

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Armed Neutrality

Amos Pinchot

The United States On Trial

Jenkin Lloyd Jones

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STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

By AVERY QUERCUS

PROBABLY THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM of fundamental democracy is the equitable division of the proceeds of industry. It has usually been assumed that people cannot work together harmoniously and efficiently and agree upon so vital a problem as what part of the common earnings each worker should receive; and therefore that the only solution is to leave it to the owner of the tools of industry or his agent to decide the matter arbitrarily, except as it may be possible to terrorize him through irresponsible agencies that wield a bigger club.

In pursuance of its purpose to construct a working model of an ideal industrial commonwealth, the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, at an early stage of its development, devised a "point system," whereby every worker who stays over two months and complies with other simple conditions, receives a grade, by common consent of his fellow workers, which grade is revised from time to time and furnishes the basis for determining each worker's share of the earnings.

A UNIVERSAL DEFINITION of a "worker" was formulated by enumerating ten qualifications, which apply to all classes of workers and constitute a basis for constructive criticism of each worker's conduct and efficiency. This definition sets forth that a worker is one who—

1. Does necessary and useful work that adds to the efficiency of the organization, and as much of it as can be reasonably expected.
2. Puts in the time and energy necessary to do his work to the best of his ability.
3. Knows how to set himself to work and to keep at work without needless supervision.
4. Carries responsibility continuously, never throwing his work upon somebody else or leaving without arranging to have it done properly.
5. Requires no waiting on; is willing to do anything there is to be done.
7. Cleans up after himself, keeps his working place in order, is clean about his work and in his personal habits.
8. Takes care of the tools and utensils with which he works.
9. Works in harmony with others, shows respect for his fellow workers and consideration for their rights, convenience and comfort.
9. Watches the economies of the place, saves material and expense, makes and helps carry out helpful suggestions.
10. Has worked long enough to earn the proportionate share of working capital required on an average to provide an industrial opportunity.

EACH BRANCH or organized group of Straight Edge workers, accordingly, holds at stated intervals a "Point Meeting" at which each worker's grade is discussed with reference to these ten qualifications, and revised up or down by common consent of his fellow workers.

Certain Rules of Order that have been unanimously agreed upon from time to time govern the Point

Meetings. For example, a worker has nothing to say when his own grade is being discussed, except to answer questions.

A new worker when first placed on the list is awarded a grade consisting of a number of points to which there is no objection. Any worker has the privilege of objecting to any award of points, and the award is cut down to meet the objection, or the objection is removed by discussion of the facts.

Old workers receive one new point a month, if it is proposed in open meeting by a graded worker, and if no objection is raised and persisted in. Thus a worker's grade grows from month to month, and this gives the worker an increasing share in the earnings. Special points may be given by unanimous consent of all the workers of all branches.

FOR A LONG TIME each worker's compensation was determined entirely by his points, and whatever he drew from time to time was "on account." It was found, however, that the "ancestral brain" thinks in terms of wages, and that some stated compensation was a psychological necessity. Accordingly, workers are now employed for what their services are "worth" in the labor market, or what they are willing to accept as the preliminary settlement of the terms upon which their services are available.

As the Settlement is organized not to vindicate theories but to tackle actual working conditions, the sentimental objection to wages as being contrary to the spirit of human brotherhood is temporarily waived.

IN A POORLY ORGANIZED BUSINESS wages might absorb all the earnings, and more. In that case the business would go to smash. But in a fairly well-equipped and well-ordered business there is bound to be a surplus above the cost of materials, expenses and ordinary wages.

The owner of the plant is usually conceded the right to this surplus, and the worker is supposed to have no claim upon it. How the Investor's Share is differentiated from the Worker's Share will be told in another article.

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THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Founders and Friends of the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement will be held Saturday evening, March 31, 1917, at 8 o'clock, in the Auditorium of the 23rd Street Branch of the Y. M. C. A., 215 West 23rd Street (near Seventh Avenue), New York. DR. FRANK CRANE of the New York GLOBE will be the principal speaker, and his subject will be Cooperation. Admission will be by ticket. Any reader of The Public who would like to attend can obtain tickets (no charge) by applying at once to the General Committee of Founders and Friends. Address the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Edwin D. Wheelock, No. 100 Lawrence Street, for reservations.

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

Peace at any price, does not involve surrender of freedom of speech or of the press. Yet that is the first sacrifice which war demands. Already a bill is before Congress for establishment of a censorship. That sacrifice is alone too much to pay for whatever may be at stake in a war arising out of the submarine question. Experience hitherto indicates that any price that must be paid for peace is less than the lowest cost of war.

* * *

Why not a war referendum? Why, under a democratic form of government, should the men who will do none of the fighting have the sole say as to whether or not there shall be war; while those who do all the fighting have nothing to say about starting or stopping it? Lesser affairs, and matters that can be corrected, may be left to the decision of representatives; but a question of life and death for millions of people should be decided by the people. Not only is it poetic justice that those who do the fighting should decide whether or not there is to be a fight, but the delay incident to such a decision would of itself make for peace. Let us by all means insist upon a war referendum.

* * *

In regard to the proposal to levy an excise tax of one-half cent per pound on sugar produced in this country, it is interesting to note the comment in the stock letter issued by Bryne & McDonnell, San Francisco, January 11. Quoting from the Moody Manual Company the letter says that if there should be imposed both an excise tax and an increase in the tariff of equal amounts, the earnings of domestic sugar producers would not be affected. The price of sugar in the American market, the letter says, is set by the price of Cuban sugar, duty paid, and continues:

Any additions to the tariff duty would simply be added to the price of sugar to the consumer. A further increase in the tariff alone is not needed as protection to the domestic sugar *at present price levels*, and conditions in the industry are such that, aside from the slight indirect effect on demand caused by the resulting higher price level, any addition to the present tariff would add a corresponding amount to the profits of domestic sugar producers. . . . An excise tax *alone*, however, without any corresponding increase in the present tariff would come directly out of the profits of the beet sugar and Hawaiian sugar companies. The trade conditions already explained make it practically impossible to pass along any such excise tax to the consumer.

Hence the brokers suggest that holders of domestic sugar stocks, both beet and Hawaiian, "watch carefully the news from Washington." If only there were some way of getting the consumers who pay the enhanced prices of sugar to "watch carefully the news from Washington."

* * *

A message concerning a question of far more importance than ocean travel is President Wilson's letter of February 10 to the Department of Agriculture and Federal Trade Commission, asking an investigation of the cause of advancing food prices. It is to divert attention from such matters that many "patriots" are trying to work up war sentiment.

* * *

Henry Ford's offer of his plant to the government without profit in case of war might, if accepted, create havoc with the plans of some Preparedness patriots eagerly looking for lucrative war contracts. There is no reason why contracts should be awarded to any bidder figuring on a profit as long as Ford's enormous plant and splendid organization would be available. Mr. Ford has presented no explanation of his offer. He may

have no motive other than what appears on the surface. But if he had deliberately designed to discourage hopes of selfish gain from plunging the country into war he could have scarcely devised a shrewder scheme. Those militarist organs that think they see in his action a change of heart may have cause to regret the approval so hastily bestowed upon him.

* * *

The killing of a negro seaman on a British ship by a German submarine was for a few days looked upon as a possible cause of war by the United States upon Germany. Then it turned out that the negro was not an American but a British subject. But suppose he had been an American citizen. What sort of figure would the United States have presented in going to war over the illegal killing of a citizen whom a mob in many parts of this country could have lynched with impunity?

* * *

"My country right or wrong," is the false and immoral doctrine which leads many otherwise civilized and kind-hearted German subjects to approve the slaughter by submarines of innocent ocean travelers, even of babes and their mothers. And the same doctrine leads many otherwise civilized and kind-hearted Americans to approve the proposal to avenge such slaughter, by shooting of German subjects, regardless of whether they had anything to do with the original crime. The true patriot will not uphold his country when wrong.

* * *

A new conception of the sphere of the university appears to have come into being. In former times the university was looked upon as a place where the maturing mind could obtain the broadest view of life and knowledge, where the youth could in fact come in contact with men representing all lines of thought. But of late years there have been so many instances where men of renown have been forbidden the privilege of speaking in the buildings or on the grounds of universities that people are being forced to the conclusion that certain modern universities do not stand for all human knowledge, but only such parts as meet with the approval of the instructors who happen to be in charge. Wisconsin objects to having Max Eastman

lecture on the campus; Columbia's Cosmopolitan Club bars Count Ilya Tolstoy, son of Leo Tolstoy, the famous Russian philosopher, from appearing before it; and other schools have objected to various speakers. Parents with children to be educated may well question whether institutions that prohibit discussion of matters other than those approved by trustees or faculty can properly train maturing minds. If this is to be the future policy of seats of learning it would seem that a sense of fairness would prompt them to publish to the world just what subjects may and what may not be discussed within the sacred precincts.

* * *

The co-operation of farmers with labor organizations in the Northwest is making tory interests nervous. *The Oregon Voter*, published at Portland, is deeply concerned lest the experience of North Dakota be repeated in Oregon. It is not reassured by looking at the neighboring State of Washington, where reactionary measures adopted by the legislature were rejected by the people on referendum, and where the State Grange has endorsed the Singletax. Although for the present it finds comfort in prevalence of a more conservative sentiment in Oregon, yet it scents danger. "If greed grabs for unfair advantage," says *The Voter*, "the people of Oregon may prove just human enough to become infatuated with destructive radicalism, as were Washington, Montana and North Dakota last fall." The outlook is surely black for vested wrong, if *The Voter* can be believed. Greed certainly will grab for unfair advantage, and nothing that *The Voter* can say will dissuade it. The only way to prevent it is to make it impossible to get the "unfair advantage." But how to do that without adopting the Singletax and other measures abhorrent to *The Voter* is an unsolved problem.

* * *

One of the many good things done by the American Union Against Militarism is publication in pamphlet form of the entire testimony of Philip Schaefer of Chicago, formerly of the Swiss army, before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Senator Chamberlain and other militarists are trying to sugar coat their compulsory service propositions with the statement that they want to introduce the Swiss military system, not the

German. Mr. Schaefer's testimony shows the Swiss system to be both oppressive and objectionable, and useless for any purpose other than strike breaking. American militarists have stated that the Swiss army is all that has saved Switzerland from the fate of Belgium. Mr. Schaefer makes clear the absurdity of that claim. They have represented the Swiss system as democratic. Mr. Schaefer shows it to be aristocratic. The militarists have said that the Swiss system is physically beneficial to the recruits. Mr. Schaefer tells how it promotes drunkenness and vice. The pamphlet should be distributed widely. The American Union Against Militarism is furnishing them from its headquarters in the Southern Building at Washington for five cents each, which barely covers the cost of production. The American people should be made to realize the deception practiced by those trying to force military slavery upon the country.

* * *

What else is compulsory military service than a form of involuntary servitude? What greater enemy can there be to any nation than interests scheming to force its people into involuntary servitude? What is the proper term to apply to public servants who give aid and comfort to such an enemy? Why should not this term be applied to the members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs who have reported favorably on Senator Chamberlain's bill to enslave American citizens by forcing them against their will into military service? Some years ago the late David Graham Phillips wrote a series of articles entitled "The Treason of the Senate." He recorded much that deserved to be so designated, but none of it so much as this latest.

* * *

Not satisfied with having saddled compulsory military service upon the State, reactionary members of the New York Legislature are planning to adopt the State Constabulary of Pennsylvania also. This was adopted in Pennsylvania by a legislature entirely under the domination of monopolistic interests. It is not so much a measure for preservation of the peace as one to make such preservation a State, instead of a local matter. The order which it would maintain is the order that prevailed in Warsaw. It is time that legislators gave more attention to

removal of injustice that breeds disorder, and less to forcible means of suppressing it.

The Great Emancipator.

It is altogether fitting that the people of this country should observe the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. His striking personality, his dramatic career, and his tragic death have been so idealized that he has come to stand for what we consider best in our national life. But varied as was the character of the martyred President, and numerous as are his claims to the regard of his kind, no other is as strong as that of liberating four million chattel slaves. The anomaly of slaves in a land dedicated to freedom had shamed many liberty loving men and women, but it fell to the lot of Lincoln to issue the proclamation that put an end to it.

It is with this, however, as with so many other things; too many persons observe the form, while forgetting the spirit. Lincoln saw in slavery the invasion by one man of another man's rights, and his whole nature rose against it. Himself a laborer who had earned his way by brawn and brain, he could not endure that one man should eat his bread in the sweat of another man's face. And when the exigencies of war made it possible for him, under the guise of a war measure, to sweep away chattel slavery, he did not hesitate to act.

But this again is form, and does not necessarily include all the substance of slavery. There are other ways in which some may eat bread in the sweat of others' faces. Crusoe, as owner of the island, could command the services of Friday as well as though he owned his body. And it has come about that the owners of this larger island, the Earth, command the services of their fellows much as the Southern planter once lived on the labor of his slaves. The tie is not so apparent; many do not believe there is such a connection; but, nevertheless, it is there. For, notwithstanding the enormous power that science and invention have put in the hands of labor, the vast majority of the working men and women of to-day get little more than bare food and shelter. And did not the slave get as much? It is not intended to convey the idea that wage slavery is as bad as chattel slavery, for the wage slave has at least the right of choosing his master; but it is intended to show that the abolition of chattel slavery, vassalage, and serfdom have not en-

abled the man who labors to command the full product of his toil.

Hence the new abolition movement, the movement to abolish legal privilege, the movement to prevent some men from eating their bread in the sweat of other men's faces. Where would Abraham Lincoln have stood on this question? What would have been his answer to the question, "Shall the value that the community confers upon land go to the community, or to the individual owner of the land?"

In the answer to that question lies the substance of the whole social problem of today; and it is in essence what the slavery question was before the Civil War. If the answer be, "To the owner of the land," then does he receive service for which he makes no return; and the state is compelled to tax the laborer for the support of government. But if the answer be, "To the community," then no other taxes will be necessary for the support of government, and the laborer will be able to retain the full product of his toil. Can there be any doubt as to the answer Lincoln would make? Is there any doubt as to what the answer should be of those who today laud him for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation? This is a good time for a little heartsearching by those who observe Lincoln's birthday.

S. C.

An Old Tariff Pleasantry.

The American Economist continues to contribute to the gaiety of nations with its explanations of how one can eat his cake and have it too. The editor expresses regret that American women have not learned more about the tariff, and proceeds to enlighten one who notes advertisements of goods made in this country that are cheaper to the amount of the duty, and asks "why the duty?" "The man [American] who buys a coat made of American cloth," the editor says, "contributes to the prosperity of the American sheep raiser, the American weaver and the American mill owner whose plant has been erected by American labor using American materials. In every case American money stays at home instead of being sent abroad to pay for things which we can make for ourselves."

The obvious answer to such a statement is that if the man who buys a coat were to make it himself he would have both the coat and the money. For if it be desirable to keep

the money in the country, how much more desirable is it to have the money in one's own pocket. But the economic strabismus that afflicts protectionists prevents them from seeing the obvious. They have an upside-down, or a wrong-end-to point of view; and so, like Alice in Wonderland, they furnish a world of amusement.

The protectionist sees things clearly, but is unable to combine them. Each object is separate and distinct, without relation to surrounding objects, much as a child might jumble the parts of a watch. If the American had bought his coat in England, he would have the coat and the Englishman would have the money. That much is true. And if the world were to come to an end at that moment the American sheep raiser would die with his wool on hand. But admitting the persistence of the world it is evident to persons who understand addition and subtraction that if the Englishman wished to sell a second coat to anybody he would have to get some wool; and as the American sheep raiser would be looking for such a man, it is entirely within the bounds of probability that the two would strike a bargain by which the money that went to England to pay for a coat would return to America to pay for wool.

Some protectionists have caught fleeting glimpses of this fact, but they hasten to explain that it would not do to permit individual citizens to follow their own desires; but that their actions should be guided by the wise men at Washington. This is another instance of economic strabismus. Congressmen are undoubtedly very wise, merely as wise men; but what do they know about making coats or raising sheep? Though a Senator may be wise enough to plumb the depths of profundity, how can he tell whether an American wishes his coat made in New York or in London. It is not unreasonable to expect Congressmen and Senators to protect Americans in gratifying their desires, and to do all that is possible to enable them to buy and sell where they please; but by what sort of topsy-turvy logic can they be justified in preventing or restraining Americans from buying and selling where they please?

S. C.

Plotting Against Freedom.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exer-

cise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The amendment is written in plain English. One need not be a constitutional lawyer to grasp its intent or meaning. A censorship of any kind, in war or peace, violates it. And yet the War College Division of the Army General Staff has drafted a bill for introduction in Congress empowering the President to prohibit by proclamation publication of matter pertaining to the army. Thus American institutions are being attacked, not by a foreign army, but by officials whose duty it is to protect them.

The American Union Against Militarism has shown that the object of this proposal is not to protect from observation the movements of the army and navy during war time. Existing regulations make the sending out of such news as difficult as the proposed law would make it. What is intended is to prevent peace agitation, and criticism of the conduct of the war. This is frankly stated in a quotation from a monograph issued by the War College entitled "The Proper Relationship Between the Army and the Press in Time of War." The quotation refers to those newspapers which "by their editorials and presentation of news . . . may sway the people . . . against the war." The monograph is to be had for five cents from the Superintendent of Public Documents at Washington.

The excuse offered for this attack on American freedom is that criticism may lead to loss of popular confidence in the army. It probably will do so when the army, or those in charge of it do not deserve confidence. If criticism should be shut off incompetents or worse could remain in control indefinitely. In comment on this the American Union Against Militarism states truly:

It was newspaper criticism, for example, and that alone, which enabled Lincoln, in the first year of the Civil War, to rid himself of those generals who were manifestly not up to the tasks which confronted them. Newspaper criticism was of immense military service in the Spanish-American war. Had this proposed bill been a law at that time, we should never have shaken off the men responsible for the "canned beef" scandals, the conditions in the concentration camps, the freight blockade in Florida. Under this bill we should have been in entire ignorance of the outrages committed by American troops in the Philippines, such as the "water cure" administered to Filipinos under the orders of "Hell Raising Jake Smith."

Is it possible that some one has cause to fear similar exposure if war should come? If not that it can only be desired to shield some indefensible proceeding that prompts an attack on the freedom of the press. The American Union Against Militarism urges the sending of prompt protests to the President, Congressmen and newspapers. The suggestion should be followed. S. D.

Wasting Human Energy.

Man, like Artemus Ward's kangaroo, is "an amusin' cuss." A few weeks ago statesmen were racking their brains to find money with which to meet the slightly increased expenditures of the National Government. All manner of proposals were made, but after dismissing the sound ones, and providing a few millions by means of unsound ones, the remainder was to be obtained through an issuance of bonds. But the proposal to issue bonds, though approved by Congressmen, met with sharp criticism from those who objected to the practice of saddling the expenditures of one generation upon another generation. But now that war is threatened, appropriations go through with a rush, and an issue of a half billion dollars in bonds excites little comment.

With the world nearly bankrupt, with industry crippled, and with society in sore straits as a result of the war in Europe, people are seriously considering the participation of this country. America, that has reached such a high state of industrial development, that could be of such great aid in setting the belligerents on their feet after the conclusion of peace, is to add its quota of life and property to swell the sum total. A myriad things await our doing, things necessary to our well-being, and to the well-being of the human race; yet they must remain unborn, while we devote our attention to killing as many men and destroying as much property as we can.

What such a course will mean to us may be inferred from what it has meant to the belligerents. England is the richest of the Entente members, and has contributed the most money. Rich as she is, however, these contributions have necessitated the greatest economy in other expenditures. One of the functions to suffer is education. The school system has been pared to the quick; and though conscious of the wrong they are do-

ing future generations, British statesmen have withdrawn from education every possible penny. Schools have been closed, consolidations have been made, teachers have been dismissed, supplies have been reduced. Yet it is estimated that the sum total saved by all these economies is sufficient to run the war for only seven hours. Truly, man is "an amusin' cuss."

S. C.

A Useless Report.

In reporting to Governor Whitman on the high cost of foodstuffs in New York, the Commission headed by George W. Perkins did not entirely ignore the land situation. It misrepresented it. Note the following:

The period of land exploitation in this country has passed. No large bodies of new fertile lands remain to be taken up. From now on our food supply must come by the much more laborious and expensive process of refinement of methods and through bringing areas of poorer land into cultivation.

Out of more than 49,000 square miles in New York State a little more than 34,000 consists of farms, according to the Federal Census. And of this farm area about one-third is unimproved. The area occupied by cities is comparatively slight. In an address, a few months ago, Professor Hugh P. Baker of Syracuse University declared that half the area of the State is idle land. While undoubtedly much of this may be classed as poor land, it is certain that that does not apply to so large a proportion as one-half of the State.

If the unused land is all "poorer land," as Mr. Perkins's report implies, then it must be land of little value which can be obtained at small expense. But, while there is much land unused within easy reach of New York City, none of it is very poor if the price demanded for its use is in any way proportioned to its potential productivity. The forcing into use of lands withheld on speculation is an idea that does not seem to have occurred to the committee. Yet it had but to read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations to learn a practical method of doing this. That report recommended as a means of bringing more agricultural land into use and improving the condition of the working farmer, the following:

The revision of the taxation system so as to exempt from taxation all improvements and tax unused land at its full rental value.

Mr. Perkins notes the tendency away from

the farms and considers it dangerous. He wants the State to arrest it. And he suggests extensions of agencies to learn how to increase productivity of farms and make farming more profitable. The suggestion is a good one in itself, but the persistence of Mr. Perkins and his fellow committeemen in ignoring an obvious fact destroys its usefulness. As fast as new methods are found to make land more productive farm land values will rise, and the increase must absorb all increased profits of farming. So in the end there will be no more inducement to go "back to the land" than already exists. The committee could not have given very careful consideration to the matter if it failed to see that, or to consider methods of avoiding it. It is safe to say that, so far as any benefit to consumers is concerned, the committee might as well have done nothing.

S. D.

A Big View of Business.

In the foreword of "Henry Ford's Own Story," which has just been published in book form, Rose Wilder Lane says of Mr. Ford: "He is not a Big Business Man, he is a big man in business." It is encouraging to note that this well-deserved tribute need not be confined to one individual. Men with visions of bigger things than business are becoming more plentiful, even where big financial interests might easily obscure them.

The latest example of such a business man to be noted is William B. Dickson, of the Midvale Steel Company, whose recent address before the American Association for Labor Legislation has been reproduced in the January 11th issue of *The Iron Trade Review*, of Cleveland. In this address Mr. Dickson took as his text the remark of Charles M. Schwab:

To make money is a good thing; but it is a far better thing to be able to create opportunities for other men to work out their own salvation in life with happiness and contentment.

Every confirmed radical who read that statement saw at once that, perhaps without knowing it, Mr. Schwab had put his finger on a very sore spot of the existing social order. But the pointing out of such a fact by a confirmed radical could not have as much weight as a similar exposition by one in Mr. Schwab's business class. And no confirmed radical could have expounded more clearly than Mr. Dickson, the moral to be drawn

from Mr. Schwab's remark. Without mincing words he traced social unrest to private monopoly of natural resources, and quoted in substantiation the arguments of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, and Herbert Spencer. He urged the employment of the taxing power by the government as the means of putting an end to this fundamental evil. And he presented "A Twentieth Century Creed," embodying these principles well worth preserving.

It is to be hoped that the readers of *The Iron Trade Review* and also the members of the American Association for Labor Legislation will take to heart Mr. Dickson's splendid and very practical sermon. S. D.

War Not Necessary.

When two countries want war, there will be war. When neither country wants war, there will be no war. When one country wants war and the other does not, war will depend almost entirely upon the country that wants peace. It may sometimes happen that a dishonest government in a large country will goad the people of a small country into war; but this need never happen of countries approximating equal strength. It need not happen between this country and Germany.

Let it be granted that this country stands wholly within its rights, both in letter and in spirit; let it be admitted that our Government has retreated to the wall, before the German invasion of our rights; still it is possible to avoid war. How can this be? It is not necessary to outline programs, but only to lay down principles. Programs depend upon conditions that change from hour to hour; but principles are eternal, and apply to all conditions.

President Wilson, upon whom the immediate responsibility rests, has shown that he wants peace, not war. And the dispatches that come from Washington indicate that war will be absolutely the last resort. But the President can be fortified and strengthened in his determination by a wise and uplifting public opinion; or his spirit can be worn away by nagging, carping, irritating criticism. It is for the friends of peace to do their utmost in this constructive work. They must make it possible for the President to answer, when he is told that the people demand war, "Perhaps some do, but more do not."

Is it worth while? Are we warranted in making so much ado over the question of war? Is it so very desirable that we keep out?

Such questions can be answered aright only by taking the broad view that comes with the perspective of time. If men answer in the passion of the moment they may endorse an appeal to arms in defense of our inherent rights. But if they will pause to reflect, and reflecting, catch the vision of the newer and higher morality that has been set up for the guidance of man, they will be desirous that their country shall come fully up to the new standard, rather than be content to have it simply measure up to the old. International morals and codes of honor are undergoing a change similar to that guarding personal conduct a hundred years ago. And just as there had to rise up men so big and steadfast in their integrity that they could refuse to fight a duel; so there must be nations so great that they can decline, even when fortified by every right, to pick up the gage thrown down by another country.

Let each man and woman of to-day call up in his mind's eye the history that will be read by succeeding generations, and say whether the present crisis should be met on the plain now occupied by the German government, or on that to which all nations aspire, and to which President Wilson invites us. Germany will not sink many of our ships, if she sinks any; and every victim of the campaign of "frightfulness" will plague her as long as history shall run. President Wilson has proclaimed our rights without equivocation, and has appealed to the conscience of mankind. Let him continue steadfastly to proclaim our rights, and appeal to this higher law. For before that law all other forces must yield. S. C.

* * *

The wheels of progress do not stop. The world advances toward and into a better life, and will advance until, leaving the hard, clumsy and jarring pavements of the marts of selfishness behind, it will strike off joyously into the broad avenue of the millennium. No man can be a true worker for human good who does not believe that the cobblestone pavement has an end. He believes that the time is coming when what he is doing, and has done, will be accepted at its true value. He may be laughed at now; he may be scoffed at and scorned; his motives may be maligned; he may be hammered by opposition and barked at by popular clamor; but he knows that sometime in the future it will be his turn to laugh, and he is confident that he will laugh last and laugh best.—J. G. Holland.

Armed Neutrality

By Amos Pinchot.

In refusing to be dragged into war on account of wrongs done us by Germany in her conflict with the Allies, the United States has only been following the precedents of her own history.

In 1793, while the great European war was in progress, President Washington declared that the United States should "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial to the belligerent powers." The President's proclamation was not well received, for American sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of France and against England. But the second thought of the nation approved it and it was adopted at the next session of Congress as a national policy.

By 1796, the depredations of France against American commerce, aimed at England but falling heavily on us, had become intolerable. Our ships were sunk with loss of American lives and merchandise. Marine insurance rose to prohibitive rates. To make the situation more acute, the French Directorate passed an Act in July that all Americans found on belligerent ships should be treated as pirates. In 1797 our Secretary of State, Mr. Pickering, protested in his report against (1) the spoliation and maltreatment of our vessels at sea by French ships of war; (2) an embargo on vessels at Bordeaux; (3) the condemnation of ships and cargoes, under French marine ordinances incompatible with treaties, etc. Moreover, the sufferings of Americans taken prisoner by French war-ships, and their imprisonment into the French service, created deep indignation in the United States.

In justification, the Directorate replied that it was forced to use such measures by the fact that similar practices were employed by other belligerents, especially England.

In 1798 the Directorate decreed that the French navy should have authority to seize all vessels loaded with goods coming from an enemy's port, no matter to whom consigned. This was the last decree relating to such matters before the failure of negotiations in the spring of the same year.

Still war was not resorted to. Mr. Washington had retired from political life, and Mr. Adams had succeeded to the Presidency. But Washington's policy of neutrality was ob-

served under great difficulties and greater provocation. Both the government and the people took the ground that there should be no war with a friendly people on account of injuries not designed against us, but incident to the struggle between France and England.

Protection to American lives and property was the problem of Congress. And for this purpose an affirmative policy that fell short of war, yet partially preserved American rights in spite of European conditions was sanctioned and actively pursued. Our navy was recruited and enlarged. A Navy Department was created. (Prior to 1798 the War Department had had charge of the navy.) Frigates destined to become famous, such as the *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *Constellation*, were equipped and sent to sea. In fact, we launched upon a full fledged Armed Neutrality policy similar to that adopted by the Neutral League, consisting of Prussia, Austria, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, formed during our War of Independence, when France and Spain were also at war with Great Britain. That it would not be unprecedented, or an untried expedient, for us to resort to Armed Neutrality in case of need, is further emphasized by the fact that during the war between France and England in 1800 the Baltic nations formed a similar league of armed neutrals.

We are not at war now. We need not be at war. The fact that the old war-horses of daily journalism are beating the old war-drums, and the further fact that our young athletes of magazinedom, like *The New Republic*, choose to exercise their thews and sinews by writing war-essays after the coffee, does not mean that war is necessary, nor do the outcries of our Billy Sundays, Theodore Roosevelts and Lyman Abbotts, who continually identify needless war with patriotism, mean that war is right.

George Washington, President Adams, and the Congress, and the people of the United States were not too deeply impressed by such voices a century ago—and there were the same voices then. Always there are voices of men who lack a true vision of the nation's honor, and cling the more desperately to a false one.

The United States on Trial

Address of Jenkin Lloyd Jones at Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, on Sunday, February 4.

Something has happened this week, something ominous, something tragic. Something that may carry with it floods of tears, oceans of blood, and destroy towers of treasure. I must declare myself in this presence, were it the last word ever given me to speak from this free platform: If war was wrong last week, it will be wrong next week. If it was wrong then to tear human flesh to shreds, to devastate homes and desecrate the ideals of men and of nations, it is wrong now, and it is everlastingly wrong.

War is still a survival of brute forces. It occurs where spirit has not yet freed itself from the entanglements of things that can be measured, of things that can be weighed. We of the United States for two and a half years have been twiddling our thumbs while Europe was tearing itself to pieces. We have gloated over our increasing prosperity, the profits from our hellish industry of making things that kill. We have sowed the continent of Europe thick with fragments of shell and bullets stained with human blood. We have filled hospitals with agonized bodies. We have torn homes to pieces. We have planted uncounted acres with human bones. We, I say, we, have been sending this devilish stuff over there to do the work of hell, while taking shelter behind some thin, shadowy rag of what we call "International Law." Alas, now we are in grave danger of being swept into this fiendish madness which we have witnessed and fostered.

Do not tell me that there is any "honor" in trying to avenge the loss of a few petty ships and a limited number of lives by proceeding by conquest and under the guidance of science to sink numberless other ships and destroy numberless other lives on both sides of the fighting line, killing those whose hands are clean of any responsibility. As I interpret spirit, no wrong can be atoned by other wrongs. You can not bring back the lives that are gone by sallying forth to destroy other lives.

Three great inspirations of war have obtained in what we call civilization. First was the battle for God. Some of the hardest battles of history were devoted to religion; they were for God's sake.

Then there was the battle for greed, for territory, the love of power. Many millions of lives have been sacrificed in trying to

straighten boundary lines between nations which scarcely knew themselves apart.

Then there comes this other thing we call "honor"—battle for honor's sake. As if any nation in the light of history could add a star to its crown of glory by proving itself of superior power in killing its neighbors. As if outraged dignity could be assuaged by a systematic slaughter of innocents.

The United States is now under a panic for "honor's sake." This valor for "honor" threatens to throw us into everlasting dishonor. I have lived through three of these spasms. I remember the dark midnight when, as a boy, I crawled out of bed with the rest of the family because the bigger brother had come home with the awful news that Sumter had been fired upon. I have often traced with you that inspiration, that intoxication, to the bitter end, and found, as everybody now knows, that it was the very, very wrong way of doing the right thing.

I remember, as most of you remember, that other time when the flags climbed to the highest and fireworks illuminated the cities, that otherwise were torpid and stupid, with the cry: "Remember the Maine! Remember the Maine! Remember the Maine!" And, remembering the Maine, the great republic was precipitated into a mad, foolish, fruitless war. Our minister to Spain told me with his own lips and he has repeated it over and over again in public, that if the United States had but let reason rule forty-eight or seventy-two hours longer, everything would have been accomplished by diplomacy at the capital city of Spain that we succeeded in getting by brutal, merciless, bloody barbarism, including a compensation for the Maine for which Spain never admitted her guilt. It was a mad intensity that led us into that fruitless struggle.

And now comes this excitement. When pugilists in the last desperate struggle for conquest resort to the ultimate expedencies of fighters, no longer content to pull at each other's hair or clutch at each other's throats, they forget all the limitations that obtain in the ring and hit anywhere, above or below the belt. We, who sit by, witnessing all these things, seeing this desperate struggle, because our own supposed "rights" are now invaded a little bit, and our commerce is endangered, become enraged. Will we dare jump into this ring at this time to add wick-

edness to wickedness, and murder to murder?

May God help us to re-enforce the spirit, that we may carry this diplomatic perplexity to the court of reason, to listen to the impulses of love and to take a "quarter of an hour," nationally speaking, to commune with God and with the voice within. We should go behind that ragged page, born out of expediency and cruelty, the selfishness of formality and precedent, which we call "International Law," a thing of shreds and tatters, at best, born out of a false assumption that the normal relations between nations are those of rivalry and antagonism and not of a community interest.

Steps may be taken down there at Washington this week, which will strike a bloody sword deep into the flesh of this nation where a million quivering nerves, deeper than consciousness, bind us to the Fatherland over there. It is international vivisection, without cause and without profit, if we look at it even on the external side of things alone. Here our New Germany is summoned to our colors to strike at the heart of the Fatherland.

I have mounted guard on many a weary watch under the direction of a German sergeant. I have divided my rations with and profited by the prowess of "Fred Schmidt" more than once. I walked afoot while my German lieutenant rode horseback. I saw Carl Schurz, clad in the panoply of war, lead his 11th and 12th corps up the bloody side of Missionary Ridge. I saw dear old Colonel Matthias of the "Fife-th" Iowa, as he used to call it, after the bloody battle of Corinth, dismounting and falling on the logs as he sobbed, "My Boys! My poor Boys!"—one hundred or more of them lying there in one trench. I know of Colonel Matthias on the charge. I know of how the boys loved him on the march. He had a reputation for discipline and military usefulness which he brought from his years of training across the sea, but I think of Colonel Matthias most tenderly shedding bitter tears over that open grave where his boys were lying—those boys who were so much alive the day before.

All the United States is quivering with gentle emotions to-day where divided loyalties are being challenged by the cruel brutality that may declare war with a precipitancy with which no benignant project, national or otherwise, would be entered upon.

So I stand here to say again that war is wrong, unalterably wrong, an inheritance from the brute, and there is a better way to do it.

Said a man to me the other day when I was

talking to the students of the Lane Technical High School: "Do you think that your ideals will come true in a thousand years?" I did not wait for the conclusion of his sentence before I exclaimed: "That is none of my business. I don't know whether it will be a thousand years or five thousand years. I know where I belong and I know what ultimately will triumph."

The time is coming for the United States to decide whether it will ally itself with Christ or with Caesar, whether the law of love can be tried or the law of hate be resorted to.

Oh, but "Honor! Honor!" Honor to the wind where love and right and beauty and humanity are jeopardized. Oh, our country will be valorous on sea or land, if it sallies forth, but it will be a valor allied to cowardice compared to the sublime valor of Calvary, which still waits for a nation to vindicate the Christ as he has been overwhelmingly vindicated in individual lives.

And so to ease my own soul—not because I thought it could reach the Centre—I sent this telegram to our President in whom I have trusted and in whom I still have hope:

Keep us out of war. The incivilities of war-maddened monarchies are no adequate excuse for plunging a great democracy into the same madness. The destruction of a few lives and ships cannot be atoned for by sacrificing countless lives and homes. A wrong cannot be righted by added wrongs. Our crowning dishonor would be to surrender to the war spirit in this dire crisis of civilization and of our boasted Christianity. Now, if ever, should the choice be made: Is it Christ or Caesar?

While the blackest, the damnedest war is a transient thing, and the triumphs of the noblest and greatest of wars are evanescent, still the tides of life are ever onward and upward, and we, God helping us, must go in that direction.

PEACE.

By Ellis O. Jones.

The Man From Mars found himself in Wall Street. He saw a building which was labelled Stock Exchange. Having heard of this institution, he entered and made his way to the floor of the Exchange, a thing which could never have happened had not the guard employed rigidly to exclude all visitors momentarily relaxed his vigilance.

For a brief period, he stood watching the struggling frantic brokers as they tried to get the advantage of each other. Then he spoke to a man near him who seemed to be taking a breathing spell. "Wouldn't it be

fine if we could only get peace in Europe?" he said pleasantly.

The man looked at him suspiciously a moment, then he called loudly for reinforcements. "Hey, men! Here is a pacifist! Out with him!"

Immediately several dozen men sprang forward with cries of "Spy," "Lynch him," "Hit him again," "Enemy of society," "Kick him in the slats," and numerous other friendly phrases of similar import. They jumped upon the Man From Mars with great determination and began to tear him limb from limb.

It was with the greatest difficulty that the Man From Mars was finally rescued by some of the cooler heads, but even then he was obliged to spend three weeks in the hospital before he could continue his investigations of our fair planet.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending February 18.

The Anti-War Movement.

The movement against forcing the United States into war has borne fruit in the sending of thousands of telegrams and other messages to congressmen urging against such a move. Many peace meetings have been held in cities throughout the country. Labor organizations have taken decided action. At a meeting in New York City on February 10 of delegates from various peace organizations the Emergency Peace Federation was formed and a delegation of 100 was sent to Washington to urge upon Congress the policy expressed in the following resolutions:

The President has declared that "We earnestly desire to remain at peace." We believe that in so speaking he voices the sentiments of the mass of the American people that steadfast endeavor to procure a right settlement of all international difficulties by peaceful means is the highest patriotism.

The Emergency Peace Federation is supporting the peace policy of President Wilson, and offers to him and to the country any help that it can give to keep us out of war. Its program is:

1. To urge our Government to defer settlement of any international conflicts affecting America until the present war is over.
2. To keep Americans out of the danger zone.
3. To consult the people by referendum before declaring war.

Among the delegates were Professor Harry Overstreet of the College of the City of New York; Alfred J. Boulton, Mrs. Henry Villard, Professor Emily Greene Balch, May Wright Sewall, and Benjamin C. Marsh. The plan of action was carried out and the delegation was assured by Senator Stone, as chairman

of the Committee of Foreign Relations, that the President and Congress would do everything possible to preserve peace. The delegates addressed many meetings in Washington on February 11.

* * *

At a meeting on February 11 the Socialist party of New York decided to expel any member who should voluntarily enlist.

The Press Censorship Bill.

The following is the tentative draft of the War College division, Army General Staff, of a press censorship bill to be rushed through Congress in case of war.

A bill to confer upon the President power to restrict the publication of certain information inconsistent with the defense of the country.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That whenever in his judgment the defense of the country requires such action, the President may issue a proclamation prohibiting the publication of all news referring to the armed forces of the Government or the means and measures that may be contemplated for defense of the country, except when such publication shall have been duly authorized, and he may issue such regulation as may be necessary to render such prohibition effective.

SEC. 2. That after the President shall have issued such proclamation as is authorized by section 1 of this Act it shall be unlawful for any person within the jurisdiction of the United States to publish or procure to be published, or to assist in the publication of any information, facts, rumors, or news prohibited by the terms of the proclamation or regulations issued under this Act, except when such publication shall have been duly authorized under such regulations, and any person who so offends may be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by a term of imprisonment of not more than three years, or both.

SEC. 3. That when in the judgment of the President the defense of the country no longer requires prohibition of publication he shall issue a proclamation revoking any proclamation issued under section 1 of this Act; thereupon the pains and penalties authorized by this act, except for violations of regulations committed prior to such revocation, shall cease.

Congressional Doings.

A resolution prohibiting a declaration of war until authorized by a popular vote was introduced in the House on February 9 by Congressman Callaway, of Texas. It is as follows:

Resolved, that no declaration of war by Congress, and no act of war by the executive branch of the Government of the United States of America, shall be taken until the question at issue shall be submitted to a referendum of the voters of the United States.

The Cline bill for permanent diversion of

20,000 cubic feet of water per second from Niagara Falls passed the House of February 8. (See current volume, page 132).

* *

The Post Office Appropriation bill, reported to the Senate on February 9, provides for an increase of second class mail rates of one-half cent per pound this year, and an equal increase next year. It further provides a reduction in first class rates to one cent for local delivery letters. The Committee on Interstate Commerce reported on the same day the Adamson railroad bill, providing for investigation of labor controversies on railroads, and authorizing the President to take over railroads, telegraph and telephone lines as a military necessity. No prohibition of strikes is explicitly mentioned, but there is a clause forbidding obstruction of the mails or of interstate commerce.

* *

Democratic Senators in caucus on February 10 voted down Senator Overman's proposal for a \$500,000,000 bond issue, and endorsed the revenue bill passed by the House for an excess profits tax. On the same day the Senate Committee on Military Affairs reported favorably on Senator Chamberlain's universal compulsory military service bill. Senators Thomas, of Colorado, and Brady, of Idaho, reserved the right to submit minority reports. Press reports do not say who the majority members are. The committee is composed of the following: Chamberlain of Oregon, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Lea of Tennessee, Fletcher of Florida, Myers of Montana, Thomas of Colorado, Clarke of Arkansas, Sheppard of Texas, Beckham of Kentucky, Broussard of Louisiana, du Pont of Delaware, Warren of Wyoming, Catron of New Mexico, Brady of Idaho, Goff of West Virginia, Colt of Rhode Island, and Weeks of Massachusetts.

* *

On February 10 the Senate struck from the Porto Rican bill the clause disfranchising citizens who are not direct taxpayers. It substituted for this the compromise arrangement, by which the Legislature may fix qualifications for voters. [See vol. xix, p. 1235.]

* *

On February 12 the House amended the Naval Appropriation bill so as to authorize the President to commandeer private shipyards and munitions establishments in time of war or national emergency.

Investigation of Rising Food Prices.

President Wilson, on February 10, directed the Trade Commission and Depart-

ment of Agriculture to investigate advancing prices of food. In his letter he said, in part:

While the population of the nation has increased 26,000,000 since 1900, the production of the two leading cereals, corn and wheat, while tending to increase, has shown only a slight advance, and that of the meat products in the same period has shown an increase of only 3,500,000,000 pounds, a decrease of 29 pounds per capita. . . . It has been alleged before committees of Congress and elsewhere that the course of trade in important food products is not free, but is restricted and controlled by artificial and illegal means. It is of the highest public concern to ascertain the truth or falsity of these allegations. No business can be transacted effectively in an atmosphere of suspicion. If the allegations are well grounded, it is necessary that the nature and extent of the evils and abuses be accurately determined, so that proper remedies, legislative or administrative, may be applied. If they are not true, it is equally essential that the public be informed, so that unrest and dissatisfaction may be allayed.

High Cost of Living Exhibit.

An exhibit on the High Cost of Living is being held at 208 Fifth avenue, New York City. It is under the auspices of a committee including Frederick L. Cranford, John J. Hopper, Frederic C. Howe, Frederic C. Leubuscher, William Lustgarten and Benjamin C. Marsh. These factors are shown, with methods for eliminating them: High rents, high freight rates, high charge for gas, electricity and transit, high cost of farm products, high prices for coal, kerosene and wood and high taxes. The exhibit is open to the public from 10 A. M. to 9 P. M., with speaking each day at noon.

California's Tax Reform Movement.

The California Equity League, formed at the recent conference of tax reformers at San Francisco, has begun the publication of a bulletin at Berkeley, in connection with its campaign for the constitutional amendment it intends to submit. J. Stitt Wilson is in charge of the work. (See current volume, page 111).

* *

Charles James, of Los Angeles, who was out in support of the Great Adventure amendment of last year, and is now co-operating with the Equity League's movement, corrects the account of the Los Angeles meeting of December 18, reported on page 62 of THE PUBLIC, as follows:

The reason why the Great Adventure group insisted on unanimous consent to any action taken at the conference was on account of its non-representative character. Several Singletax organizations were not represented at all, nor were the Labor

people or the Socialists, except in so far as Mr. J. Stitt Wilson and Mr. T. W. Williams are members of the party, but not its representatives. Furthermore the local Singletax group had only four of its 120 members on the floor whereas the local Home Rule organization was represented by the bulk of its membership. In view of these circumstances a vote would in no sense voice the sentiment of the Singletax interests in the state and it was therefore suggested by Mr. Lincoln Steffens that no action should be taken except by unanimous consent. It was on this suggestion that we acted; and let me say here that our whole course during the conference was in harmony with Mr. Steffens's suggestions, or had at least his consent.

The reason for the ultimate deadlock over the question of the makeup of the referendum committee is not quite correctly stated by Mr. Wilson. It is true that the Great Adventure group opposed the six-point committee, principally because it did not give representation to various Singletax organizations in the state. It was then that the San Diego group suggested a committee made up of representatives, not of the various local groups, but of the leading state groups interested in taxation reform, such as the Singletaxers, the Home Rulers, and the Union Labor People, and Socialists, each to be represented by one member. This did not have the immediate consent of the Great Adventure group but at the urge of Mr. Steffens they finally were willing to agree to it. It was then that it was found impossible to get unanimous consent from the other side, and as this had during the whole conference been made the method of procedure the Great Adventure group withdrew the moment it was proposed to proceed to vote on the proposition.

Mexico and the United States.

Henry P. Fletcher left Washington on the 10th for Mexico to present his credentials as American Ambassador. Captain Frank R. McCoy will accompany him as military attache of the embassy. They will go to Queretaro, which now serves as the capital. A special train of five cars, accompanied by a guard of 100 troops and a reception committee, will meet Ambassador Fletcher at Laredo. It is announced that the capital will be transferred to Mexico City the latter part of February. Ignacio Bouillas, Secretary of Communications, of the Mexican Government, has been appointed Ambassador to the United States. (See current volume, page 134).

* *

Many rumors regarding the actions of Villa and Zapata are circulating, but their vagueness and contradictions make them useless as a source of reliable information. These men and others evidently are still in the field, but only as irregulars, unable to meet the Government forces. Villa is reported to be making plans to contest with

the Government for the control of the territory evacuated by General Pershing's American troops.

Cuba.

Fresh trouble has arisen in Cuba over the election. The requirements of a special election in Santa Clara Province on the 14th to complete the Presidential election held on November 1 has led to clashes between the Conservatives and Liberals. Dispatches from Santiago announce that the garrison of that city has seized the civilian officials of that town on the plea that they were not observing the requirements of the Constitution. Several clashes are reported between the government forces and bands of rebels in Santa Clara Province. The Government at Washington has issued a friendly warning to the rival factions that the question of new elections in Santa Clara Province is regarded with "no small concern," and that the United States is confident that the election will be settled by law, rather than by resort to arms. As the treaty with Cuba gives the United States the right to interfere in Cuban affairs when it is deemed necessary, such a warning has peculiar significance. The Cuban government gives assurances that it will energetically suppress any attempts to interfere with legal procedure. [See current volume, page 114.]

European War.

Military activities on land now occupy a subordinate place. The British forces on the Somme front have advanced their lines on both sides of the Ancre, while lesser engagements at Verdun appear to have produced little change. On the Riga front the Russians claim small advances for their forces. No other land actions of moment are mentioned in the dispatches. [See current volume, page 135].

* *

The submarine campaign of Germany is the centre of interest. From February 1 to 5 the number of ships lost, large and small, was 31, representing 41,887 tons. On the 6th the number was 14; on the 7th, 14; on the 8th, 10; on the 9th, 6; on the 10th, 7; on the 11th, 2; and on the 12th, 5. This makes a total for the twelve days of 89 ships, a tonnage of 186,474. During the first nine days of the unrestricted submarine campaign 700 vessels arrived in ports of the United Kingdom, and 410 departed. Of the vessels torpedoed 21 were trawlers and smacks. Marine insurance quoted by Lloyds

from American to French and English ports, which had jumped from five per cent. to seven per cent. in December on account of the German raider in the South Atlantic, has dropped to six per cent., in spite of submarine activities. Berlin announces that the Entente Allies have lost 4,000,000 tons of shipping through acts of the Central Powers. The same authority claims that during December 152 merchant ships, representing 329,000 tons, were sunk by the Central Powers. It is claimed that the British have lost, up to the end of 1916, 3,069,000 tons, or almost 15 per cent. of their total shipping at the beginning of the war. During the same period, it is claimed by the German Government, that they have sunk 401 neutral vessels, of 537,500 tons. The British Admiralty announces that measures have been taken to meet the unrestricted submarine campaign, and confidence is expressed in its effectiveness.

* *

Official developments in the diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, since the dismissal of the German Ambassador at Washington and the recall of the American Ambassador at Berlin, have resulted in nothing further than an informal request, on the 13th, by the German Government, through the Swiss Minister in charge of German affairs at Washington, that it is "willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby." To which Secretary of State Lansing replied:

I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were good enough to hand to me on the 11th inst., that the Government of the United States will gladly discuss with the German Government any question that it might propose for discussions were it to withdraw its proclamation of January 31, in which it cancelled the assurances given this Government on the 4th of May last, but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon the assurances.

* *

The American Ambassador, James W. Gerard, arrived in Zurich, Switzerland, on the 11th, accompanied by 120 Americans, including his staff. Ambassador Count von Bernstorff is expected to leave the United States on the 14th. American affairs in Berlin have been left in charge of the Spanish Ambassador. German interests at Wash-

ington will be looked after by the Swiss Minister. Most of the neutral governments have protested against the position taken by Germany in her unrestricted submarine war, and have expressed sympathy with the United States, but none of them has severed diplomatic relations with the offending nation. Brazil warns Germany that she will be held responsible for destruction of Brazilian ships, property or life. Argentina, Chili, Uruguay, Peru and Bolivia take positions similar to those of Brazil. The de facto government of Mexico urges all neutral countries to unite in urging peace upon the belligerents, failing which, it suggests that they sever all communication with them, in order that the war may be isolated and burn itself out. Holland, in protesting against the German action, sees in "such destruction of neutral ships violations of the rights of nations, to say nothing of an attack upon the laws of humanity." Spain declares that her strict neutrality, maintained from the beginning of the war, warrants her in expecting that "the lives of her subjects engaged in sea trade should not be placed in such grave peril." And the Spanish Government considers that the claim made by Germany of the right to destroy "the lives of non-combatants and the subjects of neutral nations such as Spain is contrary to the principles observed by all nations, even in moments of the greatest violence." The Chinese Government vigorously supports the position taken by the United States. Sweden declares its intention to remain impartial toward both belligerents. No action has been taken regarding Austria or the other Central powers.

Notes

—The bill conferring Presidential and Municipal suffrage on women passed the Indiana Senate on February 8 by 32 to 16.

—Governor Goodrich of Indiana signed on February 9 the prohibition bill passed by the Legislature. [See current volume, page 136.]

—The Judiciary committee of the New York Senate recommended favorably on February 7 the bill to resubmit a woman suffrage amendment.

A bill for exemption of improvements on farms from taxation has passed the Senate of North Dakota. [See current volume, page 38.]

—Secretary Baker has asked Congress to establish a submarine base at Coco Solo Point, at the Atlantic entrance to the Panama Canal, to cost \$1,573,000.

—At the annual Convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor at Salem, on February 10, President Brown of the Farmers' Union assured the delegates that his organization is in full accord with the legislative demands of the workers.

—At its meeting on January 29, the Dallas Singletax Club condemned Secretary of State Lansing's action in protesting against the clause of the Mexican constitution providing that "there shall be no private or government monopolies of any sort, nor exemption from taxation."

—Thomas Mooney was found guilty of first degree murder at San Francisco on February 9, in connection with the throwing of a bomb at the preparedness parade in July. His attorney announced that an appeal would be taken immediately. [See current volume, page 39.]

—W. E. Brokaw, formerly editor of the *Singletax Courier*, published during the 90's at St. Louis, and one of the old guard of Singletax advocates, has begun publication at Joemma (Longbranch P. O.), Washington, publication of *The Direct Trader*, a monthly paper devoted to discussion of the high cost of living.

—Alien immigrants to the number of 30,902 entered the United States during the month of December, 1916. The principal occupations represented were: Professional, 616; skilled labor, 4,324; farm laborers, 2,417; laborers, 5,496; servants, 3,310; miscellaneous, 3,280; no occupation, including women and children, 11,459. Emigrant aliens to the number of 7,005 departed during December.

—Mrs. Margaret Sanger was transferred on February 8 from the Blackwell's Island prison to the Queens county jail. Commissioner of Correction Burdette G. Lewis said that the prison is over-crowded, and denied that Mrs. Sanger's removal was due to fear lest she report her observation of conditions in the prison. [See current volume, page 133.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [see current volume, page 114] for the twelve months ending December, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for December, 1916:

	Exports	Imports	Balance	
Merchandise	\$5,480,900,981	\$2,891,716,385	\$3,089,184,506	Expts.
Gold	155,792,987	685,744,598	529,951,671	Impts.
Silver	70,595,037	82,263,289	88,331,798	Expts.
Total	\$5,707,288,895	\$3,109,724,229	\$3,597,564,673	Expts.

The exports for December, 1916, the twenty-ninth month of the European war were \$521,128,246, as compared with \$359,306,362 for December, 1915, and \$245,632,558 in 1914. The imports for December, 1916, were \$204,896,188, as compared with \$171,832,505 in December, 1915, and \$114,656,545 in 1914. The exports for December, 1916, are the largest ever reported for one month by any country. The average monthly exports for the six months ending with December have been one-half billion dollars.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Reactionary.

The *Nation* (London), January 27.—If the Ministry wishes to gain a measure of respect in the country, it will have to repress the oratory of Mr. John Hodge, and the question might then arise as to what other function he discharges. He has this week declared for Protection after the war in

one of his familiar speeches, which aim at genial irresponsibility but miss the light touch of the chartered humorist. He told his audience that he had been a fool in the past to believe in Free Trade, and clearly the confession is just, for he believed what he was incapable of understanding. In three nearly consecutive sentences he laid down three absolutely contradictory principles for our future guidance. (1) The sentimental; he would boycott Germany as he would boycott the baker for beating his dog. This clearly commits him to unconditional exclusion of German imports. (2) He would exclude German steel, so long as any blast furnace in this country is idle; the exclusion is thus no longer unconditional, and this "principle" clearly applies to every other rival producer, however virtuous or friendly. (3) He would not leave our door open unless Germany opens hers; a principle of reciprocity irreconcilable with the other two.

Soldiers Must Obey Like Convicts.

New York *Call*, February 10.—Some years ago somebody—supposed to be a Socialist—said, or was said to have said, that "the lowest depth to which a young man could fall was to become a soldier," or words to that effect. The utterance was ascribed to the late Jack London, but he, we believe, denied its authorship. . . . But, no matter who said it, is it true? What amount of truth does it contain? Is it "absolutely" false?

Not unless Mr. Burdette G. Lewis, our present commissioner of correction, is wofully mistaken. After forcibly feeding Mrs. Byrne through a tube, he now comes forward with a proposition for recruiting men from the convict prisoners of the state should there be war with Germany. Major General Wood, the press report says, has indorsed the proposition and it is expected the war department will consent. . . . Now, there are many people who think convicts altogether undesirable and, on the whole, the lowest of the low. But if Mr. Burdette G. Lewis is right, they are badly mistaken. Waxing enthusiastic over the proposition, he is thus reported:

I believe these prisoners would make *excellent* soldiers. France's convicts are her *best* soldiers, the famous Blue Devils, who fight in the first line. The parole commission would parole the prisoners and they would serve for the regular term of enlistment. I have no doubt *all* would respond to a call. When we first thought of the plan a year ago every one of the 400 prisoners in the New Hampton Farms reformatory volunteered.

Of course, there are some people who regard the position of a convict as the lowest to which a young man could fall, and who at the same time consider a soldier as embodying the highest type of sterling manhood and patriotism. And here we have a distinguished New York official—backed by a most distinguished soldier—contending that the very pick and choice of this sterling manhood and patriotism exists among the men in convict prisons. They are the "best," the most "excellent." What does it all

mean? It seems horribly confusing. And in these parlous times, not venturing to express a positive opinion ourselves, we shall dodge, and leave to our readers to thrash the matter out with Mr. Burdette G. Lewis and Major General Wood, if they feel so inclined.

Will Jingoos Please Answer.

Duluth (Minn.), *Herald*, February 7.—A truer patriot than Karl Liebknecht might be hard to find. When the military system finds such a man guilty of treason and punishes him by prison sentence, thinking Germans must wonder whether there is not something wrong with the system—and not in Germany alone.—*New York World*.

True! There will come a time in Germany when Karl Liebknecht, pilloried and imprisoned today for daring to speak the truth, will rank higher in the list of German heroes than the kaiser or any of his family or retainers. But, before we say too much in praise of Liebknecht, suppose we consider what would happen to an American Liebknecht who, in war time, had the patriotic courage to stand out against a sham military patriotism in this country.

CORRESPONDENCE

WHO ARE THE INCENDIARIES.

If the free speech laws of this country permit the indictment of some well-known speakers and publicists for "incendiary utterances" or for "inciting to violence by word of mouth or pen," then why cannot some of our big newspapers, mainly of this city, be indicted for their headlines of the past week? Scarcely one of them that did not seem anxious to stir up the people and arouse passions that might easily lead to personal violence, if not to a temper that would make it impossible for even our level-headed President to prevent war. In most cases the meaning of these intentionally incendiary headlines was refuted by the text beneath them. But a hundred people read the headlines to one who reads the full text beneath. Also the newsboys were yelling "WAR" with no cause. They at least deserve the treatment too often meted out to some brave spirits who dare to tell the truth in public places, for their words were dastardly and dangerous lies. I yield to none in advocacy of free speech, and I remember Henry George's answer, as reported in some similar case: "If we restrain the press in a good cause we open the door to a dangerous precedent" (I do not quote verbatim). But the door is open, in this case, and there is restraint enough of speech when it is a case of fearless antagonism to false traditions. But dastardly and deliberate lies, calculated and intended to stir up public feeling . . . mainly so that people will buy more papers, I suppose, a mighty small result to be attained with so much danger . . . appear to be beyond the reach of laws always ready to muzzle truth.

This is a matter that all peace societies should look into at once. They should make some concerted attempt to force the papers not to use headlines which have no connection with truth and which are most dangerous in their possibility of

exciting popular passion at such a time as this.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

New York City.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

In the midst of war and rumors of war, we suffer from the high cost of living, just as we suffered from the high cost of living before the European War began. The reasons for the high cost of living are portrayed most graphically in the Exhibit, presented by a Committee of men and women prominent in civic work in New York, during the two weeks, February 5th to February 17th inclusive. It is located in a large store near Twenty-sixth street, running from Fifth avenue to Broadway, and draws large noonday crowds from both streets.

Six main reasons are emphasized for the high cost of living:

Land monopoly, both rural and urban.

High charges for transit, gas and electricity.

Over capitalization of railroads, and the inclusion of increases in the value of land owned by the railroads for the purpose of rate making.

Speculation in farm products.

High prices for coal, kerosene and wood.

High taxes.

Rents in New York City are higher than in almost any other city in the world, and a striking diagram shows that the Astor family secures 1.5 per cent of the ground rents of the city; thirteen families 4.4 per cent; while 883 families get 17.4 per cent—approximately one-fifth of the total ground rent.

The testimony of experts is given to show that transferring taxes from buildings to land values would reduce rents materially.

Several placards drive home to the citizens of New York who are visiting the Exhibit by thousands that if we could secure as cheap transit as in Cleveland, Detroit and Columbus, they would save on 800 rides a year, \$16.00. If they could get gas as cheap as Indianapolis they would save on 30,000 cubic feet, \$7.50 a year; while with electricity at 3c per kw-hr, as in Cleveland, they would save \$45.00 on 1,000 kw-hrs.

The Exhibit shows that only one-third of the capitalization of the public utility corporations of New York City is water. Glass jars show that the proportions of the capitalization of the railroads of the country, which does not represent any bona fide or prudent investment, nor value given by the owners, amounts to nearly \$9,000,000,000, out of a total capitalization of a little over \$21,000,000,000.

Perhaps the most dramatic exhibit is a large figure of a deputy sheriff armed with revolver, rifle and sword who represents the majesty of the law and who will shoot any American citizen who attempts to use land or any natural resource—oil, coal or timber—without first paying the monopolizers their price.

Noonday conferences have been held and largely attended. Among the subjects discussed are: Tenement Mothers' Difficulties (by the mothers themselves), "High Rents and How to Reduce Them," "The High Cost of Food and How to Reduce It," "The High Cost of Transit, Gas and Electricity."

BENJAMIN C. MARSH.

New York City.

CHURCH MILITANT OR MILITARIST?

Shall we talk peace? asks the President.

Yes, says the Church Militant.

No, thunders the Church Militarist.

What is the difference?

The Church Militant believes in the goodness of God; it believes goodness prevails over every other force. It believes in the kingdom of heaven and it believes in working to establish it.

The Church Militarist, which is so far in the majority, believes in guns more than it believes in the gospel. It believes in the dominion of hell and it believes in fighting the devil with fire.

In Europe all Christendom belongs to the Church Militarist; in the United States merely a majority.

So the Church Militarist opposes premature peace. It will not have peace without righteousness. It opposes peace till vengeance has been visited on the offending nation—by which it means Germany. It advocates vengeance as a means of making peace.

It is illogical, absurd, flying in the face of all experience—but very natural. It obeys the first impulse of every primitive man—and we are all primitive. The first notion we all have when someone offends us is to beat him into submission.

But we all know better. We know that a sulky school boy cannot be pounded into cheerfulness; we know that a sullen tribe cannot be licked into neighborhood amiability; we know a bumptious nation cannot be persuaded to sweetness by slaughter.

We know that war can establish neither peace nor justice; we know that peace can.

The Church Militarist, decrying premature peace, takes the weaker position. It deprecates peace without righteousness—which is nonsense, for it is only with righteousness that peace can be established. Peace with injustice is merely perpetuation of war.

Indeed, the real problem today is not to establish peace but to establish righteousness and so peace may follow.

To establish righteousness is to establish peace. Now war cannot establish righteousness. It never did and never could. Vengeance cannot establish righteousness. It never did and never could. In peace righteousness may be established. So the church militant has the stronger position.

Shall we talk peace? asks the President. Indeed we shall; we are doing it. All the world is doing it in the very moment that half of them deny indignantly that it is to be thought of. We must talk peace.

We must talk peace with energy. We must believe in peace as the church militant believes in it. We must desire righteousness most of all or peace will be fraudulent as war itself. We must believe in goodwill as the church militant believes in it.

A world in which righteousness and good will dominate will be a world without wars. Now we can't transform the whole world in a flash by wishing. But we can transform the United States whenever we have a mind to. And every one of us can make his own world one in which righteousness and good will dominate. Whenever every man has made over his own world into the kingdom of heaven—and that is absolutely in his power—the United States will be such a power for righteousness and peace

that no government equipped only with ships and guns could withstand it for a moment.

But that is a long way off. The majority still belongs to the church militant, which is the dominant sect in Europe. The church militant does not yet control so much as the factories and mining camps in the United States. The kingdom of heaven will not gain the whole world till it takes over the shop on the next corner.

And yet—we are talking peace; we wish for righteousness. We are administering the largest fund of goodwill the world has ever known.

The day of the Church Militant is coming. The day of the Church Militarist is already gone. For, if not many believe in peace, nobody will much longer believe in the efficacy of war. And—at least as a virtue for others—we are athirst for righteousness.

THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER.

Duluth, Minn.

BOOKS**APPEALS TO LOVE AND HATE.**

Love for Battle-torn People. By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Published by the Unity Publishing Co., Chicago. Price 75 cents.

The Greater Tragedy. By Benjamin Apthorpe Gould. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price \$1.00.

It not infrequently happens that a conscientious reviewer would wish to recommend the reading of books in pairs—as instance the two recent publications named above—the one calculated as a corrective to the partial or one-sided views of the other, and vice versa.

To announce a volume of sermons usually means to alienate the reader's attention at the outset, but we give our assurance that "Love for Battle-torn People," by Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, though originally delivered in sermon form, may be regarded as a literary work of merit, and contains throughout a unity of aim and treatment which gives it a high cultural value. It strikes a note which in the present jangling discord of national passions, much requires to be heard. The author calls upon his readers to look below the surface of things and to discover the reasons why we should love all the warring nations of Europe, even those whose national ideals are furthest removed from our own. It is easy to treat a demand of this kind in a spirit of levity, and to recall the story of the dinner-table guest called upon for a toast, and who, determined not to be out-done in breadth and generosity of sentiment, invited his friends to drink to "All people that on earth do dwell." But in sober truth it is necessary constantly to remind ourselves of the world's indebtedness to every nation of whatever race or color. Loyalty to Truth, Beauty and Goodness should know no frontiers of coast-lines or mountains. The lover of philosophy or music cannot but revere the very name of Germany which has contributed so lavishly to the enrichment of human life, nor can the devotee of science forget his indebtedness to the laboratories of Austria and Hungary. When an American thinks of Italy he must needs remember the great apostle of democracy, Mazzini, and the fact that his country owes her name to the illustrious navigator, Americus Vespuccius. There are many

reasons indeed which ought to hold all nations in bonds of affection to the country of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Titian, and the mighty masters of music who led the world in creating that language by which emotion most easily expresses itself; and not the least among these the revelation of a larger and better ordered universe made by Copernicus and Galileo. Mysterious and half-civilized Russia, too, Dr. Jones finds ample reason for embracing in brotherly love, chief among which is the fact that she has produced Tolstoy, one of the most powerful forces making for righteousness during the last half century. In thinking of France also, we are called upon to remember not only Victor Hugo, Comte, Pasteur, M. and Mme. Curie and the long line of French litterateurs and scientists, but that group of idealists who have given a new direction to the great art of painting, Corot, Troyon, Meissonier, Millet, etc. Even for the unspeakable Turk, Dr. Jones discovers something to challenge our admiration and affection, in his contributions to the arts of architecture, and rug and carpet weaving. The book closes appropriately with an appeal to the reader to love our own America for its defence of individual liberty, "to vindicate our ancestors and restore confidence in their ideals," and to realize America's opportunity at this awful crisis in the world's history. Having fortified the mind with this appeal to the nobler sentiments, one may safely take up Benjamin Apthorpe Gould's "The Greater Tragedy," a forceful indictment not only of the spirit and the warring methods of Germany during the war, but an equally serious challenge to the existing American administration to show reason for our continued confidence. Those Americans who have to some extent emancipated themselves both from the party spirit and from that human tendency to give themselves body and soul to the politician of their choice, and who yet have loyally supported the President through the difficult task of choosing the one right action amidst a hundred possible wrong ones, may have had secret misgivings as to the "peace at any price" policy that has been pursued. Such will find their doubts expressed for them by a writer who knows how to use language effectively—perhaps, it may be thought, too effectively. For we have long ago reconciled ourselves to human fallibility. We have determined that when we trust a leader we shall trust him fully. When we set the director of our destinies on a watch tower, we allow for the limitations of our own view, and trust the wider vision and clearer perspective that his exalted position affords. But in a democracy this does not imply a complete effacement of our own right in the last resort to give or withhold our approbation, or to continue or withdraw our confidence.

The question which this book presents is as to whether the President has correctly expressed the attitude of the American people on the ethical aspect of the European war, especially in regard to the violation of treaties, and in the last analysis, on the ideals of autocracy and democracy respectively, for which the battle is being fought. This question must be faced. Is absolute neutrality a possible attitude for a spectator in a quarrel? We all know how difficult it is to witness a dog-fight without wishing

that one rather than the other may win, and this even where no ethical considerations influence us. But how much more difficult—indeed how impossible, when the principle is at stake for which this country has struggled and triumphed and lived up to, during a hundred and forty years. Is it not time we abandoned the pretense of neutrality we have maintained since the outbreak of the war? Does our integrity of conscience not demand that we sever relations with a nation which puts might before right, and recognizes no limit to the barbarity which "military necessity" may impose? These are questions which Mr. Gould invites the American nation to ask itself, not as we should have preferred, in accents of sweet reasonableness, but as through a megaphone and in tone that sound like thunder. When read however, in the spirit likely to be induced by the first-mentioned book, "The Greater Tragedy" will point a moral which it may be well for us to lay to heart.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Garment Trades. By Edna Bryner. Published by The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. Price 25 cents.

The Public Library and the Public Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres and Adele McKinnic. Published by The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. Price 25 cents.

Dressmaking and Millinery. By Edna Bryner. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. Price 25 cents.

State Socialism After the War. By Thomas J. Hughes. Published by George W. Jacobs and Co., Philadelphia. Price \$1.50 net.

The Public Defender. By Mayer C. Goldman. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price \$1.00 net.

Friendship and Other Poems. By B. H. Nadal. Published by Robert J. Shores, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

Britain Transformed. Published by T. Fisher Wirwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, London. Price 6 pence net.

* * *

Wherever truth stands in the mind, unaccompanied by the evidence upon which it depends, it cannot properly be said to be apprehended at all.—Godwin.

* * *

Liberty cannot be sacrificed for the sake of anything. It is of more value than anything else.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

* * *

There is one thing in the world more wicked than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey.—William Kingdon Clifford.

* * *

Great literature is always the record of some great struggle.—Vida D. Scudder.

* * *

Everything is only for a day, both that which remembers and that which is remembered.—Marcus Aurelius.

* * *

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.—Benjamin Franklin.

* * *

That which is unjust can really profit no one; that which is just can really harm no one.—Henry George.

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[Continued from page 146]

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REFERENDUM

A LETTER TO THE PUBLIC:—The country is in imminent peril of entering the world-war. The decision our government makes will be the most momentous in our history. It is a time for clear thought. Let us remember that the breaking of diplomatic relations does not mean inevitable war. Neither does an overt act on the part of Germany mean immediate war. For we run no danger of invasion. We have none of the urgency of sudden self-defence. We are in the most fortunate position to take a calm and critical survey of what hostilities will mean. We still have time to decide consciously and clear-sightedly whether we wish to shatter the whole structure of our position as the one powerful neutral. "Democratic control of foreign policy" is one of the new instruments with which all men of good-will hope to scotch the war-madness of the future. We have now the one chance in all history to test out this principle.

The public which elected the President as the leader of a liberal democracy should be consulted before our government takes a step which to millions will seem like the collapse of all our hopes and ideals. In his foreign policy, in Colombia, in Mexico, in Europe, the President has stood as the courageous and patient defender of democratic control. But now, inasmuch as the Constitution places the decision of war and peace in the hands of the people's congressional representatives, the people themselves must speak. Theirs, in the last analysis, is the immeasurable burden of war and the responsibility of assuming it.

For, however inevitable the breaking of relations may have been, the positive act of war will be the expression of a new world policy. It will be the work of deliberate choice, and, as an act of choice, the people of this nation have a right to criticize it. If the nation goes into this war, it must go with its eyes wide open. It cannot drift in without the least vision of how radically our destiny will be altered by our action.

Prior, therefore, to a declaration of war, or to any engaging in hostilities, Congress should take measures to secure a nation-wide referendum on the question of our entrance. This should be preceded by a clear and explicit statement from the President as to the policy to which we are being committed, and the probable consequences. We must know all the gains that could possibly accrue, both to the rest of the world and to ourselves. We must know whether these would balance the appalling evils war would surely bring. During the last few weeks the President has outlined for us a world order to whose support a neutral America would throw its vast reservoir of power and principle. We have had the conviction that there was still for us the great role to play of a robust and healing neutrality. Shall we surrender to war, when we should be working for a warless world? Shall the crisis find us numb, except for the most elementary of patriotic thrills? It is a time for speaking. Do we want this war? Do we want it for any of the possible purposes that exist? Can we justify war for anything short of national self-defence? In any other cause are we ready to fling frantically away our international efficacy for good?

If you want a referendum before Congress declares war (except in case of invasion) write or wire your Congressman today.

If you want to spread this point of view widely over the country, send money at once to COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL (formerly Emergency Office), Room 1034, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and it will be used for nothing else.

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