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EDITORIAL

True Social Justice.

A progressive party that would advocate real progress must get away from the idea that it is a government's first duty to "do something FOR the people." Government has a higher duty than that. It is to cease doing something TO the people. The government that upholds such wrongs as land monopoly and oppressive tax systems cannot atone therefor by enactment of palliative legislation. Its first duty is to cease doing wrong. And that would be the underlying principle of a true social justice platform.

S. D.



Why the Progressive Party Failed.

Just why George W. Perkins was able to betray the Progressive party, and why Colonel Roosevelt helped in this reactionary course was explained with a frankness that was almost brutal by William Allen White in the Chicago Herald of June 11. Said Mr. White:

Mr. Perkins had paid his good money for the party and in him rested the title of the party. It was natural that Colonel Roosevelt should recognize that title. And when Mr. Perkins spoke in the party councils it was only natural that his judgment should prevail.

There were two elements in the convention—the genuine progressives and the Perkins reactionaries. The genuine progressives, for some unexplainable reason, imagined Roosevelt to be one of them, a misconception which the Colonel deliberately encouraged. Their recent bitter experience should teach them never again to put faith in one who puts such questions as those relating to big armaments before matters relating to social justice. There will be other opportunities for progressivism and the lesson just taught will prove valuable.

S. D.



What of Progressivism?

With the passing of the Progressive party—and the indications seem to be conclusive that its force as a vital political organization is spent—the

question arises, what course will its members take? The answer depends upon the political philosophy of the individual members. Such as have the "third party" habit may attempt to continue the form of the organization, but the party's lack of substance will place it in the rank of minor parties along with the Prohibitionists. But it is the course of those who joined it on principle and in protest against the conservatism of the Republican and Democratic parties that is of interest.



The Progressive party had its being in the active protest of the democratic Republicans who could no longer tolerate standpatism in their party. It was a worthy impulse. It was the spirit that leads one to break the ties of friendship, kindred and association for the sake of principle. Had the action occurred in the natural order there is little doubt that it would have led to success, either in 1912 or in 1916. Two things, however, prevented such a result. One was the triumph of the radical wing of the Democratic party, which placed in the field a man who held the support of the Democrats who but for this naturally would have joined the Progressives; and the other was its submersion in the personality of Mr. Roosevelt.



Theodore Roosevelt has many admirable qualities, but democracy is not one of them. His mind is essentially autocratic; he is at best a benevolent despot. He is one of those who wish to "do the people good," instead of letting the people do themselves good. His political career is marked by many good acts, but all of them done in a wrong way. He was, in short, an opportunist of colossal egotism. His daring brought ardent admirers to his side, but his self-conceit repelled more. He was not, as some have supposed, broad-minded, but scatter-minded; he thought intently upon all the phases of human activity, but he was unable to co-ordinate them and so mark out a consistent course of action. He was primitive in his enthusiasm, childish in his vanity. After his New York defeat in 1910 he sulked for days and refused to make any comment. Now that he has failed to obtain the Republican nomination, he again sulks, refuses to express an opinion and says he is out of politics. A party so completely wrapped up in the fortunes of such a man was from the beginning doomed to failure.



But there were among the members of this short-lived party many worthy men and women. Men of the type of Raymond Robins, and women of the type of Jane Addams, are democrats who spell

their democracy with a small "d." It is of these that the country is now thinking. It is inconceivable that such ardent champions of liberty should be content to waste their energy in maintaining a hopeless party organization. Will they throw their weight on the side of Hughes, or on the side of Wilson? It would seem as though there could be but one answer, and that those who fearlessly joined the new party for the sake of principle would as quickly align themselves anew with the forces that, however haltingly, are nevertheless making for democratic progress. S. C.



The Lost Leader.

The disagreeable suspicion must have prevailed among some progressive members of the Progressive party that Roosevelt has little knowledge of or sympathy with true progressive principles. Probably they tried hard to banish this feeling and hoped against hope for an expression from him that would show the suspicion to be unjust. Instead, his actions have continually made clearer willingness to sacrifice progressivism to militarism. He made this unmistakable in suggesting union with the Republican party on so extreme a reactionary as Henry Cabot Lodge. Such a suggestion could come from no man with an elementary knowledge of what progress requires or whose devotion to progressive principles was sincere. Then when the convention, to please him, had submitted to tyrannical dictation from Perkins, and had even adopted a platform putting social justice in the background, he practically spurned the nomination.



This final act shows what those, not blinded by personal devotion, had clearly seen before. He was determined at any cost to get back into the regular ranks. Lacking the moral courage to say so plainly at the start, he hoped to lead his devoted followers by degrees into the tory camp. Probably he looked for some apparent concession from the regular Republicans that would make his return seem less like a surrender. But when this failed to come his inclination to accept peace at any price prevailed. The price in this case is deliberate abandonment of those who trusted him. He is offering it. It is peace with humiliation and dishonor, but he prefers it to none at all. His undeceived former followers must be disappointed and chagrined. But in time this feeling will be succeeded by one of relief on having finally got rid of so unworthy a leader.

S. D.

America First.

Drawing a red herring across the trail, or raising the cry of "Stop thief," has long been recognized by the guilty as a means of effecting an escape. A third method has been added to these two, "America first." The plea of America first has its legitimate place, just as has one's family first; but when the natural sentiment that springs from immediate ties and responsibilities is made to include matters that are foreign to the relation, it is wrong. To discharge one's duty is praiseworthy; but to center the attention upon a part of one's duty, to the exclusion of what is vastly more important is not only not commendable, but blameworthy.



The shibboleth, America first, has two positive purposes. It is used to specify such foreign born, or children of foreign born, in the country as set allegiance to another country above their allegiance to this. But how many of such are there? If a few self-seeking leaders be eliminated, and a few with financial or military ties, there would be left only a handful of eccentric persons whose inordinate egotism prompts them to oppose the prevailing opinion. It may be questioned if this country, notwithstanding its enormous immigrant population, has as many lukewarm citizens as any country in Europe. Whatever their number, it is too insignificant to receive attention in the presence of other issues.



But America first has another positive meaning; and this is its real excuse for being. It is the catch phrase with which the beneficiaries of Privilege are trying to divert public attention from a superior to an inferior question. The economic question, which has been so long before the people, is rising to public consciousness. The distribution of wealth is coming within the comprehension of more and more people; and unless something is done to divert their attention they will soon insist upon its being put to vote. America first, serves this purpose of distracting public attention. While there are many sincere and earnest citizens echoing the cry, it was raised originally by and for the beneficiaries of Privilege.



If the patriotic sentiment of the country can be aroused to the point of accepting universal military service and a great armament, the attention of the voters will be so absorbed by questions of armament that they will forget about their right to franchise values, about the injustice of in-

direct taxes, about shifting taxes from labor values to land values, and about various other vital questions that are awaiting settlement. And when in later years these questions again arise the military establishment that has been created in response to the preparedness and America first agitation can be used in a foreign war, which will renew the life of Privilege. It is not charged that all those who are shouting Preparedness and America first have this end in view; far from it. But that such will be the inevitable outcome in this country is as certain as was the outcome in European countries. The man who cries America first, thinking thereby that his country is to enjoy some privilege above other countries, is inviting his own enslavement; but the man who cries Justice first will obtain liberty for himself as well as for all his fellows.

S. C.



False Prophets.

The Republican tariff plank says that "intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war." Further on it says "imports have enormously increased," and still further on it declares that the Underwood law, "but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry." Only a protectionist platform framer can reconcile all of these statements. But, aside from this, the fact appears that the Republican national platform may be quoted as authority for the statement that enormous increase of imports, even though intercourse with foreign nations has been cut off, has not "paralyzed all forms of American industry." Protectionist predictions having admittedly failed in regard to the effect of increased importations, one may be pardoned for harboring doubts as to the correctness of their predictions on other matters.

S. D.



'A Platform Pleasantry.

The Republican platform, in extolling the virtues of protection and condemning the Democratic tariff, calls attention to the fact that under its operation "imports have enormously increased, in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war." This shows the survival of the economic superstition that exports mean a gain to the country and imports a loss. Foreign trade, according to this notion, is profitable only when our goods are paid for in gold. But where would the gold come from to pay for our exports, which are now running over four hundred million dollars a month? That is more than all the gold

produced outside of the United States in a whole year. How can we export more without importing more? And how can we extend our foreign markets without increasing our exports?

S. C.



Reactionary Progressives.

The Republican declaration on the militarist issue is less reactionary than that of the Progressives. The Progressives have gone so far as to urge universal and compulsory military training, while the Republicans, though demanding a big military establishment, have not gone to the length of openly urging that form of slavery. But Roosevelt's endorsement of Hughes must put on the latter the duty of either denying that he favors compulsory service or admitting by his silence that he does.

S. D.



An Impressive Voluntary Demonstration.

In contrast with the preparedness parade filled by coercive methods was the suffrage parade of June 7. Though there was a chilling rain which would in most cases have caused postponement or abandonment of the demonstration, more than 5,000 women braved the storm to make clear their desire to participate in government. It would require enormous assurance on the part of any witness to this demonstration to say that women do not want the ballot. And apparently it impressed even the tory Republican gathering, since on the following day it adopted a suffrage plank. It should require no such demonstration under difficulties to get a stronger declaration from the Democratic convention, in spite of the bourbon element.

S. D.



The Suffrage Issue.

Great credit is due the Republican convention for its endorsement of the principle of equal suffrage. Though by no means what it ought to be, it nevertheless shows progress. It is not merely an academic declaration, but practically binds every Republican legislator on his honor to support the principle. Although pledge-breaking is not so rare a crime as it should be among American legislators, yet the number who shrink from such a proceeding is nevertheless quite large. The Democratic party will be discredited should it fail to keep at least an even pace with the Republicans on this democratic principle. It may be admitted in advance that the pledge can mean little to such Democrats as the 30 Congressmen who proved false on the Philippine issue. But

fortunately the great majority in both parties may be depended upon to keep faith.

S. D.



A Misfortune and an Opportunity.

A misfortune to the Democratic party of New Jersey is the illness of Senator Charles O'Connor Hennesey, which deprives it of a chance to nominate a true democrat for governor. Such a chance still remains to the Republican party in the candidacy of George L. Record. Will it be wise enough to grasp the opportunity?

S. D.



Sullivan's Candidacy.

Not to be taken seriously is the movement for the nomination of Roger Sullivan for Vice-President. If the nomination were actually made it would show that the delegates to the Democratic National convention desire President Wilson's defeat. No other reason could possibly induce any of them to try to force so unworthy a candidate upon the party.

S. D.



Walsh for the Supreme Court.

The resignation of Justice Hughes furnishes to President Wilson an opportunity to do the American people the great service of providing Justice Brandeis with a democratic colleague. The name of Frank P. Walsh has been suggested in many quarters, and the suggestion is a happy one. Walsh's appointment would not suit the predatory interests any better than did that of Brandeis, but such opposition is to his credit. It might run counter to narrow prejudices, but while these deserve pity they are not entitled to consideration. Mr. Walsh is said to lack "judicial temperament," but when one considers the record of William H. Taft, who is credited with that quality, it appears that the lack of it must be a recommendation. At any rate, Walsh's public service during his brief term as member of the Commission on Industrial Relations overtopped by far all the accomplishments of the most eminent possessor of a judicial temperament during a public career of 30 years. The movement in favor of this appointment deserves all the encouragement that can be given.

S. D.



A National Referendum.

Notwithstanding all the processions, speeches and other demonstrations in behalf of preparedness and militarism, the whole question is as much a matter of uncertainty as it was at the beginning of the agitation. The capitalistic interests, through their control of the metropolitan press

and their power over their employes, have made the greater noise; but apparently they have been unable to stir the isolated farmer and the independent citizen of the towns. If the question, put in definite shape, could be submitted to a vote of the people there is strong reason for believing it would be voted down. But whether it be accepted as the national policy, or rejected, why have not the people the right to express themselves in a commanding way?



The nation is about to decide whether it is to continue the American ideal of citizenship or adopt the European ideal; yet the whole matter is so bound up with the personality of politicians and their eagerness to get or retain office that it will not be decided upon its merits, but upon the fortunes of political parties. It is not unlikely that both parties will declare for preparedness, so that Congressmen will feel free to advocate or oppose any proposition that is brought up in Congress. Had there been a Federal referendum law operative at general elections, the question could have been formulated in Congress and passed upon by the individual voter, unrestrained by his choice of candidates. With such a law in operation, the silver question, the tariff, preparedness, or any of the questions that have served as political issues, could have been settled by a direct vote of the people, leaving Congressmen free to dispose of the lesser questions. Applied democracy requires an immediate introduction of a Federal referendum, and an extension of the principle of direct legislation as rapidly as possible.

S. C.



More Coercion.

Coercion of employes to march in preparedness parades is now done more openly than before. Thus the Cincinnati Commercial-Tribune of June 7 says in regard to the parade to be held in that city on June 24:

When the committee met at 1 o'clock Tuesday representatives from the Procter & Gamble Company announced that 1,000 men would parade. Lee Ault of the Ault & Wiborg Company sent word that each employe would receive in his envelope next Saturday announcement of the parade and a blank asking if he intends parading. The company will serve a luncheon to all the employes who join the delegation. . . .

Colonel Hake announced that he has asked the foremen of the Heekin Can Company to ascertain how many of the men wished to march and advise him. They will march with the Chamber of Commerce Division.

Letters will be sent out to officials of near-by towns and cities inviting organizations or concerns to participate. The letters will be sent broadcast to manu-

facturers and all organizations in the metropolitan Cincinnati district. . . . Many firms are planning to have their employes in line. Among these are the Western Union with forty men; the John J. Bruce Foundry Company, fifty men, and the Waterproof Paper and Board Company, forty men.

It appears from this that while some concerns will go through the form of asking employes if they want to march, others will dispense with the mockery of such a ceremony and are planning to have them in line without pretending to ascertain their wishes.



But more openly than in Cincinnati were the coercive methods employed in Dallas, Tex., on May 30, as the following letter shows:

Dallas, May 29, 1916.

To All Foremen:

Tomorrow afternoon, at 4:30, there is to be a patriotic demonstration, or "preparedness" parade, in which the people of Dallas are taking great interest, and it is the desire of the management of the Armstrong Packing Company that every man in their employ shall be in this parade.

Please impress upon them that it is very important that they be present, and that no excuse will be accepted, as we are going to allow every man full time for his day's work, and he will be checked against the payroll, and if not in line he will not be paid. We have given the Chamber of Commerce the exact number of men that will be in line, and we want every man to be there.

We, therefore, wish you to advise your men to all be present on Wood street, west of Harwood, promptly at 4:30 p. m., and that all be given a position in the parade, and be ready to march at 5 o'clock.

This parade will include both the black and white employes, and we have secured a band to head our section of the parade.

Each department will be lined up by itself, and it will, therefore, be up to each foreman to be on hand in order to take care of his men.

ARMSTRONG PACKING CO.,

By E. L. Flippen.

These very methods show that preparedness is directed against the wrong enemy. The really dangerous one is the economic condition which makes workers industrial slaves so that they can be coerced to participate in political demonstrations regardless of their wishes.

S. D.



Police Persecution.

The latest police outrage is the arrest in New York of Bolton Hall on a charge of distributing literature on birth control. The absurd nature of the charge is apparent on consideration of the fact that Mr. Hall is not interested in the birth control movement. He is very much interested, as are all true democrats, in the cause of free speech and has insisted that birth control advo-

ates be allowed to express their views in public. Only to narrow and bigoted minds does advocacy of free speech for exponents of any idea imply advocacy of that idea itself. But that happens to be the quality of mind possessed by the police and police magistrates engaged in the work of suppressing birth control agitation. To such minds it is natural to jump to the conclusion that prosecution on the charge preferred is justifiable. In addition there is the resentment felt by tyrannical officials against interference by public-spirited citizens with their efforts to suppress free speech. Bolton Hall's activity as a defender of this constitutional right has made him obnoxious to those who attack it. His arrest may well be attributed to this.

S. D.



The Passing of John R. McLean.

When early in the '80s the control of the Cincinnati Enquirer came into the hands of John R. McLean it brought a great opportunity. It gave him the chance to induce the Democratic party of Cincinnati and of Ohio to take a democratic position in opposition to the tendency of its Republican rival to serve predatory interests. The opportunity was rejected. The Enquirer's influence was used instead to put the Ohio Democratic party even more than the Republican under plutocratic control. During the '80s and '90s he dominated the party, and during this period the party's record was most disgraceful. It was not until Tom L. Johnson began his nine years' war that McLean's political rule was broken, and the party at last was allowed a chance to take a more creditable position. Forced to give up an unworthy ambition to swell the ranks of Tories in the United States Senate, McLean retired to live as a private citizen in Washington, but continued to express dissatisfaction with and opposition to all betterment and progress through his organs, the Enquirer and the Washington Post. His retirement from active participation in politics was the only public service he was known to perform.



He died on June 8 at his Washington home, leaving a hundred millions, the proceeds of privilege, which bestowed upon him in a legal manner wealth produced by others. That he took advantage of bad laws to accumulate wealth is not to his discredit. Where he failed was in allowing his personal profit from legalized injustice to blind him to his duty as a citizen to work for abolition of such wrongs. Had he wished, he might have led the way to better things, as did another Ohio millionaire, Tom L. Johnson. Johnson sacrificed

his wealth and health in the popular cause and died a poor man, while McLean left millions. Yet in contrasting the reverence in which Johnson's memory is held with the small concern felt for McLean who can fail to recall the Biblical verse:

What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

S. D.



Still Fighting the Public Schools.

Having failed in one attack on the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the enemies of the public schools in the local Board of Education have started another one. It is in the form of a resolution which practically abolishes the merit system in reference to teachers. Nothing could show more clearly the length to which selfish financial interests will go to get rid of the Federation, and nothing more should be needed to show the people of Chicago that the Federation is performing a useful service for them in blocking predatory plans of those who wish to profit at the expense of the public schools.

S. D.



Political Changes in China.

The death of Yuan-Shih-Kai, President of China, recalls momentarily to that mysterious country the attention that has been held by the European war. It is unfortunate for the rest of the world that means had not been at hand to chronicle the rapid changes that have taken place in eastern Asia; for it is not unlikely that the political upheaval that changed the most populous country and oldest empire from a monarchy to a republic, then to a monarchy, and back to a republic, in the space of four years, is a manifestation of human development worthy of the closest study. But reports from the scene of action have been so brief and fragmentary, and the understanding of the onlookers is so doubtful, that we have been deprived of the prime essentials for forming accurate opinions.



It is now apparent that the mystery that has surrounded the East in the minds of westerners lay almost entirely in mistaking forms for substance. Prior to Perry's visit to Japan in 1852, and indeed down to the China-Japanese war of 1894-5, China was looked upon as a huge nation of great but unknown physical power. Western nations had acquiesced in the Chinese estimate of themselves, and their representatives kowtowed to the Son of Heaven; but before the invasion of a small army of Japanese the whole political structure collapsed like a house of cards. From that day the great empire has been the plaything of

nations. But it is not unlikely that they are as much mistaken in their estimate of China's weakness as they were deceived in her strength.



A striking feature of the recent political changes is the fact that from the beginning to the end of the revolution merely a handful of soldiers were engaged. Ten or twenty thousand men constituted a large army, and at no time were there enough engaged to constitute a single division of a German army. And this in a country of four hundred million. This seems to indicate that the mass of the people were not sufficiently interested in the revolution to take part. Instead of a huge empire, in which the will of the nation was subject to an autocrat, it was a federation of small units, bound to a central organization by very loose ties. The people were imbued with a philosophy that exalted the individual and minimized the state. They might have continued under their local customs and opera bouffe central government indefinitely had it not been for the invasion of western commercialism.



The superior business methods of the western world compelled a study of its institutions; and when the young men sent abroad to be educated returned, trouble began. The new wine put in old bottles led to discontent, unrest, and, finally, to an explosion. But this unrest and discontent apparently has extended to only a very small fraction of the population; and it is this relatively small number of Chinese who have overthrown a monarchy and set up a republic. The number was so small, indeed, that a man of daring nature like Yuan Shih-Kai was tempted to reinstate the monarchy under his own direction. But Yuan, clever as he was, failed to grasp the fact that the heaven working in China came from republics, and from monarchies republican in all but name. What the young men sent abroad to be educated found was the universal growth of democracy; and this spirit of democracy has been injected into the veins of the great, sleeping giant of the East.



There may be still other changes in the form of China's government before the new order is finally established, but there is every indication that the development of the country will be along democratic lines. As modern commercial methods are extended, and the introduction of railroads and machinery lead to closer co-operation, there is likely to appear a national spirit that heretofore has been lacking. Japan, which was the

first to feel the quickening effect of western democracy and commercialism, and which, owing to its size and homogeneity, has made a quicker response, may impose her will upon sleeping China now; but a wise regard for the future will prompt a course that will develop friendship, 'gainst the time when China is as much more powerful than Japan as her population exceeds that of the island empire.

s. c.



HUGHES, WILSON AND THE RADICALS.

The Republicans have nominated their strongest man. Hughes is able, dignified, earnest and clean. He has a good record, along certain narrow lines to be sure, but a good record. He stands for moderate reform and for honest and efficient administration. He has served the people faithfully, and the professional politicians do not like him. The spoilsmen who know him fear and detest him, but, of course, his success would mean, to a large extent, *their* success, for, after all, under our system, thousands of fat offices change hands after a national election that results in the defeat of the party in power. There will be much enthusiasm for the offices even where there is little enthusiasm for the anti-spoils candidate.

Mr. Wilson, of course, is the only possible Democratic candidate. He is a strong candidate, and it will not be easy to beat him, whether or not the resuscitated Progressive party continues to go, feebly, through motions that are ordinarily associated with vitality, or, losing the will to struggle on pathetically, gives up the ghost and passes ignobly into history. Wilson is strong, however, not so much by reason of his virtues and merits, substantial as these still are, as by reason of his compromises and weaknesses, as well as by reason of certain external circumstances and facts that will favor him with the average voter. The radicals have had occasion to criticize Wilson, to deplore his concessions and oscillations, and to point out his inconsistencies. His preparedness campaign, his adoption, with a totally inadequate explanation, of the tariff commission scheme, and at least one of his Mexican adventures, have certainly been open to attack from the radical, independent or democratic and progressive (with small p's, mark) point of view. But in politics it is necessary to be practical in one's choice, and it seems that the great majority of the level-headed, non-socialist radicals will work and vote for Wilson.

Why?

Well, what are the leading issues of this campaign? The Republicans say Preparedness and

Protection. They have not the courage to add, Intervention and War in Mexico, but, if their platform and other utterances mean anything, this is their meaning with reference to Mexico.

Now, Wilson's preparedness program is the minimum of militarism, as Roosevelt's is the maximum. The Republican and Progressive platforms are jingo and militaristic—the Progressive being the worse of the two—such is the irony of fate!—and Hughes has indorsed the Republican platform. He has already assailed Wilson's Mexican policy, not on the ground that it is too aggressive, but on the ground that it is not aggressive enough. Hughes appears to imply that Wilson blundered when he declined to recognize Huerta, the beneficiary and perhaps ally of assassins, and the head of a reactionary clique, and he also appears to imply that since the elimination of Huerta Wilson has not "sufficiently" protected American interests in Mexico. It hardly needs saying that on this issue intelligent and consistent radicals and pacifists are with Wilson. In fact, such radicals are already disappointed in Hughes and think he has made a very poor beginning.

As to Protection, it is predatory privilege pure and simple, and if Hughes swallows the Republican-Progressive buncombe on protection, he at once forfeits all claim to the respect and support of radicals, so far as *this* issue is concerned.

What other issue is there? "Americanism," forsooth! Has Roosevelt, has Hughes, the monopoly of "straight" Americanism? What is Americanism if it be not loyalty to one's own convictions and ideals? Is a pacifist or an anti-annexationist anti-American? Must one become a jingo and a militarist to have the right to claim Americanism? But it is hardly necessary to elaborate these obvious points in the pages of *The Public*. The Republican-Roosevelt talk about Americanism is sheer, cheap cant and humbug if it is not evidence of ignorance, stupidity and the bigotry and blindness of intolerance.

To return to Hughes, we repeat he has made a very bad beginning. His first statement may be honest, but it is not reasonable or judicial. It is too offensive in tone; it is sinister in its allusions to Mexico—that is, if it points to an alternative policy of aggression and invasion; it is reactionary on industrial and economic questions, and it is wholly unfair and gratuitous in its insinuation that Wilson's foreign policies, or some of them at least, were prompted by partisan, selfish and unpatriotic motives.

Hughes cannot afford to pursue such lines of attack as these if he wishes to retain the respect of any true progressive. He may "peter out" sadly. He will have to be frank and explicit on Mexico,

on China, on dollar diplomacy, on the submarine issue, on the meaning of neutrality, etc. He will have to tell us what he would have done on these several issues if he had had power and responsibility, and if he had had to act not for a class, group or section, but for the whole American nation, a nation that is *not* like-minded, that has freedom of speech and publication, and that cannot be driven or bulldozed by lawless officials enjoying and abusing brief authority.

Many of us have no enthusiasm for Wilson. He has made serious mistakes and shown weakness or opportunism where strength and greater courage had been expected of him. But, as things stand now, and with the Hughes and Republican statements before us, it is not easy to see how independent radicals and anti-militarists can hesitate for a moment. They must support Wilson.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SINGLETAX AND PALLIATIVE TAXES

Ballou, Wash., May 13.

In the amiable discussion between Mr. Garrison, Mr. Marsh and Mr. Lustgarten, relative to the duty of Singletaxers toward income tax plans and kindred alleged measures of relief and reform, I believe that Singletaxers generally would feel that the true course was indicated, and that with fine literary force and sound philosophy, by Mr. Garrison, and impressively emphasized by Mr. Lustgarten.

Certain tact and discretion, and vast tolerance should be exercised in advocating genuine Singletax, but the emphasis should be upon the exercise and the constant search for opportunities for it. No improvement has been made in the definition of a Singletaxer upon Croasdale's famous, "A Singletaxer is one who does something for the Singletax." Doing things for temporizations or palliatives which diverge from the Singletax or perhaps run contrary to it, is not doing "something for the Singletax." It is at least a wasteful scattering of force, involving complications and inconsistencies, extrication from which is not altogether possible.

This, of course, is applicable to Singletaxers, as such. An individual of very positive Singletax convictions, may, as a citizen, quite consistently aid in any real, forward movement, whatever its limitations. Or a Singletaxer member of a legislative body may with sound reason give nominal support for instance to an income tax measure in preference to an import tax measure. A Singletaxer, as a citizen, may well enough take part in any proper movement for immediate or local aid to the oppressed. His sympathies would, indeed, naturally impel him to do so. But even in this, the citizen who is a Singletaxer, would find his chief usefulness in utilizing the opportunity to declare and define, for those who will heed, the fundamental economic potency, the transcendental confidence, and the religious beauty of the Singletax philosophy. But, a

Singletaxer, as such, does not aid in advancing his cause by rushing heedlessly to join the forces behind new dubious half-way movements. Those who are opposed to real social and economic justice will continue to conjure hindering temporizations forever.

The subtle transmutation by which the evil of approval for instance of an income tax, which is neither ethical nor economic, is to be resolved into good for the cause of the just and efficacious Singletax unlimited, no one has revealed. The consummation of the ideal may not be hastened by dallying along the road. Expediency is necessarily so doubtful a quantity and of such dubious quality, and conceptions of it are of such wide divergence, that it becomes a dangerous element. It has little or no place in the equipment of the Singletaxer as such.

It may be quite true, as Mr. Marsh asserts, that the term, "Singletax," arouses antagonism. But, so will any other term that stands for the Singletax philosophy. It is not the term but the germ that is antagonized.

Mr. Marsh's unfortunate extreme numerical limitation of the Singletax forces lacks, without design of course, the essential quality of accuracy. It is unfortunate in that it puts into the hands of those who wish that it was correct, and would like it to appear to be true, a weapon from an authoritative source. But it is not correct. The rapid and positive extension of the Singletax idea throughout the west during the past decade has been little less than phenomenal. It lacks the advertisement that politicians would give to a less benign fact, but fact it remains none-the-less. Not all who are favorably disposed toward the Singletax are as yet "out and out" or unlimited Singletaxers, but the first step away from error precedent and thought habit is the longest and the most difficult to induce. The advance of the Singletax idea in the central and western states is well indicated by the fact that the largest, ablest, and leading farm journals, with circulations running into the millions, are now candid and continuous advocates of the Singletax. Whatever the convictions of the individual editor, this could not be the editorial policy if the millions of farmer readers did not include a very considerable proportion who are Singletaxers or who are willing to give the philosophy tolerant study. The advance of the Singletax idea has recently been handsomely recognized by vast private "conservation" interests in the west which have felt called upon to publish and distribute at great expense a booklet, generous in physical proportions if not in thought, that denounces, albeit in a manner truly ludicrous, the Singletax doctrine. Mr. Marsh's evidence to support his contention as to the extremely limited number of Singletaxers, that they do not more liberally finance the Singletax movement, was not happily chosen. The very few wealthy Singletaxers have already done more than might consistently be expected of them. The rank and file of Singletaxers are poor people who have only widow's mites to contribute. Many give time, or the products of their pen, or service in some form which has monetary value elsewhere. There are no vast private interests which are going to profit by the application of the Singletax and which would therefore contribute to the cause, and in almost every section of the country the extension of the

Singletax idea and growth of the Singletax forces, while not what they should be, have come to possess local interest and make local demands which may and doubtless do as yet militate against contributions to a national movement.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

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, June 13, 1916.

The Republican Convention.

The Republican National Convention met at the Coliseum in Chicago on June 7. Nominations for President and Vice President were made on June 10. Charles E. Hughes of New York, Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was selected as the presidential candidate, and former Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana was renominated for his old position. Justice Hughes immediately resigned his judicial position and notified the convention of his acceptance.



The platform adopted declares for protection of American citizens "at home and abroad, by land and sea," and charged the Democratic administration with failure to do this. Intervention in Mexico is promised in the following words:

We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico, who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country, and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend and its duty to our citizens in Mexico in permitting the continuance of such condition, first, by failure to act promptly and firmly, and, second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico,

wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

The Philippine plank condemns the proposed Clarke amendment for Philippine independence and lauds the 30 Democratic Congressmen who helped to defeat it. The army and navy plank is as follows:

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defense, ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective regular army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

The tariff plank demands protection which "should be reasonable in amount, but sufficient to protect adequately American industry and American labor, and be so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts." In demanding repeal of the Underwood law it states:

Under its administration imports have enormously increased, in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage-earner of that protection which entitled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

A government merchant marine is opposed and subsidized, though the word is not used.



The suffrage plank is as follows:

The Republican party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one

hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and, above all things, to keep the faith.



In his telegram of acceptance Justice Hughes denounced the Administration's Mexican policy as "weak and vacillating," declared in regard to Europe that we should "maintain firmly our rights under international law," advocated preparedness but denied harboring a "policy of aggression," or "lust for territory"; and made emphatic statements in favor of protective tariff and civil service reform.



The Progressive Convention.

The Progressive National Convention met at the Auditorium in Chicago on June 7. Raymond Robins was made temporary chairman and later permanent chairman. The platform adopted on June 8 was chiefly devoted to preparedness. It asked "a navy restored to at least second rank in battle efficiency" and "a regular army of 250,000 men, fully armed and trained." Universal compulsory military training is demanded as follows:

In our democracy every male citizen is charged with the duty of defending his country. This duty is not new. It has existed from the foundation of the government. Under modern conditions it cannot be performed without military training; service without training means slaughter and disaster. As the nation has always recognized and exercised the right to enforce compulsory military service in time of war, so should there be universal military training for that service during times of peace.

We believe in preparedness for defense, but never for aggression. We must not sacrifice the lives of men for the glory or gain of military conquest. And we believe that the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of the government in times of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage, either by federal or state action.

After declaring that "arms alone cannot maintain a nation," the platform declares:

A nation to survive must stand for the principles of social and industrial justice. We have no right to expect continued loyalty from an oppressed class. We must remove the artificial causes of the high cost of living, prevent the exploitation of men, women and children in industry by the extension of the workman's compensation law to the full limit permitted under the Constitution, and, by a thoroughgoing child labor law, protect the wage earner; and by a properly regulated system of rural credits encourage the farmer and give to the landless man opportunity to acquire land.

A country must be worth living in to be worth fighting for.

To make possible social justice, to maintain our position in peace and war, we must insure business and industrial prosperity. This can be done:

By regulation of industry aimed at promoting its

growth and prosperity and a just distribution of its return and a healthy expansion of foreign trade.

By a conservation and development of our national resources for the good of all.

By the re-establishment of our merchant marine.
By the development of a system of interstate national highways.

By making a new standard of governmental efficiency through a complete civil service system, a national budget and the destruction of "pork barrel" legislation.

By the creation of a permanent, expert tariff commission, with a view of intelligently and scientifically adjusting the tariff, so as to build up, rather than destroy American industry.



After adoption of the platform the radical members of the convention wished to proceed with nominations. This was blocked by George W. Perkins, chairman of the Executive Committee, who had put through a resolution for appointment of a conference committee to meet with a like committee from the Republican convention. These committees held three meetings, on the 8th, 9th and 10th, but without accomplishing anything. The Progressive committee insisted that the Republicans accept Roosevelt as a candidate. No counter proposition was seriously made by the Republicans. While these negotiations were in progress the Republican convention continued with its work and took two ballots for President on June 9. After the first and second fruitless meetings of the conferees the radical delegates wished to proceed with nominations, but each time were delayed by promises of Perkins, and finally, by a request from Roosevelt. On June 10, after the third meeting, and while the third and final ballot was being taken in the Republican convention the delegates refused to listen to further pleas for delay and nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President by acclamation. Later in the day John M. Parker of Louisiana was nominated for Vice President. Still later in the day a temporary declination of the presidential nomination was received from Colonel Roosevelt as follows:

I am very grateful for the honor you confer upon me by nominating me as President. I cannot accept it at this time. I do not know the attitude of the candidate of the Republican party toward the vital questions of the day.

Therefore, if you desire an immediate decision, I must decline the nomination. But if you prefer it, I suggest that my conditional refusal to run be placed in the hands of the Progressive national committee.

If Mr. Hughes' statements, when he makes them, shall satisfy the committee that it is for the interest of the country that he be elected, they can act accordingly and treat my refusal as definitely accepted.

If they are not satisfied they can so notify the Progressive party and at the same time they can confer with me and then determine on whatever

action we may severally deem appropriate to meet the needs of the country.



The Suffrage Parade.

In spite of a heavy rain which continued all day of June 7 and a violent windstorm, the woman suffrage parade at Chicago took place. The number participating was 5,341, who walked a mile and a half along Michigan avenue. They then turned toward the Coliseum where the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican convention was at the time giving a hearing to anti-suffragists who were stating that women do not care for the ballot. The committee, by a vote of 26 to 21 on the following day, recommended a suffrage plank.



Distribution of Industrial Relations Report.

The demand for copies of the final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations is thus described in a Washington dispatch:

Every Congressman's secretary in Washington is working overtime mailing out copies of the final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, 100,000 copies of which have just come from the government printing office under the resolution ordering that number as a first step to supply the extraordinary demand. So swamped are Congressmen with requests for copies of this document that the Committee on Industrial Relations found it impossible to obtain more than a handful of copies for the use of former members of the Commission and others who were closely associated with the work. It is now apparent that the edition of 100,000 is totally inadequate. "I have six requests for every copy allotted me," was the reply of Congressman after Congressman in politely but firmly turning down the Committee's request. Every member interviewed asserted that never before had he known such a demand for any public document. Many congressmen tried to obtain extra copies from fellow members, but without success. Enough mail sacks bulging with copies of the report have left Washington within the past week to fill several mail cars. An additional edition can be published at little extra expense. Any citizen who has written his Congressman for a copy of the report and does not receive it within the next two weeks should write his Congressman again urging that another edition of the report be authorized.



Labor Prosecutions in Pittsburgh.

The Committee on Industrial Relations reports on prosecution of strikers in Pittsburgh as follows:

The Steel Trust is "Americanizing the Foreigner" in the courts of Pittsburgh. On June 3 a jury in the Quarter Sessions criminal court of Pittsburgh convicted eleven men of "rioting and inciting to riot" on the day (May 1) before the fight at the Edgar Thomson plant of the Steel Trust when the guards behind a board fence fired into the crowd of strikers and lookers-on and killed three of them outright, fatally wounded two or three others and seriously wounded about three score more.

Right now a second trial of some of these same

convicted men and ten or twelve other men and women is in progress on the same charge of "rioting and inciting to riot" on the fatal day of May 2. When this second trial is concluded a third trial of practically the same group will be pushed, the charge then being one of "murder and of accessory to murder" in addition to the "rioting and inciting to riot." The sentence to which they are already liable is two years in the penitentiary and a \$500 fine.

The terrible perversion of justice in this proceeding is that the men and women convicted and put on trial and thrown into jail to await trial are simply the victims of the Pittsburgh dragnet process of breaking up any movement for the betterment of the workers by arresting and prosecuting any and every person at all prominent or influential in strike leadership. For nearly four weeks after the slaughter and wounding of their associates by the guards, men stayed in the Pittsburgh jail who were so absolutely innocent of any connection with the fighting that their names were not even mentioned in that connection in the first trial. When the case went to the jury at that first trial, the jury had to be reminded that these men had been on trial and that they could not be "turned loose" from jail until the jury had formally acquitted them. And just as soon as they and a few others were acquitted in that first trial they were indicted by the grand jury (which had been kept in continuous session) without a shred of new evidence—possibly to protect the sheriff who had thrown them in jail and who presumably was liable in damages on his bond for depriving them of liberty.

Anna Bell, a young working woman who had been a strike leader, took the liberty of stepping from the sidewalk to the street to get a better view of the marching workers. She was put in jail for that on the rioting and inciting to riot charge and on the charge of being accessory to the murder of her friends, although she was not near the fighting. She is in jail yet, although acquitted at the first trial.

About 5,000 to 6,000 workmen asserted and exercised the liberty of marching from a Westinghouse plant in East Pittsburgh to a Steel Trust plant in North Braddock and there to call to the other workers to come and join the strike. But that was the "crime," in the Pittsburgh criminal process, for which the active men who were feared by the Steel Trust and the other employers were arrested and jailed and prosecuted and convicted and made subject now to penitentiary sentence.

Bridget Kenney took the liberty of riding in a friend's automobile to see the ending of the parade to North Braddock. She was arrested and tried, but acquitted. The two working men who rode with her went on the stand as witnesses to prove that Bridget Kenney was not in the crowd that day, but was in the motor car—and they were indicted and must stand trial as "rioters" and "inciters to riot." They had simply disclosed their identity as strike sympathizers, and that was enough for the dragnet.

The ten policemen, constituting the entire police force of North Braddock, exercised their liberty to refuse to "guard" the Steel Trust plant against their neighbor workmen who were striking. Those ten policemen were indicted and will be tried and, if

possible, branded as felons for "refusing to perform their duty."

The Pittsburgh politico-legal criminal process is a perfectly devised machine for the perversion of justice. The jury in Pittsburgh is a handpicked thing—the pickers being the two politicians who happen to be highest in the Democratic and Republican votes for jury commissioners, the politician who happens to be elected sheriff and the judge who chanced to be delegated from the Common Pleas Court to sit and act with the jury commissioners. "Prominent" men, bankers, lawyers, politicians and others, are asked by these jury controllers to suggest names for the jury wheel. It can be imagined what chance men of real labor sympathies have of getting their names in the jury wheel. The commissioners and their associates can reject any names submitted.



Birth Control Arrests.

On charges of circulating birth control literature at a meeting held at Union Square, New York, on May 20, arrests were made on June 5 of Bolton Hall and Mrs. Ida Rauh Eastman, wife of Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*. The meeting was not one in advocacy of birth control, but to protest against the conviction and sentence of Dr. Ben Reitman for giving information on the matter. Bolton Hall, though charged in the warrant with handing out literature, had not done so. He had only presided over the meeting. He was released on \$500 bail. Mrs. Eastman was also released on bail after admitting that she had circulated the forbidden matter. That insulting and improper language had been addressed to her by policemen while she was in custody was charged by her husband, Max Eastman, in a letter to Police Commissioner Woods. [See current volume, page 492.]



Bolton Hall issued a statement on the matter as follows:

I presided at a meeting in Union Square May 20 to protest against what seems to most scientific and benevolent persons an unnecessary and unwise law. This law makes it a crime even for a regular physician to give in a decent manner information as to birth control.

In all other civilized countries there are benevolent societies for the express purpose of proper education on this subject. Dr. Reitman, a duly licensed doctor, was sentenced to prison under this law; and the meeting, as I, like other speakers, stated in my address there, was not held to defy the law nor the police, but in order to create a public opinion for the repeal of that law.

After the meeting had adjourned, some ladies gave out leaflets containing advice as to birth control. I gave out none, nor any literature of any kind to anyone. As a lawyer I swore to uphold the laws and I did not violate this one. I think it much better to try to have it repealed or declared unconstitutional.

My chief interest in this matter is that I consider that this law is an interference with beneficial freedom of speech and that information which would save

the health and lives of myriads of women should be equally within the reach of the well-to-do and of the poor.

Our court records show that the enforcement of this law degraded women and often drives them to abortion and to infanticide, besides being responsible for the misery and death of multitudes of undesired children. In practice I am convinced that this law causes far more evils and abuses than it prevents, and promotes law breaking on the part of crowds who get and give the information.

But I do not think it wise for me to distribute birth control literature broadcast, and, as nearly all the newspaper reports stated at the time, I did not do it.



Plotting Against Teachers' Federation.

At the meeting of the Chicago Board of Education on June 7 the committee on rules reported a proposition, credited to President Jacob M. Loeb, abolishing the rule providing for re-election of teachers at the end of each year who have not been notified of unsatisfactory work during the year. The object of the rule is to make possible the dropping of teachers, without any inquiry, whom the Board may see fit to drop. Since the majority of the Board has been trying to break up the Teachers' Federation, and President Loeb has been particularly active in this work, the suspicion prevails that this rule is to take the place of the anti-Federation rule, which was blocked by the courts. A joint committee of several woman's organizations, Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, the City Club, Chicago Federation of Labor, and Immigrants' Protective League has protested against the proposal as one that will restore an intolerable condition which existed 25 years ago, when

For months before the time for election the members of the board were visited by teachers bringing all possible pressure to secure their re-election. The result was demoralization both of the board's legitimate business and of the work of the schools. In sheer desperation members sometimes left the city to get away from the pressure.

[See current volume, pages 419, 508, 517.]



Argentine Republic.

Hipolito Irigoyen was chosen President of the Argentine Republic by the electoral college on the 12th. He will assume office October 12, 1916, when he will succeed Dr. Victorino de la Plaza, who as Vice-President succeeded to the office on the death of the President, August 9, 1914. The new President is said to be the first radical to hold the office. Pelagia Luna has been chosen as Vice-President. [See vol. xvii., p. 807, current volume, page 472.]



Mexico.

Alarmist reports come from many points in Mexico and along the border. An anti-American riot in Chihuahua City on the 11th was quelled

by the Carranza troops, who killed three Mexicans. Public meetings at which the presence of American troops in Mexico is denounced are reported in the northern States of Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi and Nuevo Leon. The presence of 4,000 Mexican troops in Juarez, opposite El Paso, Tex., creates uneasiness, and a raid on the Coleman ranch, 40 miles northwest of Laredo, has added to the irritation. Fifteen hundred members of the coast guard on the Atlantic Coast, between Portland and Sandy Hook, have been ordered to the border to re-inforce the forces there. It is reported that Carranza troops defeated a body of 600 Villistic bandits 50 miles south of Parral. [See current volume, page 542.]



European War.

Attention has been divided between a successful assault of the Germans at Verdun, and the spectacular advance of the Russians in Galicia. After terrific and long-continued cannonading, and the most desperate of assaults the Germans have succeeded in taking Fort Vaux, the most easterly of the Verdun large forts and forcing the French lines back somewhat west of the fort. It is estimated that the success cost the attacking forces 100,000 men. Lesser attacks have been made west of the Meuse, notably on Hill 304 and Chattancourt, but without materially changing the situation. On the British front the Germans succeeded in taking some first line trenches at the village of Hooge on the Ypres-Hooge front. The positions were partly retaken by counter charges. The renewed Russian offensive appears to have assumed serious proportions. The Austrian lines from the Pripet Marshes to Bukowina, which evidently have been weakened in order to use the troops on the Italian front, are being swept back by the Russians at a bewildering rate. Lutsk and Dubno, forming with Rovno the famous triangle, have been retaken; and Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina, is reported to be in Russian hands. The Russians claim to have taken prisoners to the number of 1,700 officers and 113,000 men, together with extensive military equipment. They estimate the Austrian loss at 200,000. Germany has begun a counter attack on the Riga-Dvinsk front in order to relieve the pressure on Austria, but no important gains have been reported. The Russians are reported to have fine artillery and a large amount of munitions, which they are using lavishly in the new offensive. [See current volume, page 542.]



Italy reports the end of the Austrian drive on the Trentino-Tyrol front, and the success of counter attacks by the Italian forces. The King on the 12th accepted the resignation of the cabinet at the hands of Antonio Salandra, the retiring premier. The King is conferring with the parliamentary leaders with a view to the formation of a new cabinet. The Allies have been bringing

pressure to bear upon Greece to compel a compliance of their demands that they refrain from aiding the Central Powers. Definite and distinct demands have not been made public, but it is reported that they include the demobilization of the Greek army, and the calling of a new election. No military activities of note are reported in the Balkans. The Turks report the capture of 1,000 Russian cavalry on their Mesopotamian front, and the sinking of some gun boats and ammunition cargoes. They admit the renewed offensive of the Russians west of Erzerum.



Little more information has been made public regarding the North Sea Battle. The German war office admits the loss of two more ships, which was withheld at first "for military reasons." There is little reason to suppose that the real situation has yet been given to the public. It is reported that during the battle, while the German main fleet was in the North Sea, a section of the British fleet made its way into the Baltic Sea, and is now in a Russian harbor. It is said that this force is sufficient to command the Baltic. Fewer merchantmen have been reported lost of late. There is now no hope entertained that Earl Kitchener escaped from the wrecking of the cruiser Hampshire.



The official report of the Irish party meeting, through which Mr. Lloyd George is trying to settle the conflicting interests in Ireland, states that his proposal, which is understood to be that of the British Government, involves:

First—The immediate operation of home rule.

Second—The introduction immediately of an amending bill as a war emergency act.

Third—During the war the Irish members are to remain at Westminster and the six Ulster counties are left under the imperial government.

Fourth—Immediately after the war an imperial conference of representatives from all the dominions will consider the government of the empire, including Ireland.

Fifth—Immediately afterwards and during the war emergency interval the permanent settlement of all the great outstanding problems shall be proceeded with.



Warfare at Verdun.

A brief glimpse of the Verdun inferno is had from a private letter written by a Polish volunteer serving with the French, Prince Stanislas Ponia-towski, which says:

From April 9 to May 6 I was in the midst of the fighting in Verdun. I came out all right by a miracle, having won my stripes as a corporal and then as a sergeant. I was one of five, the only survivors of the entire section which I commanded.

During all this time we occupied the sector of Le Mort Homme, counter attacking as many as three times in twenty-four hours, and if you have

been able to read daily the French official communi-ques you have noticed that the fighting centered around this famous hill.

Since May 6 we have been in repose twenty kilo-meters from the front line. We have just received some reinforcements, which we needed badly, and Sunday next we will return to the front.

No one can realize what a great crime this battle is, for it is no longer war; it is butchery, and those who by a miracle escape the first attack are won-dering how they can possibly escape the second.

There are no more trenches; there is no way to make any, because the barrage fire of the Boche 210 millimeter guns levels the ground in a quarter of an hour. All we can do is to hide as best we can with our mitrailleuses in the shell holes, and when night comes we sleep there, wrapped in our blankets.

To sleep is only an expression. We doze instead, and even then get very little sleep, because night attacks and the search for the wounded, which cannot be done during the daytime, keeps us occupied until daybreak.

At the time of writing the cannonade is less vio-lent, but it will begin again at 6 o'clock, with an intensity which lasts during the entire day. Natu-rally the losses are heavy. And we have put in twenty-four hours of this in a heavy rainstorm! When we returned from the front line we were nothing but big blocks of mud.

The physical fatigue is very great, and several cases of cerebro-spinal meningitis have broken out during this latest rest period. One eats but little, and one lives only on one's nerves.

The sudden change from this high nervous tension is really terrible. We are as tired after our rest period as before.



China.

Li Yuan Hung, Vice-President of the Chinese Republic, succeeded to the presidency on the death of President Yuan Shik-Kai, June 6. Four of the provinces that had declared their independence of the central government, Sze Chuen, Hunan, Che-Kiang and Shen-Si, have rescinded their declarations, and promised allegiance to the new government. The officers of the body guard of the new President have assured him of the fealty of the guard. The United States has twelve hun-dred infantry stationed at Tien-tsin, the treaty port on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and along the rail-road to Peking who, in case of trouble, can be sent to re-inforce the legation guard of 330 marines at the capital. [See current volume, page 543.]

NEWS NOTES

—Woman suffrage was endorsed by the United Presbyterian general assembly at Cleveland on May 26.

—John R. McLean, proprietor of the Cincinnati Enquirer and Washington Post, died at Washington on June 9, aged 68.

—Complete unofficial returns from the Iowa elec-

tion of June 5 show that suffrage was defeated by 4,655—[see current volume, page 540].

—By the will of Joseph Martin \$2,000 for publication of a biography of the late Governor John P. Altgeld is to be paid to Waldo R. Browne and Louis F. Post.

—Tennessee Democrats in state convention declared in favor of submitting an equal suffrage amendment to the state constitution. [See current volume, page 517.]

—Henry S. Jones, fundamental democrat and long-time advocate of the Singletax, died suddenly of heart failure June 4th at his home in Stoughton, Mass. He was an original disciple of Henry George.

—A new Japanese line of ships, it is announced by the Department of Commerce, will soon be established between Japan and New York by way of the Panama Canal. It is expected that a vessel will make 13 trips a year.

—A Singletax resolution was indefinitely postponed, after being introduced by Reverend J. M. Coleman of Bloomington, Indiana, at the meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of North America at Chicago on June 9.

—Louis F. Post will address the North Sagamore Sociological Conference at Sagamore Beach, Massachusetts. His subject is "Forward to First Principles." Other speakers will be Roger W. Babson, Richard A. Feiss, and F. C. Hendschott. The conference will be held from June 27 to 29.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Crime of 1916.

Chicago Day Book, June 10.—One of the greatest crimes in the history of American politics was committed last week when Theodore Roosevelt killed the Progressive party. He permitted patriotic and loyal delegates from every state in the Union to pay their own expenses and come to Chicago singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "We Want Teddy"—and then delivered them into the hands of the Old Guard of the G. O. P.—and that means Wall Street. He permitted Boss Perkins of the steel trust to hold these delegates in check for four long days, while Bosses Murray Crane and George Perkins framed up the deal to sacrifice the Progressive party in order that Wall Street might win again control of the national government. Roosevelt used the Progressive convention, and the love of its members for their Teddy, as a gun with which to hold up the Old Guard and force his nomination by the Republican convention—and when his bluff was called and Hughes nominated, Roosevelt turned as yellow as a lemon and quit cold. . . . And if it hadn't been for Raymond Robins, Perkins would have held back the nomination of Roosevelt until Crane had nominated Hughes. Robins kept the faith and brought about the nomination of Roosevelt first, though it was two days too late. I never saw a more crooked political trick played on a convention of patriotic men and women—and nobody doubts for a minute that Roosevelt knew what Perkins was doing in

every move he made during the week. . . . What will happen now to the Progressive party—with more of principle, more of patriotism and more of aspiration for humanity and real democracy than either of the old parties—I don't know. The cowards will quit like their cowardly hero quit—and will probably follow him into the camp of Crane, Penrose, Barnes and all of the Old Guard who ran the steam roller in 1912. How many will have the self-sacrificing devotion to go down to defeat in order to save the spirit of 1912 for the future good of this country—well, that remains for the future to reveal.



Chairman of the Progressive Convention.

Evening Post (Chicago) June 10.—Raymond Robins has had many a delicate situation to meet since the Progressive convention opened. He has known from the first hour that he faced an assembly which could not be bossed. He was made permanent chairman against the wishes of those who feared the radical element in the convention. His election was a victory for the radical element. Yet Raymond Robins has never permitted himself to be stamped into a rash ruling from the floor, nor pressed into an unfair ruling from any less obvious source.

In moments of excitement his calm voice has steadied the delegates; his calm presence, smiling down upon the turbulence, in complete sympathy, but with clear-headed grasp of the situation, has inspired confidence and restored sanity.

And the biggest thing about it all is that Raymond Robins has never for one moment swerved from utter loyalty to the delegate mass. It has had no right denied it; no liberty infringed; no silencing hand laid upon full and free discussion. Whatever the outcome, everybody who believes in the Progressive cause owes to Raymond Robins a debt of honor and gratitude. It has been a great convention—in some respects a greater one than that of 1912—and no little of its greatness is due to the man who has presided over its proceedings.



The Object of Preparedness.

Milwaukee Leader (May 26).—Preparedness to the reigning plutocracy means a large standing army—a professional army—and a national guard that can be used to overthrow constitutional government, as in West Virginia and Colorado, to coerce striking workmen and hold them in subjection. The preparedness which the capitalistic interests are seeking to promote through preparedness parades and the propaganda for greater armaments is not preparedness that the workers demand—the preparedness of improved working conditions, of greater educational opportunities, of a more abundant life. It is the preparedness which saps the life of the masses, weakens their power of resistance, makes them an easier prey for their exploiters. The United States should be prepared. But prepared for whom—for those who do its work and create its wealth and upon whom will fall the burden of defending it should it ever be menaced with invasion or for those who ride upon the backs of labor? The workers should not hesitate to parade for preparedness—on Labor Day.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO PREPAREDNESS PARADERS.

George Allan England in New York Call.

March, children, march!

Put on the khaki, strap the belt,

Cover your brows with slouching felt
And march, march, march!

Follow the Drum!

The Masters, in the shadow, need you. Come!

March, students, march!

Put by your books! Sheepskins will be

Granted to such as slavishly
Will march, march, march!

Harken the Drum!

The trenches and the shambles call you, "Come!"

March, clerkings, march!

Never had ye the heart to strike;

But, when your masters bid ye hike,
Ye march, march, march!

Behind the Drum,

That thunders, "To the Hell of Battle, Come!"

March, profit-mongers, march!

Bell-wethers for the common horde,

Never will YE face Krupp or sword.
Still, bravely march.

While the hoarse Drum

Roars, "All ye others to the slaughter, Come!"

Ye Toilers, will ye march?

Inchoate, dumb and blindly driven,

To be by flame and metal riven,
Say! Will ye march?

Or will this hell-rung tocsin leave ye free,

Untrammelled by its ancient treachery?

THE UNPREPARED OSTRICH.

By H. M. Hadley.

An Ostrich, with Plumes of Great Value, albeit a strong and vigorous bird, roamed Peacefully about his accustomed haunts when he heard the sounds of Discord at a Distance.

Looking up, he perceived a neighboring flock of Ostriches engaged in terrific combat. Divided into two bands they fought with leg and wing and claw, forgetting their own wounds in their desire to wound the others. Some were already lame, others bloodless, others disemboweled.

Having Plumes of Great Value, our Ostrich was speedily surrounded by Advisers, and Counsellors.

Said one: Give me ten of your Plumes and I will provide you with sharp steel Spurs. Otherwise, you might as well be dead.

Said another: Give me ten of your Plumes and I will build you a fence around your Accustomed Haunts.

Said others: Give us your Plumes and we will train you to Defend yourself and how to protect your Honor.

The Ostrich was greatly perturbed by the whole situation and by the advice of his counsellors.

While still in a state of muddled perplexity, the combat among the other Ostriches came to an end. Through sheer exhaustion they ceased to fight, and they withdrew, weary and bleeding from many wounds.

Whereupon, being an Ostrich, our bird gave ten Plumes for a pair of Spurs, ten more for a fence, one Plume for a Film showing himself attacked by another Ostrich, and the remainder for training in self-defense.

Moral: Ostrich Plumes will be worn this season.



BRITISH LABOR MISLED.

From a Private Letter from England to Professor
Scott Nearing.

My own position being almost a neutral one—for the pros and cons of the official British position appear to me to be equally balanced—I think I can say without prejudice that the Labor movement here is enthusiastically pro-war, and its policy on most questions of importance to its own future, criminally negligent and self-sacrificing. As you will have heard, the Trades Union Congress last year, the Labor Party at its Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and countless trade union annual general meetings, to say nothing of other labor organizations, have unhesitatingly declared their belief in the justice of the Allied cause, and have stated their determination to subjugate almost every other interest to the prime concern of helping to win the war. Nor is this bellicosity confined to the official side of the movement. The delegates to these Congresses, on the whole, represent the views of their electorates, and the resolutions on the same subject passed by numerous branch meetings, and the absence of any large concerted anti-war movement among the industrial organizations of labor, show that the Allies are widely supported by most sections of the workers.

The attempts which have been made to represent the action of the South Wales miners, the Clyde engineers, and other turbulent minorities in the movement, as in any way pro-German or even anti-war, are almost entirely without foundation. That there exists a pretty strong senti-

ment against militaristic ideas and methods in the areas in question (and elsewhere in the country) cannot be denied; that this sentiment found a deliberate expression in industrial action the facts of the case altogether fail to show. In each instance the trouble was purely industrial. In Wales the wage advances were due for consideration long before the war broke out, were demanded in other parts of the country under the auspices of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and were ceded in every instance except that of South Wales. The subsequent trouble was an inevitable outcome of the uncompromising attitude of the employers and the melodramatic antics of Mr. Lloyd George. Still more forcibly do these remarks apply to the Clyde troubles; the wages advance demanded in February, 1915, was a natural consequence of the huge rise in prices; the trouble was aggravated by the coercive methods which the Government tried to use. Then the more recent trouble in the same district arose over the delay of the Government to carry out its obligations in regard to the "dilution" of labor, and the refusal of an employer to permit an official of a trade union to carry out normal inquiries into workshop conditions; when the trouble had started, the Ministry of Munitions and the press did all that was possible to increase it. No appreciation of the men's case was shown in any official circles, and the public contented itself, as usual, with merely denunciatory attacks.

With the case of Ireland I am not concerned, as the Sinn Fein movement is not industrial, nor is it working-class. Its anti-Allies' nature cannot be denied, and the only question to be considered is whether it might not have been turned to more useful (from the Allies' point of view) purpose by political means early in the war.

The anti-war movement is a small one, and does not, I fear, contain within it many notable names. The Independent Labor and the majority of the British Socialist Party are its main centers. And to neither of these bodies do there adhere many really prominent thinkers. The best names among the peace advocates are (I write from memory, and possibly miss some important ones) Bertrand Russell, Philip Snowden, Ramsay Macdonald, Clifford Allen, C. H. Norman (now awaiting trial by court martial for disobeying orders), George Lansbury and Mrs. Despard. The cause of peace is advocated by no first-class paper, nor by any body of influential thought; nor, so far as one can gather, is there a really large number of persons either in the movement or out of it, who believe that an early peace is desirable. I write in no spirit of rejoicing militarism: I most sincerely wish the facts were otherwise, and I welcome every additional convert to the cause of peace, but I can see no grounds for optimism.

On the subject of compulsory military service,

the movement is (or was) strongly hostile, and I come off my balance in strong opposition. The congresses enumerated above and large numbers of other labor meetings have opposed conscription—all to no purpose. We have been tricked into it by as mean a method as even politicians have ever devised; we have been rushed into it against the advice and wish of a huge proportion of the population, simply because the greater part of our rulers and press-writers are political deadheads and themselves immune from the consequences of this particular fruit of their legislation. The greater hold which military conscription gives to the capitalist classes over the proletariat in industrial affairs is beginning to be recognized even by the workers themselves already, but their rose-colored spectacles provided by patriotism have not yet been doffed, and they are still cheerful. The last thing a sane democracy will concede its rulers is the power of life and death over the members of the community in any cause declared "national" by a plutocratic ruling class. I hope the American democracy will realize this.



THE WINNING CHANCE.

By Erving Winslow.

The late James J. Hill was quoted as saying that, with similar effort to his own, similar opportunities for success remained open in the United States—like those by which the "empire builder" built up for himself an enormous fortune. The particular opportunity scarcely exists since the virgin territory of the United States has been pretty well exploited by men of Hill's type who wrested it from those who were normally and gradually developing the great resources of the soil in an honest way and who, while undoubtedly hastening that development, reaped enormous profits from the ruin of the original prospectors. Whatever chance might offer to a succeeding generation, a similar kind of effort should hardly be commended by those who are not so wholly blinded by material success as to be indifferent to the moral influences such as were exerted by Hill and his ally Donald A. Smith (Strathecona). The Memoir of the Canadian is prefaced by an extract from Scott's "Rob Roy" descriptive of the Scotch strain which Hill and Smith shared. Perhaps Wordsworth's words at Rob Roy's grave might have been in the author's mind, too, when the poet wrote of the simple plan "that they should take who have the power and they shall keep who can." Both men died, canonized by the worshipers of wealth. They have left their riches behind them and have carried with them to the shades only claims for the reward due to the means by which they heaped them up.

In March, 1857, the Congress of the United

States granted to Minnesota, then only a territory, but now one of the most populous States of the Union, a vast area of public lands to be used to encourage the building of railroads. During the same month the territorial legislature chartered the Minnesota and Pacific Railway Company. To this corporation was conveyed much of the land granted by Congress, subsequently supplemented by further grants. These consisted of all odd-numbered sections (640 acres each) within ten miles on both sides of the railway. In 1862 the rights and franchise passed to a new company called the St. Paul and Pacific Railway. Companies succeeded each other in rapid succession. Five separate issues of bonds were unloaded upon Dutch capitalists. The last company in possession of the franchise ceased to pay any interest in 1872. Then the United States District Court stepped in and appointed Jesse P. Farley, of Dubuque, Iowa, official receiver to the company, and authority was secured to complete the line to a certain point up the valley of the Red River and thus earn a clear title to all the available land grant. This Farley succeeded in doing.

The railroad was burdened with five bond indebtednesses, all held in Holland. The aggregate liability was \$28,000,000.

J. J. Hill had been local agent for Farley's railway. He became acquainted with Donald A. Smith. They became fast friends and agreed to sound Farley about selling out the whole concern to a syndicate of four—Donald A. Smith, George Stephen of Montreal; J. J. Hill and Norman Kittson; his own fifth share in the meantime, since he was custodian in trust for the Dutch bondholders, was to be held by one of the other four. Farley succeeded in convincing the Dutchmen that \$6,000,000 for the \$28,000,000 that had been invested, was all that the properties of the company could ever realize. Had he dealt honestly with the Dutchmen who trusted him, they would not only have received their interest regularly, but eventually the principal as well, amounting to sixty-five million gulden.

Light was thrown on the matter when Farley claimed his fifth share. It would be impossible to defend the code of morals that allowed a receiver, who is a court officer, and has definite trust responsibilities, to participate in the profits of any such arrangements as had been made. To admit Farley's contention was to encourage dishonesty among trustees, and also to offer a premium on wrong-doing, said to themselves these honorable men, who were able thus to defy the primitive rule of "honor, among"—promoters! The transaction with Farley, without whom they could have done nothing, obviously justified such remuneration as he claimed, but the stipulation was necessarily secret and not put in writing. Farley was repudiated lock, stock and barrel. He

finally got tired of waiting and entered an action-at-law. For thirteen long weary years the suit dragged its way through the courts of the United States, finally reaching the highest judicial tribunal in the Republic. The court held that Farley's failure to prove his claim by a written agreement would entitle the defendant to a decision, and, even if there had been an agreement in writing, it would have been improper and illegal on account of the trusteeship which Farley was then exercising. The group remained in peaceable possession of the property. In twenty-seven years J. J. Hill and his associates in this venture received \$413,000,000 interest-bearing securities, exclusive of annual dividends in the meantime; the foundation of these colossal figures being the payment of \$6,000,000 to Dutch bondholders borrowed from a bank, and afterwards repaid by a new issue of bonds. And the Dutchmen still have a vivid recollection how in buying those bonds they figuratively had gone down from Jerusalem to Jericho.

From a memorandum prepared for the Interstate Commerce Commission at Spokane by Brooks Adams, these figures show the amounts of interest-paying securities divided between J. J. Hill and his associates in less than thirty years.

1879	\$15,000,000	1898	28,000,000
1882	2,000,000	1899	13,500,000
1883	9,000,000	1899	6,750,000
1888	2,000,000	1901	30,750,000
1890	4,200,000	1905	41,000,000
1892	4,125,000	1906	84,000,000
1893	2,000,000	1906	135,000,000
1898	30,000,000		

The last item was issued in the form of ore certificates; 1,500,000 certificates of \$100 each, the market value of each certificate then being \$90.

The syndicate owns a vast area of very high class iron ore in Mesaba county in the state of Minnesota, secured partially by purchase out of the earnings of the railway company, the balance in the land grant that formed part of the security of the Dutch bondholders. The company has a perpetual contract with the United States Steel Corporation for the full run of the ore in these mines, furnishing a source of wealth for generations, by itself an Eldorado.*

The lesson taught the railroad men and would-be railroad men and the youth of America in general when the wheels stopped turning the other day on the Northern Pacific was just this: "Find such a chance and go in to win by hook or by crook."

*"Strathecona and the making of Canada." W. T. R. Preston.



If it were possible to make an accurate calculation of the evils which police regulation occasion, and of those which they prevent, the number of the former would, in all cases, exceed that of the latter.—Wilhelm von Humboldt.

THE FOOL GORILLA.

By Henry Clifford Stuart.

In the Washington Post—
 Or was it the New York Times?—
 Of Sunday, May seventh,
 Some artist,
 Who ought to have been there himself,
 Pictured—
 In the native wilds of a museum—
 A Gorilla—
 Throwing in a man
 By way of contrast.

Then—
 After dilating upon the superior
 Chest and muscular development of
 "The Beast"—
 He unartistically remarked,
 "What a pity it is
 He has not brains enough
 To be put to work!"

Remembering
 The dismembered shop-girls,
 Whose lack of chest and muscle
 May be due to their
 Trying to stand
 Six days where one would do—
 And the men-slaves
 Who score not their days—

I wonder which uses
 The brain he has
 To the best purpose—

Man—

Or—the fool Gorilla?

BOOKS

THE TRAGEDY OF POVERTY.

The Immigrants. A Lyric Drama. By Percy Mackaye. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

It is a lyric. It is to be set to music. It is a tragedy and whether its tragic element is diminished or increased by the music will perhaps be seen by those whose purses are plethoric enough to justify the indulgence of opera.

Its motive is democratic. Whether its musical dressing will conceal its democracy or make it clear is uncertain. It is good to read for those who hope for freedom some time within the future life of the human race. Others will weep at the tragedy of the poor and comfort themselves with the phrase, "The poor ye have always with ye."

It is a drama of poverty and love and intolerable oppression by soldiers and jailors in sunny Italy. It is an indictment against our great Republic for permitting the existence of fraudulent

and robbing immigration agents to represent great transportation companies and corporations in foreign countries.

It begins with love among the poor; with lustful pursuit of virtue by unscrupulous man; with unavailing effort to rescue by a benevolent artist, and ends with death from poverty-made disease of the woman and retributive death of the villain by the dagger of a deceived and outraged peasant.

It is a satire upon the liberty allowed by a republic that should live up to its pretensions, and permits the statue of Liberty enlightening the world to stand at the gateway deceiving the unfortunate victims of tyranny abroad. It is worth reading twice. Those who are fortunate enough to see it with its music, its scenery and its lights should listen carefully and heed the lesson.

GEO. V. WELLS.

**PREPAREDNESS A ROBBER'S NEED.**

Empire and Armament. By Jennings C. Wise. Published by Putnam and Sons, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

Here is the book that pacifists have to fear; a thought stimulating, a compelling work with a new and powerful argument. The Roosevelt rhodomontade, the Wheeler fantasy, the Huidekoper misreading of the popular viewpoint are each of them easy to combat. But this book is not. The author has a new angle; he makes an unexpected salient at our bastions. In language that is quite clear, with many felicitous instances, he shows that in the long run, big armies and navies are the prices that nations pay for wrong doing. Armaments are comparable to the ready gun that the bandit must tote to ward off as long as may be, the just vengeance of an outraged law—to this, and not to the armor that an unoffending man might don as protection against assault. In short, the United States, he says, must be for preparedness, because, instead of being a nation that has consistently attended to its own business, instead of having been a non-aggressive factor in the world's history, it has been aggressive and militant at all times, and has so far gotten away with it, because of the good humoredness of other nations.

Such events as the Maine-Canadian boundary dispute, the Oregon claim in 1845, the attitude taken in the Hungarian revolt, the dispute with Great Britain over the Behring Sea fisheries in 1892, the Venezuela incident in 1895, and the altercation with Chile that brought us so close to war, show that Imperialism in American history is a fact, despite its dangers. More recent occurrences, such as the guarantee of the neutrality of the Panama Isthmus, the acquisition of the Philippines, or the Hawaiian incident, have made of the United States an Empire composed

of widely separated territories. New political problems being thus generated and the danger of international friction being thus increased, the need of preparation for war, in the opinion of the author, is very real. CHAS. J. FINGER.

BOSS RULE ANALYZED.

The System. By Franklin Hichborn. Published by the James H. Barry Company, San Francisco. Price, \$1.50 net.

An intensely interesting study of the operations of special privilege as uncovered by the famous San Francisco graft prosecution. Five hundred pages of text, provided with an ample array of foot-notes, introduce the reader to one of the most astounding situations in American history. Big Business ruling and corrupting a great city through its paid agents—Big Business dragged into the spotlight of judicial proceedings, and proved guilty—Big Business triumphant, nevertheless—this is the story of the book.

The author points out that San Francisco, during the regime of Boss Ruef and Mayor Schmitz, was no more under the heel of the "System" than other communities have been and are. Other communities have risen against the System and its agent the Boss. But few, if any, communities have attacked the System with the force delivered against it by San Francisco. And San Francisco was beaten down, humiliated, and made to understand that within her borders the laws could not be enforced against those whom the System befriended.

The volume should be used by civic reformers and students of political science. It is good collateral reading for college classes, and it ought to be in academic and public libraries. Future historians will find it a valuable "source book" of information about the great social awakening of America at the beginning of the twentieth century.

.. LOUIS WALLIS.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Chicago Poems. By Carl Sandburg. By Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Poverty and Social Progress. By Maurice Parmelee. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.75 net.

—Their True Faith and Allegiance. By Gustavus Ohlinger. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, 50 cents net.

—A History of the University of Chicago. By Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1916. Price, \$3.00 net.

—The Origins of the Islamic State. By Kitab Futuh Al-Buldan. Translated by Philip Khuri Hitti. Whole Number 163, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans,

Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1916. Price, paper, \$4.00 net.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The Pittsburgh Tax Plan. By William N. McNair, 300 Bakerm Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1916.

How Roosevelt Kept Peace. By William Hard. Reprinted from Metropolitan Magazine for May, 1916.

The New Pan-Americanism. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1916.

Report of the City Auditor of the City of San Diego, California, for the Fiscal Year ending December 31, 1915.

A Modern School. By Abraham Flexner. Published by the General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York. 1916.

Impressions of the European War. Address by George F. Milton of Chattanooga, Tenn., Member of the Ford Peace Party.

Labor Legislation of 1915. Bulletin Number 186, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Report of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, February 28, 1916. Published by the Anti-Imperialist League, Boston.

Impressions of an Engineer in the Public Service. Address by Morris Llewellyn Cooke before the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia, November 16, 1915.

Fiscal Policy After the War. By J. M. Robertson. Published by the Cobden Club, Broadway Court, Westminster, London, S. W. 1916. Price, one penny.

Fakes in American Journalism. By Max Sherover. Second Edition. Published by the Free Press League, 1569 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

Changes Needed in American Secondary Education. By Charles W. Elliot. Published by the General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York. 1916. Sent on request.

Unemployment Among Women in Department and Other Retail Stores of Boston. Bulletin 182, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"Where is electricity first mentioned in the Bible?"

"Where it says: 'God made the arc-light on Mount Ararat.'"—Ye Crabbe.

Little Harry—Can I help, mamma, and wipe the dishes for you?

Mother—No, my dear! You always break too many of them.

Little Harry—Well, mamma, that's a help, for you don't have so many to wash next time.—Chicago Herald.

Teacher.—Now, James, do you understand the meaning of the word "extinct"?

James.—Yes'm.

Teacher.—Then name one bird that is now extinct.

James.—Chipper.

Teacher.—Chipper? What kind of a bird is that?

James.—My pet pigeon. The cat caught him this morning.—Sacred Heart Review.

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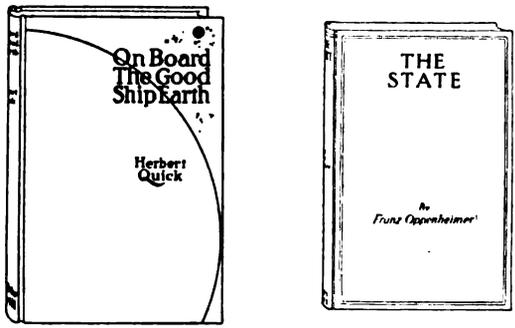


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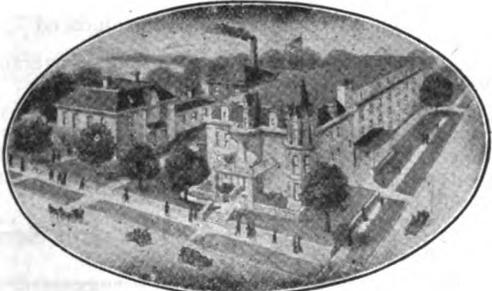
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The Public's Photoplay Contest

Mr. Norman Jeffries, Publicity Manager of the Lubin Film Manufacturing Company, has placed at our disposal a limited number of a leaflet of instructions published by the Production Department of this concern.

The leaflet gives suggestions for manuscript form and for writing plots, and a sample script.

Readers of The Public who are working on singletax scenarios to be entered in the contest can get a copy of this leaflet, without charge, by writing to

The Scenario Competition Editor
The Public Ellsworth Bldg. **Chicago**

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Fels & Co., Philadelphia

Mr. Noren Drops a Hint to the Wealthy!

If I had all the money in the world I would send the Chicago Public to every man and woman who could read English, and have it translated to all the others.—H. W. Noren in The Greenfield (Pa.) Bulletin.

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What Lies Beyond

By Josiah and Ethel Wedgwood.

It seems, then, that the exclusive ownership of land lies at the base of our existing social state, of much that is pleasing, as well as of what is displeasing in it; and that if this injustice were removed, society, as we know it, must fall to pieces and be replaced by a new form. For however much the application of the terms, "slavery," "monopoly," "capitalism," "robbery," may be disputed, yet the fact remains that the labor by which all the subtle conditions of our thoughts and habits have been created, is unfree labor; and that it is unfree primarily because men have been fenced off from the sources of life and production that lie in the land. This crime runs like a flaw through the whole structure, making true social life impossible. For a civilization founded in monopoly and maintained by force is an anti-social one; it excludes what alone can create a stable social state, free and mutual service.

But people will not face the downfall of the house they live in, however bad it be; and therefore preachers, teachers and legislators spend their knowledge and strength in shoring-up this society and clamping it together against disruption. Their remedial measures are largely futile, for they only transform the evil instead of destroying it.

A century ago reformers thought they could make the nations free and happy by transferring political power from a king to a republican state. Now they think they can make society prosperous by transferring industrial power from men called capitalists to other men called a state or a workers union. They are afraid to bring about the real revolution by restoring to everybody the only means of individual liberty, and letting them alone to shape their own destiny.

What form of society might grow up after such a revolution it is impossible to foretell. Certainly it would be a better form than this, because a free one. Whatever the true civilization may be, the present civilization is overlaying and crushing it—stifling the best things in human nature by its atmosphere of suspicion, envy and rivalry. Yet, in spite of this fraudulent civilization, honesty and human kindness still struggle up and keep alive; and in the new society, virtues so tough of life may spread and prosper. If to sketch a Utopia were at all permissible, it might at least be predicted that under just conditions men will venture to practice on terms of equality the brotherhood which all the churches preach, and that it will be common to show charity without patronage and to receive it without sycophancy.

"What Lies Beyond" is reprinted from "The Road to Freedom," published by C. W. Daniel, Ltd., London. "The Road to Freedom" can be ordered from The Public's Book Department, in cloth binding, at 50c, postpaid.

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