

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

European Socialist Prospects
Military Training in the Schools
A Lesson From Burns

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BOOKS

By

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

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EDITORIAL

Queer defenders of a nation's liberties were the British soldiers who broke up the peace meeting in London, on January 9, addressed by Ramsay Macdonald and Mrs. Snowden. Yet every incident of that kind amounts to a confession that arguments for peace are unanswerable and, unless suppressed by brute force, will appeal irresistibly to the reason and conscience of the people.

S. D.

* * *

Complaint is made that the new navy that came of the agitation for preparedness is likely to be for a long time a navy on paper. Private yards are busy with commercial shipping, and the Government yards will require time and more money before they can be made ready for the monster ships specified. But is this delay a proper matter for complaint? Is not a paper navy of superdread-

naughts the best at the present time? What the world needs is a cessation of war, not more war. No thought is now more generally recognized in Europe than the absolute necessity for disarmament. Why then should the United States be in such haste to take on armament? It was urged by some at the time the naval bill was under consideration that with such a building program at hand, but with power in the hands of the President to suspend it when Europe should show a disposition toward disarmament, it might be an incentive to the belligerent countries to follow that course. But if this country uses its resources in time of peace to create a navy, while other nations are destroying theirs, it is likely to have the opposite effect. When there is added to this the fact that no man can now say what will be the nature of the future warship America's new navy may well remain no paper for the present.

S. C.

* * *

The tyranny and humiliation, to which all citizens will be subjected should military service become universal and compulsory, is shown by the cruel treatment imposed on a private in the New York militia, upon whom for alleged insubordination the "spread-eagle" penalty was inflicted. Four others threatened with the same punishment escaped it only by submitting to what seems to have been an unreasonable and tyrannical command. But it is not probable that the worst sufferer in this affair was the punished soldier, but his comrades innocent of any infraction of discipline who were forced to carry out the order to inflict the penalty. It will be said that such occurrences are necessary to maintain discipline. That may be true, but if so, the price of discipline is entirely too high.

S. D.

* * *

A powerful military establishment is more likely to bring shame upon the country than honor. An example is the enforcement by American naval officers in San Domingo of a press censorship. The censorship proc-

lamation issued by Captain H. S. Knapp, forbids dissemination of "views unfavorable to the United States Government." What view can be disseminated more unfavorable to the United States Government than that, while pretending to stand for freedom, its representatives in a foreign nation establish tyranny and oppression? But San Domingo is not the only place where American rulers adopt what we have come to consider as Russian methods. The news comes from Porto Rico that three men have been sentenced to prison in San Juan who publicly protested against the provision in the pending Porto Rican government bill disfranchising the great majority of the island's voters. The technical charge against these men is based on a reference to Governor Yager and Attorney-general Kern as "despots." And these officials were not big enough to refrain from vindicating their offended dignity. American rule seems a very good thing for Latin nations to the south to avoid. S. D.

* * *

Two reasons have been advanced for lowering the Federal income tax exemption. Judge Gary suggests that since, with the present exemption of \$3,000 for heads of families and \$4,000 for individuals, only about two and a half per cent of the people are subject to the tax, smaller incomes should be taxed as a matter of justice. The *Chicago Herald* thinks that if the exemption were reduced to \$1,200 or \$1,500 it would be the means of stimulating popular interest in the national government. The first suggestion is entirely unjust. The smaller the income the larger the portion that is spent; the poor spend all they get. And as all products of labor are now taxed, and some of them taxed several times, the poor, and persons of small incomes, are paying a larger part of their income in taxes than the rich. As for the second suggestion, that a small tax would stimulate public interest in the national government, it is not unlike dosing a child with castor oil, to interest it in gardening. Such a government would awaken in the mind of the citizen about the same kind of regard that castor beans would arouse in the mind of the child. If Congress will exercise its constitutional right, and levy upon the States whatever amount it may need, and leave to them the duty of getting it from the people, citizens will be interested in both Federal and State governments; and if they do not see

to it that the tax is just they will have themselves to blame. If the Federal Government must have more revenue, it were better that it be derived from the direct tax provided by the Constitution, than from the various make-shifts now before Congress. S. C.

* * *

Almost co-incident with the decision of the court against the Bronx tenants who struck against cold apartments, announcement was made of a change in the business management of Trinity Parish that is thought to indicate a more progressive policy in the handling of its holdings. The connection between these two facts may not be apparent at first, but a little reflection may cause some to wonder why it is that tenants who presumably work for their money get such meagre accommodations for it, while the great estate of Trinity Parish gives so little for the enormous wealth it enjoys. This is not to make invidious reflections upon Trinity—for it doubtless is scrupulously observing the laws to which it is subject—but it is to wonder at the state of mind of citizens who read these reports. The press account of the Vestry meeting speaks of the 360 houses owned by Trinity southwest of Washington Square. When the property was first taken over, by Trinity, the account says, it had comparatively little value, "but, with the growth of the city it has become a possession of enormous worth." The increase in value cannot be in the improvements, for they are declared to be out-of-date two and three story buildings, and the new progressive policy of the Vestry is indicated by the promise that modern buildings in keeping with the location will be erected. Tenants who will reflect upon the fact that house room is so scarce as to make it very dear, while landed estates, such as Trinity Parish, acquire enormous wealth through the increase in the value of poorly improved land, may come to see that the ballot box, and not the courts, offers them a way of escape. S. C.

* * *

New York flat dwellers who have gone on a strike against landlords have found that to be an unsatisfactory way to fight. They have learned a landlord's refusal to keep an expressed or implied agreement does not relieve them of liability for their part of the contract. They must pay for unheated apartments the rent they promised to pay for

heated apartments only. So a judge has held, and it is to be presumed that he is correct in holding the law to be a one-sided affair which penalizes the tenant only for contract-breaking. There would be no need of a tenants' strike if competition for tenants were strong enough to make insanitary housing an unprofitable investment for landlords. And this competition would exist did not New York's tax system encourage the holding of valuable lands in unused or partly used condition. For a number of years an effort has been made to secure legislation taxing land values in New York City at a higher rate than buildings. Had New York's tenants been as active in working for this measure as landed interests were in opposing it, there would be no occasion for strikes in order to get better housing. Perhaps the experience that some of these tenants are now having will show them how great a mistake their negligence has been, and lead to its avoidance in future.

S. D.

* * *

In commenting on the appointment of a legislative committee in Mississippi to study the tax system of the State the Jackson *Issue*, organ of Governor Bilbo, states:

The constitution declares that taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State; yet the laws made by the legislature to give effect to this constitutional requirement could not be more nugatory of that declaration if they were deliberately designed to nullify it.

Experience with the general property tax wherever it exists, has demonstrated that it cannot be enforced with equality and uniformity regardless of what the legislature may do. This is fortunate rather than otherwise. Complete enforcement of the system would place unbearable burdens on industry. The *Issue* wisely urges consideration of a change in the system in the direction of treating different classes of property in a different way for taxing purposes. If the legislature should heed this suggestion it will be on the right road to solution of tax troubles.

S. D.

* * *

Apologists for the protective tariff and representatives of the sugar interests are suggesting an increase of half a cent a pound in the sugar duty as a means of meeting part of the deficit in revenue. It is refreshing to see with what placid equanimity the Protectionist proposes to tax other people. As the sugar tax is one of the most unjust and

iniquitous taxes on the statutes, it would be folly to adopt such a course. Sugar is an article of universal consumption, and duties levied upon it amount practically to a head tax; which makes the poor, who have the large families, pay as much as the rich, and oftentimes more. Instead of raising the import duty, which means adding to the cost of living, let a tax of one-half or three quarters of a cent a pound be laid upon American grown and refined sugar, which would produce as much revenue as the contemplated increase in the import duty, and would not—since the tax will fall upon monopoly—be shifted to the consumer. Sugar growers and sugar refiners have been pampered and coddled for many years. Can they not spare part of the largess the Government permits them to take from the long suffering consumer?

S. C.

* * *

That governments are more efficient than private individuals in operation of industries is the startling claim put forth by so conservative an authority as the First National Bank of Boston. In the Foreign Trade Letter of its Foreign Department, dated January 2, in order to show that American trade will be subjected to dangerous competition after the war, it says:

A conspicuous movement during the past few months has been the tendency of all European states to nationalize and control industries on which the welfare of the nation depends. Originally it was started as a war measure; factories, ships, railways, and mines were taken over by the French and German Governments from the very outset. England followed later in their footsteps. Now, such nationalization is being discussed as a necessary after-war measure. England has taken control of her coal mines, and her Prime Minister has recently announced the probable taking-over of her shipping. These acts are signboards pointing out the type of competition which United States merchants are likely to face after the war.

Some one should send the president and directors of this bank the literature freely furnished by public service corporations, to show the inefficiency of public management.

S. D.

Public Opinion and Peace.

The reply of Entente Allies to President Wilson's request for a statement of terms upon which the belligerents are willing to make peace, again demonstrates the wisdom of discussing the facts upon which public opinion is based. So long as men fight on

in silence reason has little opportunity to assert itself; but no sooner do they attempt to justify themselves than prejudice, misunderstanding, and self-will begin to yield. For, none is so high nor so mighty that he can ignore the good opinion of mankind.

The Entente reply, while much more specific than the German note to the President, still falls far short of stating details. But these and more liberal terms will appear as the discussion continues. That is what discussion is for. Of the points raised by the Allies, the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro is likely to stand as a minimum demand, as it is the primal basis upon which the Allies' case rests. Indemnities, if any, will be adjusted in conference. The evacuation of invaded territory may be accepted broadly; but the cession of lands acquired in past generations will be the last point to be yielded by either side. Reorganization of Europe, with respect for nationalities and economic development offers the most fruitful field for discussion; for upon political and economic freedom will future peace depend.

The elimination of Turkey as a political power in Europe is almost certain. The Turkish ruling class is essentially parasitic; it has contributed little to the welfare of mankind, and has shown itself unfit to govern, and unable to assimilate the subject races that have come under its sway. It is possible that Russia may get Constantinople, but it would be better for the world if it were internationalized, together with all inter-oceanic canals and straits. The destruction of Prussian militarism is desirable only if it be really destroyed; but if it be merely transferred to the surrounding countries, little good will have been accomplished. Here again will be seen the advantages of discussion. Germany, unless in the unlikely event of complete prostration, will not surrender her military establishment without a corresponding concession from her neighbors. And this may be the more readily conceded because none of the Allies can be sure of the fidelity of the others; and each will feel safer if all disarm, than if dependent upon the shifting winds of political alliances.

A permanent peace based upon "the principles of liberty and justice" and the "invincible fidelity to international obligation," will

come only after a vast deal of discussion, definition, and concession. In this regard it is interesting to note that the Allies take kindly to President Wilson's suggestion for a league of nations "to insure peace and justice through the world." Since the Central Powers also have expressed approval of this idea, there should be little difficulty in coming to an agreement.

The Teutonic Allies will be far from accepting any such terms. They may for a time hold that it is beneath their dignity to recognize them. But ultimately they will make counter proposals. Thus the discussion will continue; and as the burden of war becomes more and more unendurable, and public opinion crystalizes, the statesmen will yield a little here, and a little there until they find themselves in agreement. Whether the President could have aided the peace movement by making his offer earlier cannot be known; but that it is now assured of success there can be little doubt.

S. C.

Suffragists and Patient Waiting.

Patient waiting has other applications than that of Uncle Sam's sitting with folded hands while Mexico works out its own destiny. The policy that has been so effective in that case may accomplish equal results in other fields. The silent sentinels who picket the White House, if they can be as patient as the President has been with Mexico, may score a victory. It may be a question of taste as to whether the Congressional Union has adopted proper or the best means for advancing its cause; but let no one underestimate the effect. Advertising pays, and if these women will undertake to hold their banners in silence before the White House and the entrances to the Capitol it will have a pronounced effect. The mistake made by the English suffragettes was in pursuing a course that led to violence. Silent, passive, resistance is far more effective than force.

Criticism has been made that the women are as unfair and as absurd in adopting this course of procedure as would be the Socialists, Prohibitionists, manufacturers, trainmen, general managers, or other people with a grievance who should adopt a similar policy. One point, however, should be kept in mind. The law provides no means by which the women can express themselves in legislation. The various classes of men have

the franchise. They speak to public officials as masters to agents. It is within their power to combine their political strength with kindred interests. But women have no political power, and hence must attain their ends through whatever personal means prove effective. The I. W. W. people are inexcusable in resorting to violence in the hope of controlling the economic situation, because they have the ballot. If they be in minority, force will not avail; if they be in a majority, force will not be necessary. But women, lacking the ballot, must act through those who have it; hence, they are morally free to resort to whatever means is most conducive to their end.

S. C.

Pacifist Heroism.

Governor Stanley of Kentucky may or may not be a Pacifist in theory, but he was certainly one in practice, when unarmed and without a guard to defend him he faced a mob bent on lynching a helpless prisoner. And his Pacifist methods triumphed. He drove away the mob, though all who composed it knew well that the Governor could do them no physical harm. He uttered no threat save that of forcing them to lynch him also, if they lynched the prisoner. That was a mollycoddle way of fighting. But to fight like a mollycoddle in the face of danger requires more courage and more devotion than the Rooseveltian way.

The incident took place at a time when something of the kind was badly needed. While militarists are trying to frighten the people with the bogey of an unprovoked invasion, there arises an opportunity to demonstrate how, without resort to physical force, a courageous man standing for the right may triumph over brute strength. And fortunately, the man is at hand to grasp the opportunity. Governor Stanley has performed a greater service than he himself may be aware of.

S. D.

Whither Censorship is Leading.

If Congressman Randall's bill to bar liquor advertisements from the mails has done nothing more, it has at least had the effect of making some tory organs sensitive concerning postal censorship. There are papers which viewed with indifference or approval the barring from the mails, on trivial pretexts, of radical or unconventional publica-

tions. But now that there is a threat of extending the censorship to include them they begin to realize its iniquity. Thus the Cincinnati *Enquirer* in its issue of January 4, that "enactment of this bill into law will establish a precedent which quickly and easily may lead to government censorship of all printed matter." If the *Enquirer* had not been asleep, it would have known that the precedent has long been established. Mr. Randall's bill extends the rule under which action has been brought against scores of papers resulting in actual suppression of some. Quite a long list of such cases could be presented. *Lucifer*, a paper published at Chicago in the '90's by so sincere clean-minded and earnest, though possibly mistaken, a writer as Moses Harman was one of the early victims of this tyranny, and Harman himself endured a term in prison. To such an extent has this evil grown that it has become necessary to organize a Free Speech League, which, under the able leadership of Theodore Schroeder fights against infringements on freedom of the press, as well.

If the principle is sound under which postal censorship has hitherto been conducted, then it is equally sound if applied to liquor advertisements, or, as the *Enquirer* suggests, to "advertising of tobacco, of underwear, of stockings, or of any other commodity in which a large portion of the public is interested."

If, as the *Enquirer* also suggests, with probable truth, Mr. Randall's proposed law "would be in contravention of the Constitutional guarantees of the press," then the same is true of the censorship we already have even though the courts have not seen fit to interfere.

The Randall bill is subject to objections that apply against all censorship, and should be defeated for that reason. But its defeat should be accompanied by a measure repealing existing censorship laws.

S. D.

Charity and Poverty.

In spite of alleged prosperity there is much poverty in New York, and elsewhere as well. The Charity Organization Society reports that for the year ending September 30 the number of families receiving aid was only 200 less than during 1912 or 1913, and says in comment:

That there should be so much distress in a time of general prosperity, is only another confirmation of the society's long established position that poverty is not merely a problem of employment or unemployment, not one entirely of economics and industrial conditions, but that it is also a complex social problem whose roots lie deep in environment, heredity, character and health.

Let us forget that environment heredity, character and health are products of economic conditions. According to the Society all existing distress is due to causes that cannot be affected by an increase in opportunities for employment. The inference is then that there are persons for whom jobs are waiting, but who, for reasons due to "environment, heredity, character or health," will not take them. A further inference is that out of all cases cared for by the Charity Organization Society during the past years, even while many thousands, willing to work, were unemployed, only 200 were "worthy" poor, and the society is now engaged in keeping from starvation many who could, if they would, do as much for themselves and their families. If this is the case then there is no need of the Society, pending the time that its 200 "worthy" cases once more became unemployed. Those who won't work should not eat, or, if they have families, should be dealt with according to law enacted for such cases. Moreover public institutions are provided for those who are physically or mentally incapacitated from labor.

If the case is not as described, then the Society's statement is misleading. It has led the *Evening World* in its issue of January 9, to offer the following smug comment:

In other words, poverty is not infrequently a habit. Where it has become a habit, direct relief seldom if ever effects a cure. No surroundings are more favorable to the development of the poverty habit than the crowded sections of a big city where men and women are never completely left to their own resources, where aid is always just around the corner. That poverty in New York shows no marked increase is reason enough for satisfaction.

The *World's* construction of the Society's statement appears also to be that it has only the "unworthy" poor, the voluntarily unemployed to care for. It implies moreover that the "aid just around the corner," has much to do with creating such a class. That is a serious charge to be made by an upholder of the existing order. Is it justified?

S. D.

EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PROSPECTS.

Germany and France were the countries in which internationalism as a doctrine flourished marvelously from the very hour of its birth. The Franco-Prussian War brought about the abandonment of the doctrine, and the disruption of the "Internationale." But Socialists have always held to the thesis of Karl Marx, that wars, even if not fought in the interest of the Capitalist class, invariably resulted in setting back the hands of the clock in the evolution of industrial emancipation of the workingman. Labor has fought consistently tooth and nail legislation and diplomacy that tended to war. Socialists were in the van of the movement for international comity, anti-militarism, pacificism, disarmament, democratic control of diplomacy, and free trade. The removal of reasons for international rivalry and grounds for international mistrust—cardinal plank of every Socialist platform—has won for Socialism sympathy and support and partial understanding among people to whom Socialist principles in general are anathema.

The forcible annexation of Alsace and Lorraine retarded the development of a propaganda that would otherwise have had rapid growth. The shadow of the Treaty of Frankfurt obscured the relations between the German Empire and the Third Republic. Frenchmen who grew to manhood during that humiliating period carried through life and kept alive in their children the memory of the "Lost Provinces." However keenly imbued with the principles of Socialism they became, they were incapable of discussing with "comrades" common international programs and plans of action without bringing up the old question. How often in International Congresses have Socialists seen the pernicious influence of the Treaty of Frankfurt enter in to defeat decisions for common action among workingmen to prevent the outbreak of a European War!

1914 was the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of internationalism, and this year is the fiftieth anniversary of the first Internationalist Congress at Geneva. Never, since the birth of workingmen's parties and of the effort to make Socialism an international propaganda, has Europe been so hopelessly disrupted as in this jubilee year. More Socialists, yielding to the passion of patriot-

ism or to avoid the epithet of traitor, have become (temporarily) ardent Nationalists. The "comrades," far from preventing war by a general strike, are killing each other on a dozen battlefields. The few who have remained steadfast to their convictions and have tried to keep "above the strife," are thrown into prison in Germany, socially ostracized in France, and set upon by mobs in England. The French press constantly holds up to French Socialists the fact that they are responsible for France's unpreparedness, and cites what German Socialists have done and are doing to prove to them that their "comrades" across the Rhine "played them for suckers." Frequently one sees in the British press insinuations that Labor Leaders were and are German sympathizers, if not actually in the pay of Germany. The newspaper attitude all over Europe, in both groups of belligerents, seems to be that Socialists have been, if not traitors, at least fools or ignoramuses.

Does this mean that Socialism has received a death blow, or that the reconstitution of the Socialist Party groups in Parliament after the war will be difficult? Does it mean that the war has proved that the Socialist doctrines were a source of weakness and danger to their respective nations, and that the war has proved their principles wrong? An answer to these two questions by one who is not a Socialist, and cannot thus be accused of a *parti pris*, may be of interest to the readers of *The Public*. My point of view is solely that of a student and observer of contemporary diplomatic and economic history. I have been in the midst of European events for eight years, and write of Socialism as I would of any other movement, from a wholly detached point of view.

Socialism has not received a death blow. On the contrary, it is a far more vital force in Europe than it was before the war began, and than it would have been without the war. My reasons for this belief can be summed up concisely. They are: 1. The rapid development of democratic feeling, *socially*, through the equalization of dangers, deprivations, sufferings and tasks; *politically*, through the complete breaking down of governing classes and governing principles that needed the cataclysm of war to demonstrate their inefficiency and their inadequacy. 2. The revelation that has come to the people of the belligerent

nations of the injustice of present methods of distributing wealth, and of the necessity to find a better method of assuring to those who are the producers the fruit of their labor. 3. The awakening of the masses to the folly of allowing their destinies—their life and happiness—to be decided by a few men whom the war has demonstrated to be lacking in intelligence and ability superior to that of their fellows. 4. The initiation of legislation that puts into practice principles which, if not actually Socialistic, are strikingly akin to the principles of Socialism.

The reconstitution of the Socialist Party groups in Parliaments after the war will not be difficult. Everywhere in Europe, in spite of what one reads in the press, the Socialists have maintained their party organization, and are quite alive to the opportunities of the post-bellum period. They feel the wave of democracy that is already sweeping over Europe, and are studying means of advancing their propaganda in such a way as to win to Socialism the millions who are dissatisfied with present conditions, and are looking around for something different. Propaganda does not fear antagonism. It is never harmed by opposition and denunciation. What makes difficult propaganda is indifference. The people of Europe are not going to be indifferent after this war. They are looking for something radically different from that which they have had. Here is the chance for the Socialists.

If the war were to end with an overwhelming disaster for one group of belligerents, and a glorious victory for the other group, the Socialists might have to fear jingoism on the victorious side and resentment on the defeated side. The statesmen—or rather "the powers that be"—in the victorious nations would find in their enhanced prestige and in the material benefits of victory they were able to offer a weapon with which to strike down the Socialists. They could say: "You see how we have benefited by the war, and how all this glory and wealth would not be ours if the Socialists had had their way." On the vanquished side, the politicians could say: "We are in our terrible plight, because the Socialists would not allow us to prepare for war." But there will be no rejoicing victors and no humiliated vanquished after this war. The struggle has already caused so much destruction and loss of life that no na-

tion engaged in it will come out in a mood of self-congratulation. The aftermath of the war throughout Europe, no matter how the military decision now may go, will be one of bitterness and anguish and resentment. None will look back to these years with pride or joy. All will wonder if they could not have been avoided. Already people are beginning to long for the establishment of a durable peace. So strong is this feeling that the Socialists are daring and pressing Parliaments (when the censor allows them) to question their governments on the terms of peace, and to announce themselves in bitter opposition to any program of conquest or annexation that will visit upon the children what the fathers are suffering.

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS.
Paris.

MILITARY TRAINING IN THE SCHOOLS.

Address by Mrs. Amos E. E. Pinchot, Jan. 7, 1917, at the Labor Forum in Washington.

There are two classes who demand military training in the schools. Those who sincerely feel that we need it, and those less sincere who are demanding it for ulterior objects. We may all agree with the first group in holding physical training to be desirable, but we cannot gain the desired ends through military instruction. Suppleness, quickness of physical reaction, individual judgment, swift decision, accurate co-operation between physical and mental faculties under unusual or trying circumstances are stimulated little, if at all, by military training. On the contrary, they are effectively discouraged. By giving all American boys gymnastics in the open air and plenty of opportunity to play games more will be done for them in a year than military training will ever do. This is the opinion of such experts on physical culture as Dr. Sargent of Harvard, Sir William Aitkin, Professor of Pathology in the Army Medical School in England, Dean Russell of the Teacher's College, and others.

The demand for military training is based on fears of aggression. As a matter of fact, every war in which the United States has ever engaged was initiated by ourselves. Far more useful than a large army would be a constructive foreign policy dealing openly and intelligently with our problems. Before we make so radical a change as compulsory military service, we should have some better reasons than its advocates have heretofore given.

So much for those who from sincere motives ask for this training. But there are others who cloak selfish designs by an appeal to patriotism. They want a docile, submissive public, trained to obedience, accustomed to take orders, subservient to their masters in the factory, while putting down a strike, or in backing up the demands in foreign lands of our great commercial interests. The present army system is such that only a comparatively small number of men are attracted either through love of adventure or lack of a job. And therefore interested parties want our young people to be so trained that they will be mentally prepared and legally forced to accept army service willy-nilly.

To accomplish their end, they most unscrupulously raise the bug-bear of possible attack by foreign nations. General Scott backed up his demand for an army of four million by citing the danger of our undefended Canadian frontier, the very thing which has been a cause of just pride for the past hundred years. To fortify and arm that frontier would be more likely to bring than avert war with England. The military mind can comprehend no way to avoid war, except by preparing for it. General Scott and those who think like him are sowing fear and hatred of other countries. Their propaganda, if successful, will instil fear of us in European nations and cause them to prepare to fight us, as we fear and prepare against them.

The advantage of discipline is another oft-used argument of the militarist. But military discipline is not real discipline. The real thing is voluntary, intelligent and creative. The military imitation is the reverse. It substitutes deferential submissiveness to authority for voluntary cooperation on the one hand and develops tyranny towards inferiors on the other. It creates a tendency to accept ready-made opinions handed down from above. It encourages imitativeness and destroys individual judgment and conscience.

Leibnitz said: "Less than a century is required for a complete change in the mentality of a nation." With universal military service and with the addition of military training of the young, this period could undoubtedly be much shortened. So that, if this policy is carried through, we can look forward in our lifetime to a great change. This change would be nothing less than substituting for the individual mind the standardized discipline thinking—one opinion held by the mass of military trained men; one point of view, the military one, accepted sub-

missively and unanimously by the minds prepared to receive official truth from above; one state of exaltation at the sight of Old Glory; one reaction of horror at the thought that our national prestige may suffer, followed by one impulse to avenge. In other words, by the creation of this standardized discipline thinking, the State has formed a perfect instrument of tyranny. Democracy can no longer exist, for democracy presupposes individual opinions in the mass and the power to express them freely.

The theory that lies at the bottom of democracy is a fundamental truth. It might be expressed by saying that it is the belief in the presence of a divine spark in every man, and that each man's mission is to contribute to the world that vision which he has. In a military State this is impossible.

A LESSON FROM BURNS.

January 25, will mark the anniversary of the birth of Scotland's dearest poet, Robert Burns; and the world will pay again its tribute of love and adoration to this beloved bard, but not without a sigh for the songs that were left unsung.

The story of the Ayreshire Plowman is gripping enough to be well known. His skimmed existence as a peasant farmer's son, his unavailing struggle to rise above drudgery that yielded but an insufficient pittance, his constant labor to provide for his own family, and finally, spirit and body broken, his passing away in what should have been the prime of his manhood,—this is the bleak outline of Burns' life. His genius, flashing meteor-like, would have glowed for many more years, if it had not been suppressed by the unnatural law of poverty. And after he was gone, each man blamed his richer neighbor because he had not lightened the burden so that the great poet might have lived and sung on.

Yet, Burns would have refused charity. Keener visioned than his compatriots, he sighted the canker in the social system, altho he did not, perhaps, perceive its remedy. Referring to a farmer, a mutual acquaintance of himself and Mrs. Dunlop, he wrote to her September 24, 1792:

I cannot say that I give him joy of his life as a farmer. 'Tis, as a farmer paying a dear, unconscionable rent, a *cursed life!* As to a laird farming his own property, sowing his own corn in hope, and reaping it, in spite of brittle weather, in gladness; knowing that none can say unto him, "What dost thou?" Fattening his herds, shearing his flocks; . . . 'tis a heavenly life! but Devil take the life of reaping the fruits that another must eat.

Today over a century later, we are still

trying to gloss over poverty by charity, instead of removing its cause and dragging it out by the roots. Each man, laying the blame upon his richer brother, soothes his conscience, and poverty continues to thrive.

HELEN E. KEIM.

BLESSINGS OF PREPAREDNESS.

From New York papers:

SOLDIER IN ARMORY TIED TO GUN WHEEL

Jan. 10th—"Officer says 'Matter not important. Penalty unusual, but not contrary to regulations.'"

WILD MACHINE GUN RAINS BULLETS ON HARTFORD

Jan. 10th—Factory managers acknowledge there had been a miscalculation but are vague in explaining how gun became unmanageable. Bullets pierced walls a mile from the factory and many persons narrowly escaped death. New range (made necessary by rush war business) points towards portion of city that was bombarded."

EXPLODING SHELLS RAIN FOUR HOURS

Jan. 12th—"Explosion of great consignment of shells in factory at Kingsland, N. J. Projectiles bombard the country side and hundreds flee in terror to frozen marshes.

TOWN OF KINGSLAND LOOKS LIKE SCENE OF BATTLE

Jan. 13th—Powder plant at Haskell, N. J., blows up. Four States rocked by blast. Houses wrecked for miles.

Oh, yes, we Americans are "God's Own People!" we can touch pitch and not be defiled, we can have militarism without any of its evils, we can let all the business of preparing for slaughter anywhere go on without interfering with any one's rights or in anyway doing any of the things that might make military preparedness bad elsewhere.

At least so we say. But sometimes it looks as if we might be mistaken after all, doesn't it?

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

* * *

There is no law on the statute books compelling people to move up closer on the bench of life to make room for a blind brother; but there is a divine law written on the hearts of men constraining them to make a place for him, not only because he is unfortunate, but also because it is right as a human being to share God's greatest gift—the privilege of man to go forth unto his work.—Helen Keller.

* * *

You would better have in your mind a conception of an ideal social order, even if you never see its realization in this world, than to have the ideal social order without the ideal conception of it in your mind. For, having that ideal in mind, you will more fully understand the meaning of life; and sometime, somehow, you will realize it in actual life, while without the mental ideal, you would not appreciate its actual establishment in life.—Laurie J. Quinby.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 16, 1917

Congressional Doings.

The Senate passed on January 9, the Shepard bill for Prohibition in the District of Columbia by a vote of 55 to 32. Before passage a proposed amendment by Senator Underwood was defeated by a tie vote of 43 to 43. The amendment provided for a referendum but with a property qualification for suffrage [see Vol. xix., p. 1238, Current volume, page 38]. * *

The Senate struck from the House Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation bill on January 10, the clause deducting \$1,000 from the pay of Secretary Robert A. Bliss of the American Legation in Paris. The deduction was to punish Mr. Bliss for his refusal last August, in the absence of Ambassador Sharpe, to issue a passport to Charles Edward Russell, the American magazine writer and newspaper correspondent on account of his criticism of President Wilson. * *

The House passed on January 13, resolutions instructing the Committee on Rules to proceed with its investigation concerning advance information on the President's peace note. It was especially instructed to demand of Thomas W. Lawson, the names he had refused to divulge, in his testimony, of high officials alleged by him to have profited from the transaction. The power of the Committee to deal with recalcitrant witnesses was strengthened. Lawson appeared and declared that Congressman Henry had told him that Secretary McAdoo, a "Senator whose name begins with O," and Pliny Fisk, a broker, had profited by the "leak." He gave other hearsay authority implicating others. * *

Congressman William Kent of California, introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, there has been undue and unnecessary friction between the correlative branches of Government located, respectively, in Wall Street, New York, and Washington, District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The Washington branch held the opinion that peace was to the advantage of the Nation and the world, whereas Wall Street more largely profited by a state of war; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in ignorance or heedlessness of Wall Street interests, did humbly ask the nations at war whether in their respective views it might not be well to consider the possibility of desisting from slaughter; and

WHEREAS, It has been alleged that the rumor of such diabolical questioning reached some of the speculators of Wall Street before it reached others, to the result of inequality of profit among said speculators; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That all rumors of such leakage of information be pursued to their lairs and that the Rules Committee of the House examine all brokers, newspapers, ticker tapes, secretaries, stenographers, Members of the House and Senate, and all sources of news, rumors, and lies, including all liars, ancient, modern, and prehistoric; and, be it further

Resolved, That out of the contingent fund of the House be paid all losses accruing to speculators in Wall Street stocks for the week of December eighteenth to December twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and sixteen; and, furthermore, be it

Resolved, That the President and each and every Representative, Senator, cabinet officer, stenographer and clerk be assessed one month's pay toward the restitution aforesaid; and, be it further

Resolved, That it shall not happen again.

Mistreatment of Enlisted Men.

Max Kellerman, a private of Battery D of the Second New York Field Artillery was subjected to the "spreadeagle" punishment for alleged insubordination at the armory in New York City, on the order of Lieutenant Frank A. Spencer. He was strapped to the wheel of a gun carriage with his arms and legs stretched along the tires. The man's plight was witnessed by visitors to the armory for an hour, after which no more visitors were admitted.

After being unbound Kellerman was put in solitary confinement. An investigation was ordered by the Federal War Department, the regiment having been federalized, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Q. Donaldson, of General Leonard Wood's staff, took charge. No official account has been published concerning the affair, but news reports are to the effect that five privates, including Kellerman, were ordered by Lieutenant Frank A. Spencer to clean the stables in the armory. The men protested that they had had no food during the day and refused to work unless they should first be fed. It is not known whether any of these men besides Kellerman were "spreadeagled." One report says that four finally submitted, and only Kellerman remained obstinate. The regiment was to be mustered out of federal service on January 12, but the War Department has now refused to discharge, pending further investigation, the five privates, Lieutenant Spencer, Colonel George A. Wingate in command of the regiment and Captain Wilbur T. Wright. The five privates were sent under guard to Fort Hamilton, to remain there as prisoners, until the case against their officers has been cleared.

I and R in Utah.

In his message to the Legislature of Utah Governor Bamberger said regarding the Initiative and Referendum:

More than sixteen years ago the people of Utah adopted an amendment to the constitution providing for the initiative and referendum. The amendment was not self-operative. It directed the Legislature to pass such laws as were necessary to make its provisions operative. Legislature after Legislature, however, ignored this specific mandate of the state constitution.

The members of this Legislature are also pledged to do in this particular what other Legislatures have failed to do. I recommend the passage of an appropriate law designed to make this constitutional provision effective.

He also recommended a workmen's compensation law and regulation of public utilities, Utah being the only State besides Delaware having no legislation on that matter. In regard to taxation he showed that farms, shops and stores are taxed proportionately far more than necessary and recommended exemption of homes and homesteads in a reasonable amount." He also urged an anti-injunction law for protection of labor. [See vol. xviii, p. 380].

Mrs. Fels and the New Organization.

At the final meeting of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission in New York, on January 3, the following letter from Mrs. Joseph Fels was received and read:

To the Members of the Fels Fund Commission:

When you were called together some years ago and you organized the work for gathering and expending funds for the furtherance of the Singletax movement in America, my husband found that each one of you brought to the work singleness of purpose, deep devotion and enthusiasm, and a wide knowledge of men and affairs. All subsequent experience on his part and on mine served only to deepen this sense of you.

Today the work of the Commission is being closed. I want to thank each one of you personally, and the Commission collectively, for the spirit of good fellowship and the unfailing helpfulness which you brought to my husband, and which later you brought to me to help lift the burden of three very difficult years.

I know that in bringing the work of the Commission to a close none of us for a moment lays aside his devotion to the Cause which we have so deeply at heart. I want to say for myself that I am more convinced than ever of the righteousness of our Cause and of its inevitable triumph; and that more than ever then the foremost object of my life is to help toward the realization of the dream to which my husband dedicated the latter years of his life, "the best and happiest years" as he called them. I shall have continued and constant need of your help and your suggestions, and hope, accordingly, I may call upon you in the many emergencies that must arise.

With the dissolution of the Commission, I proposed that a National Single Tax Association should take its place, organized on democratic lines and repre-

senting the Single Tax leadership of the country. I asked the privilege of appointing a provisional committee to organize the national association, and I asked that you gentlemen of the Commission should form the body of that committee. Then, feeling that any close association of myself with that committee might seem to interfere with its really representative and democratic work, I refrained from participating in its deliberations or contributing to its funds. But now you are about to pass on to the full organization of the new National Association. That gives me occasion to express my deep interest in the organization and to tell of the constant keen sympathy with which I shall follow and be with it. Also I wish at this time to contribute another mite in the shape of a thousand dollars.

The contribution mentioned is in addition to larger amounts given to defray expense of putting the new organization upon its feet.

* * *

The conference which brought into being the new National Singletax League of the United States adopted the following report of its committee on Resolution:

Resolutions Adopted by Conference of Single Tax Organization New York, January 4, 1917.

The Conference expresses its appreciation of Mrs. Fels' devotion to the realization of the dream of Joseph Fels, which is the waking thought of each of us and which we, in common with her, see coming to realization through our common efforts.

In view of the increasing body of women voters, we regard it as particularly auspicious that we have a woman so prominent as a leader.

We recognize that her aid in organization and support of the infant National League foreshadows continued mutual helpfulness and co-operation.

And finally, we express our appreciation of the dignified headquarters so admirably adapted for its purposes selected and provided by Mrs. Fels.

FREDERIC C. HOWE,
LINCOLN STEFFENS,
BOLTON HALL: Committee.

[See current volume, page 38].

Asking Justice of Trinity Church.

In behalf of the Society To Lower Rents of New York City, its president, Frederic C. Leubuscher, has addressed Trinity Church Corporation concerning its large land holdings in part, as follows:

The papers announce that Trinity corporation is inaugurating a new policy. Will you permit us to suggest that the only policy worthy a church organization is the policy of justice and fairness? Trinity corporation is the beneficiary of the labor and productivity of the people of New York City. In 1915 the assessed value of the land owned by Trinity corporation (as of record) was \$9,099,300.

The corporation did not create one dollar of this value, nor is it entitled to any return thereon. We confidently hope, therefore, that Trinity corporation

will cooperate with us in our effort to transfer taxes from buildings in New York City to land values, so as to reduce the rents which, not only Trinity corporation, but every other landlord in the city is charging.

You must realize the burden of rent upon the working people of the city, and you know full well the large profits which land speculators are making as a result of the light tax on land values and the heavy tax on buildings. The people of New York City will be convinced of the genuineness of the conversion of Trinity corporation when the corporation decides to render unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to return to the people of the city the land values which they have created.

California Singletax Conference.

A report on the conference of California Singletaxers at Los Angeles on December 18 has been issued by the chairman, J. Stitt Wilson, as follows:

Realizing that differences concerning tactics and policy among Singletaxers had tended to divide our forces and weaken our efforts, the California League for Home Rule in Taxation decided to call a second conference for the purpose of resolving, if possible, those differences and uniting on a program.

Such a conference was called for Dec. 18, at Los Angeles, and the call was sent to all the groups in the state representing the various viewpoints.

The Los Angeles Singletax League, that is, the Great Adventure group, at first in a letter signed by the secretary, Mr. James, expressed their willingness to enter into the Conference. But on reaching Los Angeles, at their office, in a personal interview, they (Messrs. North (Griffes), James and Kuehn) refused to come to the conference on account of the wording and substance of our call—inasmuch as the call proposed the writing of two amendments—one for pure Singletax, and one for a co-ordinate Home Rule measure.

The undersigned (acting president) took it upon himself to waive the particularity of the call, and requested them to come to the conference and consider any matters pertaining to our common object. To this they finally consented.

The conference was called to order, representative delegates being present from all the various groups representing the different policies held in the state, the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, San Diego Singletax Society, No. 1, the California Singletax League, Incorporated, the Southern California League for Home Rule in Taxation, the Los Angeles Singletax League (Great Adventure), Pomona and Santa Ana Singletaxers, Socialist Party represented by T. W. Williams, secretary, and others.

On opening the conference, the Great Adventure group declared that they refused to "confer" on the technical sense of the term, with any persons who did not support No. 5 in 1916, and they demanded that no action of any kind be taken if any individual present objected, requiring unanimous consent.

The chairman (J. Stitt Wilson) asked the conference to concur in his having waived the particularity of the call. This was done. After considerable

strained discussion on some method of procedure, a round table was decided upon—each person present giving his or her views, without offering or speaking to any motion. This continued for two hours or more.

At the close of this round table Mr. Griffes (Luke North) said that having heard the differences expressed he would be willing to have a State Referendum to a proper constituency to be decided upon, submitting two or more measures to our sympathizers for their choice. The Conference unanimously agreed on such a Referendum and a Committee was appointed (consisting of M. Griffes, Mr. Woodhead, the secretary, Mr. Edwards, and the chairman, J. Stitt Wilson, to draw up preliminary resolutions providing for such a Referendum).

This committee brought in a report as a tentative basis of procedure by the Conference: (Though Mr. Griffes did not bring in a minority report, he reserved the right to disagree with its provisions in Conference).

At 9:30 p. m. the Conference resumed. San Diego moved that the clause naming the method of constituting the Committee to be in charge of the Referendum be taken up first.

It was at this point that the Conference broke down in utter failure, unable to act or to go farther. The report proposed a Committee of six, as follows: One member from the Singletax League of Los Angeles, one member from the Singletax Society No. 1 of San Diego, one member from the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, one member from the Southern California League for Home Rule in Taxation, of Los Angeles, one member from the Socialists, one member from the State Federation of Labor.

The contention was acute as to how this committee should be constituted. The Great Adventure group demanded only four or at most possibly five members (if San Diego wished representation), but positively refused the sixth—representing the Los Angeles Singletaxers outside of their group. The rest of the conference demanded six.

As chairman of the meeting called over my name, for the express purpose of composing the differences, and having personally in committee placed representation for the Los Angeles Singletaxers on the proposed Referendum Committee, I could not consent to refusing their representation. That was to make division into a wholesale branch. The Great Adventure obstinately refused further concession. The Los Angeles group and the others as determinedly demanded the full representation.

As the Great Adventure group refused to consider motions in parliamentary form, the chair proposed "Unanimous consent" to a Committee of Six. The Great Adventure group objected. He then proposed "Unanimous Consent" for a "Committee of Four," and the others objected.

Considering that the Conference had wrangled for three hours more until midnight, and had ended in this fiasco, the Chair declared that he would entertain a motion to organize the Conference on a parliamentary and democratic basis for doing business. The Great Adventure refused to concur, and withdrew.

The remainder of the delegates organized for balloting on the Report of the Committee, and after a few minor changes it was carried.

Since its adoption, the groups represented have written stating that since one of the main groups has withdrawn from the Conference and from any consideration of the Referendum, the purpose of the Referendum is void.

Having failed this second time in two years to unite the forces the California League for Home Rule in Taxation has called another conference of all the forces in the State with whom we have hitherto worked, and all allied forces including the Socialists, Trade-unionists, and Farmers' Union and Co-operation and Land Taxation Advocates, to consider our next move in the coming legislature and their proposed new taxation amendments, and the land and taxation question in general. The conference was held in San Francisco on Saturday and Sunday, January 13th and 14th, 1917.

This brief report of our activities is sent out with the hope that Singletaxers outside of the State, as well as inside, may have an intelligent comprehension of the difficulties we are involved in in seeking to accomplish our object.

Respectfully submitted,

J. STITT WILSON.

Governor Stanley Prevents a Lynching.

On being informed on January 11, that a mob at Murray, Kentucky, was bent on lynching an accused Negro and was threatening with violence the County Judge and Commonwealth Attorney, Governor Stanley hastened to the scene by special train. Arriving unattended and unarmed he addressed the citizens announcing his intention "to uphold the law and protect the court with my own body if necessary." The address had a quieting effect. Even a brother of the Negro's alleged victim openly endorsed the Governor's appeal.

Mexico and the United States.

The American and Mexican Commissioners met in New York on the 15th and formally dissolved without coming to any agreement on the questions that have been under consideration by the Commission during the past four months. The commission was convened at the request of General Carranza, August 9, after the fight at Carrizal, Mexico, in which a detachment of American troops was destroyed by Mexican forces. It was to discuss and submit for ratification an agreement for the withdrawal of the American troops, and other questions that might come before it. The failure of the Commission to arrive at an agreement will throw the whole question back into the regular diplomatic channels. [See current Vol., page 39.]

European War.

Military operations have been comparatively slight. On the western front raiding parties and artillery duels appear to mark the extent of action. On the Riga front the Russians have made slight advances of their lines north of Mitau. In Rumania the Teutonic forces have captured Vadeni, between Braila and Galatz. Their progress is now very slow. The neutral governments have been requested to recall their representatives at Bucharest. Greece is complying with the Allies' demands. The German submarines continue to take a heavy toll of the Allies' shipping, and neutral ships with contraband. [See current volume, page, 40].

* * *

Discussion of the peace notes is still the main point of interest. The reply of the Entente Allies to President Wilson, which was given to the press on the 12th, thanks the President for his friendly interest, recognizes the need of an early peace, deplors the burden put upon neutrals and belligerents, but insists that negotiations must be of a scope to bring permanent peace. The note protests against being placed upon the same moral footing as the Central Powers, and charges:

If there is a historical fact established at the present date, it is the wilful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. Germany proved by her declaration of war, by the immediate violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her manner of conducting the war her simulating contempt for all principles of humanity and all respect for small States. As the conflict developed, the attitude of the Central Powers and their Allies has been a continual defiance of humanity and civilization. . . .

Their objects will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensation and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia, and of Roumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable regime and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty of economic development, which all nations, great or small, possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements, suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations; the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians, and of Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject

to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization. The intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies. It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

Belgium returned a separate answer to President Wilson, in which it protested bitterly against Germany's invasion.

The German government has taken no official notice of the Entente note, but it is announced that the Emperor has issued the following proclamation to the German people:

Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer, they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions.

Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the powers allied with us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the seas, under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing of teeth, is now enduring.

But what they could not achieve in thirty months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will with which our fighting people at the front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantees that also in the future our beloved Fatherland has nothing to fear.

Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices.

The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave peoples will also give us and our loyal allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.

Costa Rican Land Legislation.

A new law imposing a graduated tax on the value of uncultivated land has been adopted in the Central American republic of Costa Rica. The Panama Star and Herald of December 28 quotes the provisions as given in the Costa Rican government's official gazette. The law is the work of President Alfredo Gonzales. Beginning with holdings of more than 100 hectares it levies tax or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the value of the first 250 hec-

tares or fraction thereof, greater than 100 hectares. Tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value of from 250 to 500 hectares.

Tax of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on the value of from 500 to 1,000 hectares.

Tax of 1 per cent on the value of from 1,000 to 1,500 hectares.

Tax of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the value of from 1,500 to 2,000 hectares.

Tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value of from 2,000 to 3,000 hectares.

Tax of $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on the value of from 3,000 to 4,000 hectares.

Tax of 2 per cent on the value of from 4,000 to 5,000 hectares.

Tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value above 5,000 hectares.

There is a penalty of five per cent. a month for delinquency. Holdings under 100 hectares are exempt.

NOTES

—Colonel William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," died at Denver on January 10, aged 71.

—Abolition of the State Senate was recommended by Governor Peter Norbeck of South Dakota in his inaugural address on January 4.

—Judge J. A. P. Campbell, last of the 49 delegates to the Constitutional Convention of the Confederate States, died at Jackson, Mississippi, on January 11, aged 87.

—A resolution for a constitutional amendment was introduced in the New York State Senate on Jan. 10 by the Republican leader, Senator Brown, providing a literacy test as a qualification for voters.

—While attempting to escape from the military prison at Fort Hamilton, New York, where he was confined for a slight infraction of army rules, James Hohl, a private, was shot and dangerously wounded by a sentry on January 13.

—Two woman suffrage measures passed the North Dakota Senate on January 12. One provides for submission in 1918 of a constitutional amendment for limited suffrage, the other submits in 1920 a full suffrage amendment. The House has still to approve. [See current volume page 38.]

—Citizens of Cicero Township, adjoining Chicago, held, on February 7, a vigorous protest meeting against the proposed sale by the Board of Trustees of the local publicly owned light plant to the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, a private corporation. A Municipal Ownership League was formed to continue the fight.

—Picketing of the White House by members of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage began on January 10. The intention is to influence President Wilson to declare for a federal suffrage amendment. The pickets took position at the gates leading to the grounds, holding banners bearing the words: "Mr. President, what are you going to do for woman suffrage?"

—An explosion in the ammunition plant of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company at Kingsland, New Jersey, on January 11, destroyed an entire shipment of projectiles intended for the Russian army. On the following day a similar explosion at

the du Pont works at Haskell, New Jersey, destroyed 400,000 pounds of smokeless powder. A number of lives were lost, but just how many is not reported.

—Miss Ella Buchanan is one of the three prize winning sculptors in a contest open to all sculptors in the United States, for carving of the proposed \$100,000 monument to the Utah Battalion. The final winner is to be selected from the three by the Utah legislature. Miss Buchanan is known as the designer of the prize-winning suffrage statue, "The suffragist calling to her sisters," and of the allegorical statuette representing "Progress and Poverty."

—The Illinois intra-state two-cent railroad fare law was upheld by Judge Landis of the United States District Court at Chicago on January 13. The decision was on an application by the railroads for an injunction to restrain the State authorities from interfering with the 2.4 cent rate, claimed to have been indirectly ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Judge Landis held that the Commission could not interfere with rates within the State.

PRESS OPINIONS

Suffragists Picketing White House.

New York World, January 11.—If everybody who wanted some particular measure of legislation undertook to picket the White House it would be besieged by a mob reaching from Baltimore to Richmond. The railroad managers would abandon their offices and parade around the grounds with banners demanding higher rates. The trainmen would knock off work and hold a continuous demonstration in favor of higher pay and shorter hours. Some millions of consumers would march the pavement night and day to insist that the prices of eggs, milk, meat and bread be reduced by Federal statute. The National Security League would call out its army and stand on guard until every last man of military age in the United States was enrolled as a conscript. Constructive patriots, pacifists, jingoes, government contractors, prohibitionists, brewers, single-taxers, high-protectionists, free-traders and birth-controllers would fight for breathing-space and overflow into the suburbs, while relays of watchers waited their turn to waylay the President. Only a few cripples and invalids, too feeble to mount guard outside the White House, would be left at home.

Montana's Congresswoman.

Christian Science Monitor (Boston), January 3.—There appears to be little doubt now that Miss Jeanette Rankin, the first woman to win a seat in the Congress of the United States, will act with the Independent group in the House of Representatives. This would be only characteristic of her, for her whole public course has been along independent and progressive lines, and this fact adds to the interest the country is manifesting in her career. . . . Almost as soon as she left college she began to take an interest in political affairs, and while still inexperienced in what are often described as "the intricacies of the biggest of all games," she displayed oratorical ability that never failed to attract large audiences. She has talked in practically every neighborhood in

the mountain state, and long ago made an extended acquaintance and fast friends among its inhabitants. That these subordinated partisan political opinion to personal regard, to a large degree, in voting for Miss Rankin, is a fact established clearly by the returns. . . . In New York she had taken a course at the School of Philanthropy, and one of her early teachers, now of Manhattan, after telling of her devotion to studies in this line, and her working out of problems in reform, political and industrial, recalls how she prepared herself first to understand and next to grapple, through the spoken word, with fundamentals. . . . When the presiding officer in the next House of Representatives recognizes "The lady from Montana," no timid, hesitating, thin, or wavering voice will begin with, "Mr. Speaker," but rather, a voice pure and steady and resonant, and one certain not only to enlist the attention of members in their seats, but to call others out in streams from the cloak and committee rooms. "The lady from Montana" furthermore will be a powerful aid to Federal suffrage in the next Congress, if the question shall not be dealt with finally, so far as the National Legislature goes, in the present session.

CORRESPONDENCE

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE.

Its Physical Benefits and National Cost.

Pittsburgh Pa., January 13, 1917

The Chamberlain Universal Training Bill, owing to fatalistic ideas about the future of the United States, threatens to become the law of the land. The old fallacy of drawing universal conclusions from a few scattered events, or of citing a particular consequence (the present war, for instance) to be the consequent or result of the mere trading instinct in man, when the plurality of causes are so many that perhaps they shall never be known, is used with such great effect that men today look without emotion on measures that yesterday would have aroused the gravest concern.

Against such reasoning is heard in strong, logical protest the voice of The Union Against Militarism, headed by Dr. James Warbasse, of New York, and a group of college men under the leadership of Max Eastman. These able and patriotic citizens point to the cost of carrying out the provisions of such a law—not the cost as represented by taxes, interest, wages; but the *National* cost as it would affect the bodily and mental life of the generations to come. For instance, that training of the sort required in a military course "lacks elements of exercise essential to well-rounded bodily development" is the conclusion of Dr. Warbasse as well as of other physicians and physical educators; and that the psychological effect would be destructive of individual initiative goes without saying. Mr. Eastman is a student of psychology and as such he declares military training to be opposed to every educational theory of American democracy, and that the enactment of compulsory military legislation would be the greatest step backward the nation ever has taken; that the sole purpose of military training was to train "out of a man his individual initiative and to cultivate the instinct of submission."

To call into being forces tending to pervert Americanism as taught by Jefferson, an Americanism that has carried us safely through more than a century of strife, cannot be looked upon with equanimity. The "goose step" is all right on the long marches through conquered territory; but the sprightly step of the normal "Yankee" is more becoming a race that will refuse to kill without a say as to whether it is right, necessary or just. The Democratic party and the Progressive party are on trial—shall they be found wanting? It is to be hoped not.

T. J. FLAHERTY.

A MISTAKEN LABOR POLICY.

Chicago, January 8, 1917.

Nearly fourteen thousand persons are in the care of our State Board of Administration. Forty per cent. of the total State Budget is expended by this Board. Only a small amount is expended for research, cure, and prevention. This is due to the fact that the public is ignorant of the possibilities of research for cure and fears insanity which it does not understand. The Board is very prompt in meeting all public demands, but having supplied the hospitals with a medical staff smaller than a village of equal population usually supports, they are slow to furnish medical supplies on the requisition of these physicians. This contributes to the discouragement of medical service and to the positive neglect of the patients. If the friends of the insane knew the possibilities of treatment they would insist on active efforts for cure and the Board would supply them. Almost every institution for the insane is well supplied with costly apparatus for agriculture and stock raising, but poor apparatus for medical diagnosis and treatment.

Some of the insane are skilled workmen of middle age. They ought to be employed as a matter of treatment. There are jobs about an institution that require just such service as they are best fitted to do. In a garden the installation of some form of sprinkling apparatus would keep a gas fitter and five or six patient gas fitters at work two months. The constant rebuilding and repairing of old structures opens up the best sort of curative occupation for carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, and all their helpers. Sometimes it may be cheaper to let the job to an outside contractor but it is wiser, kinder, and socially more rational to employ patient labor even if the superintendence and guidance is more than the contractors' estimate. The hospital is designed to cure. Employment is a curative measure. Re-education and restoration to the ranks of useful, self-respecting, productive occupation is a recognized function of the modern hospital.

Strange enough opposition and *effective opposition* has come to this movement from organized labor. In one institution curative employment was carried to the most far reaching extent. As a result of painstaking organization the greatest number of both male and female patients were furnished some sort of occupation for at least one or two hours a day, and the greatest number of wards were made "open wards" in which the number of disturbances and assaults had fallen to an incredible minimum. The "walking delegate" got in his work at this in-

stitution and stopped all patient labor with union labor. This seems to me unwise on the part of organized labor, and I believe the rank and file of union labor would disapprove of a measure which puts so many insane persons one step farther from the hope of cure.

BAYARD HOLMES.

BOOKS

THE FATAL INHERITANCE

The Invisible Balance Sheet. By Katrina Trask. Published by John Lane Co., New York and London. Price \$1.40 net.

To have read Mrs. Trask's dramas and poems predisposes one to expect from her a superior work of fiction such as may be found in "The Invisible Balance Sheet." This novel is by no means an ordinary story, dealing with commonplace characters and situations, but it goes down to the deeper issues of life and human motive. The plot is briefly outlined: The hero, John Remington Wright, is a young farmer of an intellectual type, who longs to escape the bondage of physical toil and live a broader, freer life. From childhood he has been closely associated with Marion Meridith, the daughter of the village pastor who had fitted him for college, and under the blooming apple boughs he was about to declare his passion when he is suddenly summoned to meet a strange gentleman from New York. He is informed that his mother's uncle, John Remington, for whom he had been named, had recently died and had bequeathed to his grand nephew the sum of sixty million dollars on condition that he would sign a written contract to faithfully care for the estate, and never marry. With swift thought of Marion, John promptly declines the inheritance, but Mr. Grimes, the lawyer, insists that the decision be postponed until morning. Thinking the matter over in the watches of the night, John's love of power which wealth would give, overcomes the deeper desire of his heart and he consents to the conditions named by the uncle. The appointed meeting with Marion at dawn is cold and formal. The love he had expected to confess is set aside by the forceful allurements of his sudden fortune, and he comforts himself with the hope that Marion does not care for him. So he goes to the grand old home of his departed uncle, adorning it with expensive works of art and royal furnishings that satisfy his heretofore ungratified tastes, and with ready adaptation he becomes a social leader and the idol of fashionable women, with one of whom he is temporarily infatuated. But before he yields to the temptation of his senses he is called by his faithful

old farm friend, Eben Hankins—a rural philosopher, by the way—to do something for Marion, who is left alone by the sudden death of her father. Hastening at once to see his youthful love, he feels a return of his old affection but can offer only money, which she indignantly rejects. Humiliated by her scorn and weighed down by the burden of wealth which he had borne dizzily for two years, he resolves to rid himself of his unwelcome inheritance and he rushes to his uncle's lawyer to help him to escape his bondage. But he is referred to his signed contract to hold to the conditions of his uncle's will and in despair he staggers away with his hated responsibilities.

How John Wright finally escaped his inheritance the reader of this notice will find in the book, which abounds in interesting details of which this bare outline gives no glimpse. In the various discussions of the leading characters there are strong opinions expressed on national affairs. Speaking of our neutral attitude in the European war, John says:

"We should protest; we owe it to our honor, to our relation with the brave countries heroically fighting for righteousness, for liberty, and for democratic principles—we owe it to posterity to protest . . . The time will come when no man will believe in war, when war will seem as futile to a human being as dueling does; but war or no war, the United States should be recorded on the pages of history for all time with an unmistakable, unequivocal protest. It would define our moral standard—make it clear to the world and—what is more important—make it clear to ourselves. Think of what we are letting pass in silence before our eyes! A treaty has been torn to scraps and denied; an international obligation in which we have our share, if only indirect, has been denied. Belgium has been outraged! Belgium has been invaded—its peaceful inhabitants have been conquered and slaughtered—its women have been outraged—its children have been mutilated—its priests have been shot—its churches have been defiled and destroyed. It is the crying duty of every civilized nation to proclaim a horror of this cruelty—this breach of faith—this wanton barbarism.

"Neutrality is a wise principle as far as active interference is concerned, but neutrality of the mind and neutrality of expression is disintegrating to the intellect and to the morals. A neutrality that advises or induces silence about the things that grip the soul and the conscience is a gag! I think war is wrong and worse than wrong—it is idiotic,

because through all the ages it has never permanently settled anything."

In equally definite terms the Mexican situation is reviewed and our faulty dealing held up to our astonished gaze.

"Mark my word," spoke John. "The time will come when we shall rue the day we played at meddling—interfered without settling, and made the muddle more mixed. Villa, like a firebrand, will surely burn the bridges that have been laid for him, and Carranza may bite the breast that has warmed him. . . . The best we can do would be to have a conference of all the experienced, intelligent and wise men of the country—democrats and republicans—to seriously and earnestly consult and decide what is the best. It is not worthy of the dignity of this country to found our policy, in such a delicate and hectic situation, on private and amateur sources. Moreover, we are giving the glad hand—with ammunition in it, mind you—to men whom we do not know, upon whom we can not count, and thereby we are encouraging the very demoralization that we deplore."

All in all, "The Invisible Balance Sheet" is a novel rising above the ordinary fiction of the day and the thoughtful reader should not miss it.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Love of Meltha Laone. By David Leroy Stump. Published by the Roxburgh Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

Isaac Mayer Wise, By Max B. May, A. M. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price, \$2.00 net.

Principles of American State Administration. By John Mabry Mathews. D. Appleton and Co., New York and London. \$2.50 net.

The Itching Palm. By William R. Scott. Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia. Price 50 cents net.

Journalism versus Art. By Max Eastman. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

Life's Demands or According to Law. By Sutton E. Griggs. National Public Welfare League, Memphis, Tennessee.

* * *

The student thought long and carefully before setting down the answer, and when he handed in his paper this is what the examiner read:

"If twenty men reap a field in eight hours," ran the question, "how long will it take fifteen men to reap the same field?"

"The field, having already been reaped by the twenty men, could not be reaped a second time by the fifteen."—Sacred Heart Review.

* * *

Hokus—Why does a woman change her mind so often? Pokus—Maybe she doesn't like the looks of it after she had made it up.—Town Topics.

"An owl isn't really the bird of wisdom. He merely looks wise and does nothing."

"Well," replied Senator Sorghum, "under some circumstances, isn't that the wisest thing he could do?"—*Washington Star.*

SHE—"My husband, unfortunately, is always misunderstood."

THE SENATOR—"Unfortunately? Why, madam, it will be the making of him if he goes to Congress."—*Judge.*

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"Your idea as to the co-operation of European states in the matter of commerce, using each other's ports, etc., is new and valuable."—Thomas Raeburn White, President Pennsylvania Peace and Arbitration Society.

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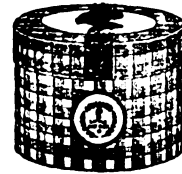


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New Stomachs for Old

By

Arthur True Buswell, M.D.



EUGENE CHRISTIAN

THOUSANDS of people who suffered for years with all sorts of stomach trouble are walking around to-day with entirely re-made stomachs. They enjoy their meals and never have a thought of indigestion, constipation or any of the serious illnesses with

which they formerly suffered and which are directly traceable to the stomach.

And these surprising results have been produced not by drugs or medicines of any kind, not by foregoing substantial foods, not by eating specially prepared or patented foods of any kind, but by eating the plainest, simplest foods *correctly combined!*

These facts were forcibly brought to my mind by Eugene Christian, the eminent Food Scientist who is said to have successfully treated over 23,000 people with foods alone!

As Christian says, man is what he *eats*. What we take into our stomachs to-day, we are to-morrow. Food is the source of all power, yet not one person in a hundred knows the chemistry of foods as related to the chemistry of the body. The result is we are a nation of "stomach sufferers."

Christian has proved that to eat good, simple, nourishing food is not necessarily to eat correctly. In the first place, many of the foods which we have come to regard as good are in reality about the worst things we can eat, while others that we regard as harmful have the most food value.

But perhaps the greatest harm which comes from eating blindly is the fact that very often two perfectly good foods when eaten at the same meal form a chemical reaction in the stomach and literally explode, liberating dangerous toxic poisons which are absorbed by the blood and circulate throughout the system, forming the root of nearly all sickness, the first indications of which are acidity, fermentation, gas, constipation and many other sympathetic ills leading to most serious consequences.

And yet just as wrong food selections and combinations will destroy our health and efficiency, so will the right foods create and maintain bodily vigor and mental energy. In my talk with Eugene Christian, he told me of some of his experiences in the treatment of disease through food—just a few instances out of the more than 23,000 cases he has on record.

One case which interested me greatly was that of a young business man whose efficiency has been practically wrecked through stomach acidity, fermentation and constipation, resulting in physical sluggishness which was naturally reflected in his ability to use his mind. He was twenty pounds underweight when he first went to see Christian and was so nervous he couldn't sleep. Stomach and intestinal gases were so severe that they caused irregular heart action and often fits of great mental depression. As Christian describes it, he was not 50 per cent. efficient either mentally or physically. Yet in a few days, by following Christian's suggestions as to food, his constipation had completely gone, although he had formerly been in the habit of taking large daily doses of a strong cathartic. In five weeks every abnormal symptom had disappeared—his weight having increased 6 lbs. In addition to this, he acquired a store of physical and mental energy so great in comparison with his former self as to almost belie the fact that it was the same man.

Another instance of what proper food combinations can do was that of a man one hundred pounds overweight whose only other discomfort was rheumatism. This man's greatest pleasure in life was eating. Though convinced of the necessity, he hesitated for months to go under treatment, believing he would be deprived of the pleasures of the table. He finally, however, decided to try it out. Not only did he begin losing weight at once, quickly regaining his normal figure, all signs of rheumatism disappearing, but he found the new diet far more delicious to the taste and afforded a much keener qual-

ity of enjoyment than his old method of eating and wrote Christian a letter to that effect.

But perhaps the most interesting case that Christian told me of was that of a multi-millionaire—a man 70 years old, who had been traveling with his doctor for several years in a search for health. He was extremely emaciated, had chronic constipation, lumbago and rheumatism. For over twenty years he had suffered with stomach and intestinal trouble which in reality was superaciduous secretions in the stomach. The first menus given him were designed to remove the causes of acidity, which was accomplished in about thirty days. And after this was done he seemed to undergo a complete rejuvenation. His eyesight, hearing, taste and all of his mental faculties became keener and more alert. He had had no organic trouble—but he was starving to death from malnutrition and decomposition—all caused by the wrong selection and combination of foods. After six months' treatment this man was as well and strong as he had ever been in his life.

These instances of the efficacy of right eating I have simply chosen at random from perhaps a dozen Eugene Christian told me of, every one of which was fully as interesting and they applied to as many different ailments. Surely this man Christian is doing a great work.

I know of several instances where rich men and women have been so pleased with what he has done for them that they have sent him a check for \$500 or \$1000 in addition to the amount of the bill when paying him.

There have been so many inquiries from all parts of the United States from people seeking the benefit of Eugene Christian's advice and whose cases he is unable to handle personally that he has written a little course of lessons which tells you exactly what to eat for health, strength and efficiency. This course is pub-

lished by The Corrective Eating Society of New York.

These lessons, there are 24 of them, contain actual menus for breakfast, luncheon and dinner, curative as well as corrective, covering every condition of health and sickness from infancy to old age and for all occupations, climates and seasons.

Reasons are given for every recommendation based upon actual results secured in the author's many years of practice although technical terms have been avoided. Every point is explained so clearly that there can be no possible misunderstanding.

With these lessons at hand it is just as though you were in personal contact with the great food specialist because every possible point is so thoroughly covered that you can scarcely think of a question which isn't answered. You can start eating the very things that will produce the increased physical and mental energy you are seeking the day you received the lessons and you will find that you secure results with the first meal.

If you would like to examine these 24 Little Lessons in Corrective Eating simply write The Corrective Eating Society, Department 131, 460 Fourth Avenue, New York City. It is not necessary to enclose any money with your request. Merely ask them to send the lessons on five days' trial with the understanding that you will either return them within that time or remit \$3.00, the small fee asked.

The reason that the Society is willing to send the lessons on free examination without money in advance is because they want to remove every obstacle to putting this knowledge in the hands of the many interested people as soon as possible, knowing full well that a test of some of the menus in the lessons themselves are more convincing than anything that can possibly be said about them.

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By Francis Neilson

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A strong story conceived in fervor for disarmament, brotherhood, and peace.—The World, New York.

A powerful novel written with artistry. Here is no preaching by a man with a message but without an art. Mr. Neilson is an artist first. This complex family life, with its war reflexes, is a difficult situation for the writer to handle and a novice might easily have made a failure of the web, but Mr. Neilson's is a master hand, and his characters are real, pulsating human beings who act in a convincing manner.—William J. Black, The Detroit Journal.

One of the best books having as its foundation the present world imbroglio.—Sun, Pittsburgh.

This is a story from the inside charged with local color. It could not have been written except by one who knows the so-called favored side of English life. He knows those who live in mansions, have servants and go riding with the hounds. It is a book that touches most of the heresies, does not hesitate to run into theological as well as political hot questions. "A Strong Man's House" is a strong man's book and will give strength to the reader.—Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in Unity.

One of the most instructive novels which have resulted from the European war.—Chronicle, San Francisco.

A work of art. As a study in the psychology of the typically prosperous man under present social and economic conditions, this character sketch is invaluable. The thrilling interest of the story holds the reader's attention from cover to cover, and that incidentally many glimpses of the rural life of England with which the author is familiar illuminate its pages.—Alex. Mackendrick, THE PUBLIC.

The novel is one of superb character drawing and tense situations, filled with drama. The book is the work of a man who feels deeply and sees keenly, and who can put his emotions and his intelligence into his fiction.—Bookseller, New York.

I do not know whether or not it will prove one of the best sellers of the season. It deserves to be such. While this is one of the most fascinating stories in the deluge of war literature, it is more than a story. It is that which should be studied by the masters in all lands. Read it. You may not sleep the night you finish the book but God knows a few sleepless nights are better than the long sleep of a shell-swept trench and a blood sodden battlefield.—Horace H. Herr, The Indiana Forum.

It is a tremendously interesting book to those neutrals who do not know the intimate reactions of the people who are under the curse. He does not preach any doctrine too obviously; the situations, although melodramatic in nature, are handled with restraint. He set himself to do his job well and he has done it well.—H. S., The New Republic.

A highly creditable piece of writing, deft in its portraiture of current English types, convincing in its psychology, and marked by a style that is never slothful, tedious, or staccato. It possesses a theme that is thoughtful and engaging, treated in a sanely emotional manner.—Burton Roscoe, in The Chicago Tribune.

This novel is notably different from the general run of novels of English life. The picture is of England in war time, the canvas large, the painting bold, the theme one of purpose most creditably handled. The characters—types—are admirably portrayed, the style sincere and convincing.—Detroit Free Press.

"A Strong Man's House" is something different from all the novels of the war that have come off the presses. It is a picture of England in war time laid on a big canvas with bold strokes.—Globe, Boston.

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