



The first essential change in government: Levy no taxes and collect the ground rent for public purposes.

# THE PROBE

Edited by H. W. Noren—Subscriptions: Locally by Carrier, 50c; By Mail, \$1.00.  
Publication Office, Greenfield Avenue and Winterburn Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Vol. 4.

Pittsburgh, Pa., December 30, 1918.

No. 31

## NOTICE.

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## COMMENTS

BY NOREN

I said in *The Probe* that: "Single-taxers have a clearly-defined line drawn between the necessary and unnecessary acts of the public body or state." Commenting thereon the editor of the *Equitist* asks: "Where is that line and what is on each side of it? How and where do they recognize it?"

After twenty years reading of Single-tax books and papers, I conclude it is fair to state that the line is at this point:

If it is necessary to grant a franchise or public power in whatever form, in order to secure a certain service, it is better that the state or municipality engage therein.

This includes services like distribution of water, gas, electricity, etc.

On the other hand, any human activity that does not require such grant of public power should not be undertaken by the State or municipality.

I also stated my conception of the law of equal freedom to be "the right of every man to do whatsoever he wills." And the *Equitist* editor says that the "law contains a qualifying clause without which it is not valid. Correctly stated the law is: Every person shall have freedom to do whatsoever he wills, provided, that in the doing thereof, he infringe not the

equal freedom of any other person."

"Vey" is a word coined and used by the editor of *The Equitist* in place of the words "his" or "her." I doubt its value. The tendency is to use "he" both for men and women in relation to their activities as indicated by the common use of the word "chairman" in place of the at one time often used "chairwoman."

Mr. Brokaw's qualification is really a repetition. My statement and Mr. Brokaw's contains the words "Every man" or as he has it, "person." If anyone infringes the equal freedom of any other person, then "every" person has not equal freedom. However, I admit that Mr. Brokaw's addition gives a quicker and clearer idea of the principle.

A Federal Judge by the name of Morrow has quashed the indictments

against the corporation tools who deported the striking miners from Bisbee, Arizona. No doubt this action of Judge Morrow was based upon a belief that justice could only be done by the miners, (following the lead of the mine owners) too, taking the law into their own hands. Did the good judge think a hint to the I. W. W. would be sufficient?

The British Labor party demands, among other things, "A special tax on capital: free trade. \* \* \*." How to tax capital and leave trade free they do not explain. Evidently they have learned how to eat their cake and have it, too.

I write "these thoughts" and the typesetter makes it "see thought." Exalted by accident as it were.

## The High Cost of Justice

(Reprinted from *The Nation*.)

By Samuel Danziger.

Sir: The need of defence funds to make possible a fair presentation of the cases of those prosecuted under the Espionage Act gives rise to the question, what chance for successful defence in the Federal courts has an innocent man without any money?

Let us take, for example, the case of Frank Stephens recently acquitted by a jury in the Delaware district court. Mr. Stephens is a firm opponent of all war, who did not change his views when the President delivered his war message to Congress. The Espionage Act has failed to convince him of the error of his opinion, but, as he is a non-resistant, this act was not necessary to prevent him from interfering with or obstructing the Government. During the drive for the third Liberty Loan, a woman solicitor, who knew his views and knew that a solicitation of him would be but a waste of time and effort, nevertheless sought him out and insisted on being told his reason for refusing to invest. He finally gave her the requested information, expressing himself concerning war as did James Russell Lowell. She reported this to the Federal authorities, who induced her to make a formal complaint, and Mr. Stephens was indicted under the Espionage Act.

A host of friends promptly rallied

to his aid, some of the warmest of them strong upholders of the war. Offers to go on his bond were numerous. But when the day came for doing so difficulties appeared. Legal technicalities shut out the assistance of the larger number. Others had learned that they ran some risk if openly identified with the case of Mr. Stephens. One of them, however, thought that he saw a way to help without coming into the open. He offered to advance the cash, which could be deposited with a bonding company—but the bonding companies had not been reckoned with. These concerns expressed fear lest the Government take from them the business which it controls. Things were looking very dubious when at last a friend, unafraid, but not otherwise qualified to act as bondsman, persuaded a reluctant banker with the offer of gilded collateral (borrowed from another friend) to lend him \$5,000 to deposit openly with the court as bail. The banker finally consented, after repeated assurances that neither his name nor that of his bank would be mentioned. Thus after a day's effort it was possible to offer security for the appearance for trial of a man who would not have run away had he the whole world to gain thereby. Of course there was interest on the loan to be met, and this was the first expense in-

# Weekly Price List

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Store opens at 8, closes at 6  
Except Saturdays.

Boy's Leather Belts .....	25c
Rit, washes and dyes.....	10c
Gilt upholstering tacks, box.....	10c
Curling tongs .....	10c
Carpet Tacks, all sizes.....	5c
No. 2 Tacks for window shades, per box .....	5c
Iron Holders .....	15c
Men's Garters .....	25c, 35c and 50c
Paint Brushes .....	10c to 50c
"Close Fit" cap shape Hair Nets, black, dark brown, light brown, medium brown and blond, 15c; two Nets for .....	25c
"Close Fit" Hair Nets in grey, each .....	25c
Fringe Hair Nets, sometimes call- ed straight; made in France, of genuine hair full size, 35x40, 10c; three Nets for.....	25c
Ingram's Perfumes .....	89c
Ingram's Talcum Powder.....	25c
Ingram's Milkweed Cream.....	50c
Ingram's Zedenta Tooth Paste.....	25c
Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream .....	50c
Ingram's Face Powder.....	25c and 50c
Sewing Machine Belts, long enough for all makes of machines, 30c and .....	25c
Box Writing Papers, Tablets, Inks, Envelopes, Pens and Pencils, Glue and Mucilage.....	
Can Openers .....	15c
Scissors.....	25c to 50c
Bees Wax .....	4c
Longcloth .....	30c
Shoe Polishes, 10c, 13c and.....	25c
Boys' Knee Pants, 60c to.....	\$2.25
Window Shades .....	75c
Bias Seam Binding, lawn and cambric, black and white, all sizes, 12 yards.....	15c
Ric Rac, all sizes .....	10c to 19c
O'Cedar Oil .....	25c and 50c
Boys' Blouses, goods that will wash; each .....	\$1.00
Pee-Chee White Shoe Cleaner.....	25c
Wax Tapers, box .....	5c
Gas Mantles, 15c and .....	10c
Bungalow Aprons .....	79c to \$2.50
Fancy Aprons .....	15c, 33 and 69c
O. N. T. Machine Thread, black and white, sizes, 8 to 100, spool 6c	
Electric Curlers, 2 for .....	10c
Snap fasteners .....	5c
Hooks and Eyes .....	5c
Gas Globes, Upright and Inverted 15c	
Lingerie Tape, white, pink, Blue 10c	
Kleinert's Dress Shields .....	25c
Middy Lacers .....	5c
Thimbles (silver), all sizes .....	5c

## WAXED LUNCH PAPER

20-Sheet Roll, 12x15, 5c, 6 for 25c	
Patent Leather Belts, black, red and white .....	50c and 25c
U. San. Fine Crepe Toilet Paper, 10c per roll; 3 rolls for 25c	
Avelva toilet paper, 2 rolls.....	25c
Linen Corset Lacers, 5 yds. long..	10c
Needles for all makes of machines, a package of two needles for.....	5c
Nye's Sewing Machine Oil, bottle.....	10c
Diamond Dye .....	10c
Peroxide .....	10c
Vaseline .....	7c
All colors of Crepe Papers.....	10c
Bromo Seltzer .....	10c and 20c
Silk Thread, all colors, 50 yards only, 8c; two spools for.....	15c
Black and White, 100 yards only.....	15c
Meritas brand, white Oil Cloth, 1 1/4 yard wide, highest grade. yard .....	55c
Hump Hair Pins, all sizes.....	5c and 10c
Canton Flannel .....	39c
Flannelette, white .....	33c
Flannelette, Pink and White and Blue and White, yard.....	35c
Grey, extra fine grade, yard.....	45c
Boys' heavy Stockings..... fast black; 59c value, pair.....	43c
Girls' fine mercerized Stockings; 59c value, pair .....	45c
Celluloid Knitting Needles, pair.....	25c
Steel Knitting Needles, 5c each; a set of five for.....	22c
P. K., extra value, yard.....	48c
Silk Hosiery, black, full fashioned, will wear, pair .....	\$2.00
Dark brown Silk Hosiery.....	\$1.25

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out sleeves, wool plated,  
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kind you have always  
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sizes ..... 75c |

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sleeves, Merino, mer-  
cerized finish, sizes one  
to six (up to 4 years);  
this Shirt is 60% wool,  
an unusually large per-  
centage at this price,  
per garment.....95c  
Same as above in all  
pure Australian Wool  
(up to 3 years).....\$1.50



Knit Shirts, button  
front, sleeves, Merino,  
mercerized finish, 60%  
wool; sizes, infants to  
6 years ..... 85c || Same as above, all pure Australian Wool, silk finish; up to 6 years ..... | \$1.25 |

Tissue Paper (white) 9 sheets,  
12x24 ..... 5c |

20 sheets, 20x30 .....	15c
"Curvex" Brass Curtain Rods.....	35c
Pure White Cotton Batting, bat .....	20c
Flannel: Pure all wool Saxony yarn flannel, 33 inches wide, yard .....	\$1.09
Silk Scarfs for Ladies.....	50c
Ladies' pure Linen Handkerchiefs, 30c and .....	50c
Ladies' Cotton Handkerchiefs.....	10c and 25c
Boys' Gloves, Jersey.....	25c
Girls and Boys Gloves, knit.....	50c
Fancy Caps and Hockey Caps 23c to .....	\$2.00
Ladies' Handbags and Purses; \$1.19 to .....	\$3.00
Infants' Mittens, white, pink and blue .....	25c and 29c
Boudoir Caps.....	29c to 75c
Ladies' Dressing Combs.....	25c to \$1.50

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NOR-N'S

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cidental to avoiding the consequences  
of a false charge.

Under utopian conditions an accused  
person may be able to go into court  
and conduct his defence without ex-  
penditure of a cent, and, if innocent,  
be sure that he will come out fully  
exonerated without suffering any loss  
whatever. But although the charge  
against Mr. Stephens was groundless,  
he could have put up no adequate de-  
fence without financial help. The ex-  
pense of getting the information nec-  
essary to obtain a fair-minded jury is  
heavy; the cost of securing an accu-  
rate record by a court stenographer as  
a basis for possible appeal is great.  
It is needless to itemize all the ex-  
penditures that must be met by one  
called upon to answer an indictment,  
but in this case they amounted to  
more than \$1,000 in addition to a very  
moderate attorney's fee.

Had Mr. Stephens been left to him-  
self he would not have lifted a finger  
to keep out of jail or to secure a favor-  
able verdict, but his friends would not  
allow so hazardous an experiment.  
They reminded him that a conviction  
would be a public calamity which it  
was his duty to avert if possible. So  
he consented reluctantly to the raising  
of a defense fund in his behalf. After  
a three days' trial he was acquitted.  
This satisfactory result must not obs-  
cure the fact, however, that it could  
scarcely have been obtained had no  
money been raised or spent.

In the final settlement an expense  
item turned up whose injustice is as-  
tounding. When Mr. Stephens's  
bondsmen called on the clerk of the  
court for return of his \$5,000, that of-  
ficial deducted one per cent thereof,  
explaining that this is customary when

# LABOR'S SECRETARY

By NOREN.

cash bail has been deposited, although not when other collateral or real estate has been pledged. Both the clerk and district attorney declined to name the statute under which the bondsman was mulcted. But if the action is illegal, a suit to establish that fact, involving additional costs, is necessary.

It seems as if the courts themselves should take some action to remedy such conditions; for so long as these conditions last there is cause, despite the best efforts of the courts, to doubt the justice of any conviction of persons whose financial resources are limited. Such doubts are sure to be encouraged if the Post Office Department should make use of its power to bar from the mails appeals for defense funds. Of course, even without interference from that source it is only a question of time until solicitation for such funds must cease or prove fruitless. The Government can, if it will continue indefinitely arrests and prosecutions. Earnest, devoted, and enthusiastic as are the contributors to defense funds, their financial strength is not great. Exhaustion must come sooner or later. The most innocent will then be helpless unless reform comes quickly.

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When you hire a man it is for the purpose of having him do some specific work. You don't just furnish him with an office, desk and chair, pay his salary and let him loose.

Go into a mill or a factory or stop a gang of railroad laborers, and ask any of these busy workers what their secretary is doing. They will think you are a "nut," won't they? If you can get them to treat you seriously after making such a "break" they will assure you they never had a secretary, have no use for one, and even if they wanted one they could not possibly pay one, for they are having a hard time making both ends meet without hiring useless secretaries.

The sad fact is that these men have not only one secretary but several. The Secretary of Labor is. And he has enough assistants and clerks and stenographers and investigators and what not to make a whole department of the United States government. It is true that labor didn't hire them and don't know enough to fire them. All labor does is pay them, although most laborers don't know that either. But think what "service" the Secretaries must render to their employers, the laborers, when the latter don't know of their secretaries' existence. Theoretically, the Secretary of Labor is to look after the interests of laborers. The scheme is a misconception, of course. If labor is not really free, or strong enough or independent enough to look after its own interest, then the government itself has failed of its purpose. The whole government, not a part, but the whole, not only rests upon labor, but its sole existence is for the purpose of maintaining freedom and equality of opportunity among laborers. There are but two classes of people anywhere, laborers and parasites. To institute a department of government to look after the interests of labor, is to admit that the other departments are looking after the interests of parasites. In truth that is how it turns out. But it is worse than that. The very fact that the Department of Labor is not in deadly conflict with the other departments shows that it, too, serves the parasites.

## THE PROOF.

Ex-Senator Pettigrew in a pamphlet presents the following statistics taken from the report of the 1915 Federal Industrial Commission. The poor and those not rich, whom we may fairly class as laborers number, with their families, 98,000,000. The rich, or non-producers, and their families, number 2,000,000. Among these two groups the wealth is distributed in this proportion:

The 98,000,000 workers own 40%

The 2,000,000 shirkers own 60%

If we eliminate the middle class, which, roughly speaking, is neither robbing nor being robbed, the facts are perfectly appalling. Then the report shows:

2,000,000 rich own 60%

65,000,000 workers own 5%

No such conditions could possibly exist save by the agency of a government that had totally miscarried. Back of Rockefeller's numerous corporations stands the protecting power of government. Withdraw that protection and his huge structure, that now seems so efficient, will fall like a house of cards. The same holds true of every corporation that exploits labor.

## ACKNOWLEDGE DEFEAT

Why blink at these facts? Why not acknowledge that our effort to secure equality has failed? To not know defeat may be heroic, but to trample 65,000,000 workers in the gutter of poverty and despair in order to have a grand and spectacular government is cowardice. To maintain 800 naval vessels as we do now at the expense of 65,000,000 hungry and overworked men, women and children is not heroic—it is madness.

It may be asked what IS the Department of Labor doing? Blasted if I know. All I know is what it is not doing. It is NOT doing any good, that is a positive, undisputable fact from figures just quoted. If it were justifying its name there would be such an uproar in Washington and throughout the country that all other seemingly important things would be forgotten.

## Sample of a Secretary's "Work."

We know for sure what secretaries don't do for those who pay them. Here is a hint of what they do. They talk. It is taken from a published interview with Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

"I see no reason for an outbreak of so-called Bolshevism in this country, unless Labor is treated generally as it has been in a few specific instances that have come to my attention," said Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

"In certain cases, where war contracts were cancelled, the employers, instead of reducing the hours of employment while they were making the necessary readjustments to a peace basis, discharged certain of their workers, keeping the rest on full time. I have even heard of cases where the plant was kept operating on a 10-hour day, with fewer workers, instead of returning to an eight-hour day and keeping a greater number of workers employed."

So the Secretary of Labor evidently

thinks that with ten hours' work a day there won't be enough to go around. Yet, work is the one thing that laborers have too much of from childhood to old age. And "their" secretary is fretful lest they do not get enough of it, lest they be compelled to rest.

What a dreadful moment it must be for Mr. Rockefeller when eventually his secretary comes to him with this news: "Mr. Rockefeller, you have now all the money in the world, and I am afraid you are going to be a little short of cash." Or of a fisherman telling his wife: "There is the ocean, our boat draws three feet of water, and I am afraid there won't be enough of it to float the boat." So the Secretary of Labor speaks to the laborer, and says: "You have two hands, the surface of the earth is your job, I am afraid you will be short of work."

Says Mr. Post: "I feel that there should be continued existence of the agency represented through the National War Labor Board. The decisions of that board, providing for a review of the wage awards every six months on the basis of changes in the cost of living, and more particularly the awarding of the right of collective bargaining, if entered into thoroughly and in harmonious spirit by workers and employers alike, will do much to solve the problem through the operation of the shop committees."

Why not employ all workers on agencies and boards? There is no limit to the jobs one can make. And really, once having fairly started with this miserable meddling there is no limit to the needs for extending it. Some government agency or board should have authority to say, after a fair and impartial hearing of all concerned, what the size of a hole in a doughnut should be. A change from all dough to all hole would materially change the basis of the cost of living. Such radical changes, of which there might be thousands, should be reflected in wage awards, say once in six months, to accept Mr. Post's suggestion as to length of time.

Seriously, do not Mr. Post's words and the Industrial Commission's statistics show that the principles of government itself have been lost sight of?

Instead of keeping the national estate, the land, open so that ALL labor could employ itself, the so-called Department of Labor spends its time and millions of dollars in petty and fruitless bickerings about hours of work among private employers. Mr. Post treats labor as slaves in charge of slave owners. His every word implies that labor is not free. That "boards must review and award wages."

Mr. Post's statement utterly condemns the government. If labor is

not free what on earth is the government doing? That's what it was instituted for, to secure peace and freedom. Can gross neglect be compensated for by a labor department going among the employers and interfering with their private business? Let the government attend to its business and unlock the God-given storehouse of nature—the land—and not send out Secretaries to plead that employers give crumbs of work to labor. Land Monopoly Uses Secretaries to

#### Chloroform Labor.

Plainly, this Democratic administration has no intention to end the evil of land monopoly. If it had it would not send out Secretaries to bolster it up. The present Wilson administration has, due to the war, had such powers given to it that it could have ended, or at least permanently crippled, the land-graft business in two months' time. Instead, it has enormously strengthened it by its stubborn refusal to even so much as let it be recognized in a tax bill. I can think of no name fit for the Wilson administration save this: The Land Owners' Welfare Administration. Labor must continue to buy from land monopoly permission to work. Compulsory purchase of permission to work has reduced three-fourths of our citizens to a propertyless class. Among those owning the land it has raised thousands of millionaires. The whole power of our government is expended to maintain this privilege. Not merchandise, but land ownership, permits to work, is the largest single item of "property" and of trade among our people. Thus, mere permission to work becomes a boon, jobs become scarce and valuable—not to those who labor at the job, but to those who own the job.

Under this intolerable condition, created by official incompetence or worse, secretaries of labor tell the two set of victims, employer and employee, to be good and not fight. Industry is limited by its ability to buy permits to work from land owners. Limited by the amount of money it can first spend as a bribe. It can not turn a wheel before it makes a bargain with a landlord to step aside.

It is this land monopoly, this ugly institution that lives on the money it receives from giving permits to work that this Democratic administration has coddled and protected. Citizens, whom the government was instituted to protect, it leaves to the tender mercy of greedy landlords, to rack-renters, like the Scully estate and the Schenley estate. But the land speculator, the forestaller, the fellow who lives by being bribed, whose only industry is to issue permits to work, him, the government did not tax at all.

People say landlordism is an institution and one should not blame landlords personally.

Yes, landlordism is an institution of bribery. It produces nothing but poverty. But it consists of individuals who live and prosper by issuing permits to work. Landlords, through the laws that give them power, confiscate over 60% of all that the workers produce and render nothing in return. They take the meat and leave to workers the bones. When the starlings start fighting over the bones Secretaries of Labor come and tell them that all that matters is the difference between 8 hours work and 10

Yes, that's what Secretaries of Labor do. And in the name of a government instituted to secure peace and equal freedom to its citizens.

Mr. Post was asked if he thought wages would continue to increase, and if so, what the effect would be on living costs.

"Wages have not increased in proportion to the cost of living," he replied. There has been much talk of war prosperity, time and a half for overtime, double time on Sundays, and the like. I have heard of a man who got along by working only on Sunday. But these cases are not the general rule."

That was a remarkable case among workers. But it is not remarkable among landlords. Some two millions of them work not even one day a week.

Secretary Post is disturbed over the Bolsheviki. Yes, they are awful, Mr. Post. They are dividing the land among the people. The permit sellers' occupation is gone—in Russia.

That must seem terrible to a Secretary of Labor in a government whose sole endeavor seems to be to make the permit-seller's occupation profitable.

As already stated this idea of separate departments for special interests of labor, commerce, farmers, etc., is wrong in principle. It is consistent only with Socialism, under which government assumes the management of all human activity.

A government that is instituted like ours to secure liberty and freedom and equality should know us only as citizens. Continuing on its present course with special departments and their numerous bureaus, one for every phase of modern life, there is no logical stopping place short of complete communism. The acceptance by a singletaxer of a position such as Secretary of Labor, or of Commerce, is in itself a denial of the faith.

The governmentalists are already clamoring for a Secretary of Health. Next, they will want a Secretary of Wealth. Then there will be a Secretary of Plumbers, and a Secretary of Drummers.

We will have everything but real government. And if the Bolsheviki don't get a move on we will beat them to bedlam.