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## EDITORIAL

### "Peace at Any Price."

No one demands that a higher price be paid for peace than the militarist who demands preparation for war "in order to ensure peace," and sneeringly asks the pacifist "Would you have peace at any price?" He insists that the price we should pay for peace is maintenance of a large army and navy, that we put the support of these institutions before everything else and that we give secondary consideration to political rights and liberty and to economic freedom. The pacifist knows such a price to be as unnecessary as it is exorbitant. To the question "Would you have peace at any price?" he may well answer: "Not at an unnecessary one."

S. D.



### Who Will Pay?

Ominous rumblings and mutterings from the largest and richest city in America warn us that another break may occur between labor and capital in New York City at any moment. The protocol, so ingeniously devised, and so carefully worked out by Louis Brandeis, has kept them at peace for several years. But that plan has now gone by the board; and the relations between the garment workers and the employers are strained to the breaking point. Kindly disposed but muddled gentlemen are proposing the creation of industrial courts to determine just how little a family or an individual can live upon. The employers claim that the outside shops, employing the starving immigrants from abroad, can underbid those paying decent wages; and so it is a question of increasing the burden on their own labor to a corresponding degree, or going out of business. Meantime, land values on Manhattan Island and neighboring territory are soaring skyward.



Is it possible that there is no sense of humor in these good people? Are they utterly devoid of the faculty of reason—to say nothing of a

sense of justice? Can they not put two and two together? How can Capital pay decent wages to Labor, when it is itself bled to the last drop by the owners of Manhattan? Arbitration and the protocol are better than strikes; but there can be little satisfaction in trying to obtain a fair division between Labor and Capital of a product that has already passed into the hands of the landlord. If Capital and Labor could unite in resisting their common despoiler, instead of wasting their strength in mutual strife, both would soon find relief.

s. C.



### Oregon's Splendid System of Government.

As an example of what can happen under the Oregon system, a Portland weekly, *The Oregon Voter*, in its issue of July 10 reproduces in full the People's Land and Loan Measure proposed by the Central Labor Council of Portland. A study of the measure shows that under the Oregon system it is possible to make something more substantial than a figure of speech out of a guarantee to all of equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is possible to establish conditions under which every man wanting an opportunity to earn a living can have it. It is possible to assure every citizen possession of his own home. It is possible to banish poverty and all of its resulting evils from the state. That being the case, one wonders why *The Oregon Voter* should present that possibility as though it were something to be dreaded rather than welcomed; why it should speak of it as "a type of proposed legislation which some day may come perilously near passing." If the measure imperils anything other than some existing forms of legalized robbery it is not apparent after a close study. The fact that such legislation is possible under the Oregon system is reason enough for adoption of the system elsewhere. Oregon is to be congratulated on the splendid possibilities of its system of government.

s. D.



### Desires and Means.

The declaration of principles put forth by the recent international convention of the Christian Endeavor in Chicago illustrates the disposition of many persons to rely upon the general principles of desire, while shunning the means by which alone they can be given expression. On the suffrage question, for instance, the declaration expresses appreciation of womanhood and motherhood in training the generations of man. It appreciates the fact that "women are supremely con-

cerned for the well-being of the race," and declares that "whatever tends to thwart womanhood's high calling should be withheld by the right-minded lover of his kind"; but it studiously avoids endorsing the movement for woman's enfranchisement. This omission, it was explained by one of the delegates, was due to the fact that there were many in the South who had not yet been converted to woman's emancipation. This may be good politics, but it is a sorry confession of weakness. The nation, state, or community that today withholds the equal right of woman with man to decide what is good for herself, and for society, has its eyes upon the past, rather than upon the future.



A similar omission appears in the peace plank, which declares:

We heartily endorse every movement looking toward the re-establishment and making authoritative the Hague Tribunal; the bringing about of international understandings based upon righteousness, international candor, and practical brotherhood that may—and we hope will—result in the laying down of arms, the scrapping of battle fleets, and a fraternal United States of the World.

Such declarations, while they show a kindly spirit and good intentions, provide no means for carrying them out. The nations of the world already have relations with each other, some conducive to friendship, and others that arouse feelings of enmity. We send and receive ambassadors, we exchange professors and scholarships, and we encourage the international congresses and conferences that promote fellowship. At the same time we maintain trade restrictions and build great navies. Is it at all likely that the relations between New York and Connecticut would be as friendly if there existed now, as there did before the adoption of the Constitution, a tariff between the two States? If each were striving to get the better of the other, gloating over its own triumphs, and envying those of its rival, would there be the same cordiality between the citizens?



It may be recalled with what glee certain otherwise estimable gentlemen spoke of the transference of pearl button factories from Austria to America, after the adoption of the McKinley tariff. They seemed to gloat over the fact that that law had closed Austrian factories and compelled the operatives to move to this country. It is, indeed, a part of the stock in trade of the protectionist to cite such instances as proof of the virtues of a protective tariff; and to look upon every evidence of prosperity in a foreign country as inimical to

our own. These may be virtues in a chauvinist; but what have they to do with the brotherhood of Christianity? Are they in any wise conducive to the good feeling that will lead to peace? Have the leaders of this great religious movement of the Christian Endeavorers been sufficiently definite? It is not to be expected that such an organization would enter into the details of statecraft; but when fiscal measures involve moral principles, it would seem to be their duty to speak. They did speak most emphatically on the liquor question. Why ignore the suffrage question, the tariff, and the land questions? It may be recalled that the point in the parable of the prophet Nathan lay in the fact that, having shown the evil in the king's conduct, he pointed at David and exclaimed: "Thou art the man!"

S. O.



### Room at the Top.

An effort is being made to enhearten Chicago street car conductors and motormen, who struck against a wage scale of 23 to 32 cents an hour, by citing the achievements of a number of successful men. One man who began as an office boy now enjoys \$75,000 a year as the president of a national bank. Another who began as a common clerk now has \$80,000 a year. A messenger boy at \$2.50 a week has attained to a position of \$75,000 a year. A telegraph operator who started with \$32 a month has \$75,000 a year. A boy beginning at \$4 a week now controls the largest lumber concern in the middle west, and pays himself a salary of \$40,000 a year. A telegraph operator at \$26 a month is now president of one of the greatest railway systems at \$50,000. Many equally striking examples follow. The explanation of their success is given in these words:

Every one of the foregoing obtained his success in exactly the same manner as did the others. He became the best man on the job, and worked. The inference to be drawn is that those who have reached mature life without a princely salary have not made themselves the best man on the job, and worked; or that any man who will make himself the best man on the job, and work, may achieve a princely income. In other words, we are gently reminded that there is still room at the top.



Far be it from The Public to question the merits of industry, frugality and efficiency. Whatever comes to one's hand to do should be done cheerfully, hopefully, and in the best spirit possible; but homage to the homely virtues should not bind us to a handicap of a false environment. When one has deducted the element of chance, of

favoritism, and of trickery from commercial success, it will be apparent that such triumphs as those enumerated must of necessity be confined to the few. It is not room at the top that mankind wants; but room at the bottom—where the mass of people are. It is not unlikely that the person of exceptional talent and industry will always command a sufficient reward for his services; but there is no reason why all people who wish to work, and who do work, should not enjoy a good living wage. The industrial career should not be likened to a race, in which the winner takes the whole prize. Rather should it be likened to a competition, or an emulation, in production, wherein each one retains all that he produces. Those of great talent who apply themselves with unceasing industry may well have more than the lazy and the thriftless; but there is no reason why each, no matter what his powers, or how he applies himself, should not have all that he himself produces. To hold out to men who are deprived of a part of their earnings the hope that one among them may rise to high estate by means of exceptional skill and industry may appeal to the gambling instinct; but it is the assurance that each will have all that he produces—whether much or little—that will arouse their manhood.

S. O.



### Thaw's Coming Trial.

Had Harry Thaw been a poor man he would probably have long ago suffered the extreme penalty of the law for his crime. That he is alive and free today is due entirely to his wealth. His case is an illustration of the fact so ably described by Henry George:

In spite of our laws, any one who has money enough and wants to kill another may go into any one of our great centers of population and business, and gratify his desire, and then surrender himself to Justice, with the chances as a hundred to one that he will suffer no greater penalty than a temporary imprisonment and the loss of a sum proportional partly to his own wealth and partly to the wealth and standing of the man he kills. His money will be paid, not to the family of the murdered man, who have lost their protector; not to the State, which has lost a citizen, but to lawyers who understand how to secure delays, to find witnesses, and get juries to disagree.

But true as all this is, it affords no reason why Thaw should be begrudged his fortunate escape. He has suffered for nine years as the result of his crime. He has had experiences which may easily have made great and salutary changes even in so wild and irresponsible a victim of an unearned fortune as Harry Thaw. He is at least en-

titled to a chance to prove that his experiences have sobered him and made him a wiser and better man, one who can now safely be trusted at large without danger to the lives or comfort of his fellow citizens.



The injustice shown by the Thaw case is not in the liberation of the rich man, but in the fact that a poor man would have been denied the opportunity to undergo such reformatory experiences as would finally justify his restoration to liberty. To complain of leniency shown Thaw does not, under the circumstances, seem reasonable. But it is reasonable to complain of refusal to show similar leniency to men no more guilty who have not the money to hire expensive lawyers and to pay court costs. No one is in a better position to realize this fact than Harry Thaw himself. And this fact puts upon him a duty which no other man can assume for him. By becoming a useful member of society he can not only vindicate those responsible for his freedom, but can help in demonstrating the wisdom of a penal policy that offers a chance for reformation to even the most degraded and worthless criminal. By devoting his life to things that will benefit his fellow men he can demonstrate beyond question that society would have been the loser had the barbarous death penalty been inflicted upon him. He can make his own escape a means of saving others. But on the other hand he has also the chance to turn his release into a public misfortune. Should he make an unworthy use of his freedom; should he drop back into the old useless life of a luxurious idler, even though he refrains from statutory crime, he will discourage leniency to others who may be more deserving of it. He faces now a greater trial than any he has passed through in a court of law, and the verdict rests entirely with himself.

S. D.



### Preparedness.

Care should be taken by those in this country who have at heart the welfare of society that the mad efforts of the militarists to prepare the country for our next war do not distract our attention from making full preparation for the next Presidential election. The present Administration is the first real democratic (note the little "d") administration since the Civil War; and whatever criticism may lie at its door, and more particularly at the door of a vacillating Democratic Congress, it must be recognized as a distinct advance over the Republican and Democratic administra-

tions during the past fifty years. Next year the people are to say whether the country is to return to a paternalistic, coddling policy, or to go on to a more complete development of democratic institutions. The verdict will be rendered in the fall of 1916, but the evidence will be submitted and the arguments made during the winter of 1915-16. The foundation, indeed, is even now being laid. The privileged interests that have controlled both the Republican and the Democratic parties have not been destroyed. They have not been even seriously crippled; and they are making every effort to regain their lost power. So all-important to them is the next election that even the valiant Mr. Roosevelt has ceased to protest against the union of the Republican factions, with the Stand-patters in command. They have begun systematically to undermine the personal popularity of the President, and to attribute the commercial depression to the slight curbing of privilege obtained by the present Administration. This campaign will continue with ever-increasing force until the National conventions next year draw their platforms and nominate their candidates. Every effort will be made to exact from Mr. Wilson a conservative platform as the price of his nomination. Should that fail, a supreme effort will be made to split the Democratic party in order to assure the election of a Republican conservative.



The possibilities of evil are the greater because there is at present a slight reaction against the unreasonable aggression of popular legislation against Capital that prevailed a short time ago. An effort is being made to take advantage of this more tolerant feeling to confuse in the popular mind the interests of Capital and Privilege; and, under the guise of the rights of Capital, to secure the entrenchment of Privilege. The most effective opposition to offer to such a campaign is to frankly recognize it, and to mass all possible forces in opposition. Every radical, liberal and progressive should begin now the campaign for democracy. The atmosphere should be so charged with democratic thought that Congressmen, when they gather at Washington next winter, will feel that the people are watching them. The leaders of the various State machines should be made to understand when they launch their several campaigns that they cannot command the votes of forward-looking men and women unless they stand squarely for the rights of the people. This is the time to begin to prepare for the campaign of 1916.

S. C.

### Dishonest Debts and War.

The placing of war loans is one means by which war expenses are shifted from the shoulders of the privileged classes onto the wealth producers of the present and future. If the cost of war and preparations for war were raised entirely by direct taxes there would not be the selfish or hysterical opposition which the pacifist program meets today. War would be unpopular with the ruling classes if all war expenses were raised by direct taxation. Where governments cannot be induced to accept such a program bankers can be discouraged from taking bonds by warning of repudiation. This is something that pacifists of all belligerent nations can do right now. They can let the fact be known that purchasers of war bonds are depending for payment on the willingness of future generations to accept obligations incurred by a previous one. That such obligations have hitherto been honored is no reason why they should continue to be, and offers no solid ground for confidence in the belief that they will so continue.



In the case of debts issued for public improvements, when the money is honestly expended, those who pay obtain at least an equivalent in the improvements; though it does not necessarily follow that had the matter been left to them they would have cared enough for the improvement to incur the debt. But in the case of a war debt there is not even that much to be said in favor of payment. The money is spent for destructive purposes entirely. Those called upon to pay have nothing to show for the money. Even when the war has been an entirely defensive one it should be paid for by those who have waged it. To shove the cost on a future generation is but to weaken the power of that generation to retain or defend whatever benefit the defensive war may have secured. It is equally unjust to shove the war debt on living persons who had no hand in incurring them and who preferred to pay the price of peace. The war debt is not a debt of honor except for those who have been instrumental in incurring it. Prospective purchasers of bonds should be notified of this fact. The case might be put as Henry George explained it in *Social Problems*:

If a man were to come to me and say, "Here is a promissory note which your great-grandfather gave to my great-grandfather, and which you will oblige me by paying." I would laugh at him and tell him if he wanted to collect his note he had better hunt up the man who made it; that I had nothing to do with my great-grandfather's promises.

A strong movement for repudiation of these un-

just debts, even though it should never succeed in controlling the government, will do much to ensure future peace.

S. D.



### Peace Advocates and Sanity.

Letters from readers of *The Public* express dissatisfaction over its position on militarism. Some accuse it specifically, and others by implication, with advocating "peace at any price." *The Public* is not in favor of a policy of "peace at any price." There are conceivable occasions, as for instance an armed invasion of this country, in which it would advocate armed resistance. To this end it would seem reasonable that under present world conditions the country should have a small but highly efficient military force, in order to meet emergencies, and to serve as a nucleus about which to gather a larger force in case of need. The regular military force should be too small to bolster up tyranny; and the larger force should be entirely voluntary. If there is a vital force in religion, morals, and civilization, the time must come when national armies and navies will be replaced by an international police force. Until such a time arrives prudence dictates that the country shall be prepared to protect itself against invasion.



Adequate military protection for this country can be determined only by a sane consideration of its position and circumstances. The present war has demonstrated that submarines and mines are the most effective means for guarding harbors and coasts. These may be found to be our main line of defense against invasion. They will probably be supplemented by a few battleships and cruisers, their number being determined always with world-disarmament in mind rather than world-rivalry. The army should consist only of sufficient men to maintain a skeleton organization to meet a sudden attack, and to give order to the volunteer force that might be called into being. Such an army should not be used for civil police duty, but should be employed as much as possible in constructive labor, with a view to giving the country needed improvements, and at the same time to training the soldiers for useful citizenship at the end of their term of enlistment.



An effective volunteer army can be had by enrolling such young men as desire to join in a loose and flexible organization, whose members shall spend from two to four weeks in camps where rudimentary drilling is accompanied by healthful

and enjoyable recreation. Such an organization should embody the principle of voluntary service; that is, while providing the men with the necessary knowledge and experience, it should leave them free to join the army or not. The essential evil of militarism lies in the unreasonable and arbitrary power in the hands of a public official. Hence, the number of men who are bound to obey their superior's command, whatever it be, should be as small as possible. If the situation of the country is such that its citizens believe it to be in the right, volunteers will respond as quickly as regulars; but if headstrong, or foolish leaders, embroil the country needlessly, the volunteers have the passive power, by refusing to enlist, to restrain them.



As to treating nations that wrong us in ways other than by invasion, such as abusing American citizens on the high seas, or in the several countries, they can be dealt with much better by diplomacy than by men-o'-war. An appeal to a sense of fairness and justice of any nation will secure a quicker response than will the demand of a warship. And should any country persist beyond all reason in ignoring our claims, the most effective measure will be found in non-intercourse. Self-preservation is indeed the first law of nature, but that does not imply that a nation should have a military establishment stronger than that of any combination that can be brought against her. Such a policy is self-contradictory; and the present war has proven that it defeats its own purpose. The Public holds that the great problem of this age is economic, and not military; and that just to the extent that the military is allowed to develop beyond the point of absolute needs for preventing invasion—which in this country, owing to its isolation, is very small—that development hinders and retards the solution of the economic problem. There is a medium ground between the philosophical non-resistant and the jingo militarist. It lies in having a military establishment sufficient to preserve the country from invasion, yet too small to tempt the militarists into foreign aggression. This gives us security for the present, and at the same time leaves us in a position to lead in international disarmament, and the establishing of international courts and police.

s. c.



### Toryism's Latest Appeal to Fear.

A bogey held with some effect before the American people is that when the war ends the victor will threaten the United States. Thus some par-

tisans of the Allies are certain that German victory means invasion of this country by Germany as the next step; and some partisans of Germany raise a Japanese scare to warn us of what will follow a victory of the Allies. In both cases help is given the hysterical big army and navy campaign. To those who regard such bogeys calmly they do not seem worthy of consideration. The statements issued about our unprepared state show, if true, that we might have been attacked at any time during the past twenty or thirty years and been easily conquered. The statements further show that this was well known to the government of every nation that might have attacked us. But these governments, it seems, were so stupid in carrying out their alleged predatory plans that they first engaged in a war with better prepared nations and deferred their premeditated attack on us until they should be weakened by a great war, and until warning could be given us.



This playing on fears and partisan feeling of American citizens may easily have back of it something more than honest concern for national safety. The need of an issue to help restore reactionary control of the national government seems sufficient to account for it all. The Republican party cannot reasonably hope to win the election of next year on the tariff issue. There is too much opposition within the party ranks to restoration of the Payne-Aldrich tariff iniquity. But the foreign-invasion bogey may prove to be a serviceable substitute for the more or less discredited foreign-pauper-labor bogey. It may frighten and sweep along many who cannot be fooled on an economic issue. This trick has been tried successfully in more than one European election. American Tories may be looking for similar success here. It is notable that already some Democrats who should know better have been frightened into joining in the cry for preparedness. The bogey campaign is one that will bear watching.

S. D.



### IDA TARBELL AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

Ida Tarbell, that once clever pioneer hunter and exposé of the occult and sinister methods of Standard Oil and other trusts in restraint of all trade except their own, has won by years of such work a high degree of popular confidence. She should have felt herself under bonds, as it were, to keep faith with her believing public and

to lead them not out of the path of justice into devious ways of business sophistry. But unhappily, later writings of Miss Tarbell are already arousing serious doubts of her ability to go to the bottom of questions she is now undertaking to solve. Note, for instance, in her advocacy of the Taylor system of industrial efficiency (May American) her attitude on trade unions. In this she has undertaken to bridge over that awful chasm between the high gods of industrial finance and "their men" who wield the tools, and she makes the amateurish mistake (or is it on purpose?) of trying to settle the profoundest question in political economy by a quite irrelevant recommendation in the domain of morals. As well try to solve a problem in mathematics with a recipe for cooking! She proceeds to build this bridge without the slightest foundation of equity, and tries to fill up the yawning abyss with mere platitudinous pebbles which pass among many business men for axioms of logic.

#### The Cause of Industrial War.

"When you come down to the chief cause of industrial war," says Miss Tarbell, "it is and always has been the failure to take the workman heartily in on that which concerns him." Nothing of the sort. The chief cause of industrial war is an economic, not a moral question. It is our land tenure which permits monopoly of nature's opportunities for work. Monopoly of lands agricultural, arboreal and mineral; building sites, urban and suburban, seaboard, terminals and water-powers. This creates a master class in control of all the jobs, which they can increase or diminish at will. This unlimited power breeds oppression, which in turn provokes, resistance in some form of industrial war, but a war in which the antagonists are never on equal footing.

The monopolist makes ware for the sake of the millions profit he makes from labor; the greatest good that trade unions expect by their most strenuous resistance is to wrest from their masters a large enough fraction of their earnings to furnish a decent livelihood. Of course small or unprivileged capital is, without knowing it, in the same boat with labor when the landlord holds out of use sites for store, mill or factory, waiting for his price, but capital can often "take it out" of labor, while workmen have no such chance.

#### The Lawrence Strike.

Miss Tarbell says: "You remember the Lawrence strike! What caused it? The failure to explain to several thousand men and women working at an average of not over seven dollars

a week, why their pay envelopes suddenly contained less." Not at all. What caused the Lawrence strike was the primary conditions that gave the masters power to extort a week's labor for only seven dollars! The wonder is that the workers had not struck long before. But Miss Tarbell thinks that if the masters had only explained this cut in wages below starvation line all would have been well!

#### The Trouble in Colorado.

"What is the basis of the trouble in Colorado today?" asks this "most famous woman journalist in the world." "It is the refusal of a body of men, the mine owners, to talk over with a body of men who work in the mines the ambitions of the latter. One of the ambitions of these miners is to see every man a member of a union. The owners refuse to discuss this point with them. The men waived their point, but the owners still refuse to meet them."

That was not the "basis of the trouble"; it was but the last straw of insolence beyond human endurance to bear. The trouble with Colorado today is the land system that permits iron and coal barons to carve out feudal principalities from the State of Colorado or from other states and set themselves up as medieval lords over mine workers and their families who must accept terms of vassalage on what should be free American soil. Given such economic disturbances of the natural order as the breaking up of equal chances for men to employ themselves on the earth, those who get the land and the power become deteriorated and act thus and so; victims having any spirit will rebel: dire disaster is sure to follow. It is useless for Miss Tarbell to try to make good little boys of either or both parties while economic conditions remain as they are.

#### Miss Tarbell Tackles Trade Unionism.

In elucidating the Taylor system of efficiency she says that under its operation the "collective bargaining" of unions would be out of the question but that these firms always fix their employe's wages "equal with those current in the industry" regardless of the "collective bargaining of unionism." She seems unaware that this same function of unionism is a potent factor in making "current wages" what they are today. Before passing judgment on unionism she should know that since the vast forests and prairies of our country are no longer open to pioneer settlers, and since the advent of machinery and industrial co-operation prevents men from setting up various kinds of shops of their own, trade unionism is the only bulwark left between the worker

and virtual slavery. That it is quite inadequate to the needs of the situation is sadly true; that only the horrible injustice of our land system gives trade unionism any reason for being, is a fact which union men must learn in order to work in the right direction.

**Unions, if "Intelligent," Will Not Concern Themselves with Politics.**

Miss Tarbell avers that the Taylor system's high degree of co-operation is really an ally of "intelligent unionism"—"not, perhaps, of the unionism which is concerned with politics, which is opportunist in spirit and military in method, but with the unionism of that great mass of workers who believe in sound practices [whatever that may mean], peaceful progress, and if possible, friendly relations with all those concerned in their industry." Then "intelligent unionism" would not "concern itself with politics"! It is only for monopolists and powerful capitalists like the American Association of Manufacturers to concern themselves with politics! They keep paid lobbyists like Michael Mulhall in every state legislature ready to throttle all bills making employers put in hygienic or safety appliances in their plants, bills to ensure certainty, promptitude and shorter intervals for receiving wages or to shorten the working day. These lobbyists have orders to kill every law for the betterment of labor. But "intelligent" unionists would not "concern themselves with politics," with laws to improve their condition; they would be satisfied to "progress peacefully" at the pace set by their masters.

**"Should Not Be Military in Method."**

It is only Big Business, organized to a unit, that should use the blacklist, the lockout, set up "pluck me" stores, drive men to work at the point of the bayonet, herd them in cattle pens, kidnap and deport them far from their homes, send hired assassins in armored motor cars to massacre them, and then fill the press with false reports and induce governors to make lying statements. And after all this, unionism should not be "opportunist in spirit or military in method"! Leave that to their "superiors."

**True Inwardness of Efficiency Systems.**

Miss Tarbell seems to wonder that labor representatives are not intelligent enough to straightway abandon all features of unionism that would distinguish it from a Sunday school and rush to the Taylor efficiency system. But why should they? They see it is intended to produce greater output with the same or less expense for labor like other labor-saving devices. Ever since Eng-

lish factory hands pounced upon and destroyed the new power-loom and spinning jennies in the early part of the last century, workers have reckoned all such inventions as bound to displace labor, lower wages and work them harm. Small wonder they view these new methods with lack-luster eyes. If the mass of workmen knew the whole story they would be no longer indifferent, they would be fierce—to begin to set things right. The leaders know and therefore cannot be induced by the Link Belt or other company to investigate efficiency methods. They know that although under equitable conditions all labor-saving methods and appliances would be blessings to all, under present institutions the harder men work and the more efficient they become, the harder poverty presses upon them; that the results of extra energy, speed, thrift and skill, instead of accruing to themselves, go to swell the values of land in their vicinity; that higher rents straightway add to the cost of living, fence men out from jobs, swell the number of unemployed and lower wages. Industrial efficiency, in short, is a curse to those who work but own no land (five-sixths of our population), but a bonanza to those who own land but do no work. This upside-downness or inequity of man's present relation to the earth is what prevents Miss Tarbell from building her bridge. Somebody should explain this to her before she tackles it again.

**Ida Has Reversed Her Guns.**

"I never read Ida Tarbell any more," said a man on the cars the other day. "Why, didn't she fire some rather hot shot into Big Business some years ago?" "Yes, but she's reversed her guns now and fights with Big Business against trade unions." "I should think she'd want a big price to do that," returned the other. "Well, after she'd won the people's confidence wouldn't she be valuable as authority on unions?" "She sure would, but I must say, that to join forces with those aiming to make life more bitter for those already in a death struggle with conditions, is worse than taking pennies from a child."

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

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**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE**

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**THE SINGLETAX CONFERENCE.**

San Francisco, Calif., July 10, 1915.

Our Singletax and Joseph Fels Fund Commission Convention, to be held at the Panama-Pacific Exposition August 23, 24 and 25, next, promises to be a great success. As Henry George wrote his great work here, Singletaxers will have an opportunity to meet the men and to study the conditions in Cali-

fornia that gave him his inspiration, and enabled him to discover the great truth that he gave to the world. As Chairman of the Publicity Committee, I am writing articles, describing the Singletax in the irrigation districts in California, also telling of the terrible oppression of the enormous land monopolies in this State, and the results of my investigation last year for our Home Rule in Taxation constitutional amendment; I am also getting anecdotes and stories from Judge James G. Maguire, Dr. E. R. Taylor, Captain Maslin, M. J. Doyle, and other old associates of Henry George, telling of his life in this city while he was working out Progress and Poverty.

The Exposition is helping us in this publicity work, by sending these articles to a great many papers. If the readers of *The Public* will send me the names of the papers in their neighborhood which they know will publish any of these articles, I shall have them sent to those papers.

Newspapers are very much interested in the Singletax in the irrigation districts in California. The National Association of Editors, and other national and international newspaper organizations are now holding a Congress at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The Modesto Chamber of Commerce invited the editors and their guests to visit that irrigation district and see the Singletax in actual operation. Mr. Todd, secretary of our Home Rule in Taxation League, put all of our office and friends at work to see that the invitation reached each of the delegates. We sent the letters of invitation to the hotels and to the convention hall. Yesterday a dinner was given to the delegates at the Hotel Oakland. Victor Metcalf, former U. S. Secretary of the Interior, read the telegram of invitation to the 500 delegates. A trolley ride to the University of California ended at the Greek Theater, where Wells Drury, secretary of the Berkeley Chamber, addressed them. Then I talked three minutes, telling of the Modesto invitation. As I was sitting down, a number of the delegates called out, "Tell us more about it." I then spent about twenty minutes giving the history of the irrigation districts in California, and the adoption of the Singletax by them, also a short review of my study of land monopoly and taxation in California last year, including the story of the enormous holdings of Miller and Lux, and their effect upon the State. I told them that we are to hold our Singletax convention during August, and that I would be glad to send any who wanted it our publicity matter. I was surprised to find these editors gave vigorous applause when I concluded, and about thirty of them came up on the platform and gave me their cards, asking for our publicity matter, some of the cards giving South America, Australia and New Zealand as the addresses. Many of them asked that I write a story of the Singletax and land monopoly in California and send it to their papers, and urged that it be sent to every paper represented in the national convention, but, of course, that is beyond our means out here.

During last year, I had the same experience with the editors of the newspapers of California. When I visited their Assessors' offices and wrote the story of the monopoly of land that existed in their counties, each paper was glad to publish the article. In fact, many of them asked me to tell the story more in detail, and devoted two and three columns

to the articles. Newspapers are anxious for that kind of Singletax articles, while they will not or cannot publish philosophical discussions of the question. Let the Singletaxers of the whole country come out to the Panama-Pacific Exposition in August to our Singletax convention, and we will tell them how we conducted our campaign last year. California at the election last November cast 268,000 votes for the Singletax, which is more than the total of all the votes cast for Singletax at all of the State and city elections in other States of the United States for the past five years, as shown by the June issue of the *Fels Fund Bulletin*. Let Singletaxers come out here, and we will tell them how they may get similar results in their own States.

EDWARD P. E. TROY.



### A LIBRARY PRESENTATION.

Pittsburgh, Pa., July 2, 1915.

Thursday evening, July 1st, the Singletax Club of Pittsburgh, presented the North Side Carnegie Library with a life-size bust of Henry George, together with a complete set of his works. Wayne Paulin, secretary of the club, presided over the meeting and introduced as the speaker of the evening Congressman Warren Worth Bailey, of Johnstown, Pa.

Mr. Bailey told of the changed attitude of the public toward the Singletax. When he first heard Mr. George in 1880 at Chicago, there were one hundred and fifty policemen stationed in the hall to "quell any disturbance" caused by this "anarchistic" lecturer. Today Singletax Congressmen, when addressing the House on the subject, are always given the most careful attention. Today his works and statue are invited into our great libraries. Today Singletax orators are eagerly sought to address chambers of commerce, boards of trade and other civic bodies. In addition to this friendly attitude now manifested by the public, there are a number of concrete examples of the application of the Singletax theory. For more than forty years Pennsylvania has not taxed manufacturing industries. In second-class cities, machinery is untaxed and buildings are now partially exempt from taxation and in a few years under the present graded tax law this exemption will be fifty per cent. Household goods are wholly exempt from taxation in Pennsylvania, and Mr. Bailey attributed the growth of manufacturing in this State, not to "Protection" because all the States are "Protected" alike, but to this wise principle of exempting industry and the products of industry from taxation.

The bust and works were presented to the library by the Rev. Chas. E. Snyder, pastor of the North Side Unitarian Church. He dwelt on the moral side of the Singletax and the character of the author. He described how the spirit of William Penn must have brooded over that little Tenth street, Philadelphia, home where Henry George was born. When a boy, George read every issue of the *Liberator*, edited by William Lloyd Garrison, and thus freedom was breathed into his great soul. It was the power of thought, the love of freedom, the bigness of heart of Henry George that brought forth Progress and Poverty. The speaker then told of how necessary the teachings of Henry George were today in order to restore the lasting peace to a world that had distorted the provisions of its Creator.

Councilman Dr. S. S. Woodburn, on behalf of the Library, expressed appreciation for the bust and writings of Henry George.

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### WHAT DOES ARGENTINA OWE ?

Washington, D. C., July 7.

The South American for March, 1915, says: Lloyd George's recent statement in the British Parliament about money due England from other nations brought forth denials and explanations from several quarters. The Minister stated that Argentina was on England's books to the debit of £400,000,000. La Nacion replies as follows:

"Really, we do not own England \$2,000,000,000, because such a sum, though invested here, is the property of the shareholders. What we positively owe is the income, which ascends to 80,000,000 pesos annually. They have not sold that capital but let it to us. To say we owe it is an error as it would be an error for a man who rents a house to believe he owes the value of the house to the proprietor."

How about balance of trade here?

Somebody ought to "picket" Argentina.

WM. WALLACE CHILDS.



### ALL BELLIGERENTS, BARBAROUS AND BLAMEWORTHY.

Philadelphia, May 10, 1915.

It is difficult to conceive that any candid mind should be able to regard the German treatment of non-combatants either by sea or on land with anything but horror. Nevertheless, we do seem to have concentrated our censure much more on their destruction of the Lusitania than the circumstances justify. Weeks ago the German Government announced what its action would be towards all ships within a certain zone. We reprobated this action, but we were all fully advised of it, and knew that it applied to all ships of whatever nationality. How much the more then, would it apply to ships of its enemy? The Lusitania was an English ship, flying the English flag, commanded by English officers, accused of being partly armed, and carrying a cargo of ammunition and other munitions of war. She was automatically marked for destruction. Furthermore, the German Ambassador had taken what appeared to many of us, the impertinent step, of warning Americans especially against passage on her. Our own Government has, so far as was proper and discrete, endeavored to discourage travel by sea at this time. Its stern denunciation and remonstrance against the German measures have already been uttered. Then, under the circumstances, what action should our Government take with regard to the incident? Surely it was less significant and less inimical towards us than the destruction of the Gulflight, our own boat, bound on our own business and manned by men whose errands at sea were necessary and peaceful. Those American passengers who were obliged to, or chose to, take passage on the Lusitania deliberately courted the horrible risk not

only of losing their own lives, but of involving their great country in the vast maelstrom of misery which is sucking down Europe to destruction. Can we not refrain from letting our unavoidable sorrow at their fate, our just indignation, from flaming up into angry mob spirit of fury which serves no useful purpose, evinces no patriotism, and can only darken our judgment? Is this not a time to cease our brainless sneers at the wise and righteous policy of "watchful waiting," and keep our sad hearts free from cheap martial rage and obscured vision? It is the only way in which we can hope to help ourselves or alleviate the suffering of our friends across seas.

And in justice and amity, may we not censure the English Government for permitting her ships to carry passengers, arms and ammunition on the same voyage, and also for neglecting to send a sufficient convoy to meet them?

FLORENCE BAYARD KANE.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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, July 20, 1915.

### European War.

After a week of comparative inactivity on the Eastern front, a general advance of the Teuton allies has begun along the thousand-mile front, from the Baltic to Bessarabia. Confusing and contradictory rumors are afloat, among which is one that the Russians are preparing to evacuate Warsaw, and withdraw their lines to Brest-Litovsk, their fortified base on the Bug River. Other reports are to the effect that the Germans will make a drive for Riga on the Baltic, and possibly for Petrograd 300 miles beyond. The Germans have again taken Przasnysz, and severe fighting from there northward is reported; but no decisive engagements have been fought. The number of men engaged in this struggle has been reported as high as 7,000,000. Meanwhile the campaign in the West has resulted in no great battles, but in heavy fighting at various points. In the Argonne region a severe struggle for several days has resulted in a heavy casualty list, but in small changes of the lines. The same is true on the Meuse, and at the junction of the Oise and Aisne Rivers. North of Arras the French have made small gains, but the Germans still hold part of Souchez. Part of the fighting is done with artillery; but much occurs in trenches so close together that cannon cannot be used by either side without endangering its own men. Bombs, hand grenades, gas and liquid fire, as well as bayonet charges, all figure in the struggle. The Austro-Italian warfare is rapidly developing into trench fighting. The Austrians have assumed the defensive, and the Italians are pounding their lines in the Alps, and about Goritz,

which still defies them, and renders unsafe the way to Trieste. Continued progress is reported by the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula. It is said that the Turks are running short of ammunition. Their main supply comes from Germany, but of late there has been trouble in getting it across Roumania. It is reported that the German government has issued a note of protest to Roumania, amounting almost to an ultimatum. [See current volume, page 689.]



The Italian Cruiser Guiseppe Garibaldi was torpedoed by an Austrian submarine, and sank in fifteen minutes. Most of the crew was saved. The attack of a submarine without warning on the passenger ship *Orduna*, near the spot where the *Lusitania* was sunk, seems to indicate that the German government has not abandoned its claim to the right to sink merchantmen without regard to the safety to passengers and crew. The *Orduna* was bound from Liverpool to New York. She had no contraband, but carried 227 passengers, 22 of whom were Americans. The torpedo launched without warning missed the ship by only a few feet, after which the submarine shelled the *Orduna* until her superior speed carried her beyond reach. As it had been tacitly understood that German submarines would not attack passenger ships without warning, this new development may have some bearing on the tone of the note that President Wilson is preparing in answer to the German note. A protest from the Austrian government against the supplying of arms to the Allies by the United States has been received at Washington, but has not been published.



Labor troubles have broken out in Wales, where a large number of miners have gone on a strike for higher wages. A strike is reported in the Krupp gun works at Essen. Another is taking place in the Remington works in Connecticut, which are filling European orders for war materials.



Ex-premier Venizelos of Greece has been chosen by 186 deputies to resume the leadership of the Liberal party. Venizelos is reported to be trying to renew the Balkan League. He is friendly to the Allies.



#### Mexico.

General Military activity is reported throughout Mexico, but accounts are so contradictory that few facts are at hand. Each faction apparently is claiming everything for the purpose of influencing the policy of the United States. It is reported that General Villa has cut off Mexico City, and that General Gonzales has marched out to meet him,

leaving the city in the hands of the civil authorities. No decisive battles have been reported.



The American Red Cross society reports great shortage of food in Mexico City. One hundred thousand women applied for food tickets in one day. Several carloads of grain and beans are waiting in Galveston for an opportunity to go forward.



#### Mrs. Fels in Chicago.

Mrs. Joseph Fels, while in Chicago July 12-15 on her way to San Francisco to attend the Fels Fund and Singletax conferences, August 23-25, spoke at the Woman's City Club of Chicago, Scoville Institute, Oak Park, the University of Chicago, and on July 14 at a dinner given in her honor by the Chicago Singletax Club, where, with Dr. Slaughter presiding, addresses were made by Margaret Haley, Commissioner Frank Walsh and Father Cox. Other cities to be visited by Mrs. Fels and her party en route include Milwaukee, Madison, Minneapolis, Duluth and Seattle.



#### Bavarian Food Regulations.

A Bavarian correspondent in the issue of June 9 of the *Deutsche Warte* of Berlin says:

It is but little known in north Germany that the distribution of bread and flour in Bavaria is regulated in a different and less favorable manner than elsewhere in the Empire. The Bavarian government has insisted on independent regulation of distribution of food. The consequence is that in Munich and upper Bavaria bread cards are being issued which allow the consumer only two pounds of bread a week, half the quantity allowed elsewhere in the Empire. (Those engaged in heavy labor are allowed one and a half pounds additional.) This extraordinary limitation was excused at first on the ground that supplies must be reserved in order to have bread on hand for the expected tourist trade. But now that this trade is beginning it has been ordered that strangers who are staying for the summer in upper Bavaria will get neither bread nor flour and are directed to have bread sent to them from home. Whoever does not care to suffer this inconvenience is urgently warned to stay away from the Bavarian hills. There will be more to tell about this after the war.



#### The Lawson Case.

John R. Lawson, Colorado mine strike leader, was denied a new trial by Judge Granby Hillyer of the District court at Trinidad, Colorado, on July 12. The discovery of new evidence, and affidavits alleging that the trial jury had been tampered with were the grounds of the denied motion. [See current volume, page 667.]

### Fairhope a Legal Singletax Colony.

The Alabama Supreme Court, in overruling the Mobile Chancery Court, which had decided against Fairhope in the suit of A. J. Melville to have the corporation dissolved, enters at some length into the merits of the case. The opinion of the court quotes from the Fairhope declaration of incorporation:

The purpose of said corporation is to demonstrate the beneficency, utility and practicability of the Singletax theory with the hope of its general adoption by the governments of the future. In the meantime, securing for ourselves and our children and associates the benefits to be enjoyed from its application as fully as existing laws will permit, and to that end to conduct a model community free from all forms of special privileges securing to its members therein equality of opportunity, the full reward of its individual efforts and the benefits of co-operation in matters of general concern, holding all land in the name of the corporation and paying all taxes on the same and improvements and other personal property of lessees thereon, charging the lessees the fair rental value, and in the prosecution of its plans for the general welfare of its members to do and perform all the acts and exercise all the powers permitted under section 5 of said Act.

[See current volume, page 598.]



With this end in view, the colony which began with 140 acres, and which now has 4,000 acres, leases ground to its tenants under the following conditions:

"The said lessee, his heirs and successors, shall pay to the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation, its successors and assigns, the annual rental value of said land (described in the instrument), exclusive of its improvements thereon, to be determined by the said corporation through its Executive Council or Board of Directors, under its avowed principle of so fixing the rentals of its lands as to equalize the varying advantages of location and natural qualities of its different tracts and convert into the treasury of the corporation for the common benefit of its lessees, all values attaching to such lands, exclusive of improvements thereon." The lease further stipulates for the discharge of all taxes ("moneys and credits excepted") laid by law upon the lessees out of the common fund. Provision is also made in the lease for the contingency of a dissolution of the corporation and the thereupon necessity to distribute or to divide its assets among the lessees: the purchase price in such circumstances being the actual value of the whole or a part of the leased area exclusive of the improvements thereon. Further provision is made in the lease for an arbitral valuation of the leased land and of the improvements thereon.



The complainant sought to dissolve the Fairhope Corporation on the ground, first, that the State law was unconstitutional; and, second, that it had failed to demonstrate the "beneficency, utility and practicability of a Singletax." After a

brief examination into the Singletax historically and as set forth by Henry George in *Progress and Poverty*, the opinion of the court quotes George as saying he would make land common property:

By exacting under the ostensible power of taxation the economic value of all the lands, which he held to the rentals equal in amount to the actual value of the use of the lands exclusive of their improvements. At page 364 of his book it is said: "I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land, . . . We may safely leave them (land owners), the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent." Definitive of the character and sovereignty of the power of his proposal contemplated, he concludes, on the same page, to condense his theory's statement into this systemic doctrine: "appropriate rent by taxation," and thereupon the author affirms this: "in this way, the State may become the universal landlord without calling herself so, and without assuming a single new function. In form, the ownership of land would remain just as now, . . . For, rent being taken by the State in taxes, land, no matter in whose name it stood, or in what parcels it was held, would be really common property, and every member of the community would participate in the advantages of its ownership." An ultimate purpose of the proposal is "to abolish taxation save that upon land values."—*Progress and Poverty*, p. 365.

Obviously, the enactment of 1903 and its counterpart in the Code of 1907, does not contemplate or attempt the application or enforcement of a Singletax system. It does not effect a change in any degree of tax systems or tax provisions, then or subsequently existing, by the imposition through that sovereign power of any feature of the Singletax system as Henry George has set forth in his proposal in that regard. The taxable property of an incorporation created by that authority and all property taxable as that of individuals, who are members or lessees of the corporation are subject to the same system of taxation, as far as the government is concerned, that any other property is subject to in this State. So, the enactment affords no possible basis for a conclusion that it is invalid in consequence of an effort to actually institute a tax method or system offensive to constitutional provisions, Federal or State. . . . The purpose of the lawmakers, as shown by this enactment, was to authorize the creation of corporations that would—as between the members thereof and those contractually interested in the corporation's activities—observe and apply methods that consist with, demonstrate or illustrate the principles described in the first section of the enactment; the approval and adoption of the principles or the methods being completely subject to individual will or desire; and thus affirmatively exonerating the enactment from the charge of imposing or exerting, in the premises, any governmental authority, in respect to taxation, inconsistent with systems of methods of taxation provided in the constitutions, and also negating a legislative purpose to impose or to exert any governmental authority in conflict with the constitutions in respect of taxation. . . .

The enactment of 1903 permits the creation of a corporation designed to allow the incorporators and the corporations to illustrate and demonstrate—with its own property, means and efforts, coupled with the presumed observance of contractual obligations assumed by others—**Singletax or other economic principles** without impairing, embarrassing or violating any feature or function of the systems of taxation established in the organic laws. That is the enabling purpose of the enactment; and the powers conferred on the incorporation when perfected are those contributive to the effectuation of that purpose—a purpose predicated of the motives of the class who are described in section 1 of the enactment; a purpose designed to permit them to combine their resources, energies, particular faith into a legal unit to test, illustrate or demonstrate property rights of others, is so offensive to the organisms established by the constitutions would be, in effect, but the denial, the repression, of all means and aspirations for improvement which advancing civilization and accumulated experience may discover as desirable to be appropriated and adopted through the orderly processes by which the governed may effect changes in their government. To illustrate: . . .

If it is desirable or necessary, after what has been said, to undertake a mention of an idea or principle common to a system of **Singletax** and to the "business" this corporation may lawfully conduct as a "benevolent landlord" of and for the complainant (appellee) and others of its tenants, this may be noted: that the corporation, though owning the land, holds it as if the land was the common property of the lessees; exacts annual individual rentals upon the basis and as before described; pays from the common fund the taxes laid by existing tax laws upon the lands and the property of the tenants (with the exception indicated above herein): and devotes the remainder to the common benefit of the lessees. Aside from the fact that existing tax systems are not the supreme, commanding source of the processes and results thus generally stated, there is, as we understand it, a marked kinship between the **Singletax** system, as proposed by Henry George, and what this corporation may do, and appears to be doing, under the warrant of its incorporation. . . .

It appears from the averments of the bill that the corporation is in the actual lawful exercise of powers conferred on it by Section 5 of the Act; and that at least some of the phases of its authorized activity are profitable. It is not insolvent. It appears to owe no debts. Under the circumstances shown in the bill, the corporation cannot be dissolved at the suit of a minority stockholder on the ground of its already accomplished or foreshadowed failure, financial or otherwise.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—One thousand of the 5,000 employes of the Standard Oil Company, at Bayonne, N. J., are on strike for higher wages.

—Under the auspices of German-American societies a peace convention is announced for September 4-5 at Chicago, with one of its objects the urging of

an American embargo on the exportation of war supplies.

—A mass meeting to welcome Jane Addams home will be held in the Auditorium, Chicago, on Thursday evening, July 22. [See current volume, pages 525, 666.]

—The Chicago building trades strike drew nearer to an end on July 17 when the union lathers signed an arbitration agreement with the employers. The sheet metal workers and the painters are still out on strike. [See current number, page 690.]

—Heavy rains on July 15 and 16 caused floods in central Ohio, inundating hundreds of acres and raising many rivers to the danger point. Many farmers' crops were ruined; and much damage, with some loss of life, was reported from Kenton and Lima.

—A Board of Civilian Inventors, advisory to the projected Bureau of Invention to be created in the United States Navy Department, is in process of organization by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels. Thomas A. Edison has consented to serve as director.

—Construction of the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago was begun July 16 on the Lake Front near Twelfth street. The building, of marble, will be one of the most spacious museums in the world, devoting 400,000 square feet to exhibition purposes.

—Leo M. Frank, who had begun his life term at the Georgia State prison farm near Milledgeville, was attacked while asleep in the dormitory on July 17 by a fellow convict who cut him severely in the neck with a butcher knife. Mr. Frank's life is in jeopardy. [See current volume, page 621.]

—The Federal Trade Commission is conducting an inquiry into foreign trade conditions, giving hearings in many cities of the United States, with the encouragement of international commerce in view. The week of July 19-26 will be spent in Chicago and neighboring cities. [See current volume, page 259.]

—A strike of all union machinists in Bridgeport, Conn., to begin at noon on Tuesday, July 20, with the men in the Remington Arms Company's employ, was ordered on Monday by leaders of the Machinists' Union, an international organization, and the Structural Iron Workers. Major Walter G. Penfield, works manager for the Remington Company, which has many subsidiary companies throughout New England making munitions of war, refused to meet the machinists' committee when it called to present the men's grievances.

—Food prices in Europe, according to Bulletin No. 170 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, show a decided upward trend. Since the beginning of the war, flour fell in Moscow, because Russia could not export her wheat. In Germany flour advanced 34 per cent by January. In Vienna it advanced 82 per cent. In Switzerland, the Netherlands and Great Britain the price advanced 14 per cent. In Germany and Austria the price of bread advanced less than the price of flour. Sugar advanced sharply, amounting in London to 70 per cent. Potatoes fell a little. Meat rose but little. All countries undertook to regulate prices to some extent. The world advance in prices from 1900 to 1912 amounted in Great Britain to 15 per cent; France, 15; Australia, 16; Germany, 30; Belgium, 32; Austria, 35 per cent,

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Expunging the Scarlet Letter.

Daily News and Leader (London), June 19.—The publication of the able and convincing report of the ladies' committee that has been investigating "the war babies' problem" has, it may be hoped, disposed finally of the sensational and discreditable rumors assiduously circulated in the early part of the year by many people from whom a measure of responsibility might have been expected. The report itself compels unreserved credence. The investigation could hardly have been more thorough nor the evidence more conclusive. One after another the asseverations, backed by every guarantee and protestation of veracity, of the two thousand prospective babies here, the two hundred in a specific village there, the hundred odd from a single factory, have vanished into air before the approach of the trained investigator. The evil, indeed, might well have been of less negligible dimensions, for in the strain and excitement of the early days of the war there were many signs that among unbalanced girls restraint was far too lightly thrown aside. More than a word of recognition is due to such agencies as the Y. M. C. A. and the Women Patrols, to name only two of many, for the wholesome influence they have exerted with marked success in the neighborhood of the camps. Their work was due to the war. We cannot afford to dispense with it when the war is ended.



### Just Like Protective Tariff Bunk.

Coast Seamen's Journal (San Francisco), June 30. The Dollar Steamship Company has announced its determination to change the registry of its ships from American to British. Robert Dollar, president of the company, is on his way to Vancouver to arrange for the transfer of all the company's vessels to the British flag. Not only will the change in registry be made, but Stanley Dollar said that there is a chance that the company will move its headquarters from San Francisco to Vancouver.—Press Item.

When the foregoing item appeared in the daily press for the ninety-seventh time an atmosphere of general gloom settled over the United States of America. . . . The one consoling thought in the whole affair is the knowledge of the fact that no American will lose his job because of this transfer. The same coolie crew and same alien officers who manned the Dollar steamers during their temporary sojourn under the Stars and Stripes will remain on these ships under the Union Jack. It so happens that there are no Americans on these American (?) ships. So the change in registry will be exceedingly simple. It means a change of flag and nothing else. Yet, Captain Dollar will continue to pose as the first shining victim of that horrid, abominable Seamen's Act. He will continue to tell the simple Simons from Maine to California that he could no longer compete with foreign ships because of onerous conditions regarding the character and comforts of the crew, etc., imposed upon his ships by an ill-advised American Congress! And the sad part of the story is that there are any number of

unsophisticated rubes in our country who swallow that "prize" yarn.



### Competition at Work.

Progress, Malbourne (Australia), June 1.—I used to go around and preach 25 years ago, telling them we would have capitalistic farming. There was a man by the name of Dalrymple, who had a 50,000 acre farm, and another man named Schenle had a 20,000 acre farm, and I told them the small farmer was gone, and that we would soon have tremendous bonanza farms that would employ thousands and thousands of men. We figured that concentration would take place the same way in agriculture that it does in the factory. That is where we were wrong. The introduction of farm machinery brought about an entirely different condition. I don't preach any more that we are going to have big bonanza farms. The Dalrymple farm went to pieces. The Schenle farm went to pieces. We don't really know what the result will be. I don't know whether it will be intensive farming or what kind of farming will be brought about. Kropotkin, a great philosopher in his way, although an anarchist, claims that intensive farming, with the help of electricity, will be the farming of the future, and that three acres will be enough for each farm. Of course, that would bring about individualism. If that is to be the case, we may have individualism some day in place of socialism. However, one thing is sure; there is no use in attempting to break eggs that have not been laid yet. We can not have socialism in this country if we don't get the farmers in some way.—Victor Berger.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### WHERE THE TENANT COMES IN.

For The Public.

At the recent session of the License Court in Philadelphia the application for a renewal at 1319 Arch street was granted and the tenant prepared to continue his saloon at the old stand. But he reckoned without "his host" (meaning his landlord), for that worthy, learning of the renewal of the license, appreciated the fact that his tenant was thriving; else he would not have sought the renewal. "A little more cream should come to me," he thought; "this property is within the very shadow of the City Hall, which is the center of Philadelphia, and values of real estate are increasing every year. Yes, I'll shake him down for some more rent."

So the tenant was asked for an increase in his rent from \$3,000 to \$5,250 a year. Having paid \$1,000 as a license fee to the State for the privilege of dispensing liquor and having built up a good will by the methods employed in carrying on his business, the landlord reasoned that his tenant would have to stay and pay that extra

\$2,250 a year. "He cannot afford to move and give up such a lucrative business for a mere addition to his rent of \$187.50 a month; that only makes \$437.50 a month"; thus the mental process of the landlord.

But the tenant! Imagine his feelings; first, his indignation; then, the sense of helplessness; finally, his despair. And it was despair, for he pocketed his \$1,000 license and closed up his saloon. He has hope that the court will grant him a transfer to another location. Suppose he secures such transfer, where can he go that he will not be at the mercy of the landlord?

Is this a fair deal to men who work diligently to build up a business, only to see the good will so arduously acquired capitalized by one who has not raised a finger? Under this system the earner reaps not, while the reaper earns not. Anything just about such an arrangement?

This piece of property now made over into a saloon was until a few years ago one of the regulation brick front residences with high marble steps for which old Philadelphia was noted. Built about eighty years ago on a lot sold in 1831 for \$2,411.16, this three-story brick dwelling on a lot 20' 8" x 128' to a 20' wide alley was sold in 1835 to a prominent clergyman of that day for \$10,000. Fifty years later, when Arch street had ceased to be a fashionable residence street and its use for business purposes was rapidly moving westward, \$17,000 was paid for it, practically all of which was ground value, as the building had outlived its original purpose. Here was a gain in the lot of 80 per cent, or 16 per cent a year during the 50 years it had been occupied by one family as a residence. Twenty years later the purchaser of 1885 sold to the present owner for \$60,000, the building being unchanged, but now over 70 years old and very much out of date. Business had now surrounded it and the gain of \$43,000 during these 20 years was due to the business center of the city having been fixed at a point within 500 feet southwest of 1319 Arch street. The new owner changed the house into a store and two or three years later the front of the building was remodeled, but the bulk of the old building with the old stable in the rear still stands (now 80 years old), with the ground worth \$100,000, or over 4,000 per cent gain in 84 years, about 50 per cent a year, besides the rent.

In ten years, therefore, this new owner acquired \$40,000 increase of ground value, less a comparatively small outlay for repairs; but, not satisfied with this and \$3,000 a year rent besides, attempted to exact \$5,250 annual rent from a tenant who had occupied the property and used it for business purposes for four years.

This shows where the tenant comes in; this shows the underlying reason for the high cost of living; this shows why progress and poverty go hand in hand; this shows why the average man

struggles a lifetime for bare sustenance, while a few toil not but live in luxury; this shows why city governments talk about bankruptcy with a gold mine in the midst; this shows the cause of poverty. If you do not know the remedy, read Henry George.

HENRY J. GIBBONS.



## SAVIOURS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

For The Public.

The National Association of Manufacturers has come to the aid of the American public schools. Realizing that our public school, in spite of its defects, is the most potent factor we have for the education of the young and, being aware that the kind of education the youth receives today is the thing that will determine the kind of a citizen he will be tomorrow, the National Association of Manufacturers has decided that it will safeguard its future interests by using its influence to see that the young people of our land are taught the dignity of labor, the evils of leisure, the ennobling effect of earning one's living, contentment for things as they are, respect for superiors and the rich rewards of docility and obedience.

They have begun the dissemination of such ideas with no little earnestness and activity. They are now distributing, free of cost, tracts upon such themes as the following:

The Disadvantages of Labor Unionism.

The Goal of the Labor Trust.

The Boy and the Law.

Industrial Education as an Essential Factor in Our National Prosperity.

Americanism the True Solution of the Labor Problem.

Injunctions.

The Doom of the Boycott and the Boycott Abandoned.

What Does the Closed Shop Mean to You?

Cruel Unionism.

The Union Label a Detriment to Business.

The Law's Supremacy.

The Crime of the Century.

Each of these pamphlets bears a circular number and on each is advertised the complete list with the solicitous announcement that any or all will be gladly sent for the asking. Nor that only; without the asking, this material is being sent to school superintendents all over the country, many of whom, in their zeal to be up-to-date in the matter of industrial education, welcome the ideas with open minds. In fact they frequently give it greater credence than it would naturally receive because it comes from such an eminent (?) source.

In order to get a fair idea of the nature of the subject-matter of these pamphlets it is but necessary to notice briefly a few extracts from pamphlets Nos. 22 and 28 both of which are entitled "Industrial Education."

On page seven of No. 28 we read as follows: "Says Carlyle: 'The latest gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it.' All true work is sacred. In all true work, be it but true hand labor, there is something divine." On page eight of the same pamphlet this knockout blow is dealt those who believe in freeing the world from work as much as possible: "Is there not a lesson for us in the recollection that when God made Adam, He immediately set him to work? He put him in the garden 'to dress and to keep it.' And later, when He gave to the world His Only Son, He put him in a carpenter shop where he learned a trade, and knowledge and wisdom came unto him." On the same page they produce Solomon as a champion of their interests with the following: "Said Solomon, 'Wherefore, I perceive it is well that a man rejoice in his work, for that is his portion.'" Of course they forget that Solomon issued such statements for the benefit of his slaves while for himself he chose to "consider the lilies" and live as they lived.

Turning to page twenty-nine of No. 28 we get in brief the plan by which the manufacturers would form the school so as to produce the class of docile and obedient servants which they so much desire. There we read: "Some of us believe that at about fourteen years of age, or the end of the elementary course, there should be three elective courses of two or three years' length (1) cultural, (2) commercial, (3) industrial—these schools, with their elective courses corresponding somewhat to our present high schools." They fully realize that it is perfectly safe to put the "elective" cultural course in the curriculum since only the very few can "elect" it and, moreover, it is more pleasing to their ears to call it an "elective" course. Also, in many cases, it keeps the poor child hoodwinked and he often thinks that he is not taking a compulsory course. On page six of pamphlet No. 22 we note "The working people of the country who wish their children to enter the industries take them out of school at fourteen, knowing from experience that if they stay in school until sixteen they will have passed the psychological time when industry beckons: will have acquired other tastes, and will never enter the industries." Thus have the manufacturers carefully figured that they must get the child at the age when he is most restless. What they meant to say was: Get the child started in the mill or the factory before he has awakened to a realization of the value of the arts and the sciences; before he knows the glories of the paths that lie ahead for the man who knows; before he has felt the love of learning, and he will make a faithful and obedient slave until his death. Furthermore, they assume, as a matter of course, that the working people of the country wish their children to enter the industries. Yes, the working-class parents "know from experience"

that their children must do so. Of course, there is never a proletariat parent who would desire anything more for his child than to have him follow in the thorny path of his father.



But not only do the industrial barons want to see that the future workers are trained to be workers, they want them to be workers who will worship at the shrine of the established. The workers must be worshipful of the law; they must be citizens who know how slaves should behave, and so they propose that we shall break away from the industrial subjects enough to teach the child his duty to his master. Under the caption of "Citizenship" on pages eleven and twelve of pamphlet No. 22 is the following: "It is not enough to make the child a competent industrial worker. He must be made a worthy member of society. He must be taught his rights and his obligations, to himself, his companions and the state. Courses in 'Citizenship,' so-called are a very important part of the industrial training in Continental Europe, and should be. Children are taught to understand and appreciate the ordered processes of the law." This statement is pregnant with significance. How well the manufacturers know that "the ordered processes of the law" are on their side. How anxious would they be for the child to be taught "citizenship" if this were not so? We would not care to be understood as speaking deprecatingly of the teaching of real citizenship or of the value of real civics but we most indignantly denounce the idea of teaching the ethics of slaves.

Lastly comes the resolutions of the noble gentlemen who seek to relegate us to the middle ages by taking away from our future society the knowledge that has been won by the bitter struggles against their class throughout the world's history. These are to be found on the closing page of pamphlet No. 22, and read as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers May, 1911:

Resolved, That this association earnestly devote itself, with reasonable outlay of funds, to the promotion of Industrial Education, to the end that such education may be made available, as soon as possible, to every child who needs it.

Resolved, That we favor the establishment in every community of continuation schools wherein the children of 14 to 18 years of age now in the industries, shall be instructed in the science and art of their respective industries and in citizenship.

CLAUDE H. ANDERSON.



He leaves nine children, eight of whom are honored and respected citizens of this State, and the other lives in Missouri.—Lyons (Kas.) News.

## THE GOVERNORS' OPINIONS.

The Public recently sent to the Governor of every State and Territory the following list of questions:

1—A. To what extent does public opinion in your State favor the Short Ballot, Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation?

B. To what extent do you think these should be applied?

2. Should there be any further extension of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall beyond that to which it may be already applied in your State?

3. What measure, in your opinion, is needed for final and proper solution of transportation problems in your State?

4—A. What reforms, if any, would you consider desirable in your taxation system?

B. Has your present system worked so as to justify such comment as was made by Governor Byrne of South Dakota in his recent message, in which he said that the general property tax "stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burden of taxation," and that "it is both inherently inequitable and impossible of enforcement"?

C. To what extent would you consider Governor Byrne's argument sound in the following:

Some classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others. A person should not be penalized by extreme tax exactions for improving his town or neighborhood. The farmer should not be penalized because he improves the acres he holds. Per contra we should not offer reward in the way of tax immunity to him who gives nothing of value but only holds unused land for the increased value which the thrift and industry of the community will surely add to it.

D. Would you consider as a proper step toward solution of tax problems everywhere Governor Byrne's recommendation of a constitutional provision that will "leave the people free to adopt such intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit"?

Thirty-one Governors acknowledged receipt. Some gave definite and specific answers to all questions. Others returned partial answers. Others promised to answer at a later date, and a few refused to answer at all. It is still possible that some of those not heard from may yet reply. The publication of these replies began on page 695, issue of July 16, to be continued in succeeding issues.—Editors of The Public.



### Governor of Massachusetts.

These are my answers to the questions propounded by the Public:

1—A. Public opinion has not been sufficiently tested in this State to justify a positive assertion as to how far the voters are in favor of the short ballot, preferential voting and proportional representation. We have among us, however, strong advocates of all three reforms and they are evidently growing in popular favor.

1—B. In my opinion, the principles of the short ballot should be applied to all executive offices and administrative departments, both state and municipi-

pal, with preferential voting whenever there are three or more candidates for an elective office.

2. We certainly need the initiative and referendum in Massachusetts, and shall need the recall when the terms of our elective officials are extended beyond one year.

3. As soon as public sentiment is ready for the change, the ultimate solution of transportation in Massachusetts as elsewhere I believe to be railroad ownership. In the meantime, we greatly need the final deliverance of our principal railroad systems from the selfish and greedy interests which have failed to recognize their responsibility to the public in the operation of public utilities, and the reorganization of the Boston & Maine system through consolidation with its leased lines.

4—A. Most of the reforms which I think desirable in our taxation system were carefully indicated by me in an inaugural address to the legislature, a copy of which is sent under separate cover. The most important reform, however, is the abolition of tax dodging.

4—B. Governor Byrne's comment is certainly justified by the experience of Massachusetts.

4—C. It is certainly true that the taxation of all sorts of property on the same basis is not a distribution of the public burdens as they ought to be distributed in proportion to the ability to bear them. Deductions from an unearned income or increase in value involve less sacrifice than equal deductions from the rewards of industry. I favor local option in taxing land values at higher rates than those imposed on the products of industry; and I also favor such a classification of other property as will abolish double taxation and place all industrial investments on an equal footing.

4—D. Where the initiative and referendum are in force I think the people should be free to decide for themselves this question as every other. Without these measures I fear that giving the legislature a free hand in regard to taxation would be to give a very dangerous advantage to organized selfish interests.

I am glad to have had these interrogatories made. I am inclined to believe that a large number of replies to them, by representative men in our American communities, will be of service to the people as a whole.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID I. WALSH.



### Governor L. E. Hall of Louisiana.

- 1—A. Have no gauge of sentiment.
- B. Short Ballot should be applied.
2. No.
3. Transportation problems largely handled by Railroad Commission of the State.
- 4—A. Difficult to say.
- B. Yes, in large measure.
- C. Entirely sound.
- D. Legislature should have almost full power.



### Governor of Maine.

Governor Curtis directs me to acknowledge receipt of your communication and to advise you that

he would prefer to refrain from discussing in public the questions referred to.

Trusting that you will receive this in the same spirit in which it is offered, I am,

Yours very truly,

J. P. McCONVILLE,  
Secretary to the Governor.



Governor of Montana.

Your letter has been received at this office and I shall take pleasure in bringing it to the attention of Governor Stewart.

Yours respectfully,

WILL AIKEN,  
Secretary to the Governor.



Governor of Michigan.

1. Public opinion in Michigan does not favor the Short Ballot. I have recommended it in both of my inaugural messages; nor does Preferential Voting nor Proportional Representation receive any attention. Naturally I am a strong advocate of the short ballot.

2. I do not think there is any occasion in Michigan for the extension of the Referendum and Recall. The Legislature of 1913 did some good work along this line.

3. I have no well-defined opinion as regards the solution of transportation problems.

4—A. I would like to see the single tax plan worked into our tax system.

B.—I agree with Governor Byrne in his statement.

C. The argument of Governor Byrne is sound; nothing more nor less than the single tax.

D. I agree with Governor Byrne again as regards constitutional provision that will leave the people free to adopt such an intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit.

Very sincerely yours,

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.



## WAR, NOT A GOD, BUT A DEMON.

For The Public.

Too long a gay adventure it has seemed;  
Too long the world-old glamour of romance,  
The martial glow and the rich radiance,  
The stir of luring music, golden-themed;  
Too long the lavish splendor we have deemed  
Bespoke its soul—held its extravagance  
Authentic, and its seeming puissance  
Divine: of nothing braver have we dreamed!

Now let us pierce beneath the sham and show,  
Beyond the lure, and feel the vultures' thrill,  
See the rapacious monster as he is—  
See the revolting death-streams gush and flow,  
Like freshets, on the gun-swept battle-hill,  
Where reeks the hideous harvest that is his.

CHARLES H. WINKE.



In a change of government, the poor seldom change anything except the name of their masters—  
Phaedrus.

## BOOKS

### PROGRESS AND POVERTY, IN SWEDISH.

*Progress and Poverty.* By Henry George. Translated into Swedish. Published by P. A. Norstedt & Sons, Stockholm. Price, Kr. 3:25 (88 cents.)

Swedish literature has been enriched by a new translation of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (Framatskridandet och Fattigdomen). It is a good one, too. While we recognize on the one hand that such a masterpiece can never be translated without losing some of its beauty and perfection, and on the other that such a plastic and resourceful language as the Swedish can be done full justice to only by a great master, it must be said that the translator (or translators?) has made very fine work of a difficult job. It has the great merit of being so correct in substance and so harmonious and conformable with the original in tone and expression that, with some slight modifications in phraseology and punctuation, which it will probably receive in succeeding editions, it is likely to become one of the classic masterpieces of the Swedish language, as it is of the English. The print is excellent, on fine white paper, and the book is truly a credit to the printer's art, which was to be expected, for it comes from Norstedt & Sons, Stockholm, one of the oldest and the most respected printing houses in Sweden. The price, in paper, is set at kr. 3:25 = 88 cts. American money.

To translate this book is no amateur's job. To do it in a manner which will satisfy trained minds is one thing, and the least difficult part. But to do it so that it also falls easy and clear into the minds of those whose education merely enables them to read with tolerable comfort is another and the harder problem which calls for skill of the highest order. Add to this the argumentative temper, the warm but subtle strain of human sympathy with passionate earnestness, always in unison with the coolest and most rigid reasoning, as it runs through the whole work—and the best translator will have his hands full.

S. TIDEMAN.



### A BELATED APPRECIATION.

*Nowadays.* By George Middleton. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York.

One great advantage of reviewing a book for *The Public* is that one needn't be in such a hurry about it. *The Public* appeals to a class of readers who, when they read fiction, prefer the Good to the merely New. Therefore I make no apologies for having waited for nearly a year before calling

their attention to a book which merits it. The latest play by a young American playwright, George Middleton, *Nowadays*, does not need the superficial quality of its newness to hold its readers. Its theme is timely, in spite of the wave of slaughter now sweeping over the world. For the truer ideals of what we call Feminism hold their own as an important problem of the day. And in fact we may look forward, as to one of the good things to come out of the evil of this war, to a triumph of Feminism such as its most ardent apostles scarce hoped for. Women will be needed, after the war is done, as mere human beings, to help carry on the work of the world. And the demand for her rights as a human being, apart from her sex functions, made by the modern woman is the theme of Mr. Middleton's play. He shows the disintegrating effect of generations of a false point of view on the life of the average American family. The phrases that have taken the place of truth, the comedy that is played, consciously by some members of the family, unconsciously by others, the utter lack of ability to deal honestly with any situation that is the least out of the ordinary, all this is pitilessly portrayed. The farce of woman's dependence upon man, which when it is no longer true shows itself in petty tyranny, the lack of honesty that kills love, and leads to silent endurance on the part of the wife, open rebellion on the part of the daughter—this too is vividly shown.

A very real tragedy of today, working itself out in hundreds of homes all over this broad land, is here simply and directly told. It shows literary art of a high type, for Mr. Middleton apparently believes that a play can be literature as well as drama. The growing tendency on the part of our influential publishers to print plays of fine quality is something the reading public ought to appreciate in a practical way—for its own sake. Because it is the high type of mind that enjoys reading plays. And Mr. Middleton's play deserves all consideration from the best type of minds anywhere.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Uncle Sam—Banker*. 1910-1940. By James A. Fulton. Published by the Author, McKeesport, Pa. Price, \$2.00.

—*Citizens in Industry*. By Charles Richmond Henderson. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—*While the Fire Burns*. By Alfred L. Flude. Published by *The Platform*, Steinway Hall, Chicago. 1915. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

—*Poems of Mary Artemisia Lathbury*. Published by the Nunc Licet Press, 920 Nicollet avenue, Minneapolis, Minn. Price, \$1.25.

—*The Diplomacy of the War of 1914. The Beginning of the War*. By Ellery C. Stowell. Published

by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$5.00 net.

—*The Cry for Justice; an Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest*. Edited by Upton Sinclair. Published by the John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—*Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Governors of the States of the Union held at Madison, Wisconsin, November 10-13, 1914*. Miles C. Riley, Secretary, State Capitol, Madison, Wis.

—*With the German Armies in the West*. By Sven Hedin. Authorized translation from the Swedish by H. G. de Walterstorff. Published by the John Lane Co., London and New York. 1915. Price, \$3.50 net.

—*Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872*. By C. Mildred Thompson. Whole Number 154, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$3.00 net.

—*The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council*. By Elmer Beecher Russell. Whole Number 155, Columbia University Studies in Histories, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$1.75 net.



An artist and his wife were entertaining some friends to tea in the studio. The host's picture, which had recently been "hung," was the topic of conversation. Said one lady:

"Mr. Vandike, yours was the only picture I looked at in the exhibition."

Vandike bowed and smiled delightedly.

"Believe me, madam," he said, "I appreciate the honor."

But she gave a little stare of perplexity.

"Honor?" she said. "The others, you know, were so surrounded by the crowd."—*Sacred Heart Review*.

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ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

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In America we have a class of men who are called corporation lawyers. They are men of force, ability and shrewdness, and are employed by the corporations because they are recognized as strong lawyers. (I am not speaking of lobbyists.) Many of these men before entering the service of corporations gave promise of eloquence, but none of them has risen to the plane of oratory. Even when brilliant and on the right side, there is something about their effort that smacks of insincerity. While these positions have been sought because the salaries are large, I believe the judgment of mankind will be that these able men paid too much for their potage.

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