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EDITORIAL

Encouraging Home Industry.

There are two ways of encouraging the industry of a country. One is to tax foreign production; the other is to untax home production. To tax foreign production is to aid the home producer by raising prices, which lays a burden upon the consumer. To untax domestic production is to aid the home producer by cheapening production, which gives the consumer cheaper goods. Taxing foreign production leads to low wages, restricted markets and war. Untaxing domestic production tends to higher wages, broader markets and peace.

S. C.



Invention Brings Freer Trade.

The arrival of a submarine merchant ship gives promise of relief from burdensome protective conditions caused by the war. It makes possible greater importation of foreign goods, especially chemicals, dyestuffs and other substances, the lack of which has caused enormous increase in the cost of living. It gives us a nearer approach to free trade, and, if Congress should refrain from stupid interference, will give the lie to the protectionist claim that stoppage of trade by the war has averted a depression.

S. D.



Tariff Drollery.

The Chicago Tribune laments the fact that the public-spirited gentlemen who imported from Canada some Clary field kitchens for the Illinois militia were unable to secure a remission of the tariff duty; and it calls upon Congress "for the sake of justice and public self-respect" to take appropriate action to give free entry to such importations provided by the generosity of private citizens. This raises again the question of whether the editorial writers of the Tribune are jealous of the popularity of B. L. T.'s witty column, or whether B. L. T. is burlesquing the tariff in the editorial columns.

It is a fact well known to all protectionists, from McKinley back to Henry Clay, and forward to Theodore Roosevelt, that the tariff is not a tax, and that the foreigner pays it. If the foreigner pays the duty on the Clary field kitchens, why should it be remitted for the American patriotic citizens? It is an equally well-known fact that a duty on imports makes the goods cheaper in this country. And, finally, it is a questionable patriotism, as we have been assured by all these friends of American labor, that will send money abroad for goods, when we could buy at home, and so keep both the money and the goods in this country. If it were not for injecting a rational thought in the midst of the Tribune's exquisite humor, it might be asked why Congress should suspend the duty on field kitchens imported by rich men for the militia, and not remit it on blankets imported by poor men for their children? If through some hocus-pocus the McKinley dictum that the tariff is not a tax and is paid by the foreigner should not be true, and if it really does raise the price on imported goods, may not the poor feel the burden as well as the rich? B. L. T. will have to look to his laurels during the coming campaign. S. C.



Real and False Preparedness.

The New York legislature refused a few weeks ago to pass a bill prepared by the Lower Rent Society to strike at the evils which cause so appalling an amount of infant mortality. The measure would have interfered too much with land monopoly. But it did pass, in the name of preparedness against an alleged danger of foreign invasion, five outrageous laws instituting compulsory military service. It was but another illustration of one of the reasons for the preparedness agitation, to divert the people from real dangers requiring attention. How real the danger is against which the legislature has refused to prepare is now made much more clear than ever by the terrible epidemic of infantile paralysis. When enforcement begins of the compulsory service laws let the people take note that this is done in defense of land monopoly, even though it breed disease and death among helpless babes. S. D.



Conscription an Established Fact.

The startling information is furnished that conscription for the United States army has been surreptitiously established through an apparently innocent clause in the Hay-Chamberlain law. The clause is as follows:

If for any reason there shall not be enough voluntary enlistments to keep the reserve battalions at

the prescribed strength, a sufficient number of the unorganized militia shall be drafted into the service of the United States to maintain each of such battalions at the proper strength. As vacancies occur by death or other means, these officers shall be made from the reserve.

And now the claim is put forth that the term "unorganized militia" means every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 35. In Ohio there have not been enough voluntary enlistments, in spite of the hurrah about preparedness, to make a required battalion, and the menace of conscription is held over citizens who exercise their moral right to stay out of the army.



Of course, if the Supreme Court of the United States can be depended upon to annul unconstitutional statutes desired by privileged interests, as well as those not so desired, the clause will be declared void. No legal hairsplitting can alter the fact that the effect of enforcement of this legislation must be the forcing of young men into involuntary servitude. That is something clearly forbidden by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker cannot, consistently with the democratic principles he is supposed to uphold, approve any effort to secure recruits through this unfair legislation.



Congressmen and Senators responsible for this joker betrayed their constituents and deceived a majority of their colleagues who would not have knowingly voted for such a provision. They have, moreover, put President Wilson in the awkward position of signing a compulsory service measure, after an emphatic declaration for voluntary service only. It is evident that the interests back of the Preparedness movement and their congressional agents are not particular about methods, in order to accomplish their demands. S. D.



Shall We Feed Them or Fight Them?

We have shown the Mexicans that we have soldiers who can ride and shoot, by sending Pershing's men after the Villista bandits; we have proven to them that we have more men, by mobilizing the militia; General Carranza has demonstrated the fact that he knows two and two make four, by his peace note. What should be our next move? There lies before us a great opportunity. Mexico, never a rich country, has been rent by internecine warfare until business is stagnate and starvation confronts a large part of her people. Let Congress send our militia home, and turn over their food supplies to the starving

women and children of the stricken country. Ten million dollars spent in food for these people will do more to protect our border and win the respect of the Mexican people than a hundred millions spent in munitions. They challenged our sword, let us give them bread.

s. c.



Mexico and American Munitions.

Senator Borah and other critics of the Administration's Mexican policy are making much ado over the sending of American munitions into Mexico. We are, as the Senator puts it, arming our enemy; we are supplying the bullets to kill our soldiers. He demands that this be stopped, and that an embargo be placed upon all shipments of arms and munitions into Mexico until peace and order have been restored. But the reasonableness of this criticism depends entirely upon the facts. If Mexico is really our enemy, and we really must fight her, then the Senator's point is well taken; and we should do all we can to keep arms and munitions from going into the country. But if Mexico is not our enemy, and if we intend to give her a chance to solve her own problems, then the Senator's point is not well taken.



We are demanding that Mexico set her house in order. To do so her soldiers must have arms and ammunition. If, for fear such weapons may be turned against us, we keep them from going into Mexico, how can we reasonably expect the Carranza forces to cope with the Villa outlaws? Senator Borah says in effect to Mexico: You shall have no munitions until you have destroyed the Villista bandits. That is not unlike the advice of the cautious mother who told her boy not to go near the water until he had learned to swim. The President's policy is to aid the Mexican government in saving itself. The chief obstacle to overcome is the Mexican distrust of American motives. To keep munitions from Mexican troops would confirm absolutely that distrust.



It is becoming evident that less hysteria and more common sense will aid in the solution of the Mexican trouble. The people of that country have good reason to distrust us. We despoiled them once, and a considerable part of our public men are urging that the operation be repeated. Besides, the Mexican is treated with contempt by too many Americans; and not a few of the men who secured Mexican concessions have, by their conduct, confirmed the Mexicans in their poor opinion of us. But there are a large number of Americans who wish to deal fairly with Mexico.

There are many reasons for believing that these are the greater portion, and at their head stands the President. While it is only human for politicians to try to embarrass the Administration as the election approaches, the average American should understand this, and discount such criticism. The President reiterated at Detroit his determination not to be a party to the spoliation of Mexico. Let the real friends of American ideals aid him by frowning upon the nagging, carping, unreasonable criticism that is so irritating to the people south of the Rio Grande. If we look for good in Mexico with the same zest that these critics have searched for evil we shall without doubt find far more than they have found. Officially we must treat Mexico as a friend or as an enemy. Can there be any doubt which it should be?

s. c.



A Demonstration of Militarism.

Preparationists who deny that Preparedness implies militarism are contradicted by officers of the federalized Ohio militia. Two soldiers assaulted a civilian, James Baker of Hamilton, Ohio, editor of a local Socialist paper. When Mr. Baker sought redress for the outrage in the courts the civil authorities were defied by the officer in command, who declared that a state of war existed, and the offending soldiers were amenable to a military court only. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker properly refused to sustain the officer, and now the civil courts will be allowed to act. But the affair should not stop there. The officer who interfered with the civil authorities in order to shield his subordinates should be held to account, as any civilian guilty of a similar offense would be held. And the subjection of military to civil authority should not be questioned, even though a state of war should exist. A Secretary of War inclined to uphold military usurpation might decide, in a case similar to this Ohio affair, that a state of war does exist, and thus place the rights of citizens at the mercy of military despots. That is a real danger to which the Preparedness policy must subject us. Is it worth incurring in order to escape an imaginary danger?

s. d.



Undermining Liberty.

When preparationists are shown that mines, submarines and forts will protect the United States from invasion, they admit it, but protest that submarines will not serve abroad; which shows that they are not content with safety, but seek the means for carrying on wars of aggression. When they are shown that a volunteer army is practical

to supplement our coast defenses, they acknowledge that, but call attention to the need of an army for suppressing labor troubles at home. In "A Plea for Preparedness," issued by the Pacific Coast Business Men's Preparedness League, and bearing conspicuously on its front page the American Flag, that organization is refreshingly frank in admitting the real purpose of the preparationist propaganda. After quoting ex-President Taft as saying "We need a police force at home," and citing the bulletins of Manufacturers' and Employers' Associations in the East that have called for means to suppress such labor troubles as occurred in New Jersey, it says:

In the hearings before the Industrial Relations Commission at Seattle, a representative business man, Mr. J. V. Patterson, addressing the Labor Members on the Commission with great courage stated, "We will fight you. We will rise with a counter revolution; we certainly have the power. We will destroy you. Let us have no more class legislation, or we will have it repealed with bayonets; we will do it, no doubt about that."

After calling attention to the fact that the lack of sufficient militia has placed business men under the burden of "having to engage and pay for the services of men recruited privately and to have them commissioned as deputies by the civil authorities," and the inefficiency of such men because of lack of military training, as shown at Youngstown, Ohio, in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, the circular adds:

Certainly no intelligent person can oppose "Preparedness" when he reflects upon what may happen in the event of a general strike of the two million railroad workers of the country to gain the eight-hour workday, and which even now is threatened. It must be remembered that the Federal troops were required to suppress the strike of the American Railway Union which was an effort in precisely the same direction and under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs.



This is the real basis for the preparationist propaganda. This is why the metropolitan press throughout the country has devoted so much space to exploiting our need for a large army. This is why employers of labor cajoled and threatened their employes into preparedness parades. As the campaign for conscription in Great Britain was not primarily for the purpose of getting men in the present war, but to establish the principle of universal military service in time of peace, and to provide an army to over-awe labor unions, so the plea for safeguards against Germany, Japan or other nations is the blind to cover universal service here, and an army to repress labor unions. That is one way of doing. We can follow that

course if we wish. But is this hyphenated idea best for this country? Has not militarism made trouble enough in Europe? If our labor disputes are to be decided by the army, in what will we be better off than Russians or Prussians? If in spite of our exalted ideals we have already arrived at a condition where peace can be maintained among our citizens only by a great army, we should confess the failure of democracy, and return to some form of autocratic government.



But has democracy failed? Is it because our people have so much liberty that they incline to violence, or because there still linger relics of the old tyranny? Do these labor disputes arise because the men and women are unreasonable, and insensible to justice, or because they realize that modern production is inequitably distributed, and they see no other way of effecting a remedy? And if the cause of the friction is due to the inequitable distribution of wealth, is it not better that we should remove the cause of the evil rather than try to suppress by force the violence that comes of the injustice? Big armies will no more establish justice at home than they will maintain peace abroad. All that force can do, all that it ever does, is to overcome a lesser force; its effect will be good or bad only as its director is good or bad. And this should never be forgotten: Just to the extent that a man is backed by power or confronted by force does he disregard reason and appeal to might. Peace cannot be maintained by force of arms; it comes only with the individual consciousness of justice. The legitimate use of the police power is not to repress the mass of the people, but to restrain the individual who withholds justice from his fellows. When the mass resist authority it is because they are, or think they are, denied their rights, and suppression by force will confirm them in that opinion. The labor unrest in this country is not an indication of unruliness; it is a sign of social and economic injustice. The remedy for it is not a large army, but the removal of the cause.

S. C.



Free Trade as a Peace Agent.

It is impossible to tell at present just how much attention should be paid to the threats of European belligerents in regard to the trade war that is to follow the close of military operations. Much of it may be for immediate consumption, to strike terror into the hearts of their opponents. Some of it would be impossible of fulfilment in any event. But there exists the will and the opportunity to do much mischief. The world has suf-

ferred enough from this international madness; and it is the duty of free traders everywhere to lift up their voices in protest against these insane proposals. Not only are there likely to be trade zollvereins nourishing national hatreds, but these rivalries between the present belligerents will be used as an excuse by our own protectionist brethren to strengthen the American tariff wall.



That excellent institution, the American Free Trade League of Boston, striving to meet this obligation, in its circular letter of July 15 says:

The economic history of the world has made clear that such punitive boycotting systems, if put into effect, while undoubtedly producing disaster and distress on the one party, could bring no final advantage to the other, but must add to the burdens and distress of the people of both countries. Under the normal conditions of international business—that is to say, the conditions that were in force before the war and that must return when the operations of war have been brought to a close—the states of the world have from decade to decade been coming into closer financial and business relations with each other. The losses that would be brought about through a great economic struggle, a struggle the purpose of which would be to bring to a close or to restrict seriously these commercial and financial relations, would involve losses and disasters which might in the end prove to be greater than those that have resulted from the conflict of arms. We believe that, notwithstanding the international bitterness that is the inevitable result of war, there is an increasing understanding throughout the civilized world that no one state can profit by the destruction or by the injury of its neighbor. It is not only more civilized, but it is more profitable, to trade with a neighboring state than to crush the independence of such state or to take action that would undermine its prosperity. It is our hope that at the close of the present war we may look forward to the evolution of a real international spirit. The governments of the world are increasingly coming under the control of the people themselves, and these peoples must be aroused to a sense of the truth that their interests, their welfare and their safety can be secured only through a civilized international relation. The settlement that will bring about an assured peace will not be secured through the action of the rulers or of "empire-builders." It must be the work of representatives of the people, of upholders of democratic principles, of men ready to work for the service of mankind.

The American Free Trade League proposes to do what may be practicable towards the creation of public opinion, in the United States and throughout the world, in support of the contention that protection itself is itself a form of war, that war brings about an extreme application of protection, and that freedom of trade constitutes an essential factor towards securing and maintaining the peace of the world. The members of the League place this ideal before their fellow citizens of the Republic with the hope that the influence of the United States may be utilized in the settlement that is to follow this war towards breaking down the protective barriers be-

tween nations—barriers which do so much to create prejudice and to bring about the irritations that have too often resulted in war. The work of those who believe in the fullest possible interchange between peoples of the world, not only of goods but of ideas, of ideals and of human sympathy, constitutes the essential foundation for the World's Federation, the organization of which is the hope of all who are striving for the higher principles of civilization and of humanity.



Trade is the great civilizer, the great friendship builder, the great peacemaker. No nation can be fully civilized that retains trade barriers; no statesman can build real international friendship while limiting commercial intercourse; no citizen can expect to see abiding peace while a tariff remains. Let every man and woman who loves peace join hands with the Free Trade League in a concerted effort to overcome the malign influences of those who would restrict freedom of exchange, both in this country and throughout the world.

S. C.



First Families.

A news item states that Baron Astor's property at the northeast corner of Fifth avenue and 56th street, New York, has been leased by a firm that proposes to erect a \$2,000,000 15-story apartment hotel. The lease is for 21 years, and the net rental will amount to \$2,000,000. Suppose the original owners of Manhattan Island, instead of selling it for \$24, had leased the land to those who wished to use it, as Mr. Astor is doing. What a fine lot of First Families we should have had! But how long would the builders of the city have kept up the payment of rent for the use of the land? And how long will the builders of the city keep up the payment for the use of the land?

S. C.



A Preacher of Righteousness.

Louisville has in the Reverend John G. Stilli of St. John's Evangelical Church a minister whose work in behalf of practical religion has brought upon him the condemnation of elements that may favor religious principles in theory but oppose them in practice. For his activity in conducting a successful protest meeting against war with Mexico he has been honored by abuse of nearly every daily in the city. His attitude has been denounced as "unpatriotic," and if Dr. Johnson's famous definition of patriotism be accepted the denunciation is justified. He is opposed to that kind of "patriotism." Popular confidence in the churches as defenders of human rights depends on the increase in numbers of fearless preachers

who do not hesitate to urge application of their moral doctrines to affairs of today. The community is fortunate which has at least one active preacher of that kind, and Louisville is to be congratulated for the presence of John G. Stilli.

S. D.



Mississippi Bourbonism at Bay.

It is hard to reconcile bourbons to the idea of popular government. When an overwhelming majority of Mississippi voters in 1914 approved of an Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution, bourbon state officials tried to overrule the people and count the measure out. Fortunately the legislature blocked this attempt, and declared the amendment a part of the Constitution. Now an effort is to be made to have the amendment annulled by the courts. The pretext is to block a referendum on some anti-liquor legislation. This time it is the anti-saloon movement that is to be used as a mask for plutocracy. One of the attorneys back of the move, William Hemenway of Jackson, presents the following typically bourbon argument:

This constitution was adopted in 1890 by a convention in which some of the brightest minds that the state ever produced took part. After laborious efforts they evolved a plan by which the legislators might be selected in groups, and insuring the white people continuous control of administrative affairs. Under the Initiative, Referendum and Recall amendment, from 6,000 to 7,500 voters of the state may take this power out of the hands of the legislature, or else at least review what they have done, and keep the state in eternal turmoil.

If the constitution was the work of "some of the brightest minds," they must have devoted their brilliancy to making the kind of constitution to suit other interests than those of the people. It would have been better had they not been so bright. And so the people of Mississippi must have thought when they voted for the Initiative and Referendum. If turmoil is being created by anyone, it is by the interests that are unwilling to let the people rule, but insist on eternally planning to use the courts to overthrow popular government. It is encouraging to note that so strong a conservative organ as the Vicksburg Herald, in its issue of July 13, disapproves of this effort, though it had opposed the Initiative and Referendum during the campaign. Besides taking this brave stand, the Herald furthermore presents the grave charge against the courts of the state by predicting that they may not "be expected to squarely face the issue." If the Herald is right, then Mississippi needs the Recall, especially Re-

call of the Judiciary, as well as the Initiative and Referendum.

S. D.



Partial Justice to Porto Rico.

A democratic victory was gained when the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico struck out from the pending Porto Rican government bill the clause requiring a property qualification for voters. In place of this a clause was inserted establishing universal manhood suffrage for ten years. Needless to say that it would have been better had the time limit been omitted. Unless eliminated the ten-year provision still leaves the bill, in spite of its improved form, in a shape that violates democratic principles and the promise of the Democratic platform to Porto Rico. But the bill is less dangerous than it was. It gives ten years' time to Porto Rican voters to improve the poverty-breeding conditions upheld by American and other foreign rule. Even if they do not take advantage of the opportunity, it will be no excuse for taking it from them after the ten years. American rule has existed for seventeen years, and the masses are still as poverty-stricken as they were under Spain; no better off, in fact, than the residents of the slums of New York, Chicago or other places where economic conditions indict the prevailing system. So we have no right to find fault with Porto Ricans if they fail where we have failed ourselves.

S. D.



Socialists on the Land Question.

In a form more acceptable to non-Socialist progressives than former declarations is the Socialist party platform of this year submitted for approval by the National Committee to a referendum of party voters. Though not flawless, it is the best and most democratic document so far drawn by a political party with a presidential ticket in the field. It takes the correct view on questions of preparedness, foreign relations, the Philippines, equal suffrage, direct legislation, proportional representation and a number of other issues. It does not ask for socialization of all means of production and distribution, but makes an effort, which many will consider faulty, to distinguish between what is properly private property and what should be public property. On the land question it declares for the collective ownership of land, whenever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

This comes near to being right, but not entirely so. It would allow continued private appropria-

tion of rental value of some land, which some authority would declare was not being held for speculation or exploitation. It is quite possible to see how this may open a loophole big enough to let most of the benefits escape. Moreover, all of the annual rental value of land has been created by the people and properly belongs in the public treasury. Any exemption would be wrong. Omission of the last five words of the paragraph is necessary to put beyond reasonable criticism the most important economic declaration in the Socialist platform.

S. D.



Subsea Merchantmen.

The voyage of the *Deutschland* has caused nearly as much human emotion and prophetic comment as that of the first steamship. It has dramatically called attention to the unbounded field of mechanics, and the resourcefulness of man. It has shown the fertility of the German mind, and the daring of her seamen. And it has added another reason why war should cease. Incidentally, the accomplishment of this feat will require another revision of the international law, already so rent by the air ships and the military submarine. As it was impracticable for the submarine to observe the law of visit and search before destroying a merchant ship of the enemy, so it will be impossible for the war ships to visit and search the subsea merchantman before striking. The *Deutschland* is likely during this war to bear a dual nature. To neutral nations she will be a merchant ship, to be treated as any other merchantman; to the belligerent she will be a war ship to a degree that will warrant her destruction by any possible means. Protest of neutrals against the destruction of a merchant vessel without visit and search will likely be met as was the protest against the open blockade. Answer will be made that changed conditions compel a resort to different methods.



International law is merely the crystallized public opinion of the world. It is plastic—not to say elastic—and changes with the drift of human thought. It took ages to arrive at the principle of visit and search; it will be a long time, if wars continue, before the subsea merchantman finds its rights and duties. One may say offhand that a merchant ship is a merchant ship, and there can be but one rule. But reflection will show that this will not suffice. If this country were at war, and a submarine were seen approaching its shores submerged it would be destroyed if possible. The assumption would be that a friendly ship would approach above water. The very fact of sub-

mergence would proclaim it an enemy ship. Similar logic will be used by the Allies for sinking the *Deutschland*, if she comes within their reach. Besides, they will have the plausible excuse that a peaceful ship enjoys the privilege of visit and search only when it does not try to escape, and the very fact of submergence will be construed as an attempt at escape. The *Deutschland*, therefore, must depend for safety upon keeping out of sight of war ships, and avoiding submarine traps.



It is idle to predict the effect of subsea merchantmen on the outcome of the war. A single boat is spectacular, rather than momentous. And even the cargoes of a fleet of them would be trifling when compared to the needs of a nation. As the number multiplied the liability to destruction would be increased. Every weapon and device made for offense has been followed by a corresponding device for defense. Aeroplanes are met by other aeroplanes. Zeppelins are met by aeroplanes and guns that render them harmless in daylight, and comparatively useless at night. Submarines have been destroyed by nets and swift motorboats. It may be assumed that subsea merchantmen, not less than war vessels, will find their way strewn with dangers and difficulties. If men can accomplish such wonders for the purpose of war, what may they not do in time of peace?

S. C.



Errata. Page 628. The sentence reading "The fact that a tax on land values is one that can be shifted," should have had a "not" after "can."



RHETORIC AND DEEDS IN POLITICS.

A Chicago newspaper which called itself Progressive—although it is happy to be back in the stand-pat party of Privilege with all its feet—gravely expresses some disappointment, not to say alarm, at the alleged similarity between Hughes' style and that of Wilson. Hughes had made a short and conventional address to some club or other on some holiday or like occasion. He said he "had a dream for America," and he spoke for the need of sobriety and quiet thought rather than of noise and bombast in political life. Why, exclaims the absurd paper in question, this is the rhetorician of the White House, this is Uncle Woodrow, to the very life! Oh horror! Has Wilson hypnotized our leading statesmen, or has he, the man of "notes," sucked the vitality out of words that were once winged and significant?

Now, in the first place, what is there alarmingly rhetorical about the phrases quoted from Hughes? Has it become a sign of decadence and impotence to speak of "dreams" for America? Is it enervating rhetoric to remind people that clamor and blatant professions of patriotism and Americanism are worth little in themselves, and that quiet thought and sobriety are as necessary as ever? Does it really sicken the Rooseveltian ex-Progressive fanatics to hear of quiet thought and sobriety, of dignity and restraint?

But let us pass over the idle and empty rhetoric of the Rooseveltians, since, notoriously, thinking has never been their long suit. Let us ask whether there is any foundation for this talk—quite common talk, by the way, among Republican and "Progressive" jingoes and reactionaries—concerning Wilson's rhetoric and phrase-making.

Is Wilson merely a rhetorician? Let us see. The groups and cliques he fought as head of Princeton did not regard him as a mere rhetorician. His policies and ideas were deemed too radical, too democratic, but objections of that sort are not objections to phrase-mongering and rhetoric.

As President, Wilson owes his notable successes to things quite other than rhetoric. The talkers were opposed to a special session of Congress for tariff revision. Wilson had his way and the special session was called.

The talkers were afraid of the financial and banking question. They wanted delay. Wilson was stubborn. He said little, but he meant business, and Congress had to deliver the new banking and currency act.

Wilson found that the Panama tolls exemption provision was gratuitous, monopolistic and foolish. He demanded its repeal. He indulged in no rhetoric. He read a few plain sentences to Congress and then firmly insisted on straightforward debate and action. The action was taken, and Wilson again had his way—the right way, assuredly, on that occasion.

Wilson had to write several notes to Germany. If memory serves, Germany's rulers and jingoes did *not* complain of lack of vigor and meaning in any of these notes. One of them was so lively that Brother Bryan resigned and many said, "This spells war." But Germany yielded to the note-writer and the submarine question was settled—and settled right. The Rooseveltian fanatics never had the honesty to acknowledge this, but their sullen and mean silence misled no one. The "notes," by the way, were far less costly than a single physical engagement would have been. To

the jingo action is unthinkable without blood and iron. To the jingo the bully alone is the man of action and red blood. But several million Americans are not jingoes, happily. They prefer "notes" and they know results when they see them.

Wilson has not "acted" in Mexico. That is, he has not made war, nor driven Congress to make war, nor ordered an occupation of Mexico for the purpose of "cleaning her up." He has been patient and long-suffering. He has opposed annexationist and predatory designs. He has discouraged superficial talk of benevolent intervention. He has stood for peace. He has, in fact, said very little about Mexico. The Falls and the Shermans, the Manns and the Jim-Hiams have done the talking. Wilson has had no holiday task in attempting to control Congress, to allay excitement, to give the people opportunity for second thoughts. He has apparently scored another victory, and if war and intervention are averted, even the pacifists and radicals who did not approve of the Vera Cruz and Villa-hunting incidents will gladly forgive Wilson, make allowances, remember the dangers and difficulties he had to contend with in those two crises, and give him full credit for his love of justice, honor and peace, for his hatred of aggression, cant and buncombe.

The truth is, nothing is more silly, more shallow, more stupid and false than the charge that Wilson is merely a writer of notes and coiner of phrases. Most of those who dislike him do so because he has spoiled their games, defeated their schemes, made them ridiculous and cheap, and obtained victory after victory—at home and abroad—without the sort of "action" which the jingoes and plutocrats understand and applaud.

Wilson has made serious mistakes, but we are beginning to love him for the enemies and critics he has made among the Rooseveltians, the sham Progressives, the rhetorical patriots, and the beneficiaries of privilege.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

RATIONAL PACIFISM.

Southwest Harbor, Me., July 10, 1916.

I am so generally in accord with your views that I venture to raise a question over your editorial note of July 7 about the "two classes of peace people." The pacifists whom I know best may not be classed as either "sentimentalists" or "rationalists." We seek to use all the normal faculties of modern men—our minds, our sympathies, our observation, judgment and experience, our consciences and our faith in ideas and in reality also. We seek to be

open-minded and to see the actual conditions of the world. We may, of course, on occasion, be forced into the position of a minority. Has not every measure for the advancement of mankind been set on foot by a minority? This does not make us extremists.

Let me try now to tell your readers what we pacifists, who mean to use all our senses and not to misconstrue facts, really believe. We hold war to be no game, or sport, or vocation, no mode of satisfaction of honor or justice, no duty to God or man, but just plain inhumanity and barbarism. The more civilized the weapons the more stupendous the barbarity. The more the specious talk of polishing off its roughnesses by "laws of war," the more posterous the anomaly of an institution which is essentially anarchy and frightfulness. We see no sense in glossing over its hideous nature because men of courage and loyalty are always caught in its coils. So much the greater barbarity in sending such men to destruction!

Why do we say such things of an ancient institution to the maintenance of which two great departments of our own national government are devoted? Because the growing humanity in us has waked up to a new sight of the facts and a new conviction of conscience. Our humanity utterly forbids our engaging in war. We do not have to go back to sacred authority for this. It is invincibly rooted within us. We must die sooner than deliberately kill men; if by wholesale, so much the worse. This is to undermine our democracy, which rests upon mutual respect. We are bound in every emergency to find a better way than to kill the man whom we respect as a man.

It follows that we who have this sense of humanity and democracy must push with all our might to rid the world, and our own nation in particular, of the curse of war. Neither are we content to wait till all other nations will agree with us before we move to quit the wretched business. No reform ever came by such waiting. The world needs the sight of a great unarmed nation, as it needed more than a hundred years ago to see the actual experiment of a great democratic Republic. The practical question is, whether we dare to do the best thing that a nation ever attempted? Are we humane enough? Would it be safe? The question comes to us in America, not in Turkey. It comes to a nation which has no enemies and, by virtue of its institutions, ought to be the constant friend of every people. Has not Mr. Wilson been telling us (and even Mr. Roosevelt, winner of the Nobel prize!) that we must decide international problems on terms of humanity? And that force never accomplishes any permanent result? At our best, when we see straight, we all say this, "We pacifists believe that we ought to do what we say. We honestly believe that what is right, i. e., socially useful, is practicable; and whatever is wrong, i. e., socially injurious is impractical and stupid.

Mr. Wilson and others have said one thing, but our government has done another and cheaper thing. With half the world in strife and pain, calling for extraordinary pity and sympathy, official America has sat in its high chair, talking about the "laws of war," insisting upon our maritime "rights," making threats and delivering ultimatums, looking

backwards for precedents, instead of putting the main question: **What is the voice of our humanity and our religion?** And then with a lurch of hysteria, fear, and suspicion the government has enacted an orgy of "preparedness."

We pacifists urge that this course is not only inhumane, but it is also unwise and unpractical. It actually tends to bring the very evils of which it stands in fear. It not only makes the whole world more unsafe, but it makes the United States a more dangerous place to live in. It goes to perpetuate the reign of fear and suspicion. We hold that true humanity would have bade us not to lay down the keel of a single warship. We urge that our government might have made such an appeal to the American people as to have presented, as soon as the war ceases, the spectacle of a nation standing ready to help the world, not with more force, of which we are weary, but with all kinds of friendly offices to restore valid peace. We see no other practical course besides this. You may try for a thousand years to solve human problems by violence, and you will never succeed. You cannot carry murderous weapons in your hands and at the same time make people believe that you have good will in your hearts. If you wish to bring your humanity effectively to bear, you must trust it and use it and throw your weapons aside. Humanity does not flow back and forth over a barrier of "preparedness" to strike and punish. We pacifists are pragmatists about these things. We say: Study human nature more carefully: Watch and see what happens: Try for yourselves what a generous humanity can effect.

CHARLES F. DOLE,

President of the Association to Abolish War.



"EMPIRE BUILDERS."

It is interesting to believe, on the best authority, that Mr. Howard Elliott, though so long associated with the later activities of Mr. J. J. Hill, was not even cognizant of the "Farley deal," as described in my communication of June 16, by which the Strathcona-Hill-Stephen-Kittson group squeezed out the Dutch bondholders and the St. Paul and Pacific and its land grants were captured. It took place long before Mr. Elliott entered into the business and when it was conducted in a very different manner from that of its capture by the "Empire Builders." As far as can be known that unsavory plot is likely to be a warning, rather than an example, to one who is doing his best to repair the evil wrought by similar methods to which circumstances brought disaster, instead of the good luck which pursued the development of the North West.

In fact, Dr. Elliott (as we should call him), took pains in his remarks on receiving a degree at Middlebury Commencement last month to attribute some of the "financial and industrial difficulties of recent years"—"to the fact that daring and ambitious men did not pay attention to the laws, man-made and nature-made" in earlier days.

It is believed here in Boston that John Murray Forbes ("clarum et venerabile nomen") is the ideal of Elliott rather than J. J. Hill.

ERVING WINSLOW.

FORCE AND LIBERTY.

St. Paul, July 9, 1916.

Here in St. Paul we have recently had a number of vivid illustrations of the dangers of militarism.

I don't think that any intelligent believer in government by the people will deny that any person has an inherent right to criticize the profession of the soldier and advise against enlistment.

And yet—

No sooner had the national guard been called out than men in khaki began to interfere with the rights of peaceable citizens.

Three men, who were quietly and peaceably advising against enlistment by handing out to passersby leaflets urging against entering the ranks of the soldiers, were roughly arrested by soldiers in uniform, taken to police headquarters and lodged in jail.

No charges were entered against them, and the soldiers never appeared at court to enter any charges, and yet the police authorities held these men.

Of course the court released them when they came to trial; but they were put to trouble and expense, to loss of time and great annoyance, just because some irresponsible men in khaki assumed to act in place of the city authorities.

But the crowning disgrace occurred Friday evening, June 30.

A peaceable street meeting had been going on all the evening at a place where the courts have held that street meetings may be conducted.

It was about ten o'clock and Harry Kramerman had just stepped upon the soap box and was speaking in behalf of the New York garment workers.

A group of soldiers—15 or 20—had been hanging about the edges of the crowd all the evening, and by this time several of them were pretty well "loaded."

A dozen or so of them made a dash, dragged Kramerman down, hauled him through the streets for five or six blocks, bruised him, tore his clothes, ducked him in a fountain several times and then started with him toward the river shouting "hang him, kill him," and other equally civil expressions.

Someone had called the patrol wagon, and just then it reached the scene and rescued Kramerman from the mob and took him to police headquarters where he was dried and sent home.

We were both eyewitnesses to the whole scene and can testify that no one of the ruffians in khaki could possibly have heard a word that Kramerman had said. We were standing about half way between Kramerman and the soldiers and we could not hear a word.

All the evening we noticed a certain young guardsman accompanied by a young woman quietly listening to the speaker.

He and his companion followed us to the police station and corroborated our statement that Kramerman was wholly innocent and that the guardsmen were all to blame.

The next day a number of us went to the city authorities and put up to them the proposition whether they intended to keep order or allow the soldiers to run the town.

They assured us that they would keep the peace. The next evening, July 1st, a few soldiers and one

civilian got somewhat "loaded" and began to start something, when two burly giants in plain clothes threw a scare into them and drove them away from the meeting, telling them they would be locked up if they started trouble.

Since then the meetings have been unmolested.

Comment is unnecessary. Militarism in any form is intolerable.

C. J. BUELL.

IRENE LUCIER-BUELL.



INCOME AND INHERITANCE TAXES.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., July 14, 1916.

I have been reading and re-reading the communications from Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh and Messrs. Garrison, Lustgarten and Doubleday on the question of income taxes and other "next best" schemes of taxation. I had not intended to take part in the controversy; but it seems to me that the suggestion of a Federal inheritance tax raises somewhat the same issue in a new form.

I confess that despite Singletax principles I hope the Federal inheritance tax will pass, if only as a stimulus and example to backward states like my own. Here in Alabama we appear to be generations removed from an effective land tax, but we can aspire to a reasonable legacy duty within a decade or two.

Now my problem is not the problem of theoretic justice. In view of the unbending Singletax orthodoxy of so many of The Public's contributors I shall not venture to put a question of conscience. I do think it well worth while, however, to inquire whether an inheritance tax does in point of fact fall almost wholly upon property in land.

The general argument is obvious, yet I do not recall having seen it anywhere explicitly stated. No man ever "inherits" a box of strawberries or a dozen fresh eggs. Very few hats or shoes, not many sewing machines and automobiles pass by bequest. Relative permanent forms of property are the ones subject to inheritance; and of these of course land is most permanent of all. Whatever else may be consumed by the father in his own lifetime, his landed estate lives after him. Does it or does it not follow that a legacy duty is in effect a close approximation of straight land taxation?

I do not believe that any discussion of income taxes, however exhaustive, touches this particular problem.

MALCOLM C. BURKE.



The best use of good laws is to teach men to trample bad laws under their feet.—Wendell Phillips.



As soon as the Government has the money and the soldiers, instead of fulfilling their promises to defend their subjects from foreign enemies, and to arrange things for their benefit, they do all they can to provoke the neighboring nations and to produce war.—Tolstoy.



He that forbids me to speak according to my own sense, experience and practice, may as well enjoin an architect not to speak of building according to his own knowledge, but according to that of his neighbor; according to the knowledge of another and not according to his own.—Montaigne.

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, July 18, 1916.

European War.

The united offensive of the Allies continues upon all sides. On the western front the Anglo-French attacks on the Somme have added somewhat to their gains, and strengthened their hold on what had previously been taken. The British have succeeded in moving their front nearly as far as that of the French. By heavy shell fire and persistent infantry attacks they have added to their gains Bezantime-le-Petit and Longueval, which they have held against all counter attacks. The line east of Longueval is between four and five miles in advance of the point of beginning, and is within two and a half miles of Combles, an important German base, and four miles from Bapaume, an important railroad center. The French have strengthened their position before Peronne, which lies under their guns, and will be attacked when the Allies have been fully strengthened in their present positions. Altogether fifteen villages have been captured and 22,000 prisoners taken thus far in the Somme offensive. Casualties have not been given for either side, but are said to be very heavy, particularly from the long shell fire that preceded the infantry assaults. Captured documents convey an idea of the strain borne by the Germans during the bombardment. A report from a company of the Sixteenth Bavarian regiment to the third battalion, Bavarian infantry, says:

Severe enemy artillery fire, all calibers up to 28 centimeters, on company sector. Company strength, one officer, twelve men. Beg urgently speedy relief for company. What remains of company so exhausted that in case of attack by the enemy the few totally exhausted men cannot fight on.

From another company of the same regiment, the report says:

Very heavy and intense enemy fire on company sector. Completely lost its fighting value. Men left so exhausted they can no longer be employed in fighting if heavy artillery fire continues. Company will soon be entirely exterminated. Relief for company urgently requested.

[See current volume, page 658.]

The German pressure on Verdun continues with unabated fury, with both artillery shelling and infantry assaults. Some small gains have been made east of the Meuse, but they do not appear to affect the general situation. German reports state that no forces or materials have been transferred from

the Verdun sector to the region of the Somme. The French have made attacks in Champagne and on the Aisne River, but without apparent results. The continued artillery fire from Arras to the sea has become so furious between Arras and Ypres that infantry action may take place at that point.



The Russians have increased their attacks south of Riga, where they claim to have made small gains from the Germans. In the Kovel region where the Germans have held them for some time, they are again advancing. Their chief advances, however, are in Galicia, where the Austrians continue to give way before them. The Russians are moving steadily toward Lemberg, the fortified capital of Galicia. In the Caucasus and Mesopotamia regions the Russians announce successes, the most notable of which is the capture of Baidurb midway between Erzerum and Trebizond, which has hitherto prevented the Russians from taking advantage of their successes in capturing the other two points.



The revolt of the Arabians against the rule of the Turks appears to assure them of their independence. The sacred city of Mecca fell into their hands the 13th of June, and now the forts near the city, which have continued to hold out, have surrendered. The grand sheriff in command of the Arabian forces had ceased attacks on the forts in order to avoid bloodshed, and the forts surrendered after a month. Since the proclamation of Arabian independence their forces have captured from the Turks 28 officers, 950 unwounded men, 150 wounded, four guns, and "large quantities of materials and munitions."



Italy continues a slow but successful advance in the Tretino region, driving the stubborn Austrians toward their mountain border. Progress from the nature of the country is slow. In the upper Posina valley severe fighting has taken place, and in the Adige valley. Increasing artillery action on the Isonzo is taken to indicate renewed efforts in that region.



Press dispatches from Washington say the Administration has adopted a policy regarding the Deutschland. If the submarine is on the surface it must be hailed and visited as any other merchant craft. If running submerged, it will be treated as attempting to escape, and may be destroyed. The Deutschland will be ready to depart with cargo on the 19th. The French and British representatives at Washington declare the Deutschland a potential warship. This is done as a basis for war claims should damage be done by the boat after leaving American shores.

Mexico and the United States.

It is announced at Washington that President Wilson has endorsed the proposal of General Carranza for submitting the Mexican border controversy to the arbitration of commissioners to be appointed by the two countries, but his approval is subject to the condition of an advance agreement between the two governments as to the scope of the commissioners' power. Acting Secretary of State Polk and the Mexican Ambassadors designate Eliseo Arredondo, are informally discussing the matter. General Carranza announces himself much pleased at the peaceful turn of affairs.



Villista bands operating mainly in the State of Chihuahua are causing considerable trouble in petty raids on ranches, but the Carranza troops continue to pursue them from place to place. It is the hope of the American forces that Villa will be driven far enough north to be within their reach.



General Funston announced on the 15th that \$535,000 had been set aside by the war department for the construction of permanent mess halls and other military buildings in the Texas department. This is taken to indicate a heavier permanent garrison on the border.



Relief for Poland.

The repeated failure of all known means of diplomacy to secure permission to send food to the starving people of Poland has prompted President Wilson to make it a personal question. He is therefore writing personal letters to the rulers of the belligerent nations of Europe. The Allies assert that the people of northern France are as much in need of aid. Germany must agree, they say, to refrain from seizing foodstuffs produced by Polish farmers for their own needs and for those of their countrymen.



One Reason for Fighting Mexico.

Frederic C. Leubuscher, president of the New York Society to Lower Rents and Reduce Taxes on Homes, has addressed to Colonel Roosevelt the following pertinent inquiries regarding his proposal to overrun Mexico:

Your proposal to raise an army of 20,000 to fight Mexico naturally leads those who remember the day when you were commander-in-chief of the onward marching Christian soldiers to wonder why you want to fight Mexico.

Consular Report No. 168, prepared by Consul Letcher at Chihuahua and published July 18, 1912 (when you will remember President Taft was just over being "Dear Bill" to you), placed the total valuation of wealth within the borders of Mexico at \$2,431,211,422, of which Americans owned \$1,057,770,000, or 43 per cent, while

Mexicans owned only \$792,187,242, or 32½ per cent. The remainder of the wealth of Mexico was held by British, French and other foreigners. As between the Americans and Mexicans, Americans owned 53 per cent of railway stocks, 72 per cent of railway bonds, 77 per cent of mines, 72 per cent of smelters, 58 per cent of the oil business and 68 per cent of the rubber industry. Consul Letcher says in his report:

The most notable items of Mexican property held chiefly by the Mexicans are houses, ranches, live stock, bank deposits and retail stores—none of which would naturally be acquired by foreign capitalists in preference to railroads or mines.

All of the chief industrial and manufacturing enterprises are owned by foreign capitalists. The Mexican people have been dominated by the worst form of a foreign aristocracy—the aristocracy of foreign capital.

Do you want your army to enforce exploiting foreign capital? Is that your conception of a "square deal"?

You must know that the lands of Mexico were stolen from the peasants, and that Carranza and other chiefs are restoring these lands to the rightful users. Do the findings of your Commission on Country Life in America justify you in leading an army to keep the peasants off the soil in Mexico, thus forcing them to become the victims of American capitalistic exploiters?

Or are you afraid that the good example of restoring the land to the people may rapidly lead to such action in this country, so that your army must fight to prevent the greatest good to the greatest number here?

Please enlighten us.



Real Preparedness Conference.

At the Conference on Real Preparedness, held at Washington, June 28 and 29, at which the economic, industrial and social conditions of the country were discussed, it was decided to organize a country-wide committee to work for real preparedness, such as that noted in the following resolution there adopted:

Since the most fundamental measure of preparedness is to break up the monopoly of land and all natural resources therein and thereon, and to give the people of the country the opportunity to produce freely, by restoring to them equal access to all such natural resources of which they have been deprived by the folly or the corruption of legislative bodies, we strongly urge the voters of this country to repudiate those candidates for any public office who think of preparedness only in terms of armies and armaments, and to endeavor to commit every candidate, according to the office he seeks, to support: The un-taxing of improvements and all other products of labor, and heavier taxation of land values to maintain local and state governments; a rapidly progressive tax on large incomes—especially on unearned incomes—for the Federal Government, and reducing taxes on consumption—such as tariffs on the neces-

sities of life; a rapidly progressive tax on inheritances for the State and Federal governments; Federal acquisition of natural monopolies, since privileged monopoly is un-American, the present owners to be paid only the value they have given to those monopolies, plus the present value of improvements therein and thereon made by them; termination of perpetual franchises and municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, the present owners to be paid only the value they have given such utilities, plus the present value of improvements therein and thereon made by them; social insurance against sickness and accidents; the enactment of the Keating-Owen Child Labor bill by Congress and of the uniform Child Labor law by all the states.

Among those who have consented to serve on this committee are: Messrs. Commissioner Fred-eric C. Howe, Register John J. Hopper, Frederic C. Leubuscher, Herbert J. Browne, Amos Pinchot, Frank P. Walsh, Lincoln Steffens, Dante Barton and John W. Slaughter.

The activities of the committee will be: Holding conferences throughout the country; writing letters to local papers; seeking to commit candidates for public office to the program of the resolution.

The committee will be strictly non-partisan. Persons willing to serve on the committee are urged to address Benjamin C. Marsh, 320 Broadway, New York City.



Congressional Doings.

The Kern-McGillicuddy workingmen's compensation bill for injured Federal employes passed the House by a vote of 286 to 3. Congressmen Cannon of Illinois, Dies of Texas, and Page of North Carolina, voted against this bill. This measure, promised by the Democratic platform and made part of the administration program, replaces the law of 1908, which provides for less than one-third of the Federal employes. The Kern bill provides two-third wages and medical attendance during disability for all civilian employes injured in the service of the United States. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor, to which the bill has been referred, with the exception of Chairman Hoke Smith, favors early action on the bill. [See current volume, page 660.]



James Hay, congressman from Virginia, and chairman of the House military affairs committee, was nominated on the 15th by President Wilson to be an associate justice of the United States Court of Claims. Mr. Hay has been chairman of the military affairs committee since 1910, and will be succeeded by Representative S. H. Dent of Alabama. Both men are known as "little army" men because of their opposition to the great military program.

The La Follette-Clarke amendment to the River and Harbor bill was defeated on the 11th. This amendment limited the water to be used in the Chicago drainage canal to an amount considered insufficient by sanitary engineers. It also would have handicapped Illinois in building a deep waterway from the lakes to the Mississippi River. The bill as passed appropriated \$13,000,000. The Senate passed the bill on the 12th. Much criticism has been made of the "pork" in the bill.



The Rucker corrupt practices bill was passed by the House on the 15th. This measure, the last on the Administration's program, fixes \$50,000 as the limit of the expenditure by a candidate for President, \$25,000 by a candidate for Vice-President, \$5,000 for a Senatorship and \$2,500 for Congressman.



In signing the Rural Credits Bill on the 17th, in the presence of a group of Senators, Representatives and officers of farmers' organizations, President Wilson said:

It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction not only but of real gratitude that we have completed this piece of legislation, which I hope will be immensely beneficial to the farmers of this country.

The farmers, it seems to me, have occupied hitherto a singular position of disadvantage. They have not had the same freedom to get credit on their real estate that others have had who were in manufacturing and commercial enterprises, and while they have sustained our life they did not in the same degree with some others share in the benefits of that life.

Therefore, this bill, along with the very liberal provisions of the federal reserve act, puts them upon an equality with all others who have genuine assets and makes the great credit of the country available to them. One cannot but feel that this is delayed justice to them and cannot but feel that it is a very gratifying thing to play any part in doing this act of justice.

I look forward to the benefits of this bill not with extravagant expectations, but with confident expectation that it will be of very wide-reaching benefits.

Incidentally, it will be of advantage to the investing community, for I can imagine no more satisfactory and solid investments than this system will afford those who have money to use.

I sign the bill, therefore, with real emotion and am very glad to be honored by your presence and supported by your feelings, I have no doubt in what I have said regarding it.



To Succeed Judge Hughes.

Judge John H. Clarke of the United States District Court at Cleveland, Ohio, was named by President Wilson on the 14th for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, to succeed Charles E. Hughes, who resigned to accept the Republican nomination for President. Judge Clarke was born at Lisbon, Ohio, 1857, graduated from

the Western Reserve University in 1877, and was made District Judge by President Wilson in 1914.



Two National Conferences.

The national conference of Singletaxers of the United States will be held this year at the International Hotel, Niagara Falls, New York, on August 19, 20 and 21. A conference of Canadian Singletaxers will be held on the 19th at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Ontario. The Joseph Fels Fund Commission will meet at the same time on the New York side. Information regarding the conferences can be obtained from the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, 77 Blymer Building, Cincinnati, and from Sydenham Thompson, secretary, Toronto Singletax Association, 33 Richmond street, West, Toronto.



Conviction of Labor Grafters.

The prosecution of seventeen Chicago labor business agents for fraudulent use of their power resulted in a verdict on the 13th convicting 14 and acquitting 3. Two men received a sentence of three years in the penitentiary, three men two years, one man one year, and eight were fined. Attorneys for the defendants say the case will be taken to the Supreme Court.



The National Park Movement.

The movement to preserve the natural wonders of the country by incorporating them in national parks has been directed to the preservation of the remarkable flora and picturesque scenery embraced in the Indiana sand dunes at the head of Lake Michigan. As a result of the agitation of the Chicago Prairie Club, aided by the Chicago Geographical Society, the Illinois Historical Society, the Illinois Horticultural Society, the Wild Flower Preservation Society, the Outdoor Art League, the Friends of Our Native Land, and the Audubon, together with many public spirited men and women, a great meeting was held at the dunes near Tremont on the 16th to effect an organization to appeal to Congress to convert the fifty square miles of dunes into a National park.



The Chicago School Trouble.

Miss Margaret Haley appeared before the City Council's investigating committee on the 14th and made a detailed statement of the teachers' side of the controversy. She went into the political interests running through the School Board, and analyzed the motives of the controlling members on the board. At the close of her testimony she requested that Mrs. Young, former Superintendent of Schools, be called to corroborate her charges. The committee adjourned for the summer, but a subcommittee will continue the work. [See current volume, page 660.]

NEWS NOTES

—Professor Elie Metchnikoff, the noted bacteriologist, and head of the Pasteur Institute, died in Paris on the 15th at the age of 71.

—Infantile paralysis in New York City has increased to such an extent that some of the neighboring towns are quarantining against children from the stricken city.

—The Secretary of State of Illinois testified in court that he had spent \$1,500 for combs, brushes, pocket knives, fountain pens, card cases, etc., all of which were presented to the general assembly.

—Immigration which dropped from 1,218,480 in 1914 to 326,700 in 1915, begins to show slight signs of revival. Greeks and Italians from Southern Italy show an increase over a year ago. The total immigration for April was 30,560.

—General Cipriano Castro, former president of Venezuela, was refused entrance to the United States when he and his wife arrived in New York from Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the 15th. He is barred on the charge of moral turpitude.

—Official reports from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce at Washington show that the shipments of war munitions up to date have aggregated \$446,000,000. War orders, including blankets, machinery, locomotives and other products, are estimated at more than \$3,000,000,000.

—Chicago's Municipal Pier, a structure extending 3,000 feet into the lake, north of the mouth of the Chicago River, was dedicated on the 15th. The pier, which is city owned and built, is 292 feet wide, and carries two freight and passenger structures two stories in height, 100 feet in width and 2,340 feet in length. At the outer end of the pier is a recreation building 665 feet long.

PRESS OPINIONS

Shifting the Issue.

Reedy's Mirror, June 30.—The worst thing about all this war business is that it tends to put a quietus upon all effort for the improvement of social and economic conditions. A great deal of our preparation for the war against crime, disease, ignorance and poverty, once well under way, is necessarily postponed, because of the deflection of interest to armies, navies, mobilizations, alarms and excursions. Appropriations for constructive work of betterment are shelved. Private energies are directed towards war charities. News of sorties, ambushes, impending battles, crowds everything else out of the papers. War is the enemy of all the reforms which so much interested us erstwhile. So much of it as is now imminent for us threatens disaster as great as has befallen the Liberal programme that was in process of application in England before the cataclysm of July, 1914. In this sense, at least, war excitement is a tremendous backset for social progress. And during the war excitement many evil things will become more firmly en-

trenched in our social system because the public is not watching in that direction. Patriotism is a happy refuge for many forms of scoundrelism, a fostering-place for anti-social interests and designs. Amid arms, reforms are silent, benumbed. Mexican intervention means the delay of the fruition of many high hopes of advancement, if not their permanent defeat.



Put Yourself In His Place.

Herbert S. Bigelow in *The People's Bulletin* (Cincinnati), June 24.—What should be our policy in Mexico? Apply the golden rule. If we were in their place what would we like to have done to us? Suppose during our seven years' war for independence some Spaniards had lost their lives or property. Suppose, thereupon, Spain had sent an army into our country. George Washington would have pointed out that the depredations had been caused by bandits, that he was doing the best he could to restore order, but that under the trying times of revolution he should not be held responsible, and he would have demanded the withdrawal of the Spanish troops just as Carranza has demanded the withdrawal of American troops. Then the Spanish press would have said Washington was making the demands for home consumption, that he was bluffing, that he was losing his power.

It is true apparently that some Mexican hot-heads have destroyed lives and property on the American side. But such acts were not the acts of the people of Mexico. They were not the acts of any government of Mexico.



Canada's Wild Land Tax.

Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg), May 27.—It is surprising what revenue we can raise without taxing production when we attack the problem from the right angle. In October, 1914, Alberta enacted a Wild Lands Tax of one per cent on the assessed value of all taxable wild land in the province. Of course this left enormous areas still untaxable, including Crown lands, C. P. R. lands, Hudson's Bay lands, Indian reservations, unpatented homestead lands, lands under Dominion grazing leases and generous exemptions on owners' lands. Yet this small tax was levied on 8,110,955 acres assessed at \$69,973,934 and contributed in 1915 to the treasury of Alberta \$699,824. In 1913 Saskatchewan grappled with this same problem of making the holder of un-producing land pay a part of the administration of those lands and make some slight return for the added value created by the people living on and working the surrounding land. A "surtax" of \$10.00 per quarter section was levied on owners of unused land and this swelled the revenues of the rural municipalities of Saskatchewan in 1914 by approximately \$755,000. The amount raised in 1915, though all the returns are not in, will, it is expected, slightly exceed that in 1914. In Alberta the money derived from the Wild Lands Tax is expended by the Provincial Government itself, but in Saskatchewan no portion of the revenue derived from the surtax is received by the government, but all is levied and collected by the municipality and forms part of the general revenue of the municipality which of course is spent under direction of the Municipal Council.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LOYAL TRAITOR.

By James Harcourt West.
Poems of Progress.
Tufts College Press,
Boston.

"He means it well," with smile (or frown) they say—
"But, lack! he carries his 'reform' too far.
One falls of wisdom who o'erleaps the bar
Which prudent hands have stretched athwart the way.

A yard or two if you would run, you may:
But if you race to lengths unpopular
Your zeal offends. Who would his cause not jar,
In reason's middle vantage-ground must stay."
Oh, weak, who make a "middle ground" for Right!
And doubly weak who, seeing Valor wield
The axe to topple Wrong, would dull the blade!
Who loves his land, against that land must fight
If she be tyrant;—traitor if he yield
While prostrate Liberty is bound and flayed.



MY COUNTRY.

(For The Public.)

My Country, a world cries out to thee:
"Lead on Columbia, lead!"
A world of new slain dead cries out:
"Be unafraid, be unafraid and lead!"

A world's in labor at thy feet,
That to the Nations a new world may be born—
Oh my Country lead!
Lead the way to Liberty.

Liberty needs not the sword or gun—
Liberty is the fulfilling spirit in the heart and
soul of man—
Liberty is Love set free.
The blood of Nations cry to thee:
"Columbia, lead—lead on to Liberty!"

My Country, dare not neglect the hour,
That now a God has given thee—
Lead on, lead up to Liberty!

Be not afraid, no earthly power
Can stop thee, if thy heart be true—
True to the highest cause of Liberty.

My Country, lead!
Lead to make the whole world free—
Free from the curses of the dead—
Free from the cry of the unfed—
Free from the tyranny of war—
A greater cause calls out to thee—
My Country lead, lead on to Liberty!

Prepare—within thyself—prepare—
To fight—the greatest fight the world has ever
known—
To win the greatest victory—
To lead the world to Liberty.

Awake and prepare, Columbia—
My Country, hear the cry and heed,
The time has come when you must lead—
Lead on, lead up to Liberty.

JULIAN P. SCOTT.



GENUINE NEUTRALITY.

II.

Conditions of War and Peace.

It is difficult in the present turmoil of events to find and focus attention upon what is significant in international relations. The noise of conflict, the deadly clash of the machinery of destruction, the organization of nations for military purposes, the provision for wounded, the hopes and fears regarding the outcome, all tend to obscure the vision and hide from view the ultimate causes and issues involved. Every one is, of course, aware that the several nations have made out specious and superficial accounts of why they have entered the struggle. For one, it was the menace of armed and powerful neighbors on her frontiers; for another, it was the protection of racial kinsmen; for others, the redemption of lost provinces; and for still another, the protection of small nations and the obligations of treaties. Added to these, as the war progresses, are the natural expressions of bitterness, the resentment aroused by methods unusual to warfare, the vague unreasoning hatred that follows the sacrifice of material and loss of life. There is great need of cool analysis, and to remember the dictum of Clausewitz that "war is a continuation of policy"; or, at any rate, that war is a result of policy and will recur, if the circumstances that produce it are maintained.

It is useful to hold firmly in mind certain historical commonplaces now lost to view. The development of nationalism, which is the mark of all modern history and especially of the nineteenth century, came to its final phase two decades ago. Each nation felt that its mission was to develop its individuality, to exploit in fullest degree its human and material capacities, to attain greatness by perfection of organization and the encouragement of its distinctive culture. The national sentiment was undoubtedly useful as a stimulus to progress, even through the competition with other nations which it involved. At the end of the last century the national idea seems to have played its part, but instead of a diminution of influence it proceeded to unequaled concentration and intensity. The consequence was, as every one knows, the supervention of imperialistic ideals; the nations of continental Europe began to dream of world empire, either singly or by combination. The seeds bequeathed by history found a fruitful soil, and an Alexandrine extension of culture and a *pax Romana* seemed the natural products of triumphant efficiency, animated and unified by the sentiments of national prestige and glory.

It was naturally in the department of commerce that the determining factors were found. Empire is not worth while unless it provides material resources. Desirable territory possesses economic value. The theory of empire worked out by Great Britain and become a part of her traditional policy, was that political control had little object in itself and was of importance in proportion as it kept trade open and investment and colonization secure. The great charter companies in the East and in Africa which passed into political control, illustrate the fact that the flag followed trade. Wise administration and equal commercial opportunity made the British Empire a thing of distinction in the history of the world and excited little or no envy on the part of other nations. The same kind of semi-peaceful penetration characterized the Russian advance across the steppes of Asia. Her peculiar mode of agriculture required more and more territory for her increasing population.

By the end of the century matters had changed. New elements of policy began to shape the imperialistic idea, and it is upon these that attention must be fixed if the whole sordid story leading to the present struggle is to be understood, and if conditions of permanent peace are to be devised. In the first place, the method of peaceful penetration followed by political control for police purposes was replaced by the policy of pre-emption. The last of the world's available territory began to come in sight. The desire of room for the present gave way to the desire of room for the future. The Chinese Empire, greatest of all prizes, gave shape to the new tendency already forming in the greedy western nations. With Russia in Manchuria, France in Indo-China, Britain in the Yang-tse Valley, Germany seizing a foothold at Kiau-Chow and already secure of influence in Asia Minor, the history of the world entered upon a new phase.

The Russian advance, which had successively menaced Constantinople and Afghanistan, received its check in Manchuria with the result that attention was withdrawn from the Orient and fixed upon southeastern Europe. German imperial policy became less desirous of overseas dominion, and began to dream of a Pan-German Empire, facing eastward. England bought off French intrigue in Egypt and the Soudan by assuring France a free hand in Morocco. Persia was the object of a shameful bargain between Russian rapacity and British desire to secure herself on the Gulf. Even the colonies of the weaker nations were to have no immunity from this appropriating tendency. Had events continued, Holland would probably have been compelled to retire from the East and Portugal from Africa. These familiar matters are mentioned merely to show how far nationalism had gone in its new imperial phase.

It had merged into an obsession for the acquisition of territory.

But other forces were at work and the second great determinant of the situation emerged. This was the policy of exclusive trade. The success of modern commerce has undoubtedly been due to its cosmopolitan character, and it has flourished best and brought greatest prosperity where its operations were least hampered by administrative restrictions. It is to the credit of England that the policy of the open door and approximately free trade has been so long successfully maintained. But the essential international character of commerce was not proof against nationalism gone insane. France and Russia have always been exponents of the closed door, and have been heavily protectionist, not only in their home countries but in the colonies that came under their administration. It is interesting to remember at this time that when the partition of China was under consideration fifteen years ago, France and Russia stood together for exclusion, while the German policy was identical with that of Britain and the United States. French exclusiveness has undoubtedly been the reason why her colonies have been unprosperous and unprofitable, while Russian protection has kept her industrial life on a low, antiquated plane. It soon became evident that the Germans desired to make their commerce a national institution furthered by the State in order to enhance its power. Subsidies for shipping, renewed efforts to hold the allegiance of emigrated Germans, endeavors to maintain an exclusively German personnel in industrial colonies, all show that the traditional freedom of commerce was passing away, so far as concerned the continental nations. These developments were not without effect upon Britain, the home of free trade and the upholder of equal commercial opportunity. It began to seem as if the trade of the British Dominions was to slip from Britain into the grasp of protectionist continental nations; and while a mingling of politics with economics has long been distasteful, the situation seemed to be driving the British Empire into a closed commercial ring. The first step came in 1898, when the treaties with Belgium and the German Zollverein which guaranteed to these nations equal rights with the mother country throughout the British Dominions, were rescinded, and Canada established a preferential tariff in favor of the mother country and other British Dominions. Mr. Chamberlain brought out this general plan of tariff reform, and British political history has up to the present time centered about that question. These are, then, the two outstanding features of imperialism: the grabbing of territory for exploitation and the exclusion of other nations from trade facilities and opportunities. The war has been the consequence.

If this country is to play the part of mediator between the warring nations of Europe and endeavor to arrange the conditions of a lasting peace, it is of extreme importance to ascertain and deal with the factors that have real significance. Among the nations involved the only attitude at present discernible is the desire to follow the war to the point of extermination. On this side there is much perfervid sentimentalism regarding peace, much devout aspiration to achieve a United States of Europe, and unlimited waste of breath about arbitration and Hague tribunals. Much, of course, will depend upon circumstances. It may be that the over-concentrated nationalism of the last few years will wear itself out in the struggle and henceforth decline. It may be that nationalism will maintain itself intensified and embittered by the war. But whether the end comes through change of sentiment or force of circumstance, there can be little doubt that the conditions of lasting peace must be antidotes to the causes of conflict.

In the first place, the as yet unexploited portions of the earth's surface must be protected from further aggression. As Africa is now outside of the scope of consideration, these valuable territories are found in countries far removed from the stage of savagery. China, Asia Minor and the American continents are quite able to maintain themselves politically if free from outside interference. Weakness is, of course, a perpetual invitation to nations that are strong and ruthless; and the moral sanction for occupation has so far had only to plead superiority. It is, therefore, to the interest of all concerned that the weaker countries should attain as speedily as possible to their own stable, honest administration. It is of even greater importance that these countries should take steps to remove from the category of exploitation for excessive profits their valuable natural resources. No country should desire more than the healthy employment of capital, and commercial swashbuckling should be brought to an end. One method of obtaining this result is the judicious use of taxation. The British budget of 1909-10 opened the eyes of the world to the possibility of nationalizing the values of land and natural resources. A thoroughgoing and justly executed plan of taxation would, for example, free Mexico from most of her internal problems and the danger of outside aggression. Mexican oil belongs, after all, to the Mexican people in the first instance, and its value to the rest of the world should be no more than an economic value which will repay adequately the cost of production and transport. The nation will be happy and prosperous when it takes possession of its own monopolies. In like manner the agrarian problem could be solved at a stroke. Mexico is mentioned because it was an outstanding example of the consequences of imperialistic tendency potent of internal dissension and even of conflict between

great powers. When the President announced his policy to be that of freeing Latin-America from the crushing mortgage it has given to foreign interests, he spoke with the profound insight of an international statesman. The retort heard in Europe that America desired to clear out its rivals was cheap and easy, but it must not be forgotten that Americans as well have the taint of imperialistic enterprise.

Associated with this problem of protecting, in the interests of each country, its natural resources, comes that of railway concessions. Commercial imperialism proceeds by a simple formula. Some weaker nation is persuaded or compelled to grant to a foreign power the right of constructing and operating a railway line which is in touch with natural resources or great centers of population. The privileges incident to this concession are gradually extended and solidified until a region is made ripe for the usurpation of political power. If, at the conclusion of war, there is real desire to remove a potent cause of antagonism, the various nations will see to it, by treaty or otherwise, that railways are permanently dissociated from possible political purposes and the weaker nations will be facilitated in exercising the kind of control that will make their use purely commercial. It may be also that the growing democratic sense of European peoples will demand the cessation of that secret diplomacy which has made so easy the intrigues that look toward dominant influence in inferior countries.

Finally, it must be clear to all that, if trade could be dissociated from political intentions, the greatest cause of conflict would be removed. Commerce is, in its essence, international and cosmopolitan. It is further clear that commerce is healthy just in proportion as it has free play and is based upon real values instead of those created by artificial regulation or limitation of opportunity. It is a curious thing that the great nations of the world should devote their energies to plans for making some group of people pay more for commodities than they are worth, or sell its own for less than their real value. The abolition of protection would mean the abolition of war.

It is greatly to be hoped that Great Britain, probably destined to be the final arbiter in this conflict, will understand afresh the significance of her traditional mission in the world. The lately evolved methods of imperialistic enterprise which have landed her along with her neighbors in this conflict, can hardly commend themselves, when fully understood, to her sane and solid common sense. Free trade and the open door are known by long experience to be the creators of sound commerce and to confer prosperity and preserve good will in every part of the world that comes within their scope.

J. W. SLAUGHTER.

BOOKS

THE NEW PAN-AMERICANISM.

Modernizing the Monroe Doctrine. By Charles H. Sherrill; published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.25, net.

Returning to one of the Southern States from Patagonia, the writer was asked by a State Senator: "How will the vote go down there? Will it carry for McKinley or for Bryan?" The question revealed an ignorance so abysmal as to seem incredible. But the State Senator was not alone in his ignorance of the Latin American countries, and in this highly interesting work Mr. Sherrill relates incidents that show a like ignorance is widespread. As the late Minister to the Argentine, the author is entitled to respectful attention. As a student who takes a large question, and, stripping it of its accessories, displays the skeleton framework and shows that a vision of honesty and fair dealing will enable us to avoid all friction with our southern neighbors, he is almost unique. He would have it understood that the United States is not to follow a policy of expansion and aggrandizement at the expense of others, that we are not to conceive it as our duty to police Latin America, that with diligence we are to acquaint ourselves with the true facts concerning the intelligent status of our neighbors, and we will be on the road to a triumph in the way of a Pan-American triangle for Peace. And this triangle shall have as its base Pan-American joint mediation to prevent wars in this hemisphere; as its easterly side a completed Monroe doctrine to prevent friction with Europe, and as its westerly side a practicing across the Pacific what the Monroe doctrine preaches.

It is a masterly, a notable work, and an earnest plea for understanding and justice, and the Chambers of Commerce throughout the country which are working for closer relations with South America would do well to recommend the reading of the book to all intelligent manufacturers who would push their trade south.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

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individual that which the individual creates"; and the first article of its constitution, "the earth, including all natural resources, is the heritage of all people and shall be held sacred as a gift of the Creator to those living upon it."

The Philosophy of Business is not a book for the conventional business booster, who shouts to hide a vacuity where a brain should be, but a sane, optimistic, idealistic treatise on the philosophy underlying success. His chapter on the secret of success has some particularly good things in it; for instance, his definition of the secret itself ("the presence of a passion for service, guided by natural laws"), but some astute readers will question the wisdom of his mention of Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller and others in a way that would indicate that he considers them successful in the larger sense. Have their lives been dominated by a passion for rendering service, guided by natural laws? STANLEY BOWMAR.

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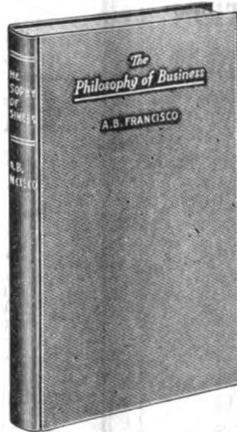
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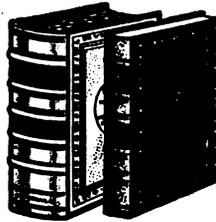
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Address

*As a record of work, it is better to use a pledge of, say, five dollars worth of subscriptions than so many subscriptions. Ten or fifteen subscriptions, early in the campaign, to run from July 28 to Nov. 17, will be far more valuable than the same number later on in the campaign, when the subscription term will be short.