

Ford Hall Folks

VOL. I. No. 6.

February 2, 1913.

Price Ten Cents.

WHO ARE THE FOLKS?

The amazing thing to me about the Ford Hall meetings is the wide variety of people whom they deeply interest. They were established primarily for the benefit of people who do not go to church. It has proved almost impossible to keep the church people out altogether. Some of them will come in spite of all we can do and hundreds of others regret exceedingly that they cannot come.

In planning our programs, our first consideration is for the working class, so-called. But I find employer after employer who is delighted with the spirit and scope of our meetings. We keep constantly in mind the person of ordinary development in mind and character as we choose the subjects for discussion. But I find among our regular attendants and most enthusiastic friends, teachers and professors and professional people generally. Our meetings are, of course, intended for the layman but there is hardly a night when we do not have a half-dozen ministers in the audience and often many more. We were quite doubtful at first whether we could interest the Jews in our meetings. At least a third of the audience is made up of Jews every Sunday night and they contribute a larger proportion than that to the interest and enthusiasm of the meetings.

I doubt if more than a small fraction of our audience belong to the Socialist Party but they are so enthusiastic and have so many sympathizers who are willing to go part way with them that it sometimes seems as though the great majority were Socialists.

Shocking as it may seem to some good people who have never attended one of our meetings, we have in our audience every night a very considerable group of anarchists who take themselves just as seriously as any churchman I ever met. They even claim Jesus as their model man.

It would seem as if quite a large proportion of the Ford Hall folks were agnostics or atheists but it may be that they are like the Socialists in being more in evidence than their ortho-

dox neighbors. In the churches, the congregations are two-thirds women. At Ford Hall, the audience is never less than two-thirds men and frequently the proportion of men is still larger.

There are always negroes in our meetings and generally a Japanese or two while a fortnight ago we had, besides the speaker of the evening, Dr. Yamei Kin, three or four Chinese women and several Chinese men.

This conglomeration of humanity might make you think of the "happy family" at the circus but ours is really a happy family all the time, and we certainly enjoy going to the Ford Hall meetings quite as much as the small boy enjoys going to the circus.



NEXT SUNDAY'S SPEAKER.

On February 9, Edward A. Filene comes to us to discuss "The Growing Pains of Democracy." Mr. Filene is one of those rare souls who believes in doing rather than in talking (he is so averse to personal publicity that we cannot here show his photograph as is our custom), but no man who tries to do in these days can fail to be confronted by certain arresting facts. Some of these have so deeply impressed themselves upon Boston's most public-spirited merchant that he desires to call them to your attention. His will be a significant evening at Ford Hall.

PLANS FOR THE BIRTHDAY.

Things are coming along splendidly for our anniversary on February 23. Mrs. Lionel Marks (Josephine Preston Peabody) will be with us to read her poem, "The Singing Man," and that brilliant Baptist, Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D., of Brookline, is to give the address of the evening, his topic being "The Social Value of Free Speech." Lots of other good things, too!

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been considering this amendment for five and one-half months when I came along and invited the Commercial Club to invite me to address them. (Laughter.) The secretary was good enough to get permission and so, two days after I got there, I stood before 350 of these nice, oily gentlemen and the very first thing I did after looking at them was to say: "There are between 300 and 400 men in this room and if there is any man amongst these 300 men that is not a liar, let him stand up." (Laughter.) No one stood.

I then hastened to say to them: "My friends, the reason I called every man in this room a liar is because, under the same circumstances, I would be a liar myself. When the tax collector—the man who is after the thing that belongs to you and does not belong to him, comes to you and asks you 'How much money have you got invested in your business?' you say to him 'It is not any of your business.' (Laughter.) The next question is 'What kind of business have you done since the first of last January' and then 'What are your gross profits?' All of which is none of their business. Naturally you lie in your answers." But if a simple question of finance about what belonged to them could make every one of those 350 men liars, what effect must such questions have on the men themselves and on their children who are to come after them?

I tell you the only thing that the government has any right at all to take for its support is everything that is created by all the people; and that everything is land value. You cannot make it any larger, you cannot make it any smaller, though I do know of instances where land owners tried to steal it. (Laughter.) As it cannot be made larger or smaller, I think you will acknowledge that every man, woman and child must have his or her feet squarely on the earth whether it be in the top story of the highest building in Boston or in the slum cellar in London.

Now to what extent can we go in this tremendously civilized world of ours? To what extent can we go to prevent the few from swallowing the many? Well, I claim that the presence of people in Boston is the only thing that gives any value at all to the land in Boston. I claim, that being the case, that the land values of Boston are sufficient to pay all public expenses of Boston, no matter how heavy they may become. I also claim that the only thing Government has any

right to tamper with is that which has been created by all of us. Now, that being the case, we may well do without taxation on everything else except land values.

I got back, three weeks ago, from a town in Texas. The place is Houston. It is supposed to have at least a population of about 125,000 people who think highly of it. Other people, especially people living in Galveston, which is 60 miles away, think it has only about 80,000. (Laughter.) I think it has about 80,000. It is perhaps the most prosperous city in the United States. There is more real down-right business and industry in Houston than in any other city that I have ever been in in the United States. And all this has been largely caused by one man.

This man is a little taller than I am (laughter), almost as bald (laughter), and only half as wide. (Laughter.) He began his job some 18 years ago—having become a follower of the economic philosophy of Henry George—and 12 years ago he bought what is now four blocks of ground within the city limits of Houston and put up a sign, "This property cost \$390 per plot. It is for sale for \$5000 per plot and it will be held until such time as it realizes \$5000 per plot." That seemed very foolish, didn't it? He then proceeded to put up a log cabin—they built it with their own hands, back of this sign, and they used this log cabin every day until I came there, three weeks ago, for meetings of Single Tax men who believed in the economic philosophy of Henry George. I said during my recent visit, "Why don't you repair that sign? Why it can hardly be read, one corner of it has been blown away by the wind. It has passed its day of usefulness." He said, "I have had an offer for \$4500 on my last plot. The fellow is coming up by and by and will give me \$5000." He had already sold off four of the plots for \$20,000. About two years ago this same man, Joseph Pasteriza, invited the citizens of Houston to appoint him commissioner of taxes. Think of that. Then he proceeded to remove all the taxation from every bit of personal property in Houston. He took off all taxation from all banks, stocks, etc., and he furthermore removed 75 per cent. of taxes from all buildings in Houston and then he went and found a scientific lot of fellows who knew how to assess land, who could find out just exactly what land was worth whether it would be in Houston or in Paris or in Palestine. And then he got

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FATHER RYAN, of the Catholic Seminary of St. Paul, Minn., speaking on labor questions in Ford Hall, says: "Injustice of employers begets injustice on the part of their employees—violence breeds violence." Evidently

FORD HALL FOLKS

the value of every piece of land in Houston and the town was plotted out by those fellows that knew their business—every blessed one of whom was a Single Tax man. They mapped out Houston, putting down the name of the owner of every plot and what the land was worth as between the willing buyer and the willing seller. Then he proceeded—did Pasteriza—to assess all this land 100 cents on the dollar of what it was worth.

The grafters or land owners, I say grafters now because I am far away from Houston, fought so hard that they made Pasteriza tax it 70 per cent. of its value; so he proceeded to tax 70 per cent. of the value of the land in Houston. Well, there were some plots of ground in Houston discovered on which no taxes had been paid since the days of Mother Eve (laughter), and he found some land that had been taxed 30 per cent. and some 125 per cent. Why? because the land that was taxed 125 per cent. was underneath the little shanties of the poor, the houses that rented for about \$15 to \$18 per month. Pasteriza changed all that with the wave of his hand. He was appointed the first of January, 1911. During the first six months after he got his job finished, the citizens of the city of Houston put up 219 more buildings in six months than they did in the six months in 1910. Two hundred and nineteen more buildings, and these 219 buildings were worth three times what the buildings that had been put up in 1910 had cost! Which proves that if you remove all taxation from all personal property and all buildings a man will put in more money into building because he has got more money to put into it. He saves that from taxation. This change is giving Pasteriza all the money he had before for public purposes and they talk now of 500,000 inhabitants in Houston within 20 years; and they are going to have it because people are piling in there from every direction just as soon as they find out the different kind of taxation that there prevails. Galveston has gone to sleep and I will say that unless the other cities in Texas follows Houston, the people will move into Houston or they will have to shut up business. (Laughter.)

This is the experience in the north-western part of Canada, in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria and in more than 30 or 40 rural settlements that have a large measure of the Single Tax in operation. And in 1910, my friends, 141,000 Americans, members of

the Stars and Stripes, went over to these three provinces of Canada. And why did they do it? They went because they saw a taxation of the right kind in Canada and of a most damnable wrong kind in the United States. And so there is a fight on in Oregon and in Washington and beginning in Idaho for untaxing labor and taxing land values.

Now, then, as to other countries. In 1909-'10 Lloyd George put through Parliament his Budget, assessing all the land in Great Britain and laying a small tax on all land values amounting to over \$250 an acre and Lloyd George did this in the face of the utmost opposition. Every duke and every titled gentleman who ought to have been put to work (laughter) objected to this. They wanted to hang him. But, my friends, you can put this down fine; that as Great Britain fiddles today the world begins to dance tomorrow; and unless the United States gets in line with the Single Tax movement, which is fast coming in England, we shall all have to move over across the sea.

Now I am here in Boston and you Boston people should come to your senses; you should begin an agitation for untaxing labor in Boston, and untaxing business in Boston, and untaxing houses in Boston so that you can put a tax on unused land, such as you have got here by the mile, and get it into use to the end that people may live in homes instead of hovels. (Applause.)

There used to be a man in Cleveland whose name was Tom L. Johnson (applause) and I heard that man say in a speech, one day, that he expected to live to see the time when Cleveland should have a free street railway from one end to the other. When he died, in April of last year, he had a street car line throughout Cleveland and running into the country for 20 miles on which there was charged the rate of 3 cents with universal free transfer, and this street railway made so much money that they have paid 6 per cent. on every share of stock—and a good many shares of this stock were about as thin, or thinner, than water.

I believe that if Johnson had lived 20 years longer he would have had a free street railway because I can show you more than a thousand free railway lines that are run in Boston tonight. Every department store, every office, every building has a free railway running up and down all the time. And no charge is made for running

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that elevator and you may ride up and
down as much as you chose. (Laughter.)
But you are paying for it in in-
creased taxation. Now, if a depart-
ment store or if an office building can
afford to maintain free transportation
up and down all day, day in and day
out, and make a 27th story equally ac-
cessible and as desirable as the first
floor, why should you not run a street
railway 10 miles into the country and
make it just as possible to live at the
other end of the 10 miles as it is at
this end? (Applause.)

You see where your free street rail-
way would come in and that it would
come for exactly the same reason. This
street railway is a public franchise
and a land value. So the franchise of
every steamship line that leaves a port
of the United States should be condi-
tioned on the Single Tax paid to the
country where it docks for the bene-
fit it gets from the country.

And so should every other franchise,
the water, if it was rented by a pri-
vate company, the gas and electric
lights, and telephone system,—every
privilege that is made up by the per-
sonal activities of the population
should be paid for. And, my friends,
you would not then have any starving
people in Boston. You would not have
any people in Boston out of work be-
cause you would tax the lot that was
next door to a 25-story building, as
much as the land under the 25-story
building.

Did you ever stop to think what
happens when you build a house?
When the landlord makes up his mind
to build a house—he first digs the cel-
lar—I don't mean he does it himself,
because he does not dig cellars (laugh-
ter), but he hires people to dig the cel-
lar and when these people have fin-
ished digging the cellar, they put up
the foundation wall and then they have
to have the stone mason. The stone
mason comes and when has has fin-
ished, the brick man comes along or
the concrete man, or the steel man;
and then come the plasterer and the
carpenters, the paper hangers and gas-
fitters and plumbers, then the orna-
menters and painters. All these men
would go to work, and every blessed
one of these men has a wife, and if he
hasn't he ought to have (laughter),
and every one of these wives have
babies and if they don't they ought to
have them (laughter), and all these
babies have requirements for muslin
and for stockings and for flannels and
for knick-knacks and other various

things that go to make up babies.
(Laughter.)

You would then have killed off that
very dangerous "one man in 20." I
mean the one man in 20 who has no
job! You have nothing to fear from
the I. W. W. or Socialism or Anarchism
or anything else but from the man in
20 who has no job. Until you can kill
him off by giving him a job, he will
always be a threat to you and until
you can wipe him out you will not have
industrial peace in this country, nor do
you deserve to have it.

But if we tax those things and those
things only that are created by the
people and leave to the private indiv-
idual all things created by his labor,
you will have peace in this country,
you will have plenty in this country,
and you will have as near to a perfect
country as the world has ever seen.
That great man, Tsin Yat Sun, in
China, knows about the Single Tax and
has already had the courage to estab-
lish colonies all through China having
it in mind to keep for the people all
the land values that the people create.

In Germany over 100 cities have a
measure of the Single Tax already in
operation.

In the last political campaign we
had struggles in Oregon, in the state
of Missouri and in the state of Cali-
fornia, all with a view to having Single
Tax put into operation; and the little
state of Rhode Island, which is about
big enough to hold together (laughter)
has been struggling for the Single Tax
to my certain knowledge for 20 years,
but they haven't given up the ship. It
is not success that we are after; it is
education of the people that we are
after, and until the people can become
sufficiently educated to take on this
great moral reform; this great eco-
nomic reform, the people ought not to
adopt it. My friends, to me, this re-
form in taxation is a moral question,
as deep and as broad as any moral
question that has ever been brought to
the notice of the world. To me it is a
religion; I am a fanatic about it. But
there must be fanatics, for fanatics,
like cranks, make things turn.

A FEW OF THE QUESTIONS:

Q. Would you approve of the inher-
itance tax as did Thomas L. Johnson
of Cleveland?

A. Certainly not. Mr. Johnson was
as apt to make mistakes as any one
else.

Q. Would you exempt land occupied
by churches?

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"Injustice of employers begets injustice on the part of
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A. Certainly not (Applause). Nor would I exempt Masonic Temples. I would not exempt from taxation anything in the shape of land.

Q. If the single tax was established, would not the present system of exploitation still continue?

A. I don't see how it could, my friend. Will you please tell me how it could?

Q. Well, by private ownership of the mines.

A. But if I have got all the value that attaches to the land—all monopolies, or special privilege that come out of the land, how can you have possession of anything?

Q. Is a patent a specie of monopoly?

A. Yes.

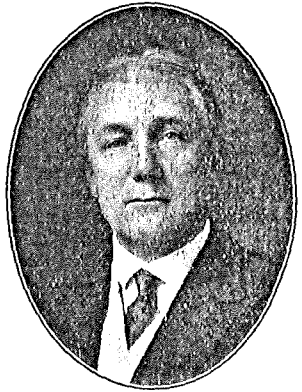
Q. What are you going to do with it?

A. I think I should be in favor of allowing a man a certain percentage on the results of his patent for a certain number of years and then wipe it out; but it would have to be specific and not speculative as it is at present.

Q. Wouldn't taxation on land so increase its value that it would be difficult for poor people to buy land?

A. Is it possible for the poor to buy land now? Taxation would bring the land into use—force the land into use and the man who holds land out of use would have to pay to the community that which the community is deprived of now.

**MASSACHUSETTS ON TRIAL:
MASSACHUSETTS ACQUITTED.**



By Charles Zueblin.

The high-ceiled court-room with its ample windows on either side; The spectators buzzing expectantly along three walls; The judge's empty bench; the empty

desks and chairs of the lawyers and reporters;

The cage, standing gaunt and unfriendly vis-a-vis the judge's chair;

The clock over the door proclaiming the ending of the court's recess;

The measured tread of the feet of the jurors, coming along the corridor;

The entrance of the twelve "peers" of the prisoners, conscious of grave responsibility;

The reporters and the lawyers filing into place; the judge gravely facing the room;

The click of the handcuffs stirring curiosity, interest, anxiety;

The march of officers and prisoners to the cage;

"Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye!"

The call of roll of the jury,—one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve;

The call and silent rising of the prisoners, "Joseph J. Ettor," "Arturo M. Giovannitti," "Joseph Caruso!"

* * * *

The prosecution is closing its case; the State's Attorney is completing his charge;

The officer of the State, the guardian of law and order, the defender of the oppressed, the servant of the electorate, is building an argument—

An argument founded on suspicion, class hatred, race pride.

He flatters the jury; he conjures up patriotic visions from the past;

He portrays the history of the commonwealth and its heroes, with sinister intent;

He warns of the menace of the foreigner, of the foreigner's philosophy, of the foreigner's inflammability;

His commercial mind pictures the desire for the dues of the comrades as the motive of these agitators;

"Our holy traditions are at stake; our venerable institutions are at stake; yea, our sacred property is at stake!"

Will the jury surrender law and order, will they condone anarchy?

The State's Attorney has addressed the twelve men of Massachusetts.

* * * *

What is the case that demands this patriotic peroration?

An Italian woman has been killed, a compatriot of two of these men, a fellow worker, comrade, sister, of all of them.

Where is the murderer? The State's Attorney does not know; no one knows.

The prisoners preached brotherhood, vehemently, passionately.

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... of the jury,—one, two,
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... h J. Ettor," "Arturo M.
... "Joseph Caruso!"

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The State's Attorney is preaching vengeance sophistically intemperately.

The three men sit in the cage, two protesting mutely; the third ignorant of the language, staring mystified; on trial for his life he sits for hours understanding no word of his accusers.

They have been deprived of freedom for months they have been examined, have testified, have been cross-questioned, have heard witnesses; but who is on trial today?

Is it not the Commonwealth of Massachusetts?

The State's Attorney has finished. There remains only the charge of the judge.

"According to the precedent of Massachusetts' law a prisoner may be heard in his own behalf before the judge charges the jury. Does one of these prisoners desire to speak?"

The counsel of the prisoners urge them to let the case rest, but they cannot be silent.

Joseph Ettor rises, rotund, genial, but at this moment not smiling.

The room is now full; the doors are choked with spectators; the air is thick, but pulses beat as on mountain tops; even the weary jury is roused.

Ettor penetrates the sophistry of the State's Attorney with one keen thrust.

The prisoners are not being tried for their acts, but for their philosophy. No acts have been proved and the philosophy has been misrepresented. He is not there to apologize. If he is responsible for the death of a woman, he should sit in the electric chair.

No palliation; no compromise; no condemnation of the prisoner's philosophy and pity for the prisoner.

Though it invite the severest penalty he must still stand there and proclaim the right of all men to the full product of their labor.

He came to Massachusetts as Kosciusco and Pulaski had come; he is ready to give his life for others if necessary.

He is not a foreigner, but he and his Italian-born comrades are the citizens and prophets of the commonwealth of the world.

Their death will not delay the coming of this commonwealth.

On the day that they die half a million prophets will rise.

In a hushed voice the court officer, he in the blue, with brass buttons, says sotto voice, "Didn't Joe do well?" Who but the prosecution could doubt that Massachusetts is on trial?

* * * *

"Does one of the other prisoners wish to speak?" asks the judge.

Yes. Giovannitti will also be heard. It is well.

He wins at once attention and sympathy. He is still more intense, and speaks with some difficulty—his first speech in English.

Ettor commanded by logic, vigor and sincerity. Giovannitti appeals by his delicate profile, his gentle voice, his exaltation.

What are the sacred traditions of Massachusetts that are being upheld in this trial?

Are they the traditions of witch-burning Salem, or those of the Boston tea-party that overthrew tyrants?

Are they the traditions of the respectable mob that dragged Garrison around by a noose, or those of the triumphant abolitionists?

He also is not there to plead for mercy, but to protest against punishment for holding the philosophy that unites the class-conscious workers of the world.

He, too, will have no compromise. All or nothing.

He can face death for his faith, as Socrates did, as Jesus did, as the mediaeval martyrs did; but he is no martyr.

He and Ettor are responsible for their proved words; but Caruso, his poor comrade Caruso, cannot speak English; he has a wife, he is ignorant, surely he cannot be held responsible. (Even the experienced court officer and the sophisticated reporter blink hard).

On his mother's knee he had learned of the oppressors of Rome and Italy. He had come to the Republic to find freedom, and found—Lawrence.

If this proved to be his last speech it would be one of prophecy, of that fraternity of the future for which he would still work if he were set free.

Ettor and Giovannitti have addressed the twelve men of Massachusetts; but all must have seen, a they saw, a listening world, a world of superficial prejudices and misunderstandings, but a world of latent sympathy and humanity.

* * * *

The next day the judge delivers his

Falls to See Justice.

"As to the restriction of the number of apprentices I never could see that it was justified. The argument in favor of this is that without it the trade will become overcrowded and wages lowered. It seems to me that this is a far more normal condition than that of men, with wages for a speciality. Also, if a trade that many wish to enter that they be allowed to do at a lower wage, than not, they will lose in wages will be compensated for by the extra work on their tasks.

"Most of the varieties which labor unionism is removed. The injunction is a relic of former times combinations of working considered conspiracies, punishable by law. If judges they would grant injunction strikes as well as against closed shops. The reason do this is that strikes that judges have come that the ultimate benefit and not the injury to their object.

"Strikes should be resorted to when all other methods have failed when the end to be attained is one, and only when there is a reasonable hope of success.

"Violence is never justifiable use of violence is a violation of social order.

"There is a parallel between the dynamiters and the railroads for many years. Automatic coupling applied to the cars. Many were killed each year, yet the railroads though knowing this, followed on this matter. These men are as guilty as the dynamiters.

FATHER RYAN, of the Catholic Seminary of St. Paul, Minn., speaking on labor questions in Ford Hall, says: "Injustice of employers begets injustice on the part of their employees — violence breeds violence." Evidently

charge, precise, exhaustive, discriminating, dispassionate. The day after, the jury returns its verdict. The twelve men of Massachusetts have acquitted the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Hear ye, hear ye!" "God bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!"

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Copies of the above poem at five cents each may be had upon application to Miss Louise Grout, 154 Newbury St., Boston.

FROM OUR MAIL BOX.

"Please send me three sets of Ford Hall Folks for which find enclosed \$1.50. Usually, I shall buy the paper at the meetings but, on account of illness in the family, I have not been able to attend for a month now. The paper will help make this up to me."

"I received Ford Hall Folks. Fine. I enclose my check herewith for \$5, for which please send me five (5) copies of Ford Hall Folks for ten weeks, and at the expiration of that date, please send Ford Hall Folks just the same, with bill. This little journal should have the support of every thinking man. A little later I hope to be able to increase my subscription."

January 17, 1913.

My Dear Jack London: I love to go to Ford Hall because I learn there—and there only—what the late William James meant when he wrote his great chapter on the Common Folks. I have lived in Boston for three years and the Ford Hall meetings are the only ones in Boston with power enough to draw me away from my own very comfortable home on Sunday nights. I love Ford Hall because I find preached in it the great Gospel of Neighborliness—the philosophy of love. And, if you must have the whole truth, I love to go there because its people are close to the earth, and contact with them makes me understand what is meant by the old mythological tale of the man whose strength was renewed every time he touched the ground.

But I started to tell you about William James and his tribute to the real heroes of the world—the men and women who are doing their daily work

in a neighborly, helpful way. "On freight trains, on the decks of vessels, in cattle yards and mines," says James—"on lumber rafts, among the firemen and the policemen, the demand for courage is incessant. There, every day of the year, somewhere, is human nature in extremis for you. And wherever a scythe, an axe, a pick, or a shovel is wielded you have it sweating and aching and with its powers of patient endurance racked to the utmost under the length of hours of the strain."

What I have found at Ford Hall may be found in this next paragraph: "As I awoke to all this unrealized heroic life around me," continues Prof. James, "the scales seemed to fall from my eyes; and a wave of sympathy greater than anything I had ever before felt with the common life of common men began to fill my soul. It began to seem as if virtue with horny hands and dirty skin were the only virtue genuine and vital enough to take account of. Every other virtue poses; none is absolutely unconscious and simple, and unexpectant of decoration or recognition, like this. These are our soldiers, thought I, these our sustainers, these the very parents of our life."

I have lived on a dollar a week, slept in a drygoods box, spent a winter in the north country in a room through the walls of which filtered the snow, worn paper in my shoes because I couldn't afford new soles, worn patch-covered clothes—well, I've managed to live on five dollars a week in a strange town, and, although I've fought my way to a better income, I cannot quite escape from the feeling that nowhere in Boston is there a spiritual home for me that is more mine than Ford Hall. To learn the art of seeing the world through the eyes of others is to know often the joy that must have been in the heart of Columbus when he discovered our land. Ford Hall gives us opportunities to experience this joy—and will continue to do so while that great neighbor, George W. Coleman, conducts the meetings.

THOMAS DREIER.

The first "woman movement" was Eve's gesture when she reached for the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge—a movement symbolic of the entire subsequent woman's movement of the world. For the will to pass beyond established bounds has constantly been the motive of her conscious as well as of her subconscious quest—Ellen Key.