-go-round of feasting, hunting, racing, dancing and sport, filled up the year.

Up to 1850 and later, horse-carts, wheelbarrows, even ax helms, were brought from north of Mason and Dixon's line. Store bills were settled once a year, about Christmas time; but there was nothing to exchange but the produce of agriculture. And there was no profit, as it usually took everything produced to meet the year's obligations.

Nature takes care of her own, even as to the fertility of land. A system of agriculture so managed produced its natural results. The land just "quit working," precisely as a starved mule would do. And those who could not find profitable employment on land farms took to the water farms.

These water farms of Maryland were (and might now be) more productive than all her grain fields and orchards. They have stood between labor and its subjugation, by offering a living to everyone who could rent a boat or handle an oyster dredge; proving again, if need were, that no man will accept less for toil for others than he can secure by toil for himself, the one vital factor being freedom of opportunity to toil for himself. Efforts have not been lacking to twist the grapple hooks of monopoly into this form of opportunity.

The partial independence of a labor class is grievous to every type of monopoly; therefore, to "keep the nigger working," as well as every other man not of the elect, various and manifold devices and experiments have been employed. They run from a Prohibition that does not prohibit, to a ballot and a ballot law that has disfranchised at least thirty per cent of the voting population of portions of the State.*

In Maryland, as elsewhere, there have been observed indications of a working understanding between ostensible leaders of presumably hostile party organizations. It is surmised that the proprietors of the minority (Republican) party organization, some of whom hold Federal offices, are not at all anxious to see their party too successful at election times. A chance for a change in party proprietorship might imperil positions now filled to the entire satisfaction of the incumbents. It results that men of all parties who are genuinely democratic feel compelled to oppose the professedly Democratic agents of those very monopolies that Progressives oppose everywhere. They debate the need for a new association of progressives.

The stages of civic development are easily traced.

*Since December, 1911, a new law is to be tried, a law that is ostensibly as fair to one as to any other.—
W. S.

Beginning with the land-owning few on the one side of every question, and on the other slaves and helots, the many denied education, denied a voice in public affairs, denied their suffrage, held in ignorance and poverty by the laws and institutions of the land, the catastrophe of war changed the actual into a metaphoric lash. The ballot, when it came, broke to the hope of usefulness the promise given to credulity. When, finally, the sleight was acquired to fold the ballot (the first test of capacity to express a political opinion at the polls), and the Chinese puzzles were all worked out by enough voters to make it dangerous, a process of debauchery came into vogue.

It has been related that in certain enterprising communities, enjoying banking facilities, large deposits, say some thousands, made in a fictitious name on the day before election, have been checked out in hundreds of very small amounts on election day. Account closed, checks cashed, vouchers returned and all records dead and silent as Rameses, ten minutes after the official crier closed the polls.



The point, however, is that the auctioneering of votes may be reached by an ascending or descending stair. Where slave and helot were the basis of what now the basis is sale of votes, should be considered evidence that some progress has been made. Instead of no vote at all, a vote that may possibly be sold indicates a rise in the civic scale; the same practice where slave and helot were never known, spells progress backwards—meaning that slave and helot are there even now far along in the process of creation.

The creature who sells a vote never has brains enough to conceal the fact. A wretched, incompetent, tatterdemalion, unkempt, unshorn, unshod for months before election day, suddenly blossoms forth in a suit of store clothes, shoes, hat, a shining cheek and poll, with a cigar threatening the outside corner of now this and then the other optic. And general business is "generally good" during "election week." Selling votes is very similar to a practice that did once and may still obtain in the West: Indians trading blankets for drinks of whisky. Similar but very much more disastrous is the former, because the vote seller sells not only his own rights but the rights of every other voter, while the Indian does his own suffering.

But out of it all will come good, even among those least favored with early advantages. The consciousness is growing that ballot laws, the grandfather clause, etc., etc., are tricks and tools of monopoly, fakes pure and simple; Negro domination, the ignorant vote, simply the bogle man behind which monopoly has gathered into its control practically every opportunity of any value.

Desperately does monopoly contend to retain that control. It is possible that not everyone who wishes "time to consider" reform measures is an agent of monopoly, but you may wager the limit that every agent of monopoly is doing his level best to extend the "time to consider."



On the Eastern Shore there is the identical prob-

lem presented by a traction question in the metropolis, although there is no street car in hundreds of miles. Franchise problem? No. Transportation, ballot law, conservation problems? Not at all. It is a monopoly problem, always and everywhere, at bottom a land and a land-owner problem. Land owner with helot and slave, or land user with a race of freemen, that is the issue.

WESTERN STARR.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, May 7, 1912.

The Labor War in Chicago.

What one side calls a "strike" and the other a "lockout" began in the principal Chicago newspaper offices on the 3d—the Tribune, the Record-Herald, the Examiner, the American, the Inter-Ocean, the Journal, the Evening Post and the Daily News. The whole truth about its origin is difficult—practically impossible at present—to discover. On the surface, however, it appears to have begun with a quarrel between the Hearst papers, the Examiner (morning) and the American (afternoon), although charges are made that this action of those papers was only the first open move in a plan of the publishers' union to break up the various printing-trades unions in detail. However that may be, the strike (or lockout, whichever it is) actually began in the press rooms of the Hearst papers.



Mr. Hearst seems to have had a contract of his own with the Web Pressmen's Union—the union of men who operate printing presses that print from continuous sheets of paper in rolls. His contract had been made before his papers joined the union of employers, which is known as the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and is a national combination with a Chicago "local." This contract expired on the 30th of April. Having meanwhile been admitted into the Publishers' Association, the Hearst papers notified their pressmen on that day that they would substitute for the expiring contract the contract of the Publishers' Association. Whether this notification was accepted by the pressmen as a substitution of contracts is in dispute, but it appears to be clear that no written or other formal substitution was agreed to by the pressmen's union. Questions regarding the matter arose on the following day, with reference to which each party asserts an offer to arbitrate and a refusal of arbitration by the other.

Upon the failure at that time to agree the manager of the Hearst papers declared their pressmen to have put themselves in the position of strikers. According to his version they walked out; according to theirs he drove them out. So far, the quarrel affected the Hearst papers alone—at least upon the surface. But as the Hearst papers had become members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, they demanded united support under the rules of that organization, and got it. On the 2d, the day following the pressmen's quarrel with the Hearst papers, the Chicago "local" of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association officially declared its contract with the Chicago Newspaper Web Pressmen's Union No. 7 "broken by the union and therefore terminated," and announced that thereafter "the press rooms of all the members of the Chicago local" of the publishers' organization, would "be conducted without recognition of the jurisdiction of Chicago Newspaper Web Pressmen's Union No. 7."



Whether justly or not, this action on the part of the publishers' union confirmed a widespread feeling in labor circles that the publishers' organization at Chicago was executing a concerted plan to crush them successively in detail. There was consequently an immediate hostile response from the newspaper drivers' union and the newsboys' union. A joint meeting of the members of these organizations was held on the 2d at which plans for supporting the pressmen were adopted. The same suspicion appears to have influenced the stereotypers' union. On the 3d they declared null and void by its own terms their agreement with the publishers' association (on the ground that it had been violated by that association in connection with the Hearst controversy), and struck work in aid of the pressmen. They were ordered, on the 4th, by the President of the International Union of Stereotypers (James J. Freel), by telegraph from Brooklyn, N. Y., to "immediately return to work," he declaring in his telegraphic message that their strike is "in violation of existing contract underwritten by" the International Union. According to the Tribune of the 7th, Mr. Freel followed his telegram with in an hour with a long distance telephone order to L. P. Straube, of the Chicago Stereotypers, "to order the men to return to work," which "Straube flatly refused to do." The Tribune of the same date made the following announcement: "President Freel and other International officers will personally order the men to return to work today." Having arrived in Chicago on the 7th, Mr. Freel and the vice president of the International Stereotypers' Union (Charles A. Sumner) issued a formal order directly to the members of the Chicago Stereotypers' Union, reciting the former's telegraphic order of the 4th from

Brooklyn, N. Y., to Mr. Straube as president of the Chicago Stereotypers' Union, and saying:

We have learned since our arrival here (Chicago) that the members of Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4 have not been made acquainted with the contents of the above telegram. We therefore again order our members to return to work, and appeal to all to immediately comply.



Of deliveries and sales of the big newspapers involved in this controversy there were virtually none on the 3d, 4th and 5th. On the 3d the Daily Socialist, which had suspended publication on the 30th (as stated in these columns at page 422) and resumed on the 2d, had the afternoon field entirely to itself, as it has had ever since. It started a morning edition on the 2d, under the name of the Chicago Daily World, which had the morning field almost exclusively to itself on the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, as to street and elevated railroad sales. Regular deliveries of the Tribune, Record-Herald, Examiner and Inter-Ocean began on the 6th, but their reading matter was in bad shape and much reduced, and they were late in delivery. Four-page sheets of them all were obtainable only at the publication offices and at some stores on the 4th, and on the 5th (Sunday) the few obtainable copies contained but little printed matter apart from the ready-made supplements. Deliveries on the 7th were apparently regular once more and the contents nearly normal.



Charges and counter-charges of violence are prolific in the local newspapers on each side, but so manifestly partisan on both sides as to make it impossible, without extended special investigation, to get at the truth of it all. From cursory inquiries and comparison of the accusations, we are of opinion that lawless conduct is attributable both to the labor-union side and to the publishers'-union side; and that the newspapers of each side, while publishing lurid reports of lawlessness on the other side, suppress all information about lawlessness on their own. So far as our observation and information enable us to draw conclusions, the lawlessness on the side of the labor unions consists for the most part of spontaneous angered outbreaks, although organized groups are in evidence at some points in connection with the destruction or spitting away of bundles of publishers'-union dailies—"scab papers" as the newsboys call them,—which have been delivered at the doors of dealers willing to sell them and by whom they have been ordered. On the side of the publishers' union, the lawlessness consists of unwarranted police interference, and of outrages by "huskies" of the kind that were employed recently by the publishers'-union newspapers in their war upon each other. One editorially verified instance may throw light upon the

matter. At about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 6th, an automobile of the publishers' union stopped in front of the Belmont avenue station of the Northwestern Elevated railroad. There were six "huskies" in it, and one more rode on a motorcycle behind. From this automobile, armfuls of Record-Heralds, Tribunes, etc., were carried into the station and piled upon the newsstand table without a word to the lessee. He had not ordered the papers and he cleared his table of them as soon as the "huskies" had gone, throwing them into a far corner of the station. In answer to questions elicited by personal observation of this whole affair, he said that he paid rent for this newsstand, that it was his property, that he was a member of the newsmen's union, and that he would not handle "scab papers." The only papers he had then on his table were The Chicago World and The Daily Socialist, which are distinguished by the newsmen as "union papers." Further inquiries drew from this dealer the statement that on the 4th and the 5th the same "huskies," or men like them, had covered his newsstand in the same manner with bundles of the "scab papers," and had placed there a representative of their own to sell them from his stand, in spite of his protest, and that two policemen stationed themselves near the front of the station on the street to protect the intruder and enforce the sale of the "scab papers." The owner of the stand, an industrious and peaceable and apparently truthful young man, who has served papers at the Belmont station for a year or more, asserts that all the news dealers on the Elevated system are, like himself, lessees of their stands and members of the newsmen's union, that they voluntarily refuse to handle the "scab papers," and that they are subjected to coercive efforts similar to those described above in his own case, by the publishers' union. As to street stands, many of which command high premiums for some obscure reason, it appears to be true that the police are preventing their use as far as possible for sales of The Chicago World and The Daily Socialist exclusively. They have taken away large numbers of street corner tables and forbidden the use of the places for newsstands. There appear also to have been a good many arbitrary arrests by the police, some of them justified, some of them not, and many of them discriminatory in favor of the publishers' union.



Railroad Strike.

A strike of Chicago freight handlers began on the 4th. In anticipation of the expiration of their contract with the Rock Island Railroad on the 1st of May, those employed by that road applied six months ago for an increase of wages, in order that the matter might be considered in time for renewal of contract. As no adjustment was made by the appointed time, the strike began; and when it began it included the entire force of freight

handlers on all the roads at Chicago, including checkers and receiving clerks. The General Managers' Association, which controls all the 24 roads centering at Chicago, had at the last moment offered an increase in wages of half a cent an hour. This was overwhelmingly rejected on referendum. An increase of ten cents a day had been asked for, besides a half holiday on Saturdays and double pay for Sunday work. Non-union freight handlers to the number of 600 joined the strikers on the 6th. Meanwhile, according to the Record-Herald of the 6th, "more than a thousand non-union men were imported" on the 5th, "to take the places of the 6,000 men who walked out Saturday noon," and "more are coming as rapidly as they can be engaged by local agents of the railroads throughout the Middle West. [See current volume, page 398.]



The Ohio Constitutional Convention.

The Thomas Fitzsimons plan of municipal government was adopted by the Ohio Constitutional convention on the 30th by 104 to 7. This plan provides for general laws for the incorporation of cities and villages, and additional laws operative in a municipality when approved at a referendum. All powers of self-government, inside the general law of the State, are given. Municipalities may construct, own, buy, lease or operate any public utilities, and issue bonds in payment, or may contract for public utility service. There can be no franchises, however, without approval of a local referendum. And municipalities may frame their own charters, subject to the general law of the State, if the citizens so decide at a referendum; the charter when completed to be also approved at referendum, as must be all subsequent amendments. "Excess condemnation" is allowed for the purpose of enabling the city adopting it to reap the "unearned increment" of land adjacent to public improvements, the bonds for such excess to be a charge upon the lands condemned and not an addition to the city debt. In the purchase or erection of a public utility, bonds issued above the limit of the city's debt are not to be a lien on the city property but only upon the utility. [See current volume, page 397.]



A hard fought controversy over taxation began on the 1st and continued through the 2nd. At a late hour that night the principle of the uniform rule as opposed to classification of property for taxation appeared to have a complete majority on the question of engrossing the uniform-rule proposal, which was carried by 65 to 25.



The New Mexican Revolution.

Fighting continues in Mexico between the Madero government and the insurrectionists. Emilio

Vasquez Gomez was formally proclaimed provisional President of Mexico on the 4th, by an insurrecto group. Gomez has established his capital at Juarez. Orozco on the 7th repudiated the Gomez government. The insurrectos have sent a junta to Washington to represent their movements, and to procure, if possible, belligerent rights. The leader of the junta, Dr. Policarpe Rueda, issued the following statement on the 5th:

The revolution is being conducted by two military leaders—Pasqual Orozco in the north and Emiliano Zapata in the south. Another military commander will be appointed in a few days to conduct the campaign in the western portion of the Republic. These leaders are all working harmoniously under the direction of President Gomez. I have letters from Generals Orozco and Zapata pledging themselves to support President Gomez and co-operate with each other for the success of the revolutionary movement.

The new Mexican ambassador to the United States, Mr. Manuel Calero, presented the Federal point of view in an interview at Chicago on the 1st. We quote from the Inter Ocean's report:

Senor Calero said that Mexico is harassed by two broils, one on the southern border, in the state of Morrelo, which was nothing more than uncurbed brigandage of dissatisfied Indians, and another on her northern border, in the state of Chihuahua, which, although not serious, was hard to handle. Americans are interested only in the trouble on the northern border, he said, as there were few Americans in Morrelo.

"The revolutionists are a band of men formerly adherents of General Reyes, who have taken sides with Orozco. They are backed by the wealthy land owners of the northern part of the country, who want a dictatorship. These men number about 6,000 and are led by Orozco, who is utterly unfit for leadership. He was a mule driver before his advent into war. The Government sent a column numbering about 5,000 or 6,000 men against them the other day. I expect a decisive conflict momentarily. The revolutionists are mountaineers and used to mountains, and for that reason they are hard to dislodge. However, I think that it will be only a question of time."

Discussing the shipment of 1,000 rifles from this country into Mexico for use by the Americans, confiscated by the Mexican government, the Ambassador said he thought it was due to a misunderstanding and that the matter would be rectified in a short time. He said the Americans wanted the rifles only for protection and had secured the permission of the Mexican government beforehand. The note sent by the Mexican government in answer to a note from this country regarding the protection of American interests in Mexico, Ambassador Calero said was not intended as an insult. "It was just stating the international law," said the Ambassador, "that is, that Mexico would be responsible for the destruction of American property to the full extent of the international law."

[See current volume, page 422.]

Light has been thrown on the alarming rumors* of danger to Americans resident in Mexico, by Dolores Butterfield, whose graphic letter on the Mexican situation in The Public of April 12 will be remembered. Miss Butterfield makes in the San Francisco Star of the 27th the following illuminative statement in regard to the program of the "cientificos," as the intelligent, plutocratic reactionaries are called:

All of the papers owned and controlled by cientifico money (which are all the newspapers in Mexico except a counted few) have done their full share toward insidiously fomenting the Reaction; have spared no opportunity to misrepresent the Administration, and spread discontent against it, at a time so critical for Mexico that violence against the constituted government does not merely mean a rebellion against an Administration—in itself utterly unfair, since the Administration has not had a fair trial—but, jeopardizing the political independence of the country, amounts to treason against the Republic itself.

They have systematically exaggerated every report they could of danger to Americans, in a deliberate effort to provoke intervention, and, failing to rouse the United States, have made a point of printing stories (so far proved upon investigation to be utterly false) of atrocities perpetrated against other foreigners, in the hope that Europe would force the United States to intervene or stand aside.

These papers also make a practice of stirring up anti-Americanism, periodically breaking forth in a perfect frenzy of patriotism, calling upon all Mexicans to make war to the death upon the arrogant invaders from the North, etc.; assuring the ignorant—for of course the educated know all too well what the truth would be—that the United States could not be the victor in a war with Mexico, and trying to rouse the lower class Mexicans themselves to make some move which would precipitate intervention.

Italo-Turkish War.

The first successful use of the dirigible as a weapon of offensive warfare took place at Aziziah in Tripoli on the 2nd, when, according to press dispatches received from Italian sources, two of the new dirigibles sailed over the camp and dropped thirty bombs, practically destroying the enemy's position. The official dispatches speak of the maneuver as resulting in heavy loss of life. This is the first instance in the history of the world where airships have been used extensively as war machines, and kept at the task until an entire camp was wiped out. The Turks tried to utilize their field pieces to destroy the dirigibles with shrapnel, but they could not fire at a sufficient elevation, and the explosives fell far short.

The Italian fleet on the 4th seized the Turkish island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea.

A small steamship called the Texas, owned by the Archipelago American Steamship Company, and engaged in carrying passengers and mails from Constantinople to Levant ports under a Turkish captain, was blown up at the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna on the 29th, and about 140 persons on board of her are unaccounted for. The first dispatches laid her loss to Turkish mines planted as protection against Italian warships. Later reports have laid the disaster to a shell fired from the fort. The Turks claim that the only shots fired were blank cartridges, intended to warn the vessel that it was out of its course and in danger. [See current volume, page 278.]

mento who wanted to place women on the panel of trial jurors.

—The first trial by jury recorded in China opened in Shanghai on March 23, according to the London Daily News. The proceedings were conducted with the greatest decorum. Three Chinese judges sat, of whom two are members of the English bar. The prisoner was a Japanese ex-official. [See current volume, page 422.]

—Dispatches of the 8th indicate that at the Maryland Presidential preference primaries on the 6th ex-President Roosevelt came out slightly ahead of President Taft on the Republican side, and that Speaker Clark was far ahead of Governor Wilson on the Democratic side, with Governor Harmon a weak third. [See current volume, page 323.]

NEWS NOTES

—Homer Davenport, the cartoonist, died at New York on the 2nd at the age of 44.

—A British official inquiry into the loss of the Titanic was opened in London on the 2d. [See current volume, page 420.]

—The twenty-fifth quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at Minneapolis on the 1st.

—Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, the new papal apostolic delegate to the United States, arrived on the 4th at New York. [See current volume, page 132.]

—A 3-cent piece and a ½-cent piece were provided for in a bill passed by the House of Representatives at Washington on the 6th. [See current volume, page 398.]

—A parade of 20,000 men and women favoring votes for women took place in New York on the 4th, with 150,000 applauding spectators along the line of march from 8th St. to 57th St.

—Leaders of both the Liberal and Conservative parties in Panama have requested the United States to intervene in the approaching elections to the extent of seeing that they are fairly conducted. [See vol. xiv, p. 805; current volume, page 361.]

—Rains in the South have again forced up the waters of the lower Mississippi, and the highest previous records in Louisiana have been surpassed. Vast regions have been flooded through the breaking of levees, and New Orleans and Baton Rouge have been threatened. [See current volume, page 398.]

—The Stockbridge and Munsee Indians of Wisconsin, descendants of Indians of New York and New England, have at last adopted civilization, and are going to found in Shawano county the first Indian township in the United States. The officers of the new town of Stockbridge will all be full-blood Indians.

—That women have no right to serve on trial juries is the official opinion of the Attorney General of California. He holds that the amendment to the State Constitution granting the elective franchise to women deals with political rights and duties alone, and his ruling was given on the 4th in answer to a request of the Board of Supervisors of Sacra-

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for April, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 371]:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	125,613,947.76
Total	\$275,613,947.76
On hand at close of last fiscal year June 30, 1911	288,200,599.23

Decrease

—The land reform movement in Germany has grown to such an extent as to drive its opponents to pay it the compliment of organizing to combat it, an Anti-Land Reform League having been founded under the name of an "Association for Protection of Land Ownership and Credit." This new association with a long list of important names and considerable money at its disposal, is put together out of the remains of several real estate associations with a considerable admixture of persons connected with the land mortgage banks.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government for April, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 372]:

Receipts	\$548,013,205.58
Disbursements	561,539,199.81
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	\$ 13,525,994.23
Ordinary deficit	\$ 12,580,435.02
Panama Canal (surplus from bonds).....	3,715,778.18
Public debt deficit.....	\$ 8,864,656.84
Grand deficit	\$ 14,562,978.37

PRESS OPINIONS

Labor Side of the Labor War in Chicago.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), May 4.—The working class of Chicago has united, and it is that power the great Beast desires to crush. Call it a Beast. Call it a monster. Call it anything that is vile; that is expressive of danger to the people; that

signifies oppression; that signifies exploitation; that signifies greed; that signifies wanton, vicious, merciless trampling of the people. You will not have used language strong enough or descriptive enough. . . . This great combine runs Chicago. It names candidates for office on the Republican ticket. It names them on the Democratic ticket. It selects between the two tickets. It puts men on the bench. It puts them in the executive offices. It puts them in the law-making body. It writes the laws, and it enforces or obstructs the laws to suit its own greedy purposes. It has the power of the press to give or withhold the truth, or to strike down its enemy with the poisoned lie. Big Business of Chicago is in league with it, and together they carry on an exploitation of the people of Chicago that runs into the millions and billions. Chicago is fighting the Beast for the first time in its life. The people can drive it back to its lair if they will.



The Chicago Daily World (Soc.), May 6.—In every great industrial struggle the capitalists try to turn public opinion against the strikers by charging them with all sorts of violence. Flaring headlines in the capitalist dailies declare that the strikers are riding rough shod over the law; that they are destroying property and inciting riots. As a matter of fact, exactly the opposite is true. The working men want no violence. The workers are peaceable, law-abiding citizens. They do not engage in strikes because they want excitement. They strike only because they are driven to it by grim economic necessity. . . . It is contended by the newspaper trust, to be sure, that their employes are well paid, and that no wage issue is involved in the present strike and lockout. But the truth of the matter is, that the trust is endeavoring to weaken the position of the union in regard to the number of men employed to operate the presses, and, after having done this, to reduce wages. The real reason the newspaper trust wants to smash the printers' unions is not because of any technicality in regard to arbitration, as they contend, but because the union has compelled them to grant better conditions and better wages than they would grant if the men were unorganized. They have begun their war on the printing trades by locking out the pressmen's union, and if they succeed in destroying that union, they will never stop until they have smashed the others. And when the newspapers are run as "open" shops, which really means non-union shops, they will join with Big Business to make Chicago a non-union town, just as Otis and the Manufacturers' Association tried to do in Los Angeles. An open-shop town means a non-union town—a town where wages are low, hours of labor long and working conditions bad. Therefore, the interests of all the workers of Chicago are involved in the present struggle. The working class must stand solidly behind the locked-out pressmen, the stereotypers, the drivers and the newsboys. The capitalists are standing together. Therefore, all the workers must stand together. Already the capitalists are charging the strikers with violence; already they are calling The Daily World an incendiary sheet. What are the facts? The workers are causing no violence, and the World is simply telling the truth about the capitalists and the police. The police, who apparently

are acting under orders from Andy Lawrence, the manager of the Hearst newspapers and political dictator of Chicago, have forbidden the newsboys to cry out their papers on the streets because they are selling the only union daily—The Daily World. No such order was ever enforced before. Saturday night the police forbade the newsboys altogether to sell The World on several street corners, and when the newsboys disregarded this illegal order scores of them were arrested. Who is inciting the disorder in these cases—the newsboys, who are peaceably attending to their business, or the police, who are enforcing illegal orders? Fellow workers, do not be deceived by false reports circulated by capitalistic agencies. The cause of the strikers is just, and they are conducting their struggle in a peaceable, legal manner. If there is any violence, it will be caused, just as in most cases, by imported strike-breakers, gunmen, thugs, Pinkertons and police exceeding their legal authority. The trade unions and the Socialist press want nothing but justice. We stand, and shall continue to stand, for law and order in spite of the illegal acts of the capitalists and their tools. The cause of labor is just. The worker is entitled to the full product of his toil. The world is moving rapidly toward a true industrial democracy. Let us stand together in this fight—quietly, peacefully, yet unflinchingly—and we are bound to win.



The Chicago Daily World (Soc.), May 7.—"The unfairness of the demand," "these loyal men," "swayed by foolish advice," "the labor army," are some of the catch phrases which the Examiner uses to bolster up its cause with the public. It is the old game. There isn't a thing new about it. Capital always throws out these tempting phrases to give the impression that right and justice is on its side. But always back of the words there are the facts; back of the phrases are the guns, the ready weapons. Back of these words is the admission in the same editorial that the Chicago newspaper field is dominated by a trust, each part of which acts with the other parts, offensively or defensively. For the Examiner tells the people that the termination of the contract with the Hearst papers "naturally ended that contract in all the newspapers belonging to the Publishers' Association." Sure enough; one hit, all hit. Class solidarity, capital class solidarity. A regular hummer of a lesson for Labor!



The Socialist Attitude.

The Chicago Daily World (Soc.), May 7.—The international battle of Labor is on! All over the world there is the smoke of battle! The workers are getting a glimpse of the sunrise, and it looks good and beautiful and "wantable." And with the want comes the determination, and with the determination comes the knowledge, of How. Capital has played a silent game, but it has gotten the goods. Now Labor is getting a peep at the inside works, and it sees how the thing is worked. It discovers that the game is crooked. That's enough. Labor sees that it is robbed every day, robbed while it works and while it sleeps. It sees that its sons and daughters are robbed before they are old enough to

think of fighting back. Then Labor learns that there is a hope, a hope of straightening the game, stopping the crooked work, getting what it produces. It discovers its loss first, then it is fired with the determination to stop the losses, and then it learns how to turn the trick. Then Labor wreaths its face in the smile of the sure. The eternal smile, the eternal hope. Such is the awakening of Labor; the battle of Labor. It's a hard battle, but it inspires the hope that is saving the world. It is a glorious fight, a fight worth being in, a fight for humanity and home. Brother Worker, Comrade Worker, you can't afford to be out of it!



Absentee Landlordism.

Farm and Fireside (Agricultural), March 2.—Absentee landlordism seems to us no worse when the landlord lives across the sea than when he is but five hundred miles away or even five miles. . . . A tenant-farmer—whether his farm is owned in London, New York, Chicago, the county seat, or by the man on the next farm—is a tenant-farmer. . . . If he doesn't own it himself, the dice are loaded against him. What is needed in America, of course, is some plan by which every man owns his own land. Failing that, a system of stable and continued occupancy, with an interest for the tenant in the betterments he makes in fertilization and rotations, would be the next best thing. Given these, and where the landlord lives is unimportant.



The Minimum Wage.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marlon Reedy), March 21.—Strike and strike and yet again strike is in the news. Everywhere the workers complain of the high cost of living with which wage increase does not keep pace at all. The strikes in progress or threatened are of such proportions that only national governments can deal with them. They can't deal with them solely by repression. Government must try something else, first. There is but one thing to try—first. That is the establishment of a minimum wage. It will have to be tried, since so many people cannot think any farther than that device: but the minimum wage will fail. . . . The minimum wage is only a temporary stop-gap, which will temporarily relieve conditions only to make them worse eventually. There cannot be successful wage-regulation by law, while conditions which the law cannot touch operate irresistibly to lower wages. The best thing government can do is to make opportunity for work for every man. It can do this only by unlocking the land for the use of the people without their paying tribute to owners. That once done, the government can do nothing better than let wages alone. With a job open to everybody, wages will go up everywhere. It will go up because labor will be in demand, and it will not go up at the expense of capital, for with plenty of free labor at work it does nothing but create capital. The minimum wage theory will not work in a world where there is no minimization of monopoly of the only thing upon which labor can be exercised directly or indirectly—the land.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

CHINA.

For The Public.

Ah, light is breaking; mark the Eastern sky.
The rosy dawn gives promise of the day,
And sets its radiant banners floating high,
To chase the dark and gloomy night away.

Oh, light will mean the freeing of the slave
And all of those so many years oppressed;
'Twill forge a tool to dig the mighty grave
Where Special Privilege will forever rest.

Oh, fire the beacon, let a ray of light
Come shimmering o'er the sea to our dear land,
And cheer our workers on to harder fight,
And swell to greater strength our little band.

Ah, working brothers in that far-off land,
You'll forge a golden link in friendship's chain.
When hand goes out across the sea to hand,
Then Henry George will not have lived in vain.

ANNE W. RUST.



THE SPADE GUINEA.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Daily News
of March 2.

It was one of those wonderful evenings we have had of late, in which the sky was warm and radiant while the earth was still comparatively cold and wet. But it is of the essence of spring to be unexpected; as in that heroic and hackneyed line about coming "before the swallows dare." Spring never is spring unless it comes too soon. And on a day like that one might pray, without any profanity, that spring might come on earth, as it was in heaven. The gardener was gardening. I was not gardening. It is needless to explain the causes of this difference; it would be to tell the tremendous history of two souls. It is needless because there is a more immediate explanation of the case; the gardener and I, if not equal in agreement, were at least equal in difference. It is quite certain that he would not have allowed me to touch the garden if I had gone down on my knees to him. And it is by no means certain that I should have consented to touch the garden if he had gone down on his knees to me. His activity and my idleness therefore went on steadily side by side through the long sunset hours.

And all the time I was thinking what a shame it was that he was not sticking his spade into his own garden instead of mine; he knew about the earth and the underworld of seeds, the resurrection of spring and the flowers that appear in order like a procession marshalled by a herald. He possessed the garden intellectually and spiritually,

while I only possessed it politically. I know more about flowers than coal-owners know about coal; for at least I pay them honor when they are brought above the surface of the earth. I know more about gardens than railway shareholders seem to know about railways; for at least I know that it needs a man to make a garden; a man whose name is Adam. But as I walked on that grass my ignorance overwhelmed me—and yet that phrase is false, because it suggests something sent like a storm from the sky above. It is truer to say that my ignorance exploded underneath me, like a mine dug long before; and indeed it was dug before the beginning of the ages. Green bombs of bulbs and seeds were bursting underneath me everywhere; and, so far as my knowledge went, they had been laid by a conspirator. I trod quite uneasily on this uprush of the earth; the spring is always only a fruitful earthquake. With the land all alive under me I began to wonder more and more why this man, who had made the garden, did not own the garden. If I stuck a spade into the ground, I should be astonished at what I found there . . . and just as I thought this I saw that the gardener was astonished too.

Just as I was, wondering why the man who used the spade did not profit by the spade, he brought me something he had found actually in my soil; a small piece of soil I have recently purchased. It was a thin worn gold piece of the Georges, of the sort which are called, I believe, Spade Guineas. Anyhow, a piece of gold.

If you do not see the parable as I saw it just then, I doubt if I can explain it just now. He could make a hundred other round yellow fruits; and this flat yellow one is the only sort that I can make. How it came there I have not a notion—unless Edmund Burke dropped it in his hurry to get back to Butler's Court. But there it was; this is a cold recital of facts. There may be a whole pirate's treasure lying under the earth there, for all I know or care; for there is no interest in a treasure without a Treasure Island to sail to. If there is a treasure it will never be found, for I am not interested in wealth beyond the dreams of avarice—since I know that avarice has no dreams, but only insomnia. And, for the other party, my gardener would never consent to dig up the garden.

Nevertheless, I was overwhelmed with intellectual emotions when I saw that answer to my question; the question of why the garden did not belong to the gardener. No better epigram could be put in reply than simply putting the Spade Guinea beside the spade. This was the only underground seed that I could understand. Only by having a little more of that dull, battered yellow substance, could I manage to be idle while he was active. I am not altogether idle myself; but the fact remains that the power is in the thin

slip of metal we call the Spade Guinea, not in the strong square and curve of metal which we call the Spade. And then I suddenly remembered that as I had found gold on my ground by accident, so richer men in the north and west counties had found coal in their ground, also by accident.



MR. POWTER THINKS HE THINKS

For The Public.

Mr. Powter entered his domicile and slammed the door behind him. Mr. Powter divested himself of his overcoat and hat and threw himself into a chair in the dining-room. Mr. Powter's face wore a portentous frown.

"You seem put out, dear," said Mrs. Powter. "What's the matter?"

"Aw! nothing that you've done," said Mr. Powter, magnanimously. "I ran into that fellow Pointer on the way home, and every time I see him he gets me sore."

"I thought Mr. Pointer a very pleasant man when I met him," said Mrs. Powter. "What do you find wrong with him?"

"Well, you see, he's some kind of an Anarchist, or Socialist, or Single Taxer, or something of that sort," said Mr. Powter, "and when I meet him the doggoned fool is always trying to tell me what's wrong and how to fix it. It happened we were each reading the same paper. 'Did you notice this?' says he. 'What is it?' says I. 'Here's a grocery firm say they pay \$59,000 rent in 1910 for a place that cost them \$30,000 in 1900. What do you think of that?' 'Why, I think it shows Little Old New York is a great place,' says I. 'Very true,' says he; 'but don't you think it concerns you? Who's getting that extra \$29,000, and why?' 'Well, the landlord's getting it,' says I. 'Of course he is,' says he; 'but why?' 'Because he owns it,' says I. Now, with anybody else that would have settled it, but Pointer is such a persistent pest that he won't lay down when you have him beat. He just turns toward me with that conceited smile of his—and, by the way, that's the one thing I hate in man, woman or child, that know-it-all conceit—well, he turns toward me and says, 'But what did he do to make it worth twice as much?' I could feel my gorge rising, but I answered civilly, 'Well, what in blazes did he need to do? He just let it come.' 'Precisely so,' says Pointer; 'but if he didn't do anything for it, didn't earn it, why should he have it?'"

"Why, that seems reasonable," said Mrs. Powter. "I have often heard you say that no man is entitled to more than he earns. You seemed positive enough about that when one of your clerks asked for a raise, and you told him that when he showed he could earn it he would get it."

Mr. Powter glared at Mrs. Powter. Mr. Powter's face reddened and the corners of his mouth drew

down. He partly rose from his chair and shook his forefinger in Mrs. Powter's face. "By gosh! I'm glad there's no one about listening to you exposing your ignorance. I told Pointer that what he was talking at was confiscation. That's what I told him, and that's what I tell you!" he bel-lowed.

"All right, dear; don't get angry. Tell me what else happened," said Mrs. Powter.

Mr. Powter sat down again and continued: "Well, when I said 'confiscation,' Pointer said so it was, and I began to think the man had some glimmerings of reason in him. But off he went again. 'It's confiscation,' says he; 'but it's the landlord doing the confiscating.' I didn't try any longer to hide that I was mad, and I told him to come across with some sensible argument or shut up. 'Very well,' says he. 'He bought something that was worth \$30,000 a year, didn't do a thing to it, sat around while the population of New York grew enough to make the business of that store so much larger that he could jack up his tenants' rent; and then scooped in the increase. Now, it seems to me that the people who in common made that increase by living in New York should have the proceeds of it in their common treasury, and use it to build subways with, let us say.'"

"I never thought about it that way before," said Mrs. Powter, "but it sounds like a sensible argument."

Mr. Powter seemed about to choke. When he got his breath he said: "Aw, woman, gimme my supper, and hereafter talk about things you understand!"

A. J. PORTENAR.



THE DOUBLE PORTION.

Rev. H. L. Pickett of Unity Church, Boise, Idaho, as Reported in the Boise Journal.

Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee before I am taken from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.—II Kings, ii:9.

What is the relation of the spiritual to the practical, of the realm of the ideal to that of everyday life? This is the question to be considered here.

A modern philosopher has declared it is our right to expect that the searcher after truth shall find "a living truth," one that has direct connection and concern with human life. And the same writer says that "the God of the wilderness, if he be indeed the true God, must show himself also the 'Keeper of the city.'"

The idea is that merely abstract truth is of little worth. The world is not made richer or better by the anchorite or the hermit who refuses to share his life with that of his fellows. Our visions on the housetop need to be carried into the activities of the street below. What the heart

seeth in secret needs to be manifested openly in the common affairs and daily concerns of life.

"Faith" is real and veritable only when it can be made to bring forth "works." Spirituality is truly such only when it is transmuted into higher character and nobler conduct. And this translation of the "ideal" into the "real," of perception into practice, of vision into action, is what I like to regard as "the double portion of the spirit" spoken of in the old Hebrew narrative of Elijah and Elisha.

When we unravel what has been called "an inextricable interweaving of fact and figure" in the lives of these men, we see in Elijah a typical "prophet" or messenger of Jehovah, sent to declare certain fundamental truths, certain great ethical facts and laws that are embedded in the structure of the universe, and to which men in their private and in their public life must conform. But Elijah was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He lived in solitude and obscurity, taking no part in religious or political affairs. He was a teacher of abstractions rather than one who went about doing good; he was a man of vision rather than a man of action. As a seer and teacher of truth and right he served his age nobly and well. He had one portion of spiritual endowment. But if there is to be actual achievement and advance in the world there must needs be also men of action, men who can see the vision and go forth to translate it into actual fact among men.

Such a man was Elisha. All that Elijah had in the way of spiritual power was his also and more. Elisha's request for a double portion of the spirit was granted him. He was able to put into the concrete what the older prophet had set forth only in the abstract. He had the second gift of the spirit by which he helped to make politically real in Israel what Elijah had announced to be the national ideal. Elisha showed men of a truth the city; that the God of the solitary heart is likewise the God of the common life; that the Deity that meets the soul in secret is the same Deity that walks with men in their open practices day by day.

Elisha was called "the holy man of God which passeth by us continually." Upon him was the double portion, the second benefit and blessing which comes only to those whose deeds are commensurate with their convictions.

Elisha mixed in the common life of the people; he was not contented with crying out the principles of righteousness from afar off; but sought to promote the advancement of the Kingdom of the Ideal "in its ordinary channels of justice, mercy, peace."

In the language of Paul, we must "walk as children of the light," and the fruit of the light (the double portion) is in "all goodness and righteousness and truth." In other words, that which really counts is the practice of spirituality, the

making real, in all the relations of life, of the revelations of truth and right. Where there is no vision men perish. Likewise, where the vision is allowed to vanish as a cloud of vapor or a breath of smoke, the children of men suffer lack of their true inheritance, and the coming of the Kingdom of God is impeded. "The gift whose recompense is doubled" is the portion of all those who strive without weariness or shadow of turning to incorporate in the life of this world the ideal impulses which arise from that inward shrine where the soul sees and knows itself in the likeness of the Divine.

I close with a word from Dr. Charles F. Dole in his book on "The Coming Religion." "Men have thought that they could command delicious spiritual experiences, alone with God in closets and cloisters, by fasting and prayers, apart from their fellows, exempt from the laws of a world of mutual toil and helpfulness! As soon expect water in the house without making connection with the great main. The natural law of spiritual circulation of the universe is that the peace of God will flow into the life of faithful and friendly men. It cannot flow to the unfaithful or the unfriendly. It is not merely a relation between the individual and God. It also binds each man with all men."



CHARTER MAKING IN AMERICA AND EFFECTIVE VOTING.

C. G. Hoag, in the March "Representation," the
Journal of the British Proportional
Representation Society.*

The movement in America for the radical change of city charters offers proportionalists a rare opportunity. Not only are the cities involved numerous, but proportional representation can be shown to be precisely what is needed to correct the defects of both the old and the new charters.

The old charters, as a rule, provided that not only councillors but many executive officials should be elected at the polls. This wore a semblance of democracy, but in fact, as experience proved, it delivered the voters into the hands of self-seeking politicians. As most voters could have no first-hand knowledge of the candidates for so many offices, they were driven to voting some party ticket; and in the making up of those tickets, each of which had to bind together in mutual support many obscure candidates and jostling

*In a note appended to his article Mr. Hoag says that "American readers may already know of the American Proportional Representation League, which has members in all parts of the United States and Canada. Mr. Robert Tyson, the Secretary of the League, 20 Harbord Street, Toronto, Canada, or Mr. Wm. Hoag, a member of the Committee, 19 Milk Street, Boston, Mass., would be very pleased to forward information and pamphlets on application."

interests, public-spirited citizens were seldom a match for inferior men who depended on office-holding and other rewards of party service for a livelihood.

"Commission" Government.

This defect is largely overcome in the new charters on the so-called "Commission plan." The Des Moines charter, for example, which is typical of these, provides that only five officials, called councillors, shall be elected at the polls, and that these five shall exercise all the city's executive powers and also all its legislative powers except in so far as these latter may be exercised by the people themselves under the "referendum" and the "initiative," which are explicitly reserved. This substitutes for the "long ballot" of obscure names a "short ballot" of known names, thus making intelligent selection by the voters possible and minimizing the power of professional politicians.

Inextricably connected with the defect of the old charters just mentioned was another, their elaborate system of "checks and balances," by which it was intended that one official or department should prevent the abuse of power by any other, but by which in reality any official or department could evade responsibility. This also the commission charters obviate; by giving the five councillors sweeping powers and freedom of action, they remove all doubt about who is responsible for results.

As was to be expected, a type of charter embodying such radical improvements is giving much better satisfaction than the type it supplanted. It is to be hoped, however, that before it is adopted in the cities which as yet have made no change—and which, after all, constitute the great majority—it will be amended itself.

Its first defect is its failure to put the chief executive offices on a professional basis. Though it makes each councillor a real as well as a titular executive chief by paying him a salary and making him personally responsible for the management of one of the five departments into which it divides the executive branch of the government, it provides that he shall be elected for the short term of two years, that he shall be elected by the whole body of voters at the polls, and that he shall constitute one-fifth of the only legislative assembly of the city. To put an official on a professional basis it is necessary, of course, to provide that he shall serve indefinitely if only he serves creditably, that he shall be selected and retained by some person or group of persons acquainted with the requirements of his office and competent to judge, after thorough inquiry, of his special qualifications for it, and that his political opinions shall not be confused with his qualifications for purely executive duties.

Its Defects and Their Remedy.

In England and in Prussia the problem of put-

ting the chief executives on a professional basis has been solved, with results that evoke the constant praises of American municipal reformers. The English town clerk and the Prussian *burgermeister* are chosen by the legislative council—which is itself elected at the polls—after full inquiry into the training, experience and other qualifications of the applicants; and they are retained in office as long as they are satisfactory to the same competent body. This solution is obvious enough, of course, and its success in Europe has not failed to attract attention in America. But the Americans did not adopt it for themselves simply because they did not trust their city councils.

It is in this connection that effective voting or proportional representation makes one of its strongest claims on the attention of American charter makers. Any political device that insures the election of a legislative council truly representative in opinion and, at the same time, much above the average voter in ability and political experience, removes every rational objection to putting the chief executive offices of American cities on a professional basis by the means that has been proved satisfactory in England and Prussia. And such a political device effective voting can be shown to be.

The second defect in the Commission plan is that it requires the voters to choose between leaving the work of legislation to five men elected by the block vote and doing it themselves by recourse to the initiative and referendum. The first course is legislating through a body obviously unfit for such work, which demands the representation of every important interest and opinion, and the second is dispensing with all opportunity for debate and amendment.

Fortunately this second defect of the new plan of government would be remedied by the same device that would remedy the first one, viz.: the election of the council—enlarged to from nine to thirty members, say, according to the population of the city—by effective voting; that is, by the single transferable vote in many-membered constituencies. The legislation of a council elected thus is at once in accordance with the people's will and free from the weakness that only a legislative chamber, with its patient work through committees and its open debates, can eliminate. With such a council to make their ordinances, the voters would seldom if ever fall back on the initiative and the referendum, much as they might prize these rights as safeguards of democracy in possible emergencies; normally they would prefer the ordinances made by their representative leaders, who would constitute the council if the voting methods were made effective, to those they could make themselves under the vastly less favorable conditions afforded by the polls.

Thus the weaknesses of the American commis-

sion charters on both the executive and the legislative side can be eliminated at a stroke by enlarging the council a little, electing it by the single transferable vote in many-membered constituencies, and letting it appoint the chief executives instead of assuming their functions.

It is not as if a council made truly representative by effective voting had never been tried as the basis of city government; such a council is already performing just that function in Johannesburg and in Pretoria. The system by which it is elected there, its powers, and the character of the government founded upon it, we commend to the attention of American municipal reformers.



THE THRAMPIN' BODY.

Augusta Hancock in the London Daily News.

They say I'm ould for roamin' an' they tell me I
should rest
"Twixt four walls in the village that's down yonder
to the West,
But och! I've thramp'd the wide roads, wet or fine,
the long years thro',
An' the stars have been my lanterns, an' my bed-
room dom'd with blue.

They tried to make me tarry down below this very
day,
An' it breaks my heart entirely just to say such kind
souls nay,
But och! they're just accustom'd to indoors for man
an' baste,
An' they'd never guess my heart's want o' the wind
across the waste.

They pray'd me sit a moment by the peat-fire's
hearth o' red,
An' they fill'd the bowl with sweet milk, an' they
broke me barley bread,
An' I supp'd an' all to please them, but a crust I'd
relish more
On the slope above Slieve Deelish where the throb-
bin' moorlarks soar.

They're kind folk in the valley, an' they think I'm
ould to roam,
But they've never known the glory of the whole
world for your home,
An' I'm prayin' morn an' evenin', yes, an' whiles
throughout the day
That it plase the Lord to call me while I still cah
thramp my way.



"Mamma," said Johnny, "if you will let me go just
this one time, I won't ask for anything to eat."

"All right," said the mother. "Get your hat."

Johnny, perched on the edge of a big chair, be-
came restless as savory odors came from the region
of the kitchen. At last he blurted out:

"There's lots of pie and cake in this house."

The admonishing face of his mother recalled his
promise, and he added:

"But what's that to me?"—Success Magazine.

BOOKS

WORLD POLITICS.

The Conflict of Colour. By B. L. Putnam Weale. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$2 postpaid.

The corner-grocer's air of assurance about village politics is Mr. Weale's in speaking of the peoples of the world. Be they black, brown or yellow, this Englishman of the Orient arranges and disposes the races of the earth while the non-commissioned reader wonders at the tactics and his own ignorance. The Negro's place is to encircle the globe for a few degrees each side of the equator. India must one day—the sooner, the better—become a self-governing dependency like Australia; and Great Britain can never really govern Egypt, for “the government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality—but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and can not exist,” as the author quotes from John Stuart Mill.

This feeling for democracy, coupled with an insight born of long years spent in China, makes the author's remarks and prophecies about the Yellow World of timely value.

“These so-called Yellow Races,” he writes, “have one and all an excellent moral and social system. . . . They have been happy in their lives, exact in their mutual observances, and have multiplied and fructified exceedingly. Their democratic feelings are in the main far above anything that western culture has yet evolved. The East is in many ways the home of pure democracy—the region where the cobbler may always magically become the great Minister. Their sense of mutual or family responsibility is so great that where no alien influences have been at work, millions of people still govern themselves without police or any of those artificial restraints which the West has been methodically adding during the past centuries; and their individual reasonableness is such that they are not easily prompted to attempt a thousand stupid things which the white man is constantly doing.”

China, vast, democratic, peaceable, clever, but rent by intense, narrow loyalties and bound to a dead theocracy under an alien's rule, with Russia stealthily creeping on by land and Japan hovering hawklike by sea—China must be rescued intact and powerful. If she be not guaranteed her independence by Europe and America, she must accept the selfish friendship of Japan and must help that ambitious little nation to lock the doors of all Eastern Asia upon the white man and the whole of his commerce.

Such the omens when our author was reading them. But at the exact moment when the persuaded reader is certain that the integrity of the Chinese nation depends upon the astute magnanimity of the Western hemisphere—at this precise instant

there flashes across the world the news that China has become a Republic, given some of its women the franchise, and is seriously considering the Singletax! Such is the like of prophecy. But this prophet is nevertheless worth a hearing.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



MUNICIPALITIES.

Commission Government in American Cities. By Ernest S. Bradford, Ph. D. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price \$1.25 net.

Municipal Franchises. A Description of the Terms and Conditions upon which Private Corporations enjoy special privileges in the Streets of American Cities. By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Franchises of the Public Service Commission for the First District of New York, and author of “The American City,” etc. In two volumes. Vol. II.—Transportation Franchises; Taxation and Control of Public Utilities. New York. The Engineering News Publishing Company. 1911. Price \$5.00 net.

An excellent history and reference book on “commission government,” which the author wisely and truly distinguishes from “government by commission,” is Dr. Bradford's volume. It is a book that has been much needed, and one which cannot fail to be highly serviceable to students of municipal affairs and advocates of democratic progress. The author recognizes as essential to the idea of “commission government,” not only concentration of power, which in itself would be autocratic, but also its democratic checks, among which he finds “the most direct and valuable” to be the Initiative and Referendum.

Since transportation facilities horizontally through the streets of a city are analogous to elevators perpendicularly through its buildings, a book which describes the terms and conditions upon which special privileges are enjoyed in American cities in respect of such facilities, can be neither uninteresting nor unserviceable to the public-spirited citizen of municipalities; and such a book is this volume of Dr. Wilcox's on Municipal Franchises. It is extraordinarily comprehensive, and while replete with detail is in no wise neglectful of principle. Among the cities dealt with are New York, Chicago and Cleveland; and among characteristic franchise privileges discussed are the perpetual, the indeterminate and the exclusive. Railway terminals also are included. Under the general title of “Taxation and Control,” Dr. Wilcox considers the Initiative and Referendum favorably; and of ownership he sums up the present situation with a paraphrase: “In the era of franchises, prepare for municipal ownership.”

Both books will be found instructive, the one in aid of the democratization of American cities, the other as a treatise on one of the most important of municipal functions.

MONEY QUESTIONS.

History of Money in the British Empire and the United States. By Agnes F. Dodd. London, Bombay, Calcutta and New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. Price, 5 shillings net.

The Currency Trust Conspiracy. By Flavius J. Van Vorhis, M. D., LL. B., Indianapolis.

A history of money (metal and paper), general in scope and concise in form, among the English-speaking peoples, the viewpoint of the first of these books is specie basis and single standard; but the book can be none the less interesting to double standard and paper money advocates for its sweep of the whole historic field from Anglo-Saxon times in Great Britain through the Tudor and the Stuart period to the present day. It comprises the history of British banking and the story of currencies in India and the colonies. In the United States the leading subjects are the finances of the Colonial period and of the Revolution, and the financial history of the Civil War, inclusive of the crushing times that were coincident with the post-bellum struggle for resumption of specie payments. Good conscience and good temper are characteristics of the work. Much of the later American ground covered by the author of this money history is traversed with keener vision, in respect of money-mongering, by Mr. VanVorhis in his "Currency Trust Conspiracy." The latter book, however, is a treatise in which history appears not for its own sake as in the former, but is brought forward incidentally in aid of argument. With the plans for a central bank now before Congress, and a Congressional committee investigating the money trust. Mr. VanVorhis' work is a timely publication which could be made to serve especially useful purposes.



LABOR AND THE LAW.

The Law of the Employment of Labor. By Lindley D. Clark, LL. M. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price, \$1.60 net.

Attitude of American Courts in Labor Cases. A Study in Social Legislation. By George Gorham Groat, Ph. D., Homer E. White, Professor of Economics and Sociology Ohio Wesleyan University. Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., agents. New York. P. S. King & Son, London. 1911.

To survey the field of the law as it affects employment of labor in the United States, is the purpose of the first of these books; that of the second is "to present the various views expressed by judges in decisions of labor cases." Taken together, they probably offer as comprehensive a presentation as is yet available, in so narrow a compass, of the whole subject of what at a somewhat earlier period than ours was familiar as the

law of "master and servant." As the respective titles imply, Mr. Clark's book outlines labor law (both legislative and judge-made) as it now is, while Dr. Groat's leads up to existing labor law through the history of its development.

PAMPHLETS

Convention of the Women's Trade Union League.

The National Women's Trade Union League, which held its Third Biennial Convention in Boston last June, has now published the complete Report of Proceedings (127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago. Price, 25 cents). Seventy-six delegates from the eight local Leagues were present. Alive with enthusiasm for co-operation, the speeches, committee reports and business discussions all stand forth with the double dignity of womanhood and productive labor. Mrs. Raymond Robins was elected President and Miss S. M. Franklin Secretary.

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

Country Life and City Job. By Albert L. Williams, Buffalo, N. Y.

Second Annual Report of the Parting of the Ways Home, 110 W. 22nd St., Chicago. 1911.

Political Presidents and Socialists. By Celia B. Whitehead. Published by The Alliance, Denver, Colo. 1903.

Equal Suffrage Song Sheaf. By Eugenie M. Rayé-Smith. Published by the Author, 519 Garfield Ave., Richmond Hill, N. Y.

Better than Socialism. By James F. Morton, Jr. For sale by The Single Tax Review, 150 Nassau St., New York. Price, 5 cents.

The Higher Soldiership. By Charles E. Beals. Published by the Chicago Peace Society, 30 N. La Salle St., Chicago. 1912.

Henry George and Private Property. By Rev. John A. Ryan. Printed at the Columbus Press, 120 W. 60th st., New York. 1910.

Why Should We Have Any Primaries? A Substitute. By Linton Satterthwaite. Reprinted from the Trenton Sunday Advertiser. 1911.

The Practice of Democracy: Socialism versus Individualism. By Henry E. Foelske. Published by C. N. Caspar Co., Milwaukee, Wis. 1912.

The Visiting Nurse Association of Chicago. Twenty-second Annual Report, for Year Ending December 31, 1911. Office: 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.

Open Letter to Rev. Charles Stelzle of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. By H. F. Ring. Published by the Publicity Bureau of the Joseph Fels Fund of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PERIODICALS

"We Are Not Foreigners."

American democrats will enjoy the spirit of the (Cleveland) Jewish Independent of April 26, a Jubilee Edition, full of pride in the achievements and character of the Jewish citizenship of the United States. Among many good little articles is a

sketch with portrait of "Louis Brandeis, The People's Lawyer."

A. L. G.



Unemployment.

The American Labor Legislation Review for February (1 Madison Ave., New York) is a report of the fifth annual meeting of the Association, and contains a discussion on "The Unemployment Problem in America" in which the land question does not figure.

A. L. G.



Australia.

The secretary of the Singletax League of South Australia, located at Adelaide, writes that his association has arranged for the publication of a Singletax column in the Daily Herald. The Herald is a labor paper with a circulation of about 20,000. The Singletax column appears in every Saturday's edition and the articles are frequently reprinted for free distribution.



The City as a Socializing Agency.

Frederic C. Howe in the Journal of Sociology (Chicago) for March compares American with German cities, much to the former's disadvantage. Our cities utterly lack a building plan, he finds. Each city has neglected its whole physical foundation, its site—the land, its plumbing—gas, water, transportation, etc., its superstructure—the houses and factories. The "rights of the individual" have been exalted above "the common weal." "Poverty," Mr. Howe says in suggesting a remedy, "could be reduced to the vanishing point if the city thought in public rather than in private; in social rather than in personal terms. If the city took in land taxes, what the city itself creates, it could abandon all other taxes; it could supply many services at no cost whatever, that are now privately exploited."

A. L. G.



A story is going around to this effect. T. R. died and went to Heaven. Saint Peter welcomed him eagerly and said:

"Come in; come right in; glad to see you."

T. R.—"Yes, I will. I like this sort of thing; but I want something important to do."

S. P.—"Certainly. You shall lead the choir."

T. R.—"That's good; but I want a big choir."

S. P.—"You shall have it."

T. R.—"I want a million sopranos."

S. P.—"You shall have them."

T. R.—"I want a million altos."

S. P.—"You shall have them."

T. R.—"I want a million tenors."

S. P.—"You shall have them."

T. R.—"Very good. It is quite satisfactory."

S. P.—"But you have no bass."

T. R.—"Oh, I will sing bass."

—The Independent (New York.)



Mrs. De Troop (who is short-sighted): "Good morning, Mrs. Simkins. Your husband must be very

fond of gardening. I saw him the first thing this morning down in the bottom of the garden. And how well he looks, to be sure!"

Mrs. Simkins turned her back and slammed the door in her neighbor's face. The latter, aghast, went to tell her daughter.

"And you told her, mother, that the thing in the onion-bed was her husband?"

"Of course I did."

"Well, that's not her husband, that's a scarecrow."—Barnesville Republican.



"You didn't pay the slightest attention to the policeman who warned you about the lights on your automobile!" said the magistrate severely.

"I am at fault, judge," replied Mr. Chuggins. "I'm

Are Your Meetings

successful? Do you want to get in touch with other progressive democrats and singletaxers? If you do, advertise your meetings in **The Public**. Notices of meetings can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday.)

ELLSWORTH BLDG.

CHICAGO

The Women's National Single Tax League

will hold 11th Annual Convention in Washington, D. C., May 27 to 29. Obtain information of MRS. GERTRUDE MACKENZIE, 31 T Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The Seattle Single Tax Club meets every Saturday at noon at the club's headquarters, 927-928 Northern Bank Bldg. Everyone is welcome. Literature for sale. THORWALD SIEGFRIED, Sec.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

SINGLE TAX CLUB

Meeting First Monday 8 p. m., Third Sunday 3 p. m., every month, at 430 Fourth Avenue. Interesting open Discussion. Registration of all Single Taxers and Sympathisers in Western Pennsylvania desired with the Secretary, Wayne Paulin, 6004 Jenkins Arcade.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

Friday, May 10th, at 6:30 p. m.

Informal dinner complimentary to

MISS MARGARET A. HALEY

at Kimball's Cafe, 116 W. Monroe St., between Clark and La Salle Sts.

Single Taxers, Teachers and others interested are invited. 75 cents per plate. Reservations should be made not later than noon of the 9th. of Secretary, 508 Schiller Bldg. Regular meeting of Club is cancelled. James B. Ellery, Secy.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

OF CHICAGO

Public Meeting Sunday, May 12, 3 o'clock,

Colonial Hall, 20 West Randolph St., near State St.

Speaker: MR. VICTOR A. OLANDER,

Vice-President of the International Seamen's Union of America

Subject: "THE TITANIC"

AND THE SEAMEN'S PETITION TO CONGRESS

SINGING—EVERYBODY WELCOME.

Emma Steghagen, Sec'y.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres.

a stranger in the city and he spoke so politely I didn't think he could be a real policeman."—Washington Star.



"Here's something for Burbank to look into."

"What?"

"Training a Christmas tree to sprout its own presents."—Louisville Courier-Journal.



It was well known in Mayville that when Cyrus Fanning lent anything, from a hammer to a plow, he expected a good return for the favor. It was a matter for astonishment to Wilson Green, however, when on inquiring of Mr. Fanning how much it would cost

to rent his long ladder for an afternoon, Cyrus replied promptly, "One dollar fifty."

"Now, look here, Cy," remonstrated his neighbor, "you know I've got to borrow it, for mine isn't long enough to reach where I'm obliged to climb to search out that chimney leak for the Widow Sears. Can't you make it less?"

"No, I can't," and Mr. Fanning shook his small head and closed his obstinate mouth.

"Why can't you?" demanded Wilson Green.

"Because there's a weak place in it two-thirds the

IMMORTALITY CERTAIN

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B. H.

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This is the book that in 1892, during the Presidential campaign, Tom L. Johnson, with the assistance of five other congressmen and with the approval of the author, Henry George, had published in full in the "Congressional Record." That action made the book frankable as part of the "Congressional Record," on a par in that respect with Protection literature, which is mailed by carload free under Congressional frank. The printing of "Protection or Free Trade" had to be privately paid for. Funds were raised for that purpose and more than one million copies were circulated during the campaign of 1892. This materially contributed toward the election of a Democratic President, Grover Cleveland.

The Fels Fund Commission is now aiming at another million distribution, or more. The book is copyrighted, but all royalty charges on the "Million Edition" are waived. Send your money to the Fels Fund Commission and receive in return the number of copies you so pay for. Send a dollar and get forty copies. Get your individual friends, and, better still, your organization, to contribute toward a circulation fund. Raise as much money as you can and circulate as many copies as possible in your neighborhood. Get as wide a circulation for the book in your State as you can and as soon as possible. As to this you can give an added aid by asking your own Congressman to send the book out under his own Congressional frank.

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The circulation of a million copies of "Protection or Free Trade" through this country during the next few months must have a tremendous educational result. In this service everyone, even the most isolated and remote, may take a part.

Read this letter from Congressman Henry George, Jr.:

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1912.

Dear Friend:—Twenty years ago Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade" was printed in the "Congressional Record." Six members of the House divided the book among them, and each, under the "leave to print" privilege, introduced a section into the "Record" as part of his remarks during a debate on wool. These members were: Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio; Hon. William J. Stone, of Kentucky; Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee; Hon. George W. Fithian, of Illinois; Hon. Thomas Bowman, of Iowa; and Hon. Jerry Simpson, of Kansas.

By an old Rule, whatever appears in the "Record" is privileged to be sent through the mails free under a Congressional frank. "Protection or Free Trade" had therefore become frankable. Funds were raised by popular subscription to meet the expense of printing, and in the form of a sixty-four page pamphlet, one million and sixty-two thousand copies were printed and circulated.

This circulation took place in the second Presidential struggle between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. The tariff question was the main issue. Grover Cleveland and a Democratic House of Representatives were elected. Tom L. Johnson and many others believed that the most telling agency in that result was the circulation of "Protection or Free Trade."

History repeats itself. Now, again, in a Presidential campaign the tariff is to be the dominant issue. The people suffer from the cost of living. They charge the cost largely to the tariff, which breeds and fosters the trusts which, in turn, sell their products dear in our markets and cheap in the markets abroad. The people want light on this subject—underlying principles and argument,—not the ex-parte findings of Tariff Boards and statistical jugglers. Where can the plain truth of the matter be found so simply and plainly as in "Protection or Free Trade"?

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I hope you will help in this educational work by subscribing for as many books as possible, and by urging your friends to do the same. The harvest from such work will surely be bountiful. Lend your heart and hand.

Yours sincerely,
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