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EDITORIAL

Civilization and Barbarism.

For generations the maritime nations have been charting the seas and marking the points of danger from rocks, shoals, and reefs. Lights have been placed at points of danger, and buoys to mark channels. Everything known to science has been done to lessen the dangers to ships. That was civilization. During the past year these lights have been put out, the buoys have been replaced with mines, and submarines lurk in all channels. That is barbarism.

S. C.



The British Answer.

In rejecting President Wilson's protest the British government has refused to be either just or reasonable. It takes the untenable position that trade between neutral countries must be subject to the regulation of belligerents. The stand is not only unjust but—even from a British point of view—unwise. An opportunity was presented to make a better showing than Germany in dealing with a just protest from a neutral nation. This has now been lost. Fortunately we have with Great Britain—as we should also have with Germany—the recently made Wilson-Bryan peace treaty. This ensures reference of the matter to an impartial tribunal should there be failure of other means of satisfactory settlement.

S. D.



Peace Cannot Come Too Soon.

When suggestions are offered of an early peace in Europe, objections are presented by extreme partisans of both sides. "Peace made now would be but a truce," they say. "We must fight on until our enemies are completely crushed." The argument seems to take too much for granted. Immediate peace might turn out to be but a truce, but it is by no means certain that it would. There would be at least a cessation of fighting, there would be time for passion to cool and there would be the natural reluctance to hurry about

disturbing peaceful pursuits, once the people have again settled down to them. Moreover the democratic elements, which were deluded by false cries into support of the war, would probably be on guard and could not be deceived a second time. There would furthermore be lacking the light-heartedness with which a generation unused to great wars would enter a needless conflict. The movements to bring about peace need be neither deterred nor discouraged by the predictions of pessimistic partisans.

S. D.

A Los Angeles "Scrap of Paper."

Agreements treated as "mere scraps of paper" exist in the labor war in this country as well as in the European war of nations. The latest act in violation of such an agreement is the prosecution at this late date at Los Angeles of David Caplan and Nathan Schmidt for alleged complicity in the MacNamara affair. The MacNamaras plead guilty after Lincoln Steffens had secured from business and labor representatives and the District Attorney an understanding that further prosecutions would be dropped. This compact was not kept. The prosecution of Clarence Darrow and of the twenty-three iron workers at Indianapolis were both in violation of it, and now comes the prosecution of Caplan and Schmidt instigated by a Los Angeles business organization. The fact that the prisoners have been prominent and active in labor organizations since the time of their alleged crime gives color to the claim made by their friends that but for this activity they would never have been prosecuted. This policy of relentless prosecution must be exceedingly harmful to public interests, especially if it should result in conviction and infliction of the death penalty. Such an occurrence can not fail to be injurious to industrial peace.

S. D.

Justifiable Contempt.

For refusing to violate confidence which a child reposed in him, Judge Lindsey has been found guilty of contempt of court. Lindsey would hardly be human if he entertained much respect for a judge who would use his power to compel commission of a dishonorable act.

S. D.

Safety Afterwards.

The steamship Eastland that capsized with such sad results in the Chicago River was long known to be a cranky boat. Some authorities insisted that

she was not safe with the number of passengers permitted by the government inspectors; other experts said she was. No attempt was made to determine the fact. After the boat had turned over, and a thousand people had been drowned, experts and laymen alike knew that she was not safe with that number of passengers. Since that disaster, another excursion boat running out of Chicago has undertaken to reassure the public by making the test that should have been made with the Eastland, and all other boats. The government allows this steamer to carry 3,736 persons, passengers and crew. This boat was tested by piling the weight of 4,000 people, in the shape of passengers, crew and sand bags on one side. It has been proven by a physical test that she will not turn over with her allotment of 3,736 persons, no matter how they place themselves on board.

But this is provision against only one of the dangers that people encounter who go down to the sea in ships. Suppose one or more of the ship's boilers bursts while that number of people are on board. Or suppose another vessel crashes into her in a fog. What then will become of a half or two-thirds of those 3,736 persons? The men in charge will do well if they save a thousand; it will be little less than a miracle if they save two thousand. These accidents, as well as many others, are always possible; and the sand-bag test will not apply here. Only an actual physical demonstration will determine the fact. It also will be made some day, and then we shall have another fact to add to the Eastland fact. Is it really necessary, however, to get this fact at such a cost? Does not the difficulty of getting an audience out of a burning hall or theater warn us against putting so many people on one boat? Captain L. V. Cooley, one of the best authorities on inland navigation, and a man of fifty years' boating experience on the Mississippi River, declares that we might expect the loss of a thousand people if the boat burned while tied to the dock. He places the limit of safety at twenty-five square feet of deck surface per passenger, in order to avoid the loss by panic in case of fire or collision. Such a limitation would cut down the revenue, and necessitate an advance in the fare. This brings the whole matter to a dollars-and-cents basis. Shall we take the chance with the cheap fare, or pay more and have greater safety?

S. C.

Remarkable Fluctuations.

On July 12 the vice-president of the Chicago

Tunnel Company estimated the value of the corporation's property at \$29,000,000. This included a value of \$6,300,000 on the automatic telephone plant at which price he wished to sell to the Bell Telephone Company, in violation of his corporation's agreement to forfeit it to the city. On August 6, though the property is still in the same condition, he declared it to be worth but \$1,000,000. The depreciation of \$28,000,000 in value was apparently due to the necessity of filing a tax statement on the latter date. That formality once over, the possibility of selling the property will undoubtedly restore values to where they were in July.

S. D.



Price as an Economic Force.

One-crop farming was long ago proven to be a hazardous and wasteful policy, and the new school of agriculturists have advanced many reasons for its discontinuance. Little progress, however, has been made with the cotton grower of the South. Tradition, custom, climate, and labor all combined to make cotton the prevailing crop. A man who raised cotton was a planter; the grower of potatoes or cabbages, or berries was a farmer, or a trucker. Cotton was produced mainly by a white capitalist employing negro labor; vegetables and fruits were grown for the most part by white men working for themselves. But there was one force working for diversified farming in the South that in the end always prevails, falling prices. Cotton has continued to decline until the price fell below the cost of production. Some planters continued in the hope of a return to former prices, efforts were made to limit the area planted—voluntarily and by compulsion—but the yield continued to increase, and the price to fall. The European war is likely to convince all but the ultra-conservatives that there are many reasons why the South as a whole will be better off when it is less dependent upon King Cotton. The fall in price from 12.5 cents a pound in 1914, to 7.3 cents in 1915, is an argument hard to meet.

S. C.



Popular Government and Liquor Interests.

The latest attack on popular government is being made in Ohio. There a proposition has been submitted to prohibit submission through the Initiative for a period of six years of any measure or part of a measure that has once been submitted and defeated. Measures of a similar nature, but less extreme, have at different times been submitted in other states and have been invariably rejected. So the same result may be confidently

looked for in Ohio—provided the friends of popular government are alert and active. The most vicious part of the proposition is in the clause forbidding resubmission of part of a measure that has once been rejected. Many a measure that deserves rejection as a whole may have good clauses which, if separately submitted, would be well worth adoption. The proposed amendment forbids this. Many a good measure may have tacked onto it some objectionable feature creating unnecessary opposition. The proposed amendment would prevent for six years resubmission with the objectionable feature omitted. Then many a measure has been defeated through some carelessness or misapprehension on the part of a few voters. The proposed amendment would deny for six years an opportunity to rectify the error.



Back of this proposition are persons masquerading under the title of "Constitutional Stability League." This is said to be an alias for the liquor interest whose immediate object is to block resubmission of a woman suffrage or prohibition amendment. To one who would credit the liquor interest with possession of political common sense such a charge seems incredible. It means nothing less than blindness to the very plain fact that such a course must drive into the prohibition ranks many who are opposed in principle to prohibitory or restrictive legislation, but who will not tolerate pernicious activity against popular government. It means moreover that the liquor interest is foolishly disregarding repeated warnings given it in localities where its agents have been guilty of such conduct. If within the liquor ranks there are any men with sufficient foresight to see the danger to their business they will exert themselves to secure withdrawal of any support the "Constitutional Stability League" may have secured. If there are no such men, or if their efforts prove unavailing, then there is further evidence to show that the most effective aid to the prohibition movement comes from the men active in the councils of the liquor business.

S. D.



A Progressive Liquor Organization.

A good suggestion is that offered by the Chicago Liquor Dealers' Protective Association in protesting against further increase of federal taxes on liquor. The Association shows that while Congress has been piling taxes on men "who strive and work and hustle," it has "treated with remarkable solicitude" men "who withhold useful land from

use while hundreds of thousands of willing workers are unemployed." The Association urges therefore a tax on land values should there be any need of additional federal revenue. It might have added that it would be well to substitute this tax for those now levied even though the present revenue be ample. As it is, however, it is a remarkably progressive declaration and shows a commendable spirit very different from what has been shown by liquor interests elsewhere or business interests generally.

S. D.

Growing Land Values.

How often has the advice been given the young, "Buy a piece of land and let it grow in value, and in your old age you will have something to fall back upon." Horace Greeley immortalized it when he uttered his famous "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country." And from one end of the nation to the other, in the populated and the unsettled districts, men have been possessing themselves of land, and letting it "grow in value." Note the expression, "let it grow." When a man raises potatoes or cabbages or wheat, he makes it grow; and the various improvements on the farm grow in value only so long as he is working upon them. The moment he stops working, they stop increasing in value. The land, however, grows in value whether he works or not.

Nevertheless, land values are the product of labor, just as cabbage values are. Both are produced by human labor, the difference being that in the one case the value is due to individual effort, and in the other, to the communal effort.

Land values are sometimes as broad and inclusive as the definition of land itself; the natural elements outside of man. Sometimes land values attach to air, sometimes to wind, sometimes to sunshine, and sometimes to a state of mind. At a certain point of the Florida coast the land had an exceptional value because at that point, owing to the peculiar formation of the shore, a refreshing breeze passed over it more than neighboring land. In London a certain church, having a window whose beauty depends upon the sunlight that comes across a low building next door, when threatened with the loss of the beauty by a new building, agreed to pay the owner of the lot a certain annual rental if he would not raise the building above a certain height. This was nothing more or less than paying for the sunlight that came across the land. In Chicago a particular

locality was so closely identified with the operations of the "black hand" that people were afraid to occupy the property, and land values fell in proportion to that fear. In places like San Francisco, and other California cities where sunshine is of prime importance, rooms facing south on an east and west street command higher rentals than rooms facing north. Owners are quick to call your attention to the sunshine as an offset for the higher price. There is, indeed, no advantage from air, sun, wind, or rain, that is not directly registered in the value of the land over which they pass, or upon which they fall.

In the case of the black-handed property in Chicago the close relation is seen between land values and the police power. It is often said owners of personal property and buildings should pay higher taxes than owners of land, for the reason that the government protects the one, and the other needs no protection. Land cannot be burned, stolen, or lost, they say; whereas all this may happen to personal property. As a matter of fact good or poor police protection has little effect upon the value of personal property or other labor products. They can be reproduced under a poor government as well as under a good government. If there be any difference at all, the personal property will be higher under the poor government. But the land values are directly affected by good or bad government. Where government service is poor, the owners of personal property tend to go elsewhere, and their departure, by reducing the demand for the land, tends to lower its value. "Growing land values" is proper enough. It is an inseparable accompaniment of the growth of society. It is merely a question of ownership. Shall land values belong to those who "grow them," to the community as a whole, or to the individuals who have exclusive possession of the land?

s. c.

An Easy Problem.

The Lake Katrine, New York, Grange is another organization of farmers who have intelligently studied the taxation problem. In a letter to the National Grange Monthly, published at Westfield, Mass., the Lake Katrine organization shows that the land value of all farms in New York State does not exceed \$300,000,000, while the value of ordinary lots in New York City alone is \$5,000,000,000. The members have consequently no trouble in seeing that if all taxes were placed on land values alone New York City's share of State taxes would be more than 16 times that of

the farmers. That disposes of the bugaboo about putting all taxes on the farmer. That the Lake Katrine organization should be able to see this is not at all strange. What is strange is that there should be any number of other farmers and farmers' organizations that find this simple arithmetical problem so difficult and perplexing.

S. D.

Who Should Pay?

A correspondent forwards the following letter from a charitable organization with a request for comment thereon:

Recently one of our visitors found a family consisting of father, mother and six little children in a small, dark basement flat, which was damp and unhealthy.

A few months ago the father was a big, strong, husky man, well able to work and support his family. He now is sick and the doctors are afraid he may have contracted tuberculosis. For several weeks he has most bravely tried to find work which he had strength enough for. When this could not be found he appeared to us.

His wife is an excellent housekeeper and homemaker and the children are unusually bright and attractive. The mother, however, has tried to do too much since the birth of the last baby and she now should go to the hospital for an operation if she is to live to bring up the family. We have moved them to a bright, airy, dry home and their church has agreed to assure the rent for three months; but we now must see that proper clothing, food and fuel and hospital care is given to them.

We have estimated that this will cost about \$42 a month. Would you not be willing to help this need and restore the family to health and strength. Any amount which you may send us will be used exclusively for this family.

Who is responsible for the plight of this family? The father contracted tuberculosis because compelled to live "in a small, dark basement flat." He had to live there because rentals of more healthy dwellings were too high and his wages too low. High rents were caused by an insufficient number of dwellings and low wages by an insufficient number of jobs. Yet the city where this occurred contains many vacant sites on which more dwellings might be built. If this were done the increase in dwellings would force down rents sufficiently to make it unnecessary for strong, husky laborers to live in damp and unhealthy basements and contract tuberculosis. Moreover, if building operations increased to that extent there would be an increase in the number of available jobs and wages would rise. But this is prevented by the fact that existing laws encourage withholding of valuable land from use. When a man builds on a vacant lot his taxes are increased. That discourages building. If he holds the land vacant it

may nevertheless increase in value. That is a good business reason for keeping it vacant and waiting for a rise. So the land remains unused while unemployed men search in vain for jobs, and big, strong, husky men must live in dark and unhealthy basements with their families. That explains this family's plight.

The cause of the family's plight being known, responsibility therefor can be located. It clearly rests with all those voters who have not tried to use their political power to change the system. For many years a movement has been in progress to make a badly needed change; to abolish taxes on improvements and other products of industry and make taxation of land values the sole source of public revenue. To those who through acts of commission or omission have hindered this change belongs the responsibility for all the evils which the change might have prevented. They are the people who should contribute to the aid of such victims of their opposition, as the family described in the letter. It would be a mistake to call such a contribution charity. It is, in fact, payment of damages, a partial recompense for a great injury committed. The recipient need not feel under obligations. He will but have received an installment on a just debt due him.

If, however, the person receiving the charity organization's appeal happens to be one of those working for the needed change in our laws, he would be justified in considering unfair the sending of such a request to him. He is not one of those responsible for the destitute one's condition. To contribute to charity, as requested, would be to lessen his ability to contribute to justice. Moreover, his charity would be payment on a debt owed by those who have been trying to hinder him in his effort to help in abolishing poverty. This information he may with good grace courteously impart to the charitable organization and suggest the propriety of confining its appeals to those responsible for the existence of poverty and distress.

S. D.

PETTY AND GRAND LARCENY.

Time was, no doubt, in the history of the human race when the term larceny, or any equivalent of it, meant nothing whatever; but in the grand sweep of human events there came a time when the institution of property in some of its forms (and it has had many) became necessary for the preservation of human life.

The first forms of property were, of course, the products of human industry and related to wearing apparel, and things used in the primary industries, like fishing and hunting. It must have been many thousands of years before artifice and artificial habits of thinking so blunted the primary instincts of the race that they could see nothing incongruous in making *property* of the forest and stream as we do today, and placing them in the same category as they did the game killed in the hunt.

As this instinct was generated by necessity, and became fixed by custom, property in these primal necessities became a fixed fact in even primitive society, and was finally safeguarded by civil laws and the intricate and elaborate legal machinery which makes it a crime or serious misdemeanor for any member of society to take these things *in retail* from any other member without rendering an equivalent, either legal, moral or physical.



To such a degree have we carried this custom that in pioneer communities in the West horse-stealing was considered the greatest of crimes. It was greater, in fact, than man-killing, because in such communities a horse was much more valuable, measured in terms of money, than a man, and hence horse-stealing was punished by death. There was a hideous lack of a sense of proportion in this, but modern society entertains many of the same foolish notions about property rights as our forebears. Our moral sense as to property rights has been developed only in a retail sense. We have outlawed petty larceny as far as it can be outlawed, and we have prohibited the poor from robbing the rich; *but we have not prevented the rich from robbing the poor.*

We punish the retail transgressions of property rights only; we do not treat, we do not grasp, we do not punish, the wholesale violations of property rights which are incorporated into the very texture of our social fabric. The poor cannot steal in wholesale; if they steal at all it will be in a very raw, crude, angular, unscientific and inartistic fashion, wholly shocking to the refined tastes of educated people.

This kind of theft we have outgrown and tabooed. While it is still practiced under a pressure that is compelled and sustained by the colossal and wholesale frauds everywhere perpetrated by institutionalized property wrongs, we do not give countenance to the "Bill Sykes" style of free-booter. We are much more refined in our methods.

We say that the poor must not rob the rich or the well to do, and we have devised the most elaborate machinery imaginable to prevent them from doing so; yet the fact remains that, if the rich were as rigorously and religiously forbidden to rob the poor as the poor are forbidden to rob the rich, there would be far less rich, there would be no social problem of consequence, and no involuntary poverty at all.

In our social view we care nothing for property rights in general; for property rights in particular we care everything.

The property rights of property owners are safeguarded as is nothing else in the world. But the property rights of the property producers are ruthlessly sacrificed, indeed. The major element in the property holdings of the property-owning classes is *the capitalized power to levy tribute upon the property produced by human toil*, in factory, mine, forest and farm, as fast as it is changed from a raw state into finished products.

Ground rent in private hands today represents this very power. "Ground rent" is not property in any legitimate sense. If it could be utterly destroyed there would be just as many good, useful and beautiful things in the world as ever. Ground rent is not useful today in any large way, it is not made by human hands, as is a spade; nor does it embellish life as a picture.

It has none of the qualities of real property, nor will it satisfy the simplest human desire, as does a loaf of bread; yet ground rent *in private hands* has a power under the law to absorb these things on a scale that is so stupendous that the brain recoils in very weariness at the attempt to grasp the total of its takings.



This is the "big thing" in so-called property rights of the present day; it is the ultimate source of economic power, it is around this "sacred" institution that the "State" has reared its highest fences and built its most formidable barricades.

This is the great modern "sacred cow" before which we all prostrate ourselves and upon whose altar we still make human sacrifice, as did the ancients. The conservation of property rights on this extended scale is, and has been the great national religion. On this subject there is no jesting. Here sincerity rises to the surface and shines resplendent, as in no other human institution.

This is the great American economic Joss. Jew and Gentile, Baptists and Presbyterians, Catholics, Protestants, Mormons, Dowieites, Holy Rollers and Protectionists, all doff the hat and bow the knee to this fair-visaged yet merciless and in-

flexible tyrant. The hem of her luxurious garment spreads out over the world, and her stygian shadow permanently engulfs myriads of worshippers in darkness.

'Twas ever thus with false gods. We have extended the domain of this tyrannic institution over a territory so large that the earth no longer has standing room for great multitudes of men; so they swarm into cities, to congest, rot, die and go to the potter's field. The struggle and the strife have reached such dimensions today that millions just manage to live, other millions barely exist, and great multitudes simply cannot give themselves away.

In no other department of the known world, animate or inanimate, can be found a parallel to this. In no other market save the labor market is there such unspeakable congestion. Chattel slaves could always find buyers, just as stock in the cattle and horse market. Man, alone, of all created or manufactured things can in uncounted instances find "no takers." Everything else has a price.



This is worse than a challenge, worse than an indictment; it is a crime; the worst of crimes; because it nurtures to successful accomplishment a myriad of individual transgressions which under more favorable auspices would never be committed.

These wholesale infractions of the moral law are the logical resultants of muddled thinking. *False thinking* has buttressed all of the idolatries, political, religious and economic, and there is but one remedy.

All of the swamps and bogs in which the human mind has floundered in the past and present are due to this one serious social fault, and at its base lies faulty education.

The products of labor were the first, as they will also be the last and only kind of property recognized by civilized men.

Capitalized ground rent will yet be used as the great social savings bank, the great old age insurance fund, the one and only source of public revenue, and the great universal horn of plenty in which we all can share alike in public benefactions.



The private appropriation of that which is socially created is the greatest and most disastrous of larcenies, because it robs great multitudes of men of their natural inheritance. It robs women of joys and gives back tears. It robs children of happiness and gives back desolation. It robs babes of life and gives back nothing. It is the great universal

infraction of the injunction "thou shalt not steal," either in the name of the law, or outside of its genial and comfortable ministrations to the physical well-being of the property-owning classes.

If human life is sacred, it should be protected, not only against the assaults of the evilly disposed, but it should be made immune from the invisible and evil influences which, in subtle and subterranean fashion and with resistless force, visit unspeakable miseries upon such a large portion of the human race. Invisible forces are the hardest to combat, because the hardest to detect; yet out of the "great invisible" there comes the electric energy that is playing such a marvelous part in the social economy of the modern world, and is doing it so generously, harmoniously, and silently, just because the laws of the "subtle current" are largely understood. So it is in the political and economic affairs of men; and the resistless economic forces which, operating in and beneath our political life, are rewriting platforms, shelving politicians, disintegrating parties, compelling some statesmen to "recant" and others to retire, and completely rearranging our whole political structure from top to foundation.

The inventor is the greatest of revolutionists; and the tremendous mechanical and economic agencies now at work in the world, directly resultant from the great inventions and discoveries of the last two centuries, are bound to have an equally powerful influence in recasting our methods, our public policies, our statecraft and our civil and economic life.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WORKING FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

From a Private Letter to Mrs. Fels, Published by Her Permission.

London, July 12, 1915.

I am addressing meetings for the Union of Democratic Control. I have taken a leading part in opening new branches of this movement at Leicester, Crewe, Exeter, and Kettering. When on my visit to Kettering I addressed the local "Trades Council" and opened fire upon Chiozza Money, M. P., who is the member for this division. Chiozza Money, as you know, is fiercely opposed to Singletaxers, and never misses a chance to slander and misrepresent them in and out of the House of Commons. Since the outbreak of the war he has made himself very conspicuous as a British naval officer, and writes to the Tory press. As a result of my speech in Kettering he made an attack upon the "Labour Leader" in the House of Commons. The "Labour Leader" is the only paper which reports the progress of the Union of Democratic Control. The result of his

parliamentary exhibition has been this, he is now marked as the arch enemy of the entire British labor movement. So much for Mr. Money. He can no longer play false with the democratic forces of this country.

The second gentleman I have had to meet was the Very Rev. Canon Masterman, brother of F. G. Masterman, who could not find a seat after his promotion to the Cabinet. This same F. G. Masterman made an attack upon Singletaxers in the National Liberal Club one evening while addressing the Liberal Open Air Speakers' League. I made him withdraw his statements and afterwards reported his speech to Mr. Fels. I think that Masterman was the last man Mr. Fels wrote to from America, and in his letter—of which he sent me a copy—he demanded an explanation from Masterman. I often wonder if Mr. Fels ever received an answer.

Well, Canon Masterman is just his brother's second edition. He was giving a lecture on "War and Democracy" and ending up he said that we must not trust democracy with the foreign policy of the country: they are too ignorant! With the recollections of his brother in my mind I could not control myself, so up I got and let him have it. I pointed out that we had only two groups to choose from: The so-called ignorant democracy on the one hand and the specially selected representatives of class interest on the other. The former would, in time, become wise through their mistakes, while the latter went on blundering and never became wise because the results of their folly fell upon the skins of other people. He just laughed at the idea of "uncultured navvies seeking to control international affairs" and tried to get behind some vague conception of a great Catholic Christian church. I do consider this man to be dangerous to any democratic cause.

MAC LAREN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE PROPOSED OHIO AMENDMENT.

Cleveland, August 3.

The measure initiated by the Ohio Site Value Taxation League is criticised by Ernest J. Batten in a recent issue of *The Public*. This measure proposes the exclusive land tax for local revenue upon the vote of any city, township, village or school district.

Mr. Batten suggests that an option to adopt any system would be more in keeping with the spirit of home rule.

Our decision to support the former type of measure was dictated by frankness. Wherever home rule in taxation has been promoted by Singletaxers, they are immediately accused of trying to bring about the Singletax by stealth. We do not propose to risk any doubts or suspicions as to the nature of our purposes nor the personnel of our backing.

Home Rule in Taxation, as an abstract proposal, has never greatly enthused any voting population. Refinements of political reform are futile to accomplish any real good unless they are accompanied by a gain in economic knowledge. That is why we are aiming primarily for an economic reform and secondarily for an enlargement of the powers of the

people with respect to taxation. Every signature gained for our proposal entails an argument as to the merits of the land tax and the educational effect of this canvass is far-reaching. We are assured that a victory won for our program will not represent a fictitious showing of strength.

To sum up, our measure is a straight land tax proposal, but optional and local in its application so as to appeal to the man who is in an experimental mood. Among the persons who consulted in framing it were Newton D. Baker, Peter Witt, A. B. du Pont, Stephen Stilwell, Elizabeth Hauser and W. P. Halenkamp, all residents of Ohio.

H. P. BOYNTON.



PROPERTY RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

Chestnut Hill, Mass., July 27.

Up to the present time, as far as I know, attention has not been called to the confusion of thought and speech which makes no distinction between true property rights on the one hand and monopoly or special privileges on the other. Our most notorious public speakers and social welfare workers are continually harping on the statement that human rights must be put above property rights and they seem to sincerely believe that most of our social and economic ills arise from what they claim is the present habit of considering property rights more sacred than human rights.

True property rights and human rights are identical and coexistent. It is because we fail to recognize and protect true property rights that human rights suffer as they do and we have such dire poverty with all its attendant distress and evils. If we would stop confiscating by taxation a large part of what each individual earns by his own labor and ability, which represents a true property right, and tax instead the publicly created values, which we now hand over to a favored few and which do not represent any right at all but a special privilege, it would become, at once, evident that human rights and property rights are identical.

Under our present stupid and inhuman system of taxation, we certainly deprive the majority of the people of liberty, happiness and even life itself, by an indirect method of slow torture; in other words, by indirectly depriving them of their true property rights.

What our worthy friends are railing at is really the setting of special privilege above human rights and property rights. It is a tactical mistake to confuse special privilege with property rights, for the reason that the majority of mankind desires to be just, and they can see no justice in depriving even a rich man of that to which the law entitles him, because of some morbid sentimentality. If, on the other hand, we can show that we desire to deprive no man of his rights but simply to insure equal rights to all, by a simple, natural and easily applied method, we shall gain the attention of many, who would otherwise look upon us as mere sentimentalists and cranks. It is most important that people desiring to bring about social and economic reform should think and speak clearly to the end that they may be more easily and clearly understood.

EDMUND J. BURKE.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE.

Washington, D. C., July 24, 1915.

Two quotations in today's Washington paper may have some interest for those who believe in the solution of the land question.

Speaking of the Standard Oil strike at Bayonne:

Added to the seriousness of the outlook is the good situation. Most of the strikers earned from 98 cents to \$2.25 a day for fourteen hours' work before they went out. They have no surplus to fall back on. . . .

"The whole situation is infamous and terrible," said (Amos) Pinchot after an investigation of conditions, "and my sympathy is whole-heartedly with the strikers."

And the following in reference to the Supreme Court decision on land grants to railroads in the West:

The court pointed out that the obligations had not been performed; it noted that, while the law forbade selling more than 160 acres to a purchaser, areas of 1,000, 2,000, 20,000 and even 45,000, had been disposed of to single purchasers; and instead of being used to establish homes, the lands had been used "for speculative purposes."

It is a fact that one of the reasons why men have to work 14 hours a day for 98 cents is that land is being held out of use for speculative purposes; not alone by the railroad corporations but by individuals in all parts of the country.

Application of the Singletax will tend to open opportunity for labor at higher wages.

WALTER I. SWANTON.

A CORRECTION.

Philadelphia, Aug. 4.

In the issue of July 23 was a letter from me written just after the brutal destruction of the Lusitania and before the facts as to her cargo and armaments had been ascertained. It was written to protest against the wicked weakness of allowing a righteous anger to obscure our judgment as to the significance of the German attack on this peaceful ship filled with non-combatants, and it was rather a warning comment on our own mental attitude than a stricture on any of the belligerent nations. However, being very far from thinking them "all" equally "barbarous and blameworthy," most particularly as regards the event of the sinking of the Lusitania, I must respectfully protest against the caption under which my letter appeared. While convinced that war is, or should be a preventable crime, and that all participants inevitably add their quota of horror and mistake, I am also equally convinced that Germany and her allies have been the most culpable among the belligerents, from the inception of this war to date, and cannot allow my name to appear to give assent to any other opinion.

FLORENCE BAYARD KANE.

There is something wrong in a government where they who do the most have the least. There is something wrong when honesty wears a rag, and rascality a robe; when the loving, the tender, eat a crust, while the infamous sit at banquets—Robert G. Ingersoll.

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, August 10, 1915.

The European War.

The capture of Warsaw by the Germans was the principal event of the past week in the war. The city was occupied on August 6. Following this the combined German-Austrian army has continued to press the Russian forces back. Ivangorod was occupied on August 7 and Kovno on the following day. On August 9 Praga, a suburb of Warsaw on the eastern bank of the Vistula, was taken. In the Baltic region the Russians are also retreating. On August 9 the seaport city, Riga, was attacked by a German fleet of 9 battleships and 12 cruisers. A German cruiser and two torpedo boats are reported to have been damaged by mines. [See current volume, page 761.]

On the western front comparatively little has taken place. On August 9 Sir John French reported retaking by the British forces of the trenches at Hooge, east of Ypres, which had been recently lost to the Germans after a previous capture by the British. A raid by French aeroplanes took place on August 9 at Saarbruecken, northeast of Metz. A number of shells were dropped.

On the Austro-Italian border reports on August 9 are to the effect that Italian batteries have compelled Austrian evacuation of the region around Montozzo, 34 miles northwest of Trent.

In England the national registry under the new registration act began on August 9. Every householder in the country must report the name of every resident on his premises.

The British answer to American protests against interference with neutral commerce was made public on August 4. The British government refused to accept the American contention that the orders in council are illegal and declared that it must continue to apply the orders, and only promised to try to avoid embarrassment to neutrals. The answer was contained in two separate notes. The first referred to violation of the laws of war by the Germans and Lord Bryce's report thereon, and argued from this necessity to use every "justifiable" method of defense. It also mentions as justification the American blockade carried on

during the Civil War. The second note relates to protests made to Great Britain against detention and unloading of the American steamship *Neches* from Rotterdam. Here also the acts of Germans are cited in justification.



The German answer to the American protest of June 26 against sinking of the *William P. Frye* was published on August 5. It asserted the right of a German commander to sink a neutral vessel carrying contraband. It further declared that the matter had been laid by the German government before the prize court at Hamburg, which had found that the cargo carried by the *Frye* was contraband, that the vessel could not be carried into port and that the sinking was justified. Should this finding be unsatisfactory to the American government, the note further declares, the German government is prepared to submit the matter to the Hague Court.



Mexico:

After meeting on August 5 and continuing the discussion for several days, a decision on the Mexican problem was finally arrived at on August 9 by the diplomatic representatives of Argentine, Brazil, Chili, Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala and Secretary of State Lansing. The details have not yet been made public but the plan in substance is as follows:

First—An appeal will be made to the Mexican factions to compose their differences in a convention or by such other means as they may regard as practicable.

Second—If any faction fails to observe this injunction the other factions will be expected to set up a government which in due season will be recognized by the United States, the republics of South America, and the powers of Europe and the far east.

Third—The faction that refuses to support the plan will be barred from the privilege heretofore exercised of obtaining support of any kind from either the United States or South America. This means that the opposing faction will be unable to get equipment for military forces or funds to further military operations.

Fourth—With a full understanding of the purposes of the United States and Latin America, influential leaders in Mexico will proceed to the establishment of a provisional government. This government will at once be recognized by the United States and the other great powers.

Fifth—A plan will be devised to finance the new government of Mexico.

[See current volume, page 763.]



Major General Hugh L. Scott was commissioned on August 6 by Secretary of State Lansing to call on General Villa with a view to securing his cooperation in plans of restoring peace. [See current volume, page 302.]

Haiti.

General Resolvo Bobo, leader of the successful revolution in Haiti notified American Rear Admiral Caperton on August 5 that his troops would disarm. His example has not been followed by his comrade, General Cacos, who has refused the demand to disarm made of him by the American consul. [See current volume, page 762.]



The Labor War.

The painters' strike in Chicago was finally settled on August 7 after a four months' tieup. The union was conceded a closed shop. The agreement covers a term of three years and contains an arbitration clause. For the third year the men are to receive a wage raise of 2½ cents an hour. This ends all the difficulties in the building trades that have prevailed since spring. [See current volume, page 763.]



The New York State Industrial Commission announced on August 5 that the strike of aluminum workers at Massena had been settled.



Workers employed by the du Pont Powder Company at Wilmington, Del., and other points were notified on August 5 that eight hours would constitute a working day with wages the same as they have received for ten hours.



The Aetna Chemical Company at Gary, Ind., announced on August 9 a wage raise of 10 per cent for August with a further advance of 10 per cent for each month thereafter for four additional months, or five months in all. Should the experiment prove satisfactory, the increases will continue for five months more, or until the present rate of wages will have doubled. This will remain in effect thereafter until the end of the war.



Buying Land for the Unemployed.

A proposition to buy land for the use of unemployed is being pushed by The People's League of St. Louis, of which Sheridan Webster is the general secretary with headquarters at 810 Olive Street. The plan will become operative as soon as \$10,000 has been pledged. The announcement states:

We want every person in the community who is interested in the proposition to give work to men at all times to come to People's League headquarters at once, and get in touch with this work. We want every man who wants work to come to us and learn more about the matter. We want everyone who has horses or cows or pigs or chickens, or anything else which we will need to start the people out onto the land to come to us and let us know what they have and on what terms we can get these things.

We want those who have land to sell or to give or to rent or to lease on acceptable terms to see us.

We want every person who wants to help abolish poverty or suffering or to lessen the same to come to us and learn how they can do many times more good by simply lending their money to this good work of helping the unemployed to make jobs for themselves than they can do by merely giving a little to sustain life, without giving any hope for a better future.



Government Report on Land Speculation.

A report just made by the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture says that during the last decade the service has opened to public entry more than 15,500 scattered tracts of land in the national forests comprising more than 1,700,000 acres. Further on the report says:

A constant pressure is being brought to bear on the government by private individuals who want to acquire possession of these heavily timbered agricultural lands, single quarter-sections of which often have a value as high as \$20,000 for the timber alone. In spite of the fact that some of these lands have soil suitable for agriculture, to throw them open as homesteads would not result in farm development. This has been proven over and over again where lands of this kind, acquired under the Homestead Law, are today held not by homesteaders but by lumber companies, who promptly purchased them from the settlers as soon as title passed from the government—a speculative process which effectively prevents men of small means from acquiring land and establishing homes. The government is withholding from agricultural entry all such heavily timbered land until after the timber is cut off. As soon as this is done, the land will be opened to entry and settlers will be able to acquire it directly from the government without cost, instead of having to pay from \$40 to \$60 an acre to land speculators. For example, on the Kaniksu National Forest in Idaho and Washington, the government's timber sales have been made to include much of the remaining timbered agricultural land. Within eight years fully 10,000 acres will be made available for settlement. Permanent homes will be established by the settlers, and there will be available for the use of communities approximately \$225,000 for roads and schools, their legal share of the proceeds from the timber sales. Private ownership of heavily timbered agricultural land blocks farming development; * * * government ownership insures such development under conditions that give opportunities to the small settler whose only capital is his strength and courageous perseverance. One of the most serious agricultural problems of the northwest today is the development of the logged-off lands in private ownership. In Oregon and Washington alone more than three million acres of such logged-off lands are lying idle, although much of this area has fine agricultural soil and a climate that insures abundant crops and the development of thriving communities. Yet in this same region hundreds of settlers are seeking to find places in the national forests, usually remote from transportation, high in the mountains, where the climate is harsh and the soil relatively poor, simply because

the good lands at lower levels outside the forests are held by the speculators at prohibitive prices.



Tax Reform News.

The Socialist party of Schenectady County, New York, in convention on July 31 adopted the following taxation plank at the instance of former Mayor Lunn:

We demand and urge the assessment of all real estate at its full value, and the introduction of a tax on land value so calculated as to take for the public funds that part of the rise in values due to the growth of population and public improvement.



In a protest to Congress against any further increase of taxes on liquor, the Chicago Liquor Dealers' Protective Association on July 6 showed that these taxes are not in fact paid by the brewers or distillers but are shifted onto the retail dealers. The protest then declares:

We also wish at this time to call your attention to a class of property that seems to have been treated with remarkable solicitude by Congress. We refer to property in land. We cannot conceive of a fairer method to all classes than a tax on land values. In common with other business men we are the prey of the owner of land values, with this exception that we are generally charged 50 to 100 per cent higher rents. It seems unfair to impose on the men of our nation who strive and work and hustle the entire tax burden and then allow those who reap the greatest income with the least effort to practically escape all national taxation. We, therefore, ask you to study the question of a tax on land values if it is found to be necessary to increase the national income.

A tax of this kind will be opposed by all wealthy parasites, by all the great land holding corporations and by all land speculators, but we do not think any objections which these interests may offer should be given much consideration by Congress. Men who withhold useful land from use while hundreds of thousands of willing workers are unemployed, should not be exempted from their just share of taxation.

A tax on land values would be fair to all, would be an inexhaustible source of all necessary revenue for the maintenance of our government and would be the means of giving employment to thousands of men by forcing into use an immense area of valuable idle land.



Educating New York's Prospective New Voters.

The committee on new voters of the Women's Henry George League of New York, of which Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett is chairman, has addressed every suffrage organization in the state, declaring the certainty of victory in the coming election on the suffrage question, and then goes on to say:

If the women voters use their ballots in a superficial futile way, their opportunities for timely patriotic service will be completely unmet, and their influence upon the new voters of other states will

fall far short of what it ought to be. There is a very grave possibility, judging by some of the legislation in the western states, that the women may tend to expend their energies in working for palliative rather than for fundamental legislation. But the women will have a wonderful advantage as new voters over the young men of twenty-one who every year become new voters, in that they will begin their active citizenship when they are, for the most part, mature instead of in callow youth. This fact alone ought to secure valuable results for the state. Now we who represent the movement indicated by this letter-head, most earnestly believe that the ethics of Henry George, TRANSLATED INTO PRACTICAL LEGISLATION, is the biggest possible use to which the ballot could be put, and so we offer to your organization an exceptional opportunity to consider the subject at this momentous time.

It is this: We will furnish, free of charge, to you a speaker for a meeting on "The Most Important Work for the New Woman Voter"; we will furnish not only the speaker, but an ample supply of notices including the postage, to be sent to all your members and to as large an additional mailing list as you may provide; we will also furnish material for press and publicity work, window cards, posters, etc., and we will share the collection equally with you. We will include in this offer any other interested women's organizations, which you may suggest, and we invite you to form with them a joint committee to arrange for this meeting. What we ask of you is to provide the place of the meeting, a chairman who will add weight and importance, some well known citizens to sit on the platform or otherwise grace the occasion, some ushers, a press chairman, and the clerical work of addressing the announcements. We believe that if you will join us in carrying out this plan that a most significant meeting can be held that will long be remembered by the women present, who are so soon to have the responsibility of at last doing their own direct part in moulding the character of their community.



Death of George Fitch.

George Fitch, author of humorous short stories, died at the age of 38 on August 9 at Berkeley, Cal., after an operation for appendicitis. Among Mr. Fitch's best known stories are his "Siwash College" tales and his stories about "Homeburg." He was a Progressive in politics and as such was elected in 1912 to the Illinois legislature.

NEWS NOTES

—Julia Marlowe, it is announced by her husband and fellow-actor, E. H. Sothern, has retired permanently from the stage.

—General George W. Goethals announced on August 9 his resignation as Governor of the Canal Zone to take effect on November 1.

—Theodor G. Bilbo won the Democratic nomination for Governor of Mississippi on August 3 at the state-wide primaries by a clear majority of 3,715 over four opponents, in a total vote of 144,653. The

result is a defeat of the faction headed by present Governor Brewer.

—Warden Edmund M. Allen resigned his position at the Joliet Illinois penitentiary on August 6. Three honor convicts escaped when they learned of his departure.

—Another landslide in the Culebra cut on the Panama Canal occurred on August 7. Eleven ships have been held up in consequence. [See current volume, pages 134, 621.]

—Single taxers of Duluth, Minnesota, formed a local organization on August 4. The officers are District Judge Bert Fesler, State Senator Richard Jones and T. T. Hudson.

—Maarten Maartens (J. M. W. van de Poorten-Schwartz), the Dutch novelist, who wrote his works in the English language, died at Zeist, Holland, August 4, at the age of fifty-seven.

—The formation of a coalition ministry in New Zealand was announced on August 1. Places are equally divided between both parties. F. W. Massey remains Premier and former Premier, Sir Joseph Ward, is Minister of Finance.

—James G. Blauvelt of Paterson, New Jersey, a leading progressive Republican, has announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for State Senator on a platform of Home Rule in Taxation, municipal ownership and local option.

—The National German-American Alliance in session at San Francisco on August 4 adopted resolutions condemning prohibition, endorsing national and state employment bureaus, the rural credit system, and protesting against shipments of war material.

—At the direct primary elections in Kentucky on August 7, Congressman A. O. Stanley received the Democratic nomination for Governor, E. P. Morrow the Republican nomination, and Fred J. Drexler the Progressive nomination. Stanley's victory is considered a defeat for State-wide prohibition.

—The United Charities of Chicago reports that 500 more families applied for aid during July of this year than in the same month of last year. More than 3,800 families, comprising 15,000 individuals, were helped. For the ten months past there have been more calls for aid and more help given than for the whole year preceding, and this is a continuation of a steady increase in poverty going on since 1909.

—Indictments for manslaughter were returned on August 10 by the Cook County grand jury against the president, vice president, secretary-treasurer and assistant secretary-treasurer of the St. Joseph-Chicago Steamship Company on account of the Eastland disaster. The captain and engineer were indicted for criminal carelessness. The federal grand jury is also considering indictments. [See current volume, page 763.]

—Pennsylvania and New York were swept by an exceedingly severe rain and wind storm on August 3 and 4. Atlantic coast shipping was badly damaged, with loss of several lives. At Erie, Pa., a resulting flood caused in part by the breaking of a dam, occasioned the death of at least fifty persons and the destruction of hundreds of buildings. Grain crops in the middle west, that promised heavy yields two

weeks ago, are now badly damaged by almost constant rains and cool weather.

—Judge Ben Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court was held in contempt of court on August 3 by Judge Perry of the Criminal Court. Lindsey has appealed to the Supreme Court. The contempt consisted in declaring that he would rather go to jail than divulge a confidential statement made to him by a twelve-year-old boy in the Juvenile Court. The violation of such confidence, Lindsey held, would be fatal to the usefulness of children's courts. [See current volume, page 379.]

—The State Grange of Washington at its session at Centralia in June adopted resolutions endorsing the Alaska coal land leasing law and the Federal Railway, and also the three conservation bills that failed of passage in the last Congress. These were the General Leasing bill to authorize exploration for and disposal of coal phosphate, oil, gas, potassium and sodium lands; the bill for retention by the government of radium lands; and the bill for leasing of arid lands unfit for other than grazing purposes. [See current volume, page 691.]

—The Liberal Party of Manitoba won a sweeping victory at the provincial elections on August 6. The party has obtained thirty-nine of the forty-six contested seats. Of the remaining seven, Conservatives have obtained possibly five. The other two seats go to Independents, one of whom is F. J. Dixon, the Winnipeg Singletax leader. The Conservative party had adopted a number of planks of the Liberal platform which it formerly opposed. Among these were woman suffrage, civil service reform, compulsory education, prohibition and reform in the election laws. It still fought, however, the Initiative and Referendum, the principal Liberal demand. The result ensures the return to office of Premier T. C. Norris and his cabinet. [See current volume, page 502.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 765) for the twelve months ending June, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for June, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
Merchandise	\$2,768,643,532	\$1,674,220,740	\$1,094,422,792	Expt.
Gold	146,224,145	171,568,755	25,344,607	Impt.
Silver	50,942,187	29,110,323	21,831,864	Expt.
Total	\$2,965,809,867	\$1,874,899,818	\$1,090,910,049	Expt.

The exports of merchandise for June, 1915, the eleventh month of the European war, were \$268,601,599, as compared with \$157,072,044 for June, 1914, and \$163,404,916 in 1913. The imports for June, 1915, were \$157,746,140, as compared with \$157,529,450 for June, 1914, and \$131,245,877 in 1913. Exports of gold have fallen off so sharply since November, 1914, that the total for the twelve months ending June, 1915, is \$25,344,607 less than the imports. The excess of merchandise exports over imports for the twelve months is well over a billion dollars.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Balance of Trade Illusion.

The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin (New York), July 28.—The official statistics for

the full fiscal year ending with June show what it has become customary in this country to call a "favorable balance of trade" of more than a billion dollars. The total value of exports was \$2,768,643,532, an increase of \$404,000,000 over the previous year, while that of imports was \$1,674,220,740, or \$219,700,000 less than the year before. . . . But what is the real significance of this piling up of a balance, and why should it be considered "favorable"? Favorable to what? Foreign trade is nominally an exchange of commodities, the products of labor and capital in different countries. Is there gain in giving in exchange more than is received? Some part of a balance may be paid for in the world's money, gold, but there is no advantage in that for a gold-producing country like the United States. It has gold to sell and no occasion for buying it with goods. In years past this balance of trade, or excess of exports, has gone in return for foreign capital to be invested in this country, and to pay interest and maturing principal for borrowed money. It has been used to incur and pay debts and for foreign services of one kind and another. During the same time Great Britain is having a huge balance on the other side, which meant wealth coming into her domain. Was that unfavorable? Now on account of the European war, our imports are obstructed and considerably reduced, while our exports are largely increased on account of the demand made for certain supplies. This excess of exports is paying debts abroad, bringing back American securities, bringing in some gold, which is not needed, and building up credits here, which foreigners may draw upon in the way of loans and of payments out of money borrowed here. We are paying debts and getting others into debt to us. There may be incidental advantage in that under the abnormal conditions of the time, but the final reckoning will come after a while when real values will count and not such large debts and credits. The exhausted nations will not continue to buy on a large scale, and will not have the wherewithal to sell on any similar scale for a good while. . . . It is better not to cherish illusions of permanent gain from this towering balance of trade except as a mitigation of coming losses.



Weighting Down the Safety Valve.

Chicago Herald, August 2.—The progress of the New York constitutional convention toward giving that state a frame of government really popular, democratic, responsible and efficient has been distinctly disappointing to all competent observers. In direction it has resembled the traditional progress of the crab.

There is, however, now at least a promise of better things. Last Friday former Senator Root, president of the convention, made some extremely pointed and pertinent remarks to the delegates. Here are some of them:

"The people are tired of quibbling and technicalities. They have abundant cause for complaint. I have been in public life for forty years, and in all that time our state government has been as representative as the government of Venezuela. If we don't give the people a real cure they will keep on demanding the initiative, referendum, and re-

call. Those are not cures, but nostrums. The time has come when invisible government must give way to government that is accountable and responsible. We must put through this plan for a complete reorganization of the government. Let it be our answer to the demand of the people for reform."

The exhibition to the Empire State's Belshazzars of the handwriting on the wall was the more impressive because Elihu Root was the exhibitor. No one has ever accused Mr. Root of being a "radical." Public discussions of his character and conduct have proceeded on just the contrary hypothesis.

Yet whatever his defects Elihu Root is not lacking in intelligence. He is not the dullard that are the devotees of what may be termed for brevity the William Barnes Jr. school of political thought. He sees and knows that that school is inviting deluges and earthquakes.



The People's Power.

Christian Science Monitor, July 17.—Ten States of the American Union are drained in part by the Missouri river and its tributaries. The total drainage area is about 492,000 square miles, which makes the basin one of the large river systems of the world. On its upper reaches, especially in the Rocky mountain region where the Missouri originates, it has a fall which, together with the volume of water carried, makes it potentially one of the great coming sources of power for the West. This, when transmitted to the well populated States of a later day that are to make the upper Mississippi basin one of the great centers of occidental activity, will be of huge service and immense economic value. Therefore the power needs first to be definitely located, then protected from private monopoly, and later used in obedience to ideals that are social and not selfish.

It is to the first of these tasks that the United States Geological Survey is now bending part of its efforts, with the co-operation of some of the States through which the Missouri river flows. Co-operating thus there is gain to both the Nation and the States, in that accurate data become available for each party when they come to settle their claims of jurisdiction over the sites and waters involved. Until Congress and the Supreme Court definitely pass upon some of the issues involved in this controversy, issues which have been raised recently by some of the States, it will be difficult for investors to know precisely how to act in any concerted and comprehensive way. But meantime a survey thus conducted will be timely and prudent.



Natural Advantages Don't Need Tariff Protection.

The Star (San Francisco), July 3.—"California is naturally a Republican State—meaning that it will favor a return to the policy of protection to home industries," says the Chronicle. If that be true, why all this blowing about the "natural advantages of California"? We have booster clubs whose business is to tell the people of the East that California is naturally the most favored of all the States, the best State in which to live, the easiest State in which to make a living. But the Chronicle says all that is blow, boast and bluster, because it

is "naturally" a State that requires tariff protection in order that its people may survive industrially. If what the Chronicle says be true, the booster clubs are trying to get settlers under false pretenses. If what the Chronicle says be true, the California Development Board is merely chasing rainbows, because without tariff protection California's goose is cooked.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GETHSEMANE.

From Northwestern Christian Advocate.

In golden youth, when seems the earth
A summer land for singing mirth,
When souls are glad and hearts are light
And not a shadow lurks in sight,
We do not know it, but there lies
Somewhere, veiled under evening skies,
A garden each must some time see—
Gethsemane, Gethsemane—
Somewhere his own Gethsemane.

With joyous steps we go our ways,
Love lends a halo to the days,
Light sorrows sail like clouds, afar,
We laugh and say how strong we are,
We hurry on, and, hurrying, go
Close to the border land of woe
That waits for you and waits for me,
Gethsemane, Gethsemane—
Forever waits Gethsemane.

Down shadowy lanes, across strange streams,
Bridged over by our broken dreams
Behind the misty cape of years,
Close to the great salt font of tears
The garden lies; strive as you may
You cannot miss it in your way.
All paths that have been or shall be
Pass somewhere through Gethsemane.

All those who journey, soon or late
Must pass within the garden's gate;
Must kneel alone in darkness there
And battle with some fierce despair.
God pity those who cannot say—
"Not mine, but Thine"; who only pray
"Let this cup pass," and cannot see
The purpose in Gethsemane,
Gethsemane, Gethsemane—
God help us through Gethsemane



MAJORITY RULE AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

For The Public.

Much stress is laid by certain persons of known reactionary tendencies, in constitutional conventions and elsewhere, upon the necessity of protecting individuals and minorities from oppression by

majorities. Upon this alleged necessity is based an argument against majority rule, since, in a real democracy, the only security for individuals and the minority lies in the sense of fairness and justice of the majority, as expressed in its laws.

In the ordinary administration of justice there is no reason why an Anglo-Saxon democracy should abolish its inherited safeguards for the individual, such as jury trial, the writ of habeas corpus, the requirement that life, liberty and property shall not be taken without due process of law, and so on; and in view of the fact that they were originally exacted at considerable cost and effort by the many from a privileged order, there is every reason to believe that they will be retained, at least in statutory form.

But is not the assumption that an unrestrained democracy will oppress the minority without any historical basis of fact? We know, of course, that minorities oppress majorities, both individually and collectively; for history is mostly a record of minority rule by which and to maintain which every conceivable crime has been committed. Although no claim of infallibility is made for majority rule, it never has been guilty of the horrible crimes and oppressions connected with minority rule. The Reign of Terror following the French Revolution is often cited as an example of what unrestrained democracy leads to. Of course the circumstances of that case were exceptional. The aristocracy of France were inciting foreign powers to invade their country and restore the old order, and the work of the guillotine ceased as soon as this foreign menace had passed. We do not, however, defend the wholesale decapitations. We merely claim an alibi for democracy. The charge against democracy has resulted from confusing it with a revolution. The latter often uses the power of the majority to overthrow an existing government. The former uses that power to establish a government which is continuously amenable to the will of the majority. One is merely destructive; the other is constructive. The French Revolution did not result in a democracy. There was not even a representative government deriving its power from the votes of the majority, for there were property qualifications for voters and the elections were indirect. Between the deposition of Louis XVI and the crowning of Napoleon, there existed in France no political machinery by which the will of the majority could be expressed or be made effective.

Ancient Athens and Sparta also have often been referred to as democratic failures. It is true that there existed in those states certain machinery for ascertaining and enforcing the will of the majority of citizens. But citizenship was a privilege of only a minority of the whole population. The majority were slaves. The twin cancers of slavery

and land monopoly were sufficient to destroy these states, which, being ruled by minorities, cannot rightfully be classed as democracies.

Not only does the claim of majority oppression receive little or no support from history, but it fails equally upon analysis. Continuous governmental exploitation must operate through laws granting special legal privileges. But these can be granted only to an insignificant minority. Ten thousand stockholders of a railroad corporation might, through excessive rates, plunder the ten million patrons of the line. But there is no known method whereby the process can be reversed so that the ten million can continuously exploit the ten thousand. The inevitable tendency of the private ownership of land values is toward a monopoly of the land by a few. And so it is with other forms of special privilege. Of course the majority might confiscate not only the minority's power of exploitation, but its property in labor products as well. For example, it might take over the whole physical plant of the railroad without compensation. But the exploitation would begin and end with this one act. However, since this never has been done, there is no ground for assuming that it will be done. A majority with the intelligence necessary to establish self-government knows that it can not live by mutual robbery or by exploiting the minority.

On the other hand, it is possible and even probable that the majority, when it obtains political power, will interfere with the liberty of individuals and of the minority in many unjustifiable ways. It will pass minimum wage laws, workmen compensation acts, laws limiting the hours of labor, and many other irksome regulations, all of which would be unnecessary if the cause of social injustice—special legal privilege—were entirely removed. However, we must look to the motive for enacting such laws, which is not to exploit but to ameliorate the economic condition of the workers. The purpose is praiseworthy, however mistaken the methods may be, as some of us believe. But because the majority will make mistakes is no reason for denying it political power, even if such a denial were possible, which it is not.

Because men have not economic freedom, because through the monopoly of the earth by the few the many are denied the right of self-employment, all other forms of liberty, even after centuries of struggle, are only partially and precariously enjoyed. In this supposedly free country many people dare not openly discuss their political opinions; the writ of habeas corpus is frequently denied workingmen; many are compelled to be witnesses against themselves in criminal proceedings; most of the Negroes of the South are disfranchised; sailors are still held in involuntary servitude, and will be until November of this year;

and all these in spite of constitutional guarantees. Theoretically, all persons are equal before the law, but in the ordinary administration of justice, the poor man receives very different treatment from that accorded the rich man. As a matter of fact, all forms of liberty depend upon economic freedom for their security, for they can be enjoyed only when there is power to enforce them. Economic slaves have no such power. Economic freedom never has been and never can be secured through a despot, no matter how benevolent he might be. That can come only through democracy, where, with equal political power, the selfishness of one will be neutralized by the selfishness of another.



Instead of democracy or majority rule being a menace to individual liberty or individual rights, it is the only known security. Of course, if there is included in the definition of liberty or rights the so-called right of one person to exploit another, then we admit that democracy is utterly destructive of such mis-called liberty or right.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.



TWENTY-EIGHT FARMERS OF 'YORK STATE.

There are twenty-eight farmers of New York State who will some day conclude that there "ain't no profit in farmin'," and in all likelihood they will not know why that appears to be the case—with them.

So far as their own experiences will be concerned, they will be correct. And yet they will in truth be mistaken in their belief that there is "no profit in farming." They simply will not have chosen the most profitable form of farming. I do not mean by that that they will not be sufficiently "scientific" in their farming, or sufficiently "intensive," or that they will lack in farm management or in intelligence or in energy. I mean that they will have chosen the wrong method or form of farming in that they will be farming farms, as distinguished from the wealthy Western land speculator who recently purchased twenty-eight 'York State farms and who will now proceed to farm the farmers who will farm the farms.

There is an upward movement in the matter of farm values in New York State, and in all probability the values of these farms will be so much enhanced by society's needs that the prices of them will become prohibitive of purchase by those who only farm the farms. And these last will therefore become renters, farm renters: a class which, under our present system of land holding and land use, is menacingly increasing.

The worthy enough gentleman who has purchased these twenty-eight farms will toil not,

neither will he spin, and yet the value of all the Sunday raiment of all the farmers who will farm these twenty-eight farms would not be sufficient to array him suitably for one modern social function. There is an absolute certainty about the profits of his farming, for droughts may come and droughts may go, market prices of farm products may go up or they may go down, but his rent goes on—forever. Farm crops may be large or they may be small, but the crop of farmers who must farm farms never knows a failure, and it increases day by day as positively as water seeks the lowest level.

There are twenty-eight farmers of 'York State who, in all probability, have something to learn—about farming. ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.



WHAT MAY HAPPEN.

From Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography*. Written in 1855.

I now expect, as I have anticipated for many years, a war in Europe which may even outlast the century—with occasional lulls, and I suppose the result must be, after a dreary chaotic interval, a discarding of the existing wornout methods of government, and probably the establishment of society under a wholly new idea. Of course, none but a prophet could be expected to declare what that new idea will be. . . . But all that I feel called on to say now, when I am not writing a political essay, is that the leading feature of any such radical change must be a deep modification of the institution of Property—certainly in regard to land, and probably in regard to much else.

Before any effectual social renovation can take place, men must efface the abuse which has grown up out of the transition from the feudal to the more modern state; the abuse of land being held as absolute property, whereas in feudal times land was in a manner held in trust, inasmuch as every land-holder was charged with the subsistence of all who lived within his bounds.



Every war terminates with an addition of taxes, and consequently with an addition of revenue, and in any event of war, in the manner they are now commenced and concluded, the power and interest of governments are increased. War, therefore, from its productiveness, as it easily furnishes the pretense of necessity for taxes and appointment to places and offices, becomes the principal part of the system of old governments, and to establish any mode to abolish war, however advantageous it might be to nations, would be to take from such government the most lucrative of its branches. The frivolous matters upon which war is made show the disposition and avidity of governments to uphold the system of war, and betray the motives upon which they act.—Thomas Paine.

BOOKS

THE RIGHTLY-GOVERNING STATE.

The Orthocratic State. By John Sherwin Crosby. Published by Sturgis and Walton Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.10, postpaid.

When John Sherwin Crosby died last year, he left to his world of sincere truth-seekers for whom he had already done so much, a legacy—a little book. In his "hour of physical darkness" he lighted a precious lamp of democracy, crystal clear. From cover to cover, step by step, principle upon principle, is developed a scientific theory of government.

The subject-matter of the science of government is "the conduct of man toward man." The "State," co-extensive in territory and members and yet entirely distinct from "Society," depends upon the natural laws of Society "for all warrant for its existence and exercise of power." "Natural rights," inalienable and universal, are to a science of government "what the axioms of mathematics are to a science of quantity." . . . "The fundamental, universal principle of human conduct, the general rule by which mankind should be guided in all their actions affecting one another, is simply this: that no human being should interfere with or infringe upon any natural right of another." The "primary natural rights" of life, liberty, property and contract are therefore supplemented by his secondary or subsidiary right of self-defence which "never comes into play except when necessary to prevent infringement" of a primary right. In this right of individual self-defence is found the "only just warrant for either individual or forcible control of any man's conduct."

There follows a wonderful chapter on the functions of government. "Peace-preserving, Right-preserving, Public-serving, Self-preserving"—"all the legitimate uses of civil power are included in the above named four and only functions of government." Within the "Public-serving" function comes the adoption and maintenance of a system of land tenure for private purposes. Further, it is the duty of the State not only to devise equitable land holdings, but to provide public highways. "Every human being has not only a natural right to exclusive possession of land essential to his abode and self-employment, the right of location, but also the right to go to and from one place to another, the right of locomotion."

There are abuses of civil power, among them—and each is in a few sentences proved an abuse—are the suppression of free speech, capital punishment, protective tariff, patent rights, and one other, much dwelt upon by the author and not often enough recognized by other democrats—

"that Frankenstein-like creation by the State," the corporation. Both in this chapter on abuses of civil power and in the following one, on civic problems, Mr. Crosby discusses this evil creation by which the State confers privileges upon a group of individuals which other individuals have not. "Solution of the trust problem," he says, "must abide the time when the State shall realize that it cannot create artificial persons without infringing the rights of natural persons. As it has had to dissolve the trust by resolving it into its constituent corporations, so will it eventually have to resolve the latter into the individual natural persons of whom they are respectively composed. The alternative is State socialism, toward which the attempted regulation of corporations by government now tends."

Mr. Crosby's brief book is the product of a learned and original mind—so wise and so inventive as to choose and to be able to express profoundest thoughts in the simplest of sentences for the enlightenment and enjoyment of common men.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Evolution of Banking. By Robert H. Howe. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1915. Price, 50 cents.

—Nation of Nations. By Alfred Owen Crozier. Published by Stewart & Kidd Co., Cincinnati, O. 1915. Price, paper, 50 cents net.

—Outlines of Sociology. By Frank W. Blackmar and John Lewis Gillin. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The Minnesota Legislature of 1915. By Charles J. Buell. Published by the Author, 1528 Laurel Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 1915. Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

—Scientific Management. By Horace Bookwalter Drury. Whole Number 157, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$1.75 net.

—The Sovereign Council of New France: A Study in Canadian Constitutional History. By Raymond Du Bois Cahall. Whole Number 156, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Longmans, Green and Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$2.25 net.

PERIODICALS

Seers.

Among the interesting articles in the August Forum is one by Horace Traubel entitled, "With Walt Whitman in Camden." It is a record of rambling talks set down in February, 1889, with comments on Carlyle, Emperor William, Carnegie and others, all unique and characteristic. "Horace," he

said, "we are all under the thumb of the millionaires; ours is a millionaire government, without a doubt. . . . I do not know that I complain. The millionaires must have their innings too; that is a phase we are going through—cannot skip. . . . The people, who are now asleep, will yet wake up." Speaking of Emerson, he told of hearing him read his lecture on Slavery, and of how Emerson, at the end, exclaimed: "Slavery? and why do I speak of slavery? what right have I to speak of slavery? are we not all slaves?" Then Walt said: "I did not then realizing how profound that was, coming at such a moment—how very simple, yet also how very subtle it was." Another article well worth reading in this number of the Forum is that by Luis Cabrera on the "Religious Question in Mexico."

J. H. D.



"Taking Care of Belgium."

The New Republic of July 31 publishes an eight-page supplement by Helen Hyde Kittredge on the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium—a clear, impartial, human statement of "the biggest commissary undertaking the world has ever known" in which are engaged "a hundred thousand volunteer laborers" concerned with five governments. And "the keystone of the arch of the Commission for relief in Belgium is neutrality." "On October 26, Brand Whitlock, the American Minister, reported that nearly seven millions of the inhabitants of Belgium were facing famine. . . . On November first, the first consignment of food from America arrived in Rotterdam. . . . By November seventh, four hundred thousand meals a day were being issued in Brussels alone, at the price of a penny a meal. . . . From the beginning the Spanish Minister has worked side by side with the American," the only foreign Ministers now resident in Brussels. "Every country in the world has sent aid . . . but it is the Comité National—the Belgians themselves—who have entire charge of the actual distribution of food and clothing." The story of this distribution, of the diplomatic and commercial problems that accompany it, and of its immediate daily methods makes up one of the few triumphant episodes in the black war tragedy.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Continuous Mediation Without Armistice.

Last autumn a young woman, a member of the University of Wisconsin Faculty, thought of a plan toward peace that immediately met with enthusiastic approval in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Peace Society (Madison, Wis.), printed her statement of it and argument for it in pamphlet form. The State Legislature memorialized the Federal Congress in its favor. Her University sent her to present it to The Hague International Congress of Women, which resolved upon its furtherance and honored its author with a share in the mission of presenting the resolutions of the Congress to the Scandinavian countries while Miss Addams visited other capitals of Europe. Miss Julia Grace Wales offers the following summary of her plan; but everyone inter-

ested in constructive peace, or in persuasive argument, will read the whole pamphlet: "It is suggested that a Conference of Neutral Nations be called to sit at least as long as the war shall last, for the purpose of continuous and independent mediation with or without armistice and if necessary, without the specific permission of the belligerents; such conference to consider and submit simultaneously to the warring powers reasonable propositions based on principles most favorable to the establishment of a permanent peace, and to continue to seek by the method of submitting simultaneous standing proposals and by inviting suggestions from the belligerents, some basis of settlement which may appeal to all as worthy of consideration. Continuous mediation by a neutral conference would coordinate the thinking of the belligerent peoples; it would concentrate and render articulate the intellectual and moral forces of the world." In explaining the plan, its author has this to say of its carrying out: "It . . . should be carefully noted that, for the lack of a better term, the word mediation is here extended in meaning to include more than such formal mediation as implies the acquiescence of the belligerents. Let us repeat that even if the belligerents were unwilling to accept mediation, the neutral conference would not confine itself to offers of mediation but would begin at once to frame and put forward standing proposals based on principles favorable to the establishment of a permanent peace." Whether or not it succeeds in mediating, such a neutral conference would be spiritually well worth while. "We have only to turn to their own periodicals to know that each nation, in the confused complexity of its motives, has been swept by a genuine passion of self-justification—a passion that indicates in each a sense of loyalty to a standard of national conduct. It is our unique opportunity to propose to each the supreme ethical challenge which, whether or not any can rise to the point of accepting it, must for ourselves and for them endure through the coming centuries as a tangible expression of the international ideal."

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

Independent Labour Party. Report of the Norwich Conference, April, 1915. Published by the Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Sq., Fleet St., London, E. C. Price, threepence.

Department of Public Welfare. First Semi-Annual Report to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Chicago. Lenora Z. Meder, Commissioner. Published by the City of Chicago, March, 1915.

The Great Farmers' Strike: How It Can Be Settled. A Discussion of Vocational Education from the Agricultural Standpoint. By Herbert Quick. Reprinted from the Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, Pa.

Public Sanitation and the Single Tax. Containing Two Papers: Economic Causes of Disease, by William C. Gorgas; The Single Tax in Relation to Health, by Lewis Jerome Johnson. Published by the Single Tax Information Bureau, 90 West St., New York.

To the Voters of the State of Maryland, concerning the Initiative and Referendum. Reprints of two series of articles, written by Jackson H. Ralston for the newspapers of Maryland. Published by the Direct Legislation League of Maryland, Gaither Building, Baltimore, Md.

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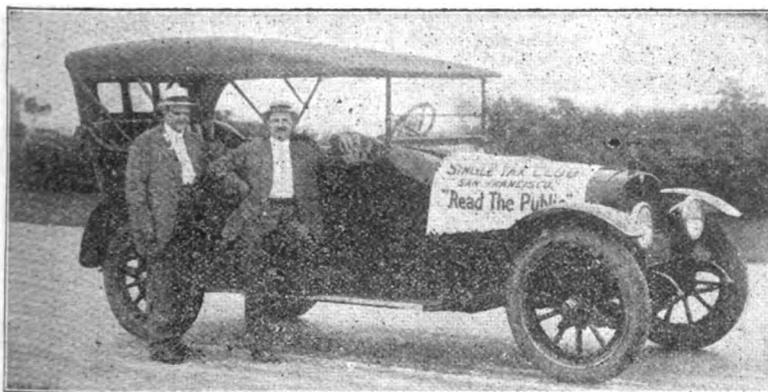
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With a party of singletaxers aboard (Mr. and Mrs. Cullman, Stanley Bowmar, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Ashton and Henry L. T. Tideman,) and loaded with Henry George contraband, it left for Denver Sunday morning, August 8th, on a propaganda trip. The first three of the party are going to the Singletax Conference in San Francisco — by train west of Denver.