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EDITORIAL

Hughes on Suffrage.

Mr. Hughes' endorsement of the Federal Woman Suffrage amendment would be more commendable if his speech of acceptance did not deprive it of all force. Having declared squabbles over foreign happenings to be of first importance, he necessarily let it be understood that nothing should interfere with a settlement of these matters in accordance with his ideas. So if it be necessary to sacrifice or delay suffrage in order to restore to American investors in Mexico control over their property Mr. Hughes will insist on the sacrifice or delay and think that he has made a good bargain. If a similar course should be necessary to secure a satisfactory settlement of the controversies over ocean traffic, he will insist upon it. And if he must choose between suffrage and a big appropriation for the army or navy the appropriation will have the right of way. Aggrandizement before everything else being his policy, it matters little what he may declare regarding domestic matters. He has made it easy to sidetrack any question that privileged interests want sidetracked.

S. D.



Statesman or Politician?

Had Mr. Hughes confined his acceptance speech to his epigrammatic phrase, "America first and America efficient," his utterance might have taken rank with Caesar's laconic message; and it would have been almost as enlightening as the eight thousand words that followed. Before he was nominated, and while still on the Supreme bench, people complained because he said nothing to indicate his opinions on statecraft; now that he has spoken somewhat at length, the same complaint is repeated. Mr. Hughes' speech can be justly paraphrased thus: The American government should be in the hands of wise, honest and efficient men, who should do all in their power to advance the best interests of the country; the Democrats have failed to meet this test,

as they always have, but the Republicans will meet it, as they have done in the past.



Mr. Hughes has roundly condemned Mr. Wilson's policies and actions. That was his duty as a candidate; for unless grave faults were to be found in the present Executive there is no reason in changing. And this is one instance, at least, in which Mr. Hughes showed efficiency; he condemned his opponent as effectively as the church used to damn heretics. But while this is dramatic, and may serve as a hot weather diversion, it may be doubted whether it will achieve the purpose intended. Fair-minded people will not judge a man by what he failed to accomplish, but by what it was possible to accomplish, and what in all probability any other man would have accomplished if subjected to the same conditions. They will realize that no President since Lincoln has had such complicated conditions to meet; and they will note the fact that in spite of the many provocations to resort to arms, both in Europe and in Mexico, we are still at peace. These matters could have been handled differently, no doubt, but what assurance is there that the result would have been better? What evidence does Mr. Hughes offer that he could have done more for his country?



There are two recognized ways of appealing for the suffrages of one's countrymen. One is to abuse the opposition candidate, and the other is to display one's own qualifications. During the post-bellum days of reconstruction vituperation appeared to be the main appeal to voters; but as the memories of the war have faded personal villification has been replaced by general condemnation of the opposition's acts and policies. It may be questioned whether this also has not been outgrown. There are signs indicating that the number of men and women who are demanding intelligent, constructive legislation are now great enough to hold the balance of power between the two sets of party worshipers. To this class Mr. Hughes has been studiously indifferent. He has ignored the upbuilding legislation enacted during the present Administration, the Federal Reserve law, the Seamen's law, the Rural Credits law, the work of the Commission on Industrial Relations, the Federal Trades Commission and the pending child labor law, and instead makes a few vague and general proposals that could be subscribed to by all parties, from Socialists to Prohibitionists.

It should not be forgotten by those who would exercise their power efficiently in serving society that politics is not an exact science. Rather is it a succession of approximations. No man or party should be condemned because of failure to put forth, much less to carry out, a constructive platform complete as to every detail. In a country as large as the United States there must necessarily be too many conflicting interests to permit of their being brought within a single program. The best that the discriminating voter can do is to ally himself with the party that seems likely to approach most nearly to his ideals, judging not only by its definite proposals, but also by the general direction of its course. Considered from this point of view, the Republican candidate's statement will prove a sore disappointment to those independents who, having had the ground cut from under their feet by Mr. Roosevelt, have been given little to stand upon by Mr. Hughes.

s. c.



The Statesmanship of Hughes.

One fact stands out plainly in regard to the speech of acceptance of Candidate Charles E. Hughes. The matter that ranks with him of least importance is the general welfare of the American people. Before considering that, he would settle the Mexican situation and international questions arising out of the European war, and would create a big army and navy. Then should no new question arise in the meantime he might perhaps consider what must seem to him the minor question, whether every American citizen should be assured at all times an opportunity to work for a living under conditions that would enable each one to get an equitable return. That there is such a question he must know, for after criticizing the Administration's foreign policy, he says of his political opponents:

They did reduce the opportunities of making a living.



If that charge is well founded then it matters little whether the Administration's Mexican policy is right or wrong. It is immaterial whether our foreign diplomacy was or is what it ought to be, and there is no time for fantastic dreams over the possibility of an unprovoked foreign invasion. Opportunities to earn a living were much too scarce before the present Administration came in. The economic system upheld by former administrations was bad enough. There was unemployment; the evil of child labor prevailed and strikes and lock-outs were continually occurring, accompanied by

violence on both sides. Labor conditions were so bad that restrictive laws, alleged to be remedial, were urged for adoption in the State legislatures. There was so much widespread poverty rendering its victims helpless that the statute books have been filled with well-meant laws designed to prevent men from doing what other laws drive them to do. So bad were economic conditions that charity organizations were everywhere striving to relieve distress, while vice and crime caused by poverty were steadily increasing. And now Mr. Hughes declares that the present Administration has made conditions much worse. Is a candidate to be trusted who believes this and yet would give precedence to other matters? Mr. Hughes' speech makes clear that he is that kind of a statesman. When he raises the campaign slogan "America First" is he trying to put social justice last?

S. D.



Choosing Sides.

The chaotic condition of American politics could not be better illustrated than by considering the distribution of the members of the Progressive party. Nor could the true inwardness of that faction of the Republican party be better understood than by watching the manner in which its members seek new alliances. The restless discontent of the democratic voters in both the old conservative parties was approaching a point in 1912 where a new party was possible that should embody the real democratic sentiment of the country. Mr. Roosevelt's quarrel with the Republican machine prompted him to seize upon this sentiment to enable him to regain control of the Republican party. His subsequent action shows that the only use he had for the new party was to beat his political opponents in the old party. There were many, however, who believed in him and followed blindly under his leadership. But when, after leading them all 'round Robin Hood's barn, he bolted for his old stall, most of the followers hesitated.



And of those who hesitated none excited more attention than Raymond Robins. He at least could not be called a place hunter, nor a seeker after personal aggrandizement. He had long been known as a democrat, with a little "d," and other democrats looked to him as a champion. Who better than he had voiced the cry of the disinherited? Who better than he could point the way of deliverance to those deprived of their patrimony? His friends had retained their faith in him when he enlisted under Roosevelt's ban-

ner and they under Wilson's, for they still felt that his heart was true to democracy. But, now that he has elected to fight under the banner of Hughes, some are in doubt. A few will say hard things of him because of this. Let them not do so. Mistaken in judgment he may be, but that is a matter for regret, not abuse.



But, while we may not scold him for making his choice, we can condemn his reasons. He says the Democratic party is dominated by the South and the cities; while the Republican party draws its strength from the North and the rural sections. And he cites as evidence the progress made in California and Wisconsin. Twenty years ago, he says, able and honest Democrats were fighting in that State for reform, but it remained for Hiram W. Johnson and the liberal Republicans to accomplish the work. That is much like saying the British Tories should be credited with giving England free trade, because a Tory ministry took advantage of the years of work done by the Liberals. Wisconsin's redemption Mr. Robins credits to Senator La Follette. That is commendable as far as it goes. But what has Senator La Follette to do with the Republican party? What is his standing with the other party leaders? Mr. Robins speaks truly when he says the Republican party was conceived in liberty and dedicated to progress, and that the Democracy of the South was sectional in its sympathies; but both are supposed to have changed. The Republican party controlled by the old guard that nominated Mr. Hughes is scarcely the party of Lincoln; and the Democratic party under the leadership of President Wilson has little semblance to the ante-bellum Democracy.



It is in Mr. Robins' own profession of faith, however, that the greatest disappointment lies. He says:

A comprehensive protection of the home market and support for American foreign trade is indispensable if we are to preserve industrial prosperity. Graduated progressive taxation upon incomes, inheritances and land values must be a part of any adequate preparedness program. We need universal service and military training of the youth of America.

Strange words indeed are these to come from Raymond Robins. The taxation of land values sounds familiar to the ears of his friends, but we fear they will not be so welcome to his new associates. But universal military service, whence comes that reactionary and un-American doctrine? It lends color to the suspicion that this

declaration of faith was viséd by one of more pronounced military inclinations; for, though the hand is the hand of Robins, the voice is the voice of Roosevelt. But let it be remembered that party lines will not long separate those of a common faith. If Mr. Robins remains the democrat he was thought to be we shall continue to work in the same cause; and, though party lines now separate us, the parting is in sorrow, not in anger.

S. C.



Robins Versus Hughes on Mexico.

In striking contrast with the criticism of Wilson's Mexican policy by Candidate Charles E. Hughes is the comment of his ardent supporter, Raymond Robins. Speaking at the Chicago Coliseum on October 19, 1914, Mr. Robins said:

The most skillful, the most courageous, the greatest statesmanship of the last two years in this world was the manner in which Wilson averted war between this country and Mexico. The reason that the blood of American men—sons of our homes—is not today reddening the hot sands of Mexico, to serve the interests of a few corporation magnates and speculators, is due more to the courage and constancy of Woodrow Wilson than to any other factor in American life. I would count myself poor and small indeed if I were not able to recognize wisdom, courage and public service, even if it had been shown by the chief of an opposing party.

What a pity that Mr. Robins should see fit to endorse a candidate who has shown himself lacking in the fine spirit that prompted this splendid appreciation of a political opponent.

S. D.



The Menace of Militarism.

Not only have the efforts failed of Editor Charles Baker of the Hamilton, Ohio, Socialist to have the militiamen who assaulted him brought to trial before a civil court, but he has himself been arrested on a ridiculous charge of sending scurrilous and defamatory matter through the mails. At the hearing before the United States Commissioner at Cincinnati, on August 1, it developed that the charge is based on publication of an imaginary call to enlist addressed to persons engaged in certain capitalistic, criminal and vicious occupations, with the words added "Workmen, follow your masters." Further on was an article describing those who enlist as "poor, weak-minded, deluded-brained dubs." The article was in poor taste and the language as coarse and inelegant as some of Roosevelt's expressions on pacifism, but if Baker violated the law, then every paper has done so which reproduced remarks of some prominent preparedness advocates. The case shows to what lengths militarists will go to sup-

press opposition. It gives a little foretaste of what may be expected with the preparedness idea in full swing.

S. D.



Civilized Savagery.

Slaughter of helpless prisoners occurs in civilized warfare as well as in other kinds. The present war is no exception, and all of the big belligerents are equally guilty. Roger Casement and Captain Fryatt are the latest victims, and, as usual "military necessity" is the excuse. Great Britain and Germany would appear in a less shameful light if they did not put that alleged necessity before humanity.

S. D.



Making Martyrs.

The execution of Sir Roger Casement for treason by the British government adds another to the long list of Irish martyrs, increases the fires of racial hatred between the two countries, and complicates the settlement of this long-standing political struggle. It is one more item in the continuous folly that marks British rule in Ireland; and in its own way it is an epitome of tory stupidity and military madness. For more than a generation British liberals have struggled to give Ireland self-government, but the tories of England have fought it uncompromisingly; and when after all manner of delays and obstacles had been overcome, and the Home Rule bill had become law, the tories resorted to arms and seduced the soldiery. Before this condition could be remedied the European war broke out, which has turned all human affairs topsy-turvy. The saddest part of this latest mad act is that, although Asquith and his fellow Liberals realized the danger of executing Casement because of its effect upon Ireland, they were confronted with the opposition of the British tories, and the exigencies of war prompted them to refuse clemency. The bloody toll taken of Ireland can be laid directly at the door of toryism, militarism and privilege. Liberty will have a rebirth in this world-revolution, and Englishmen, no less than Irishmen, will learn the meaning of the word Freedom.

S. C.



Buying Sovereignty.

No reports have come concerning the feeling of the inhabitants of the Danish West Indies regarding the proposed purchase of sovereignty over them. If they have no objection, then the purchase becomes for us merely a question of expediency. But suppose that they are opposed to the transfer, and resist? Will the United

States repeat the Philippine crime and conquer them? Or suppose that, realizing the uselessness of resistance, they submit without a struggle, will it be any less wrong to force our government upon them? Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. If there happen to be any democrats in the United States Senate, they will insist on ascertaining the wishes of the Danish West Indians before voting to confirm the treaty. If there should be any democrats in the Danish Parliament, they will do the same.

S. D.

War Mongers.

It may seem beyond the bounds of probability that any man or any set of men should deliberately try to precipitate war between the United States and another country, yet there is embarrassing evidence that this very thing is being done at the present moment. And if there be added to this work of evil intent the careless and irresponsible newspaper reporting it is evident that something more than passivism is necessary on the part of the Administration to keep the peace. Not since the beginning of the Mexican revolution has there been lacking a flood of inspired false reports from the border, and from the interior of Mexico, to the press throughout the United States; and since the mobilization of the militia the supply has been increased. "Special correspondents"—but unnamed—have had interviews with officers and officials, whose "identity must not be disclosed," who have related this and that Mexican outrage. At the very moment when an agreement is being entered into between the two countries for the arbitration of their differences a circumstantial and detailed account of preparations for intervention to take place not later than October is distributed throughout the country. No less a journal than the Chicago Evening Post admits this stuff to its columns. Under the caption, "Intervention in Mexico will follow in fall, Army officer on the border tells of preparations for troops to cross the Rio Grande, Politics will force issue, Bridges duplicated and pontoons made ready for quick work," it permits a "Staff Correspondent" to gravely recite more than a column of military tittle-tattle. An "officer in the regular army in close touch with the situation"—of course unnamed—interprets for the correspondent the military activities in the Brownsville district. Sherlock Holmes was a dub compared with this diviner of the future; and the patron of the green goods vendor is a model of discretion in comparison with the receptive re-

porter. The military authorities are rushing preparations for the invasion of Mexico, according to this "officer," and political considerations will compel invasion. Says this "inspired" informant:

The belief on the border is that the only possible hope of the Democratic administration for re-election is to move our armies into Mexico a few weeks before election, and then attempt to carry the support of the country with the cry: "You forced the President into war, now stand back of him."

This is journalism. The Evening Post itself has denounced fake reports from the border, yet it admits one of the worst to its news columns. If Mexican editors lacked anything in the way of inventing fake news, it would be necessary only for them to clip from the American press literal accounts that would serve their purpose. There is a higher tone to the press generally than ever before, but there are parts still sadly in need of improvement. The Evening Post owes it to its own good reputation, and to the press in general, to say nothing of the country at large, to curb its "Special Correspondents" on the border.

S. C.

Profiting by Experience.

One can generally find some excuse for a lack of foresight; but when hindsight also is lacking what excuse will avail? Men will say when the land question has been explained: That is true; had we started out with that policy it would have been all right; but it is now too late. Yet they begin new policies with little regard for past experience. The refusal of Congress to lay the cost of the Alaska railroad on the lands benefited through its building is a case in point. The building of State roads by means of a general tax, instead of a tax on the lands served, is another. A similar policy has been applied to the regulation of game protection. The Audubon societies, and public-spirited men and women who have acted with them, have for years been trying to stop the shooting of wild fowl in the spring; for the killing of the birds before the nesting season means the destruction of the season's young as well. After much effort a law was secured protecting the birds; but there is a movement on foot to modify it to the extent that will again permit the desecration of the nesting season. It is to be hoped that Secretary Houston will see his way to resist this movement. Unless we wish to go upon a vegetarian diet, spring shooting should be stopped. If we are to retain a meat diet, the

fish in the streams and the birds of the air should be protected.

s. c.



Anti-Democratic Conspiracy Defeated.

A great democratic victory was the rejection in Oklahoma of the literacy test amendment proposed and pushed by the State Democratic ring. The rejected proposition was undemocratic, not only in that it aimed to make suffrage the privilege of a favored class, but in that it was so drawn as to arbitrarily disfranchise Republican and Socialist voters, regardless of literacy. Its real object was to keep in power the undemocratic element of the Democratic party. To carry the amendment an appeal was made to race prejudice, and the demagogic cry of "Negro domination" was raised. That these methods failed is a hopeful sign. Now Oklahoma would do well to vote out of office the Democrats who took part in this conspiracy against democracy.

s. d.



Railway Employers and Employes.

It is not for the uninitiated to say just what should be the revenue of a railroad to enable it to pay a legitimate return on an honest investment, nor to determine the hours of service and the rate of pay of its employes; but there are certain outstanding facts that come within the comprehension of the average citizen. One of these is that rising prices make advances in wages necessary if labor is to keep even. Another is that increased efficiency in production entitles labor to a larger return. Still another is that the greater stress of modern life necessitates shorter hours of labor. To deny these self-evident facts is to beg the whole labor question. To refuse compliance with these demands is to confess that modern progress is not for mankind in general, but only for the few. And to confess inability to meet these demands is to admit incompetency on the part of the railway management.



It does not require the delving into history to understand the method by which our railroad systems were constructed. Men still living participated in the frenzied finance that accompanied the railroad building era. Small investments were supplemented by public grants, and stock was freely issued to be paid for out of the earnings of the road. Maturing bonds were met by new bonds; and every increase in earnings served as a basis for another issue of stock. The tapping of new sources of unearned wealth is now denied the roads. It is possible, indeed, that the

sources they now command are no more than sufficient to meet the toll levied upon them by other forms of legal privilege. But be that as it may the railway management will have to find ways and means of granting their men more pay and shorter hours, or make way for some agency that will.



The whole matter is complicated by the fact that other labor is also looking for and deserving of shorter hours and more pay; and other privilege holders besides railroads will soon find themselves called upon so to adjust their affairs that they can meet these demands. The peculiar thing about the present question is that the trainmen occupy a position where a strike means the tying up of the country's business. Under normal conditions such a thing would be unthinkable; but we have drifted so far from free conditions of labor and industry that both are wholly on an artificial basis, and will come to an agreement according to their respective powers. It is one thing to say that no social agent has the right in seeking to advance its own welfare to injure a third party; but when that third party actively or passively maintains an economic condition that prevents the free play of the productive forces it will have to suffer the consequences. Neither compulsory arbitration nor any other form of compulsion will still the irrepressible conflict between labor and privilege. The present issue between the trainmen and the roads will doubtless be settled through the intercession of government; but that settlement will be merely a battle in the struggle for industrial freedom.

s. c.



Popular Government in South Dakota.

South Dakota will vote for the third time this fall on what is known as the Richards primary election law. This would not be necessary but for the legislature and the State Supreme Court. The act was submitted through the Initiative in 1912 and adopted. An effort failed two years ago to secure repeal through a popular vote. Nevertheless the legislature of 1915 repealed the law, and by attaching an emergency clause prevented application of the Referendum to the repealer. Then, worst of all, the Supreme Court of the State upheld the right of the legislature to override the popular will in this way. In taking this position the Court construed the Initiative and Referendum provision of the constitution, diametrically opposite to its clear intent as well as to the view of its author. It is a pity that the people of South Dakota can not vote on the

Recall at the same time as they are called upon to repeat their declaration on the primary law.

S. D.



For a Free Earth.

The question of freeing the natural resources of Oregon and California is squarely before the voters of both States this year. In each a proposition to amend the Constitution has been submitted to take for public use the entire rental value of land. If adopted the situation in these States will be such that all holders of valuable land will either put it to its most productive use or will let others do so. That means opening of opportunities for labor to such an extent that no man willing to work need be unemployed. Involuntary poverty would be abolished. The conditions that would follow would accord with the demand of Henry George:

That he who makes should have. That he who saves should enjoy. I ask in behalf of the poor nothing whatever that properly belongs to the rich.



Although the desirability seems self evident of a measure sure to produce such results, there is opposition nevertheless. It is due to ignorance, neglect or contempt of human rights. Contempt may explain the opposition of the Los Angeles Times, which denounces the California proposition as a menace. The Times neglects to explain that it menaces only conditions that ought to be menaced. It menaces the privileges that give to a few the power to take without adequate return from producers the wealth they create. That does not suit the Times, which has always advocated the cause of predatory institutions.



In Oregon opposition has manifested itself in a meeting at Portland of an organization called the Interstate Realty Association. The opposition of most of the members of this organization may be attributed to ignorance, for it is certain that every real estate owner who has improved his land would benefit from adoption of the measure. But it happens that the organization contains a few members who, for the time being, have confused their fellow members with misinformation. One of these, Mr. A. L. Veazie of Portland, saw fit to state his objection as follows:

What good is a piece of land to a man if all the rent derived therefrom goes elsewhere?

Would Mr. Veazie make such a statement, in his capacity as real estate agent, to a prospective tenant? Would any of the association which he addressed do so? Would not every one of them, Mr. Veazie included, have an opposing argument ready, if the prospective tenant should present that ques-

tion to them? And if they could not present a convincing reply would that not imply that every man who collects ground rent from others gives nothing in return? Would it not mean that the landless man ought to get off the earth, for even if he should rent a piece of land "What good is it to him if all the rent goes elsewhere?"



To any member of the Interstate Realty Association who may feel at a loss for a proper reply to such a question, should a prospective tenant ask it, the following suggestion is offered: No matter where the rent goes the land is good to labor upon and to produce wealth therefrom. But while that answer ought to satisfy a prospective tenant, it is much to be feared it will not satisfy Mr. Veazie. He did not want his question to be understood as applying to workers. What he wanted to ask was "What chance will there be to get wealth without earning it if rental values may not be privately appropriated?" In that form, it must be admitted that the question is a poser. But it makes clear that all who produce wealth ought to be in favor of the proposed measure. So long as some get wealth without earning it, others must earn without getting it. Mr. Veazie has made clear that the proposed Oregon Land and Labor Amendment strikes at that situation. He has unintentionally furnished a splendid argument in its favor.

S. D.



William Duncan Mackenzie.

In the death of William D. Mackenzie, in Washington, Sunday morning, July 30, the cause of fundamental democracy loses one of its stoutest champions and ablest exponents. For a quarter of a century, never tiring, never despairing, Mackenzie fought the good fight in this, our capital city.

While many reforms received the aid of his voice and pen, the Singletax claimed his first allegiance. His death was no doubt hastened by overwork incident to the presentation of the case of the Tax Reform Association of the District of Columbia before the special joint Congressional committee on the fiscal relations of the District last fall, on which occasion he was the Association's chief spokesman, and in addition prepared an elaborate brief embodying the results of careful study of tax systems in other cities and countries. Before this committee he also made an earnest plea that the 300,000 people of this city might be accorded the basic American right of a voice in their government by means of the ballot and the right of home control of their local affairs.

William Duncan Mackenzie was born in Springfield, Prince Edward Island, Canada, November 9, 1858, being one of a family of ten children. The republican form of government of the United States attracted him, and after a course of study in Toronto University he came to this country. He taught school a number of years, and was then appointed as a clerk in the postoffice at Chicago. Later he was transferred to the War Department, at Washington, where he was employed at the time of his last illness.

While living in Chicago, a careful examination of the arguments advanced for and against a protective tariff resulted in his becoming a free trader, and from this his acceptance of the philosophy of the Singletax was easy and natural. With his strong bent in favor of democracy, made stronger by study and reflection, it was also natural that such movements as the extension of the suffrage to women, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, proportional representation, etc., should enlist his hearty sympathy.



In 1904 Mr. Mackenzie was married to Miss Gertrude E. Metcalf of this city. Their life aims were similar, and much of the work accomplished by him was made possible by the intelligent, sympathetic assistance of his wife. Mrs. Mackenzie survives her husband.

His health failed about a year ago, and in May he was compelled to go to the hospital. It was characteristic of the man that within two days of his death he was carrying cool water to fellow patients who were suffering from the heat. With a smile on his face, he passed away peacefully Sunday morning, July 30.

At the close of life's chapter, few persons could more appropriately have written, "I have fought the good fight; I have kept the faith," than Duncan Mackenzie.

GEORGE A. WARREN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE PASSING OF RAYMOND ROBINS.

Chicago, Aug. 5, 1916.

The broad avenues to political graveyards are also paved with good intentions. Nevertheless, the entrance of Raymond Robins into the Hughes camp probably marks the end of his usefulness to the democratic movement. Henceforth he must, having made the initial overtures, incline more and more to the standpat group.

Originally a militant radical, he brought to the democratic movement a brilliant intellect and a spiritual fervor for democracy, as well as the rare gift of oratory. Financial independence gave him

the leisure to pursue his ideals. Life was rosy for Raymond Robins.

Returning from a trip around the world, with a religious movement, financed by rich and powerful interests, he had acquired an imperialistic viewpoint. His entry at that critical period into the Roosevelt movement—a strange mixture of the heroic and the sordid—threw him into contact with forces stronger than himself. In order to gain standing in the Progressive councils, it was unavoidable that he accept the protective idea. And having accepted this, he must of necessity have accepted its logical corollary, militarism. Step by step he has conceded ground, basing each concession wholly upon expediency.

And yet, had Raymond Robins resolutely turned his back upon the baser elements in the Progressive party, and followed the lead of fundamental democrats like Francis J. Heney, it might have been possible to free himself from his plutocratic entanglements. As it is, we fear that, having made his bed, he must lie upon it; and when one has felt the soft bed of plutocracy, he has little liking for the harsher couch of democracy. Yet his choice must be a source of keen regret to those who had hopes for his leadership in the Great Fight.

Let no democrat be mistaken; Raymond Robins having conceded much to Privilege, must concede even more. Having become its associate, he must turn back or become its servant. Hereafter it will be easier to do the wrong than the right thing.

Yet there is no cause for democrats, least of all fundamental democrats, to be disheartened by individual defections. Individuals may retard, but cannot halt popular movements. Altgeld and George saw the inevitable conflict between the Masters and the Disinherited, but their faith in the inevitable outcome kept them serene and steadfast. Had Raymond Robins had the faith of John Peter Altgeld and Henry George, he would have chosen rightly. Meanwhile the fight goes on.

HUGH REID.*

AUSTRALIAN AFFAIRS.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, June 28.

Our Labor Governments are still attempting to fix prices by law, and, especially in New South Wales, are making further experiments in State socialism.

A general election was held in Tasmania recently, when the Labor government was defeated by a small majority. So now there are two States, Victoria and Tasmania, in which the Liberal party is in power.

The Protectionists are trying to take advantage of the war to have the tariff increased and extended. Their cry is that Australia should be made "self-sustaining."

In New South Wales, a general State election will be held near the end of the year. A new party, called the Progressives, has been formed in this State. Its position is between the Labor and Liberal parties, and its platform includes Proportional Representation, the Initiative and Referendum.

A compact has been made between the Liberals and Progressives so that they will not run candi-

*Secretary Raymond Robins Democratic League of Illinois.

dates against one another at the next election, and there is some prospect of agreement on a common platform in which the proposals mentioned will be included.

ERNEST BRAY.



ADVANCING THE GREAT ADVENTURE.

Glendale, California, July 28, 1916.

Singletaxers throughout the country will be glad to learn that after a three-month struggle their friends in California have just completed the filing of 130,000 signatures to a petition for the raising of all taxes in this state from land values. As it requires less than 76,000 officially valid names to put this amendment to the constitution on the ballot for next November election, it looks as if we would have some to spare after the official count. San Francisco and Oakland rolled up near 51,000 names, Los Angeles county 54,000, San Diego county 7,000.

As early as last August many Singletaxers over the State began to show a disinclination to launch a third Home Rule campaign during the coming year. They felt it was about time they could, after election, at least count their friends and know how much progress was being made. They said that since friends and enemies of the singletax could vote with equal cheerfulness for a Home Rule measure, the votes cast at the last two campaigns yielded little data as to actual Singletax strength in the State.

Moreover, it was shown that Home Rule campaigns, emphasizing exemption of certain properties from taxation, interested but feebly that large and growing class who have nothing to exempt and hence believe they are paying no taxes and have no concern with any tax laws.

On the other side it was seen that in a campaign for Statewide Singletax, if we won, it would be something big and if we lost it would still be worth our money as propaganda work. Then, when you can begin your canvass for names with the question, "Should the land of the earth be accessible to all the people or only just some of the people?" and the voter, after a moment's thought, smiles and replies, "To all of the people, of course," you have put in a big entering wedge. And then you proceed to show him that the land of California is not accessible to all of the people, not to a half of the people, nor a third, nor a quarter, but to about one-tenth; and then you proceed to enumerate the vast estates held out of use here, 14,000-acre tracts, more and less the richest pickings, mineral and oil and timber lands, and you call them over till he recognizes many and knows you are giving facts and that we are all up against an overwhelming evil; then you pile on the equally serious land monopoly in cities, only by lots and millions of dollars' worth instead of acres, and show him the low wages, high cost of living, disemployment and poverty resulting from it all, his mind is kept on the big question opening out link by link unbroken by irrelevant ideas, till he naturally asks how these people can be made to let go this land? "How do they hold it?" "By a title deed?" "Yes, and what is the only thing that cuts under a title deed? Taxes, more taxes, sufficient taxes to suggest delinquent taxes and fear of tax titles which eventually eat up title deeds."

"Don't these great landlords pay taxes now?" "Harison Grey Otis is said to pay 25 cents an acre, Spreckles 10 cents! If we taxed them up high enough they would begin to let go, and lands would be thrown on the market at once, and the higher we tax the more will be opened to use. And of course all this taxation, enough to make the landlords let go, makes tax on everything else unnecessary, your house, your—." "Oh, I'll sign your paper." And without taking time to show him but the two outsides of the nut, and not the real heart of the matter, that big commonwealth, that public fund, land values, which will eventually be all called in, and the glorious possibilities for all that will follow, you have got your signer and your voter.

It need not be supposed that 130,000 signatures were obtained without many vicissitudes, beginning as we did here in Los Angeles, \$80 in debt and weakened by all the discouragements our critical and disaffected friends could heap upon us. But we held on, paid our debts and, most miraculously, got our first thousand dollars sent to Luke North and Herman Kuehn from an unexpected source. That set us for the first time on our feet. After calling in all the friendly dollars in state and county, we sent out S.O.S. calls to friends all over the country and are grateful indeed for the many responses. Again, and yet again, we are at the end of our resources, but the Fels Fund Commission is coming to our rescue now and we file our first 23,000 names. Alas! on a trivial technicality our precious names have shrunk 40 per cent! And the last filing only three weeks away! Gloom settles down on headquarters! Shall we waste what we have won? No. We wire an emergency call to the long-suffering Daniel and soon buckle down to work again. The canvassers are gaining ability and names begin coming in five hundred a day! But filing time is now but ten days away! "Luke North" keeps a nervous eye on the calendar, our time shrinking like Balzac's "Magic Skin," and rushes north with money to "whoop 'em up" in San Francisco and Oakland, where Dr. Desau is doing so much. Glory! Comes an extension of time! Hope revives! Twenty-five hundred names came in in one day! "Keep it up," Luke writes. "Turn in 30,000 net for Los Angeles county; the money'll come. Everybody hustling up here. One man got 3,000 names alone, volunteered. Now he's getting paid."

And so we got our 130,000 names! Beyond our wildest hope! And now in debt again. But another miraculous thousand appears above the horizon; from the same place as before. That will help awhile. No big salaries to anybody; scarce a pittance to our best workers. Luke North gets his expenses while away! Herman Kuehn came all the way from Minneapolis out here to work for nothing. Others on the spot get the same. Lots of excitement all the time and fun! Indeed, what is to be compared with the fun of helping—merely helping in the humblest way to get the land of California back to the people?

And you should see how they are awakening! Some of us even think we smell victory at the polls next November.

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

DISCUSSING PREPAREDNESS AT CHAUTAUQUA.

Chautauqua, N. Y., July 31, 1916.

A wise and sane preparedness, as opposed to militarism, has been advocated at Chautauqua during the past week by notable speakers, who have a right to be heard, on account of their experience, their knowledge of the world and their non-commercial patriotism. The addresses have been delivered before audiences numbering from three to five thousand persons, gathered from all parts of the United States. There are 400 people here from Texas, many from the Middle West, and some from the Pacific Coast.

Dr. Scott Nearing of Toledo, B. W. Huesch of New York, Dr. J. W. Slaughter of Philadelphia, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston and Earl Barnes of Philadelphia have been the speakers who have advocated a sane and real preparedness.

William M. Calder of Brooklyn, a Republican candidate for the U. S. Senate; President John G. Hibben of Princeton University, Henry A. Wise Wood of New York and Governor Whitman delivered addresses, animated with the spirit of militarism.

Mr. Calder expressed the fear that after the present war, some nation will cast covetous eyes on the United States, or some part of our great continents and we will be compelled to fight for the Monroe doctrine. He compared an army and navy to the unmuzzled bull dog on the farmer's premises. He commended the recently enacted law in this State which provides for military training for boys in school, between 15 and 18 years of age, and he commended the pending legislation in Congress authorizing the spending of \$390,000,000 on the army and \$335,000,000 on the navy, besides the \$38,000,000 authorized for coast defenses, about three times as much as was authorized in 1915.

President Hibben spoke in praise of the Gettysburg, Burlington and Plattsburg training camps.

Henry A. Wise Wood told us that while might does not make right, it does make history. He advocated a "quarantine against blood madness" in the form of invasion of our hemisphere and said a big navy could only effect the quarantine. Mr. Wood presented the old picture of a foreign force presenting itself in New York for the purpose of demanding a ten billion dollar indemnity. Mr. Wood believes that if Germany had won the naval battle of Jutland, she would have made us "pay" for the "ultimatum" of President Wilson regarding submarine warfare.

Governor Whitman defended the recently enacted laws in this State, which he signed, providing compulsory military training for boys between the ages of 16 and 19, but he did not refer to the other law which he signed, authorizing conscription, to increase the ranks of the national guard of the state.

Dr. Scott Nearing took for his theme "The Germs of War." The Republican battle cry of "Protection, prosperity and preparedness" he denounced as the morality of the pig-sty, "where you are fattening porkers for winter hams." The principles upon which our country is founded are not "Protection, prosperity and preparedness, but, liberty, justice and right. We cultivate a war psychology by giving our boys lead soldiers, fives and drums, air rifles, and

finally real guns and uniforms. War, which occupies about 1 per cent of our real national history, occupies 75 per cent of the space of our text books.

"One great breeding place for war germs is secret diplomacy, but national competition in industry is the prime cause of war. England went into the war, not mainly to save Belgium, but as a matter of business.

"If this country would eliminate war we must set a standard of intellectualism; clean out special privilege, not defend capital exploiting Mexico; give the workingman exactly what he earns; and tell those taking rent and profit, without labor, to go to work. The munitions of war must be manufactured by the people, and the resources of the country must be developed in this country, and remain here. War may be eliminated by eliminating economic exploitation. The United States faces the duty and sacred opportunity of bringing about industrial freedom in this twentieth century, as it showed the world a new political freedom a century and a half ago."

B. W. Huesch, who was a member of the Ford peace expedition, explained that the expedition was the product of the brains of women. They held a peace congress at the Hague in May, 1915, at which the United States was represented by such women as Jane Addams. This congress sent out delegates to the neutral nations to present the idea of forming a conference of neutral nations for continuous mediation. The Ford party found strong peace parties in all the visited countries, but their activities are suppressed by the governments. The newspapers have ignored the facts underlying the Ford expedition. The plan of the expedition was to visit all the neutral nations of Europe and try to arouse a public opinion favorable to a neutral peace conference. After visiting the various countries, people from each country returned with the party to the Hague. There they disbanded with each committee pledged to return home and form a larger representative committee. That committee was to elect five representatives to meet at Stockholm and there form an unofficial neutral conference. That conference is now at Stockholm. Its manifesto has been printed and circulated in every country.

Dr. Slaughter delivered two addresses, one dealing particularly with Mexico, the other with South America.

Militarism, he said, is a state of mind, inculcated from youth. It is a way of thinking out of which you may adopt a policy of material militarism. That is what your advocates of preparedness are urging today. They want you to think in terms of militarism. Militaristic public opinion is dynamite, and if you begin to think in military terms, you will be in war in five years. It is American capital that demands the conquest of Mexico. Dr. Slaughter has only recently returned from Mexico. You are perfectly safe, he declares, in traveling in three-fourths of the country which Carranza controls. What the Mexican wants is to be let alone. Let him alone for two years and he will be in an excellent position. He is on his way at this moment to the achievement of freedom, for the first time in his nation's history.

Mrs. Mead said the Pacifist is no mollycoddle or poltroon. He believes in the virtue of struggle, a struggle that is normal, a struggle against unfavorable environment, a struggle with hunger, cold,

poverty, disease, vice and ignorance. But the Pacifist abhors the destruction of one's own species, in which man descends below the brute and deliberately destroys his own kind as no flock, or herd, or pack of beasts was ever known to do. Peace according to pacifism has no passive element in it. It means a condition of organized living together among nations. This is a definition by a winner of a Nobel peace prize. It should become classic. The world abolished war between the walled cities of the past by bringing about an organized condition of living together among cities. Europe is bleeding to death. The tax per family in Germany for the interest on her debt is \$175 yearly.

Earl Barnes spoke on England's lack of preparedness in 1914. While England was prepared to fight on the sea, yet, when the war broke out she was short of munitions, men, uniforms and guns. Enlistment among the wage-workers and trade union men was slow. When the coal miners struck, it was not a lack of patriotism, it was a lack of bread. When England urged the wage-workers to go out and fight for their hearthstones, the appeal lacked response because the men had no hearthstones. Mr. Barnes showed how England has put property rights above human rights and impoverished the people by landlordism.

The Chautauqua meetings of the past week have certainly done something to check the growing spirit of militarism. The prevailing sentiment of the 5,000 people assembled here was overwhelmingly with those who spoke for peace and a sane preparedness.

Of the Pacifists who spoke at Chautauqua none were for "peace at any price." All were for a preparedness real and reasonable, and calculated to promote peace rather than war. There were none who answered to the definition given by Mr. Wood: "Those opposed to any kind of military preparedness and who believe that strength lies in defenselessness."

CHESTER C. PLATT.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 8, 1916.

Singletaxers at Niagara.

Reports to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission indicate an attendance of several hundred at the Singletax Conference to be held at Niagara Falls on August 19, 20 and 21. The conference of Canadian Singletaxers is to be held on the Ontario side on August 19, after which delegates to both gatherings will meet together. Following the conference on August 22 the convention will be held of the League for Real Preparedness of which Benjamin C. Marsh is secretary and John J. Hopper, president.

Congressional Doings.

The Democratic members of the Senate Committee on Finance recommended on August 3 to the party caucus a number of changes in the House revenue bill. The proposed higher taxes on big inheritances would increase the estimated revenue from that section of the bill alone from \$54,000,000 to \$72,000,000 annually. Retaining the House bill taxes of one per cent on estates over \$50,000 graduated up to five per cent on those in excess of \$450,000, the committee added schedules of six per cent on net estates in excess of \$1,000,000; seven per cent on \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000; eight per cent on \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000; 9 per cent on \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000, and 10 per cent on estates in excess of \$5,000,000. In revising the munitions tax the committee struck out the varying rates provided in the House bill for munitions of war, powder, explosives, shells, cartridges, projectiles, products of copper and the like, and decided to substitute a flat uniform tax on all these commodities. Determining that the tax should be made a net profit tax on the manufacturer, the committee also decided to add the following commodities utilized in making munitions: Steel billets, ingots, blooms, shell forgings, denatured alcohol and cotton linters. The rate to be imposed still is to be determined. The income tax section was completed, the committee retaining the normal tax of two per cent on all incomes in excess of \$4,000 and \$3,000 respectively, for married and single persons; adding the special tax of 1 per cent on incomes in excess of \$3,000 and \$2,000, respectively for married and single persons, and retaining the surtaxes as proposed in the House bill, with the exception of an increase from ten to thirteen per cent on incomes in excess of \$1,000,000. [See current volume, page 733.]



Civil Service in the Post Office Department.

The National Civil Service Reform League released for publication on August 7 correspondence with the Federal Civil Service Commission and with President Wilson in regard to examination of fourth class postmasters. The league says that complaints have come to it that the practical effect of the executive order of May 7, 1913, requiring fourth class postmasters to submit to competitive examination, was in many instances to secure the appointment of Democratic postmasters in place of the former incumbents, most of whom were Republicans. Other complaints have reached the League that Postmaster-General Burleson, in putting into effect his policy of motorization of the rural free delivery service, turned out the old rural carriers and filled the vacancies in large part with Democrats who took new examinations. The League asked the Civil Service Commission for permission to ex-

amine the records. At a conference between the two bodies on March 31 John L. McIlhenny, president of the Commission, told Richard H. Dana, president of the League, that if access were given to these records it might lead to such criticism of the administration as would seriously embarrass it. The League thereupon appealed to President Wilson, who replied that he had referred the matter to the Commission, with the suggestion that in its next report it disclose methods employed by it in administering the order of 1913. Since this report will not be published until after election and the League declares that it wants names and facts, as well as methods, the President's answer was not satisfactory. On August 1 Mr. Dana wrote to him again urging a re-examination of the matter.



Heckling Hughes.

The following letter was sent to Charles E. Hughes on publication of his speech of acceptance on August 1, by a committee of American writers:

To the Honorable Charles E. Hughes: The professional writers who sign this letter have small interest in parties, but a very deep interest in democracy. It is our hope, through this voluntary association, to assist in the promotion of honest, educational discussion in order that fundamental issues may not be decided in prejudice and ignorance.

Mr. Wilson's beliefs have been expressed in law and in declared policies. He has made an open record by which he may be judged. Wise choice is not possible unless you yourself make equally specific statement of purposes and convictions.

Without intent to offend, we feel justified in charging that in no single public utterance have you filed a bona fide bill of particulars, nor have you offered a single constructive suggestion.

Generalities are without value. Blanket criticism is worthless. What we desire to know, what it is fair that the electorate should know, are the exact details of your disagreement with President Wilson.

What has he done that you would not have done, and what has he failed to do that you would have done or propose to do? Honesty and patriotism demand that you put yourself upon record in such manner as to permit people to judge you as they are now able to judge President Wilson. For example:

1. Would you have filed instant protest against the invasion of Belgium and backed up that protest with the United States navy?
2. It is arrant nonsense to talk about action that would have prevented the Lusitania tragedy. The vague advertisement did not appear until shortly before the hour of sailing. The occurrence was one of those things that civilization has made the world regard as incredible. The only honest question is this: Would you have made the disaster the subject of diplomatic negotiations or would you have broken relations with Germany at once?
3. Would you have urged upon Congress an embargo upon the shipment of munitions to the allies?
4. Would you have urged universal compulsory military service?
5. You are frank in stating that Huerta's morais were

of no concern to America. Does this mean that you would have recognized Huerta?

6. As matters stand today, would you be in favor of intervening in Mexico?

7. Does your attack upon the Wilson shipping bill mean that you are in favor of ship subsidies?

8. You speak enthusiastically of the rights of the worker. Does this imply that you indorse the Clayton anti-trust law and the seamen's bill? Or will you urge their repeal?

9. What are your specific complaints against the federal reserve law?

10. As governor of New York, you opposed the income tax amendment. Does this antagonism persist? Do you or do you not believe in paying for preparedness out of a tax on incomes, inheritances and munitions?

We agree with you that it is a "critical period," by far too critical indeed for candidates to talk in terms of officeseeking rather than in the simple, earnest language of definite Americanism. Respectfully, S. Hopkins Adams, R. Stannard Baker, E. Parker Butler, L. Ames Brown, Dante Barton, Irvin Cobb, Wadsworth Camp, J. O'Hara Cosgrave, Stoughton Cooley, William L. Cheney, George Creel, James Forbes, Frederic C. Howe, Gilson Gardner, F. Stuart Greene, Oliver Herford, Prof. L. Johnson, R. Lloyd Jones, Peter B. Kyne, Percy Mackaye, A. J. McKelway, Basil Manley, Meredith Nicholson, Albert Jay Nock, H. J. O'Higgins, Charles J. Post, Eugene M. Rhodes, W. McLeod Raine, B. Robinson, John Reed, Edgar Selwyn, W. L. Stoddart, Lincoln Steffens, Augustus Thomas, Frank Vrooman, George West.

[See current volume, page 733.]



Hughes for Federal Suffrage.

In a letter to Senator Sutherland of Utah made public on August 1 Charles E. Hughes, Republican nominee for President, stated his personal views in favor of the pending federal suffrage amendment as follows:

My view is that the proposed amendment should be submitted and ratified and the subject removed from political discussion.

On the same day he expressed himself in a similar way in an address to the Woman's Roosevelt League. [See current volume, page 567, 733.]



Raymond Robins for Hughes.

In a public statement on August 5 Raymond Robins declared his intention to support the Republican candidate for President. He stated that the election of 1914 showed that the people desire but two parties and regard the Progressive party as only a protest. Compelled to choose between the Democratic and Republican parties, he finds the Democratic party in Congress controlled by the Southern element which "is individualistic in its thinking, sectional in its sympathies, and inherits a tradition against common labor as servile." In the north the Democratic vote is mainly in the cities where "the excessive pressure of living and industrial conditions render it the most fertile field for boss control in the service

of selfish personal and corporate interests." He referred to reforms achieved through the Republican party in California, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire, and to the failure of Illinois Democrats in control of the State government to accomplish anything. He declared that the country needs universal military service and "a comprehensive foreign policy that will accept the facts of the world situation and our obligations under the Monroe doctrine." The first step needed in social preparedness, he said, is woman suffrage; and for industrial requirements he stated:

We need industrial preparedness with a program of standardization in our economic life. For the workers, we need living wages, fair hours of labor, workshop sanitation and fire protection, with accident, sickness, old age and unemployment insurance. Trade agreements and arbitration should take the place of individual exploitation and industrial civil war.

For capital, we need the intelligent co-operation of government both at home and abroad. When this war is over we will face the most intense industrial competition that the world of commerce has ever known. A comprehensive protection of the home market and support for American foreign trade is indispensable if we are to preserve industrial prosperity.

For both capital and labor, we should develop a progressive policy in taxation that will lift the fiscal burdens of government from labor and enterprise and place them upon monopoly and privilege. Graduated progressive taxation upon incomes, inheritances and land values must be a part of any adequate preparedness program.

[See vol. xvii, pp. 975, 1033; current volume page 562.]



Progressives for Wilson.

At a State meeting of Progressives at San Francisco on August 5 President Wilson was endorsed for re-election and the Woodrow Wilson Progressive League was formed. Francis J. Heney, who had been the Progressive party nominee for United States Senator in 1914, was elected president.



Bainbridge Colby, New York Progressive leader, who nominated Roosevelt for President at the Chicago convention in a public statement on August 5, declared himself opposed to Hughes. Referring to Mr. Hughes' acceptance speech Mr. Colby stated that he saw nothing in it "to indicate that he has caught the spirit of the progressive movement, that he is conscious of its achievements or touched with its aspirations."



Progressive Party to Stay in Field.

A conference of Progressive party leaders was held at Indianapolis on August 3 to consider the situation created by Roosevelt's refusal to accept the Presidential nomination. It was decided not

to fill the vacancy but to put up an electoral ticket in every State still retaining an organization under the name of John M. Parker, nominee for Vice-President. An address was issued to the Progressives of the country saying in part:

It is useless to deny or to deceive ourselves as to the grievous effect upon the party of the blows which it has sustained through the defection of many of its leaders and through the betrayal by the national committee of the trust confided in it by the party membership.

Men whom we have delighted to honor and men we delighted to follow have not only abandoned the party's cause, but have sought to sacrifice its future and to compromise the dignity of its individual membership by a collusive undertaking with the Republican party to deliver our party strength to the Republican presidential ticket."

[See current volume, page 610.]



Labor Notes.

On August 1 began the counting of the votes of 400,000 railroad workers on the question of striking for an eight hour day. The result has not yet been officially announced but is known to be overwhelmingly in favor. When announced the officials of the four brotherhoods of railway employees will be authorized to again present the demand to the officials, and in case of an unsatisfactory reply to call a strike. In the meantime the United States Department of Labor and the Federal Board of Mediation are working in the hope of bringing about a peaceful settlement. The United States Senate rejected, on August 3, a resolution to investigate labor conditions on the railroads. [See current volume, page 323.]



A general strike of New York City street railway employees began on August 5, following refusal of the officials to grant demands of the men. All the surface lines are involved. The men asked for 30 cents an hour for the first year of service and 33 cents thereafter. Recognition of the Union is also desired. On August 7, through the intervention of Mayor Mitchell and of Oscar S. Straus, head of the Public Service Commission, the directors of the Third Avenue Railway Company and of the New York Railway Company consented to a settlement conceding to employees the right to organize and to arbitrate the wage demands. Service was then resumed on these lines.



A strike of motormen and conductors on the lines of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company began on August 7. The men ask for wage increase and settlement of other grievances. The Rapid Transit Company operates under lease from the Union Traction Company which again is a consolidation of underlying companies. The burden of rent to the underlying corporations has

made street railway operation appear as a losing investment, although fares are higher than in most other cities. During the past year, however, there was a surplus instead of the usual deficit in the Rapid Transit Company's returns.



Realty Men Oppose Land and Loan Bill.

Opposition to the Land and Loan amendment initiated by the Oregon State Federation of Labor, was expressed at the convention at Portland on July 18 of the Interstate Realty association. The following resolutions were passed:

Whereas, There has been initiated a measure entitled "Full rental value land tax and home makers' loan fund amendment," more commonly known as the people's land and loan measure; and

Whereas, This measure is an effort to impose upon the state of Oregon single tax legislation; and

Whereas, If this law become effective farmers would lose their land and the laboring man his home, as the effect of the bill would eventually mean public ownership; and

Whereas, The loan feature of this proposed measure would only lead to the turning over of the state's fund to the thriftless; and

Whereas, The bill is designed to amend the state constitution into a detailed law which could not be amended by the legislature, regardless of the imperfections it may contain; and

Whereas, The title of this bill to be used on the ballot is misleading and does not convey its full intention; and

Whereas, The passage and enactment of this single tax measure would be a detriment to the entire northwest as well as the state of Oregon; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as being opposed to this extremely radical measure and all other freak experimental legislation; be it further

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for its defeat from now until next November, and that each and every one will use every effort to interest his neighbor in the defeat of this single tax measure; be it further

Resolved, That we oppose all freak experimental legislation that has a tendency to hamper industries and retard development of our resources.

[See current volume, page 612.]



Mexico and the United States.

General Carranza has named as Commissioners to treat with Commissioners of the United States regarding the questions at issue between the two countries, Luis Cabrera, Ygnacio Bonillas, and Alberto Pani. General Carranza evades the Administration's request that all questions be discussed by the Commissioners by saying the Mexican Commissioners "preferably" will discuss the questions outlined in the Mexican communication of July 11, which are: withdrawal of American troops from Mexico, the forming of a protocol to cover future border operations, and an investigation of what interests have promoted border

raids. President Wilson is supposed to be delaying the appointment of the American Commissioners in the hope of broadening the field of discussion. [See current volume, page 732.]



Frequent clashes between the Mexican forces and the Villista bandits are reported, always favoring the former but never reaching decisive results. All the warfare is of the guerrilla order.



European War.

The offensive still remains with the Allies on all fronts. In the West the British have captured 2,000 yards of trenches north of the village of Pozieres, and are consolidating and fortifying their previous captures. They now hold a ridge of high ground west of Martinpuich, from which their guns command six miles of the road from Albert to Bapaume. The French also have straightened up their lines north and south of the River Somme. In the Verdun region the French have been successful in retaking the Thiaumont redoubt, and the greater part of the village of Fleury. They have advanced about a mile on a three-mile front. On the Eastern front the Russians continue their advance. South of Brody they have crossed the Sereth River in their approach to Lemberg. Petrograd claims its forces have captured six villages and taken 5,500 prisoners since crossing the river. Each advance in this region imperils the German line from Kovel northward. General Hindenberg has been given command of both the German and the Austrian forces on the eastern front. [See current volume, page 730.]



Little of moment is reported from Armenia. An army of 14,000 Turks attacked the British forces at Romani, twenty-three miles east of the Suez Canal, but were routed. The British captured over 2,000 prisoners, including some Germans and some machine and mountain guns. The Austrians have offered strong resistance in Northern Italy, but have continued to yield ground slowly to the advancing Italians. The Allied forces in the vicinity of Saloniki are now said to number 680,000 troops, ready for action against Bulgaria. But that country is reported to be wavering in its allegiance to the Teutonic powers. King Ferdinand, who cast his lot with the Central powers, is supposed to be in Germany; and the Bulgarian people who have always been friendly to Russia, are beginning to assert themselves. Roumania is reported to be ready to enter the war on the side of the Allies whenever called upon. These are given as reasons why the Balkan campaign does not begin. German East Africa, the sole remaining German colony, appears to be on the point of surrender. The British hold the eastern coast, and the northern sec-

tion; the Belgians hold the West, and the Portuguese on the South are ready to meet the German forces who are retreating southward before the British. General Louis Botha, Premier of the Union of South Africa, has gone to German East Africa for the purpose of witnessing the final surrender.



The submarine warfare continues to take its toll of Allied shipping, averaging more than a ship a day. Zeppelins have visited the eastern counties of England, but have done very little damage.



Speaking in the British Commons on the 2d, Premier Asquith said that it was an essential condition to peace that Belgium and Serbia be restored, not only politically, nationally, and diplomatically, but materially and economically, to the positions in which they stood before the war. The devastated districts of France and Poland must be similarly treated. A very hopeful and confident spirit animates the Allies.



Sir Roger Casement, former British knight and consul, was hanged for high treason in Pentonville jail on the 3d. Efforts to obtain clemency had been made up to the last hour, but the Government refused to interfere with the sentence. One of the charges against the condemned man who had been taken in connection with the Irish uprising in Dublin, was that while in Germany he had enlisted Irish prisoners in German hands in a regiment to fight against Great Britain, and information came to the House of Lords at the time clemency was being urged, that the German authorities had shot two Irish prisoners who refused to join Casement's Irish legion. Lord Robert Cecil, Parliamentary undersecretary of foreign affairs stated:

No doubt of Casement's guilt exists. No one doubts that the court and jury arrived at the right verdict. The only ground for a reprieve would be political expediency, a difficult ground to put forward, in that this country never could strain the law to punish a man for the same reason that it could not strain the law to let one off.

The Irish rebellion began with the murder of unarmed people, both soldiers and police. No grievance justified it, and it was purely a political movement organized by a small section of Irish people, who still hate England, and was assisted by Germany.

There was and is in this country the greatest possible indignation against these people. There is no doubt that Casement did everything possible to assist this rebellion in co-operation with the Germans. There can be no doubt that he was moved by enmity for this country.

The contention that he landed in Ireland for the purpose of preventing the rebellion is demonstrably

false. No such assertion was made by counsel at the trial.

Casement was much more malignant and hostile to this country than were the leaders of the rising who were caught with arms in their hands. He visited military prisons in Germany with the intention of persuading Irish soldiers to throw off their allegiance. All sorts of promises were made for the improvement of the conditions of these men to join the Irish legion. An enormous majority thus approached refused and thereafter were subjected to increased hardships by the Germans.

From among these Irish soldiers a number have since been repatriated as hopeless invalids, and they subsequently died. They look upon Casement as their murderer.

Nor is there any ground, public or private, so far as we know, which can be quoted in mitigation of Casement's crime, and I do not think any government doing its duty could interfere with the sentence which has been passed on him.

[See current volume, page 637.]

NEWS NOTES

—The West Virginia State Democratic Convention on August 2 endorsed woman suffrage.

—Beginning with the September number Pearson's, the radical monthly, will become an illustrated magazine.

—A People's Money Party was organized in Chicago on Aug. 4. Jo A. Parker, of Parma, Mo., was elected national chairman, and Alli Reed, of Sturgis, South Dakota, secretary.

—In the Missouri primaries on August 1, the Democrats nominated for Governor Frederick D. Gardner of St. Louis, candidate of the progressive element. The Republicans nominated Henry Lamm of Sedalia.

—The treaty between the United States and Denmark by which the former agrees to pay \$25,000,000 for the Danish West Indies, was signed in New York on the 4th by Secretary Lansing and the Danish Minister Constantine Brun. [See current volume, page 707.]

—Lieutenant Sir Ernest Shackleton, who left his shipwrecked crew of 22 men on Elephant Island after the loss of his ship and made his way with five men in a small boat to South Georgia, has failed in a second attempt to relieve the crew, and has been compelled to return to the Falkland Islands. [See current volume, page 708.]

—The submarine merchant ship Deutschland, which discharged its cargo and reloaded at Baltimore as any other merchantman, put to sea from the mouth of Chesapeake Bay at 8:30 on the evening of the 2nd. Although enemy cruisers lay in wait, the Deutschland had no difficulty in eluding them. [See current volume, page 660.]

—The New Zealand War Budget imposes a special tax of forty-five per cent on war profits earned last year. These will be ascertained by taking the average profits realized for each of the three years previous to the war and comparing this average

with the returns made since the war commenced. \$2,500,000 is provided for the purchase of land for soldiers.

—Bureau of Navigation reports show that the shipping tonnage clearing United States ports for the year ending June 30 amounted to 25,500,000. This was greater in spite of the blockade, the closing of the Black Sea, and the withdrawal of the German and Austrian shipping, than any previous year. The highest previous year was 1914, when the tonnage was greater in spite of the blockade, the closing amounted to 24,800,000.

—A resolution denouncing a trade war to follow the great war was adopted at the closing session of the International Socialist Conference at The Hague, August 3. The American delegate, Algeron Lee, declared that the free trade question had now become vital; and the resolution which favored free trade would serve to stimulate opposition to protectionism in America.

—Oklahoma defeated on August 1 the proposed literacy test amendment which was to take the place of the "grandfather clause" declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The proposed amendment placed power with local officials to make registration of any voters difficult whom they might desire to disfranchise. In order to vote no it was necessary to read through the ballot and cross out certain phrases instead of merely putting a cross in the square.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Casement Tragedy.

Chicago Tribune, Aug. 4.—Lord Robert Cecil, a few hours before Sir Roger Casement was hanged, said that the only ground for a reprieve would be political expediency, and that in a land in which the law never was strained to punish a person it was impossible to strain it to let one off. . . . The Tory English mind thinks an Irish revolt is immoral and criminal. It cannot escape that way of thinking. If the Poles of Posen were to revolt against Germany, or if the people of Alsace were to revolt against Germany, the English would think the rebellion glorious. The Prussianized Poles have not written so much tragedy in history as the Irish, and the Alsatians have suffered nothing if Ireland be considered as having suffered at all. But England would regard an Alsatian revolt as heroic, and it regards an Irish revolt as sordid, base, ignoble and dastardly. England will not admit guilt in Ireland. England will not confess that England has made Irish rebels. England could have stood before a supreme judgment bar and with truth have confessed that Casement was her creation; that she had made, formed and inspired him; that his acts were consequences of her acts; that the responsibility was hers and the guilt hers. England made him; England unmade him. Political expediency would have been a wiser guide than law. Great Britain needs Ireland as a contented part of the British empire. Ireland's best hopes will be realized when she is a contented and self-governed part of the British empire. It is the English, not the Irish, who stand in the way of a settlement.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE Surer TOUCH.

The surer touch upon the string
Is won through pain and fear;
Seek not Parnassus on the wing,
But reverently draw near.

Who towers in ample fame aloft,
And beckons thee today,
Upon the path was bruised full oft;
He learned his songs upon the way!

RICHARD WARNER BORST.



OLD TOM HARDER'S REMARK.

Reported For The Public by George V. Wells.

Sure! It's a fine mornin'! You can't start any argument with me about that. Oh! You represent the Flyin' Eagle an' the Editor wants to know what I think about the war in Europe?

Why didn't he send me a postal card? Then I could have sent him a letter tellin' him all about it an' saved a lot o' trouble an' expense. Yes, I see now that he's in a hurry an' thinks you can put down my thinks better'n I can myself. Mebbe so!

But what's he want 'em for? Jest to fill in, or do some o' the folks like to read what an old farmer thinks?

I hain't got much time to spare now an' some o' the thinks I had awhile back have got away from me never to come back. What I have on hand you're welcome to.

What do I think they're fightin' about? Well, so far as I can see into it they're fightin' because they don't know any better. Ignorance an' prejudice is the cause o' most all our troubles. If the people of old had been really intelligent they'd never have crucified Christ nor given the hemlock to Socrates. If they'd have been half way educated the Revolutionary war wouldn't have been fought and John Brown would have died of old age. If the nations of the earth had spent half as much money teachin' people to think as they have teachin' 'em how to fight, wars would have been forgotten long ago.

Yes! There's reasons why the people weren't taught to think. Thinkers have generally been crucified while they were alive and had monuments built over 'em a hundred years after they were buried. So it wasn't profitable to be a thinker, an' though they all knew that fightin' was the business of fools, they couldn't make any impression on the mass o' the people.

That's only a small part o' the answer. There's too many folks in the world that think work is disgraceful. They look down on the man that plows the ground an' raises the crops. They

despise the woman that cooks the food an' washes the dishes an' takes care o' the babies.

This fool idea infects all the people more or less. I can't help lookin' down a little bit on the hired man, an' he can't help lookin' up to me. Both of 'us know it's wrong but ideas carry infection an' we can't help gettin' a little of it. This condition makes a fierce struggle all over the world for property an' social position. The world imagines that the feller who is privileged to sit on the fence an' watch the other feller work is happy. Lookin' down an' up this way at one another keeps the people poisoned insidè toward one another, an' the poison spreads from individuals to the nations an' things get so hot that a fight is on before we know it. An' nobody can tell what it is about.

This idea that happiness consists in shirkin' work couldn't survive without the institutions an' laws that exempt some o' the people from work, an' give the exempts power to take toll from those that work.

The natural law gives wealth only to the man that works. Manual labor? No! Manual labor not guided by intelligence can do little. What I mean is that human laws an' institutions give wealth to the privileged few an' take from them no equivalent. Privileges grow big from what they feed on. The land that has many of them seems to get overcrowded, an' the people seek room in other lands to ease the pressure on their own.

It takes a lot o' land to maintain an Emperor, a King or a Duke. So that a country with millions of acres of unused land may seem to be overpeopled.

How about our own country? Well! It takes as much territory to keep a billionaire alive an' in good health as it does an Emperor. It takes as much land to keep a millionaire goin' as it does a Prince or a Duke, an' you know the burden our country carries in the line o' millionaires.

Then the Emperors and other titled ones o' the old world an' many other foreigners that look down on the labor that supports 'em as degradin' have a large stake in our country. They own a whole lot of the land of our country. As long's crops are good an' business is movin' easy we send over to the foreign owners of privileges here the rents an' interest an' dividends without any fuss. When times get hard we cuss the administration an' call for them to issue some more money.

As long's we think it is right to pay tribute to the privileged ones—to give up the results of our toil without any equivalent, there won't be any trouble with foreign countries. If it ever comes to the point where we conclude to abolish all the monopolies an' special privileges foreign invasion may come. The Emperors an' Kings an' other owners of *our* country may send their armies an' navies to protect their rents an' dividends. But probably this awakenin' is a long way off. King worship an' wealth worship is old an' well settled

in human superstition an' hard to move. Lookin' up to profligate humanity gilded with wealth an' down upon the people that make the gildin' possible is a chronic disease. A cure may be found. But the country that gets cured first may need some weapons o' war.

Yes! Fightin' is murder an' not to be encouraged, but things may happen that will make it right for us to fight. Everything depends on the point o' view. What I'm certain about is that as long's there's anything wrong in institutions an' laws an' opinions there will always be a chance for a scrap. Our main business should be to git ourselves right.



HELPING THE CREATOR.

"The earth have I given to all the children of men for an inheritance. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread all the days of thy life."

"Good Lord," said Adam, "dost not Thou know that it is only Capital that can employ Labor, and that there is no capital here?"

"But," answered God, "the earth shall bring forth abundantly to satisfy—"

"Um—," said Adam, "then I'll rent it out for half the crops and so create some capital."

BOLTON HALL.



It is a remarkable fact and yet one which not infrequently confronts us in history, that the land holdings of a people individually are generally in inverse ratio to the land holdings of their state; or, in other words, that as the state begins to win the world, the people of that state begin to lose their own farms. We cannot fairly judge a state unless we know something of the relation of its people to their land. For, after all, free institutions depend for permanency upon this relation. There is no power either of parliaments or of armies that can save such a nation from eventual decay or from an ultimate revolution that will steadily gather strength and motion or subside and intermittently break out until this foundation is put in order. Landlordism, no less than militarism, is one of the problems that must somehow be solved by this war if the peace which the world is hoping will come is to be a permanent peace. So long as there is one nation that, without restraint, and as the mood seizes it, is allowed to confiscate the land of weak peoples in every part of the earth and to compel every person who settles within this conquered territory and who wishes to participate in the government of his new home to sever his connection with his own country and become a subject of the conquering nation, it is plain that the present war will be followed by another and still another until landlordism, too, has disappeared.—Schoonmaker in "The World-Storm and Beyond."



War can do nothing which negotiation or submission will not do better, and to act on any other principle is not to save money and blood but to squander them.—Macaulay.

BOOKS

PRACTICAL PACIFISM.

We. By Gerald Stanley Lee. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

It is hard to see how a book can be interesting which contains over 700 pages devoted to discussion of the European war and the means of preserving peace in future. Yet Mr. Lee has succeeded in producing a book of that kind. Though few readers may entirely agree with him, it would be worth much if partisans of each side considered the following:

Even if one side is all in the wrong, and the other side is all in the right, I am necessarily against either side because they have both agreed to commit the greatest wrong of all in trying to bring to pass right ideas by murdering ideas into people instead of expressing ideas into them.

It is much to be desired that Theodore Roosevelt should read the bright and good-natured chapters entitled "The Rights of a Saphead" and "The Last Murmurs of a Mollycoddle." It would give him a chance to realize that it is poor policy to hurl epithets instead of arguments at opponents.

Furthermore, it would be well to induce Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller to read the chapters relating to them. It would be worth it for the following sentence alone:

If this country can get rid of benevolence it will soon be rid of poverty.

And it would do all good to read the part relating to Henry Ford, not on account of its personal nature, but because it shows—though Mr. Lee may not himself realize it—the connection between permanent peace, free trade and social justice. That is the idea which Mr. Lee expresses in the following way:

As a substitute for the four hundred million dollars we are going to spend on an army and navy against the world, I would have the United States, with a part of its four hundred million dollars buy a million Ford cars and send them out as advertisements of what Americans are like to defend us against a world. Suppose it is Germany we are afraid of—we will swamp Frankfort-on-the-Main with Ford cars, every one with a sign on it saying:

Another car like this can be had for 1,200 marks (\$300). If a half million cars are sold by the end of the year you will get two hundred marks back. It will cost you one thousand marks (\$250). The workmen who made this car are earning a third more wages a day because they feel like working, and enjoy working a third more harder a day. Henry Ford's workmen and Henry Ford together are getting ready to present a car in which the laboring man shall go to his work.

Who will want to fight us? Who are the laboring men in what nation that can be got to fight a Henry Ford America?

The trouble with the suggestion is that protective tariffs stand in the way, and the industrial

conditions described, while they may exist in Ford's factory, are by no means general. A supplementary argument should have been added for free trade and just economic conditions. S. D.



A BOOK WITH A MESSAGE.

The Theory of the Leisure Class. By Thorstein B. Veblen. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

Published in 1909, this book has reached its sixth edition, but is little known to radicals.

Professor Veblen shows that conspicuous consumption of time or of valuable goods is a means of reputability. Display, or to abstain from labor is the accepted evidence of wealth, and is therefore the conventional mark of social standing.

The upper classes ostentatiously waste money and time in order to assert and to prove that they are so superior as not only to be able to live without work, but to indulge in all sorts of extravagance.

Emulation among themselves leads to vicarious waste, such as keeping of courtiers and retainers, who in their turn keep not only servants like footmen, whose duty is mainly to do nothing, but also pages whose function is to assist the footmen in doing nothing.

Much of what we consider waste, then, like the costly funerals of the poor, is really a means of establishing or maintaining the social respect of their class. They are partly imitative, or emulative, of the leisure class, but they are more the claims of ability to pay as a mark of social repute.

The book, although written in somewhat professional style, is readable and instructive and is one of those that appeal to persons who have no radical ideas, at the same time introducing radicalism.

BOLTON HALL.



He (with a sigh)—"I have only one friend on earth—my dog."

She—"Well, if that isn't enough, why don't you get another dog?"—Indianapolis Star.



During the recent Shakespeare celebration a number of local amateurs appeared in the great dramatist's most famous tragedy. Next day the principal actor inquired of a critical friend what he thought of the performance.

"It was great! Simply great!" was the reply. "As you played Hamlet it was easy to see why Ophelia should go and drown herself."—Boston Transcript.



Young Hopeful—"Father, what is a traitor in politics?"

Veteran Politician—"A traitor is a man who leaves our party and goes over to the other one."

Young Hopeful—"Well, then, what is a man who leaves his party and comes over to yours?"

Veteran Politician—"A convert, my son."—Tit-Bits.

Teacher—"Johnny, can you tell me what a hypocrite is?"

Johnny—"Yes, ma'am. It's a boy what comes to school with a smile on his face."—Brooklyn Citizen.

The Plumber—  "Take it from me, Joe, them that doesn't believe in preparedness ain't no good on earth. By the way, ye'll have to go back to the shop for a monkey-wrench and the soldering outfit."—Judge.

The Public's Photoplay Contest

It has been decided not to close this contest until December 31, 1916.

Full particulars of the Contest will be found on another page.

The Scenario Competition Editor

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Edwin S. Potter, in EQUITY.—"This interpretation of modern politics in the United States is the most practical and encouraging thought now current. Mr. Haines insists that the point of attack is 'big politics' rather than 'big business,' since no real advance in industrial conditions or vital change in government can come, excepting through political action. He sees, and gives facts to prove, that, instead of being an instrument for applying remedies to social sores, our political machinery has become 'an end in itself.' * * * He has a constructive plan for readjusting the parts so that the objects of government may be translated into common welfare."

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 HARRY E. HUNT, DETROIT, MICH.

This criticism is made with the hope that it may point the way to more efficient service on your part. The remedying of this complaint will surely make me a subscriber again. Your propaganda and your "narrative of history in the making" are so unkind in spirit, so harsh in judgment of men and motives, that the Singletax reader is moved to doubt the largeness of your vision and the generosity of your purpose, and the unconverted denounce you as a mere intolerant reformer of other men's ways. I shall buy The Public from time to time and note with interest the changes in your moods, whether or not they are as I hope they will be. Meanwhile I wish you success.
 HALE SUTHERLAND, BOSTON, MASS.

Dr. C. J. Lavery

of Aberdeen, So. Dak., has had printed an envelope slip in which he calls the attention of doctors in his state to The Public. This is the doctor's good way of co-operation in our Wilson-Hughes Educational Campaign. Anyone who has a better way is at liberty to try it! Ten thousand new readers by November 7!

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in the Presidential election is developing early. Mr. Hughes is on the stump. Also he is throwing to the radical ladies bouquets sealed up in the iron-ribbed constitution! Raymond Robins, somewhat sad, finds the water cool, but hopes to grow enthusiastic! Wilson men, less in evidence, are deploying their forces for close-quarter fighting.

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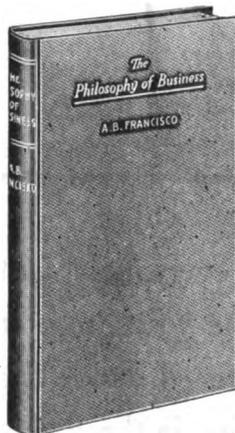
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