

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Conscription in Practice

David Starr Jordan

Militant Benevolence

J. W. Slaughter

Published Weekly

Five Cents a Copy

One Dollar a Year

January 26, 1917

Number 982

NEW YORK

Volume XX



DEAF?

**Here's
Free Proof
that
YOU CAN HEAR!**

You see the wonderful improved Acousticon has now enabled 275,000 deaf people to hear. We are sure it will do the same for you; are so absolutely certain of it that we are eager to send you the

**New Acousticon
On FREE TRIAL**
NO DEPOSIT—NO EXPENSE

There is nothing you will have to do but ask for your free trial. No money to pay, no red tape, no reservations to this offer. Our confidence in the present Acousticon is so complete that we will gladly take all the risk in proving beyond any doubt that

The Joy of Hearing Can Be Yours Again!

The Acousticon has improvements and patented features which cannot be duplicated, so no matter what you have ever tried, just ask for a free trial of the New Acousticon. You'll get it promptly, and if it doesn't make you hear, return it and you will owe us nothing — not one cent.

GENERAL ACOUSTIC CO., 1331 Condit Bldg., New York
Canadian Address, 621 New Bkrs Bldg., Montreal

CEROTYPE YOUR STATIONERY

What does that mean?

Just this: Make your stationery attractive, distinctive and impressive, without going to the high cost of engraving.

Cerotype printing is a method of producing engraved stationery at low cost, and for elegance and dignity of appearance, this method is unexcelled.

Write for samples of Cerotype work and prices on your letterheads, billheads, checks or any other stationery.

FRANK McLEES & BROTHERS
18 Rose Street, NEW YORK

From January 1 File Your Publics

Your copies can then be used for reference, trebling their value to you.

A special binder, made to hold fifty-two issues, costs 70c postpaid.

THE PUBLIC, 122 E. 37th St. New York

TO NEW YORK READERS:

On January 26, the Manhattan Singletax Club will give a dinner to the Massachusetts Singletax League, at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant Club, Fifth Avenue Building, 200 Fifth Avenue, 6:30 P. M. Principal speakers: Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Alex. Mackendrick, Robt. E. Blakeslee, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Jr. (all of Boston); Dr. Garvin of Rhode Island, and Charles T. Root of New York. Tickets \$1.50. Send in your reservations immediately (Vanderbilt 5645), and be sure to note the change of place to Fifth Avenue Restaurant.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities

The movement for the people to gain control of those activities that are natural monopolies, will be aided by the wide distribution of the best literature on the subject. In addition to the suggestions made below, the student is referred to several books by Frederic C. Howe, to "Social Problems," by Henry George (Chapter XVII), and to Mr. Crosby's "The Orthocratic State," all of which can be ordered from us.

Municipal Ownership.

Debaters' Handbook. Both sides presented. Cloth \$1.

The Collectivist State in the Making.

By Emil Davies. Cloth \$2.00.

The Telegraph Monopoly.

By Frank Parsons. Paper 25c.

(We cannot afford to pay postage on these large paper-bound books—add 7c.)

The Railways, the Trusts and the People.

By Frank Parsons, Vol. I, paper, 25c. Vol. II, paper, 25c. (Add 15c postage.)

The Public Book Department **New York**
122 E. 37th Street

"took Panama" did such things, and people thought him consistent. But the man who has raised international ideals to the highest point in the history of the race cannot do them without being inconsistent. Withdraw the appointment, Mr. President, and start anew.

S. C.

* * *

Not a misfortune was the rejection by the United States Senate before passage of the District of Columbia Prohibition bill, of the Underwood amendment providing the so-called referendum. The Underwood amendment was not designed to submit the question to a vote of the people of the District but only to a part. It provided a property qualification, and was consequently an undemocratic measure. The people of the District should be granted the right to vote on this, and every other measure relating to their government. But when a part of the people aims to deprive the rest of the right to participate in the election, then there applies to them the saying of Abraham Lincoln: "Those who deny liberty to others deserve it not for themselves."

S. D.

* * *

Socialist Assemblyman Abraham L. Ship-lacoff, of the New York legislature, has made a good beginning by introducing bills to repeal the militarist laws passed by the last legislature while under the influence of hysteria and political bosses. These laws would never have been enacted if there were any truth in the arguments of those opponents of direct legislation who say that legislatures act with more care, deliberation and wisdom than the people. And Mr. Ship-lacoff's repealers will be promptly passed if the present legislature is half as ready as the average popular electorate to consider on its merits a matter directly submitted.

S. D.

* * *

One of the strongest positions taken by the anti-militarists is their stand on the child training question in the schools. Opponents of conscription who could not be won in any other way have yielded to the plea that the child should have the benefit of the physical development and the moral discipline that comes of military training. This appeal has come with the more force because in this period of transition from a simple to a complex economic order some children have got-

ten out of hand. But that they are to be or can be set right by means of military training is boldly challenged. Some of the best educators in the land have appeared before the committee at Washington having in charge Senator Chamberlin's universal training bill and testified that such training, instead of benefiting the child mind, is positively harmful. This is the age at which reason and a sense of justice must be developed, and there is nothing in military discipline to appeal to either. Physical endurance and blind obedience are the qualities of the soldier; and every step toward unquestioning obedience is a step away from rational initiative. Pacificists should make the most of this opportunity to drive the pernicious teaching from the public schools.

S. C.

* * *

The Supreme Court of Manitoba has informed the people of Canada that they have not the right of self-government. That is a little more than any court has yet done on this side of the line. The declaration was made in holding unconstitutional the Direct Legislation law enacted by the Provincial legislature. The five judges were unanimous in holding the law to be contrary to the British North American Act. The Chief Justice declared that "The King and the ballot box cannot make laws." Another spoke more plainly. He said: "The public are not sovereign in this country. In the United States the people are sovereign, but we get our sovereign power from England." So in democratic Canada there are five men who still cling to the doctrine of divine right, and, unfortunately, these five happen to constitute the highest court of an otherwise progressive commonwealth. An appeal will be taken to the Privy Council of England. It is outrageous that it should be necessary for Manitobans to ask a few men in another country thousands of miles away whether they may govern themselves. The check which the British North American Act imposes on Canada was heretofore considered but nominal. This Manitoba decision, if upheld, shows that it may be made as great an obstacle to freedom as some parts of the United States Constitution.

S. D.

* * *

To lower the cost of living Congressman Aswell of Louisiana has introduced a bill to remove the practically prohibitory tax on

oleomargarine. Under pretense of preventing fraud this tax is levied to protect makers of butter from competition with a cheaper substitute. The high price of butter has made it a very heavy burden and the bill to abolish it ought to pass. But Congressman Aswell is one of those Democrats who repudiated democracy to the extent of voting for retention of the duty on sugar. In doing that he helped to impose on consumers of sugar a burden as unjust as the one imposed by the tax on substitutes for butter. There was not even the poor excuse for the sugar duty that it would prevent a fraud, that ought to be prevented by other methods. Taxes on food are without justification. In proclaiming the wrong of one tax of that kind, Mr. Aswell exposes his own demerit in helping to impose another.

S. D.

* * *

Chicago is wrestling with a case of unearned decrement, instead of unearned increment. Mrs. Potter Palmer, claiming that land on Wabash avenue, between Madison and Van Buren streets, has declined in value because of the elevated railroad in that street, has brought suit against the railroad company for \$200,000 damages to her property on Wabash avenue. This action has raised some interesting points. If the railroad can be held for damages to property on Wabash avenue that may have been injured, it should, by the same logic, be permitted to sue property owners in outlying districts for the values conferred upon their holdings. It is interesting to note in passing that the plaintiff in the present instance who is claiming damage for an alleged injury suffered is not on record as paying for benefits conferred.

S. C.

* * *

In his inaugural address, Governor Edge of New Jersey complained concerning those residents of New York and Philadelphia suburbs in his State who, on account of business interests elsewhere, "do little for New Jersey outside of maintaining homes here and paying their taxes." To this the *New York World* retorts with a counter-complaint against those same citizens who "are spending in New Jersey the incomes earned in New York and Pennsylvania." Governor Edge should remember that if New Jersey did not maintain a tax system that hampers industry, many of these citizens would have opportunities within the State which they are now

compelled to seek outside. In his platform pledge for Home Rule in Taxation the Governor will find the means of beginning to apply a remedy for the conditions which he deplores. Likewise the *World* should bear in mind that if the tax laws of New York did not favor land speculation and discourage improvements it would not be necessary for many who work in New York to seek lower rent in New Jersey. There are moreover many results of the unwise tax laws of both states far worse than maintenance of dual interests by some citizens.

S. D.

* * *

Governor Bickett, of North Carolina, deserves attention for the meritorious and progressive policy he has outlined in his inaugural address. He realizes, what so many officials overlook, that establishment of economic justice is the first and most important work for an administration. And he recognizes as evils sorely in need of a remedy the land system of the State under which ownership is being concentrated, and the tax system that discourages industry and enterprise. Governor Bickett has faced in the right direction. Other Governors would do well to follow his example.

S. D.

* * *

Many of the ways of the I. W. W. are harmful and deserving of condemnation, but they do not justify the following suggestion from the usually sound *Duluth Herald*, in its issue of January 16:

It may be true that some of the activities of the authorities against this lawless outfit go beyond the scope of the law. It may be that there are real grievances among the workers on whose hard-earned wages the I. W. W. is fattening. If so, more's the pity; but nevertheless Minnesota must not be shamed by letting word go abroad that it tolerates such an institution as the I. W. W.

It is easy and pleasant to tolerate the institutions which we approve. If, as the *Herald* holds, tolerance in Minnesota should be restricted by such a test, it might as well be abolished. However bad the I. W. W. may be, and however indefensible its teachings and methods, it will be far more discreditable to the state to tolerate lawlessness against its members by the authorities than to tolerate the organization. Such a course would be not only discreditable, but it would be more dangerous than the I. W. W. itself can possibly become. Toleration of official lawlessness against I. W. W.'s will surely lead to tolerated lawlessness against others, and to serious impairment, if not destruction, of all

safeguards against tyranny. Besides, when the authorities become lawless with impunity, others will be justified in claiming the same privilege. The *Herald* should reconsider its position. When I. W. W.'s violate the law let them be treated as others guilty of the same act would be treated. But let no distinction be tolerated.

S. D.

* * *

The announcement that the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry has pledged itself to exercise its power to wipe out indecent films is most encouraging. This organization, composed of the leading producers of films, is vitally interested in escaping the censure of the public and the blighting hand of the official censor. The Association's work will have to be done under the law, as all action should be, and it will have the publicity and time necessary to prevent hasty judgment and appeals to bigotry. It may well be with the movies as it has been with the pure food question. When the standard packers realized that it was to their interest to have all obey the law, they saw to it that the law was obeyed. Self-censorship, after all, is the only censorship that effects its purpose and escapes abuse.

S. C.

The High Cost of Killing.

There appears to be a possibility that the high cost of living may be displaced as a popular topic of conversation by the high cost of killing. The staggering expenditures of the European war have long ceased to produce any effect upon a jaded imagination; but the recent estimates of the cost of preparedness may possibly cause one more sensation. Congress at the last session laid plans for warships that no proud American need be ashamed of at home or abroad. It provided battle cruisers that were to cost the stupendous sum of \$16,500,000 apiece. But monstrous as such a sum is, American shipbuilders declare that such ships cannot be built for less than \$19,000,000.

Here is a sum but slightly less than the price paid for the Danish West Indies; yet it rolls trippingly from the tongue when named as the cost of a single warship. When the Senate considered the agreement by which this country sought to reimburse Colombia for the wrong done her when our Government aided Panama's secession, there appeared to be a disposition to make some

restitution, but the sum of \$25,000,000 which was named in the treaty was considered excessive. Yet we are called upon to build a lot of war vessels, each of which will cost nearly four-fifths of that sum. Nor will this be the end. Each country builds larger and more powerful ships than its neighbors. No sooner will Germany and Great Britain have exceeded our new battle-cruisers than our naval board will design still greater, and yet more costly vessels.

But \$25,000,000-battleships are not all that "adequate preparedness" means. Our politics has for years been cursed by the presence of a string of small naval yards along our coasts. Only two or three were prepared to build or repair first-class ships, but all were kept alive for the sake of the spoils. Secretaries of the Navy and naval boards have again and again recommended the consolidation of these small and useless yards into a few effective plants. But the appetite for "pork" has overcome all appeals to reason. And now, when public opinion has been aroused, and there is strong pressure exercised upon Congressmen to shame them into a rational course, the plea is set up that preparedness demands the retention of all these petty plants. And as these yards are useless for handling modern war vessels, the next step will be to raise them all to capital yards, which will mean the expenditure of still other hundreds of millions of dollars. Away with the high cost of living! Hail to the high cost of killing!

S. C.

Social Justice and Peace.

Comment is requested on the following from *Life*:

In 1914 Belgium had a large and intelligent body of workmen with a lively sense of their importance in Belgian society. They insisted on reforms, improvements and social justice, and obtained them, but they overlooked the army and the guns. In fact, they opposed guns and armies because they thought the military was not related to social justice. So Belgium had an army of 40,000 while Switzerland had one of 400,000. The German general staff chose the Belgian route to Paris, and now the Belgian working classes have the social justice of von Bissing und Gott. Switzerland, in her reforms and freedom, is as secure as ever. Social justice must carry field glasses and don khaki once a year.

A misconception of facts has brought *Life* to the erroneous conclusion contained in the last sentence. According to *The Statesman's Year Book of 1914*, "the authorized peace

strength of the Belgian army is 3,300 officers and 50,300 other ranks, and the number of men available in war, including depots, will eventually come to about 350,000." In regard to Switzerland the same authority states: "Altogether Switzerland can mobilize nearly 200,000 men (combatants), irrespective of the organized Landstrum, who may amount to another 60,000." The army estimate for Belgium, made before war impended, was £4,043,850. For Switzerland it was but £1,772,000. If the size of the army bears any relation to national security, then Belgium should be more free from invasion to-day than Switzerland.

Life is further mistaken in stating that social justice had been established in Belgium, and prevails now in Switzerland. Both nations may have adopted any quantity of superficial reforms, but they put nothing fundamental into effect and have essentially the same poverty-breeding system that prevails in the rest of Europe and in the United States. Had Belgium established true social justice there would have been within her borders a haven of refuge for the oppressed and poverty stricken of all Europe. Workers would have emigrated by thousands from Germany and other countries to live where they could have economic freedom. German business men would have found that the increased purchasing power of the Belgian people, together with absolute freedom of trade, had opened a greater market for their goods than could be obtained through over-sea colonies or forcible annexation. That would have given Belgium an impregnable defense against foreign aggression. The suggestion by Kaiser or Chancellor of an attack upon her would have been an invitation to the German people to revolt. But she trusted instead to military defense, and assurances of foreign sovereigns. Now for more than two years she has suffered the penalty of this mistake. Her present plight shows that the radicals were right who insisted that Social Justice be established first.

S. D.

Trail of the Platt Amendment.

The reason why the Mexican and American Commissioners did not come to an agreement is found at the end of the statement issued by Luis Cabrera, Chief of the Mexican Commissioners. After enumerating the points upon which the Mexican Commissioners

sought an agreement, and detailing the experience of the Commission at New London, Atlantic City, and Philadelphia, and after testifying to the ability and sincerity of the American Commissioners, Mr. Cabrera says:

Although not a single word was said about it in the whole duration of the Conference, we had the unmistakable impression that in the mind of the American Government the belief has crystallized that some sort of Platt amendment would be the best solution of the Mexican trouble.

Mr. Cabrera has here put his finger on the weak spot in America's foreign policy with regard to the other American countries. We have unconsciously assumed a mental suzerainty over our lesser neighbors. We have applied it repeatedly to the island governments, and to the Central American countries. We put it into the treaty in which we recognized Cuba's independence; and we have come to think of ourselves as endowed with the right to set Mexico in order. Under the Platt amendment the United States has the legal right to enter Cuba with military forces whenever our Government sees fit. The Mexicans think that we mean to set up this right as to their country.

It must be apparent that no country will submit to such humiliation, except in the last extremity. For the Mexicans to accept it would be to sacrifice all that they have won by the revolution. The presence of American troops in Mexico against the wishes of the government of that country, and while the two countries are professedly on friendly terms, can mean nothing to Mexico but suzerainty. To yield to American demands while the troops remain on Mexican soil is to recognize that suzerainty.

Two courses are open to us. We must either treat Mexico as a political equal or as a political inferior. If she is our equal—that is, if she is an independent nation—our troops must come out, and we much recognize without qualification her right to settle her own affairs in her own way. If she is not our equal we have but to command and she must obey. That we make no greater progress toward a settlement is due to the fact that we do mean to recognize her as an equal, and yet cannot refrain from trying to set her house in order.

S. C.

The New Revenue Bill.

In view of the fact that the House Ways and Means Committee had been charged with

contemplating new import duties, it is a relief to note that it has finally decided to levy more direct taxes instead. But there commendation of its action must stop. An indiscriminating tax on business profits in excess of eight per cent. is indefensible. It does not follow that profits are unearned, merely because they exceed eight per cent., or are entirely earned when they fall below that figure. Two firms or corporations may be engaged in the same business, enjoying equal opportunities. Yet there may be great difference in their profits, due to better service or more efficient management. The difference in such a case would be honestly earned, and the proposition to tax the excess is unwise and unjust.

It is against public interest that Henry Ford, for instance, should be heavily taxed for his enlightened business policy which has benefited others as well as himself. It is unjust to make no distinction between his profits and the gains of the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, Miller and Lux, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Astor estate, and similar monopolies. Ford's profits are mainly the result of a policy which induces a large body of men to put in a united whole-hearted effort. That policy is his own creation, and he has no monopoly right therein. It is different with the Standard Oil Company, which profits from special governmental aid in the form of rights of way, ownership of natural resources, and tariff privileges. Yet the revenue measure proposed by the Ways and Means Committee would tax earned and predatory profits alike.

For the present the proposed tax must be accepted in preference to the worse alternative of import duties. Few Congressmen have sufficient economic education to do any better just now. But the poor merit of being better than the tariff cannot long commend a revenue system, or the political party responsible for it, while better methods are possible. Congressman Bailey's bill for a direct tax on land values is an example of what revenue legislation ought to be. If the Democratic party persists in levying taxes every way but the right way it will not remain in power long, and will not deserve to remain. S. D.

Public Ownership of Terminals.

Without attempting to pass upon the relative merits of the positions taken by the New York Central Railroad in its proposed exten-

sion of trackage within the city, and the criticism offered by the Woman's League for the Protection of Riverside Park, there can be little doubt as to the mistaken policy of permitting separate railroads, or other transportation companies, to build their own terminals. And though many citizens may hesitate to have the government take over all the railroads, there is little doubt that cities and municipalities should own and control the terminals.

A railroad right of way through the open country is comparatively easy to secure, and is not excessive in cost; but the right to enter or pass through a large city is so difficult to obtain that the expense becomes a burden upon the whole system. Terminal facilities in New York or Chicago may cost more than a thousand miles of road and equipment. Yet in spite of this enormous cost the service all roads as it is to provide streets for inde- wrong location. Such haphazard arrangements for the handling of goods and passengers could be equaled only by a big commercial house that should permit the different teaming companies to own and control their own doors and approaches to the building.

New York terminals are now so expensive to build or enlarge that their maintenance forms a large percentage of the cost of carriage. And in spite of this excessive charge the service is overburdened now, and will steadily grow worse as the demands increase. Railroads that were first to enter the city, when land was cheap, have an advantage over later comers. But whatever their situation each is jealous of the others, and is interested in the development of the city only in so far as this serves its own purpose. With terminals laid out upon a comprehensive plan by the city itself much space could be saved, with a corresponding economy in cost and convenience. It is impracticable to compel the separate railroad companies to effect this harmony; but it would be as feasible for the municipality to build terminals for the use of all roads as it is to provide streets for independent teamsters. City terminals offer a good place for public ownership of public utilities to begin. S. C.

A Proposed Unfit Appointment.

The astounding information comes that Senators Stone and Reed of Missouri have endorsed for appointment to the Tariff Com-

mission, Judge William H. Wallace, of Kansas City. If the Tariff Commission is to be of any value at all it should be made up of men willing to acquaint themselves with facts and to refrain from misrepresentation. That Judge Wallace does not measure up to such a test is clearly shown by his record during the Missouri campaign of 1912 and since. His numerous misstatements concerning the Tax Amendment submitted that year, and concerning its advocates, show an irresistible inclination to pass judgment either without knowledge or in spite of it. In either case he is not fit for the place he seeks.

Moreover, as a confirmed reactionary, his appointment by a Democratic administration would be unwise. He was active in 1914 in the tory effort to render useless the Initiative and Referendum. This attack on popular government was defeated through publicity given it by the National Popular Government League.

If reactionaries are to be represented on the Commission, they should be selected from the Republican party. The Democratic party can ill afford responsibility for presence in prominent places of any more of that element.

S. D.

Death of Robert Tyson.

Robert Tyson, of Toronto, Canada, who died January 4, at the age of seventy-one, was known throughout the world among people interested in electoral reform. As the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League from 1901 to 1912, and editor of the Review published by that organization, he carried on a correspondence with advocates of the system in all countries, and was particularly zealous in supplying the press of this country and Canada with news of the movement and arguments in behalf of the principle. And though he lived by his daily toil as a court reporter, he gave lavishly of his time and strength to further the progress of electoral reform. Mr. Tyson was not a one-idea man. He took a broad view of social questions, and was interested in furthering the spread of the Singletax as a means of establishing economic justice.

S. C.

* * *

It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase.—John Morley.

CONSCRIPTION IN PRACTICE.

I was in London when the war broke out. I saw the young men coming down from the Universities, the "Picked Half Million of Great Britain," as my old friend, Stead, used to call them, "those who command while the world must obey." Down from Oxford and Cambridge they came and from the vigorous municipal universities of England, every athlete, almost every scholar, the very cream of our Anglo-Saxon race. And from the Scottish Universities as well, men even finer and more upstanding than the pick of England.

To Aldershot they came and to the London parks to be drilled before they went on to the slaughter across the Channel. It did not need much time for this. Men of strength and brains do not take long to learn the soldier's trade if they are willing to give themselves up to it. When three years' military service is exacted, it is not to make good soldiers, but to make bad citizens. It is to break them in as patient industrial as well as military units, men who will obey whoever wears the shoulder straps and ask no questions.

A German, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, tells us that the conscript in face of divine right, the Caste System, the General Staff, and the three years of military servitude, no more questions these than the donkey does his long ears. The purpose of this discipline is to keep every man in his place. The hope of civilization is that every man should strive to change his place, and this compulsory drill of whatever kind tends to prevent.

Around these men, lying on the grass, smoking cigarettes, jeering at the volunteers, were the young men of London the war could not use. I am told that there were about 150,000 of these. They were mostly undersized, but that makes no difference. A little man is just as good as a big one if he is well put together. He may make a better soldier. He is not shot so often.

But these little men are badly put together. A sarcastic medical journal spoke of their appearance as "the Return of the Fairies." But they did not look like the fairy pictures. They were knock-kneed, flat-footed, afflicted with adenoids and with pyorrhea, saturated with beer and whisky, shot through and through by vice. And Lloyd George said to them—I am not quoting his exact words, but truer words of my own—"You cannot go to France and Flanders; you are not wanted on the Aisne nor the Marne nor the Yser. It takes men to be slaughtered and you are not worth the killing. You must stay at home to become the fathers of the next generation in London, just as your fathers

stayed out of the Boer war and begat you, as your grandfathers kept out of the war in India and built up the great institution of the 'London Slums!' For the slums of Europe are mainly the work of those war cannot use, sliding down the line of least resistance, moral and physical weakness mating with feeble-mindedness in an atmosphere of alcoholism and vice.

I learned this proverb in Egypt: "Father a weed, mother a weed, do you expect the daughter to be saffron root?" Father of the slums and mother of the slums, do you expect the son to be a British yeoman?

I learned another proverb in Spain: "Lions breed lions, a brave man has brave sons." And the central lesson of all biology is this, true alike of men and animals and plants, "Like the seed is the harvest."

I know no sadder publication than the *Illustrated London News*. Every week since the slaughter began, we have one or two full pages of photographs of the men of the "Picked Half Million" killed in the week before. If we could only have as a companion of these who fall the portraits of those who survive. Let us have the photographs of the feeble-minded and the ne'er-do-wells of the East and the West of London, who have meanwhile achieved fatherhood. In war, incompetence and wickedness prevail in every sense of the word you can imagine.

When a man, as the phrase is, "gives his life to his country," if his gift is worth taking, he gives more than his life, he gives the great widening wedge of men and women who ought to be his successors. And war destroys the picked and chosen, turning the nation over to those who have no capacity to build a nation.

I have before me the Oxford "*Varsity*" for October 28, 1916. It contains the roll of the "Killed and Missing" from the colleges at Oxford. There are 22 pages of names—averaging 60 names to the page—about 1,320 in all. Of these, not more than about 20 had entered or remained as privates. Almost every one had risen to be lieutenant, major or captain. It does not take three years to make free men into soldiers.

We may quote anywhere: Balliol College, 109 names.

Ashton, E. D., 1908. Second Lieutenant Lancashire, Fusiliers, aged 26, B. A.

Asquith, R., 1897, aged 38. Eldest son of the Prime Minister; a brilliant scholar, won an Open Scholarship, 1st Class Hon. Mods., 1st. Class Lit. Hum.; prox. access—Hertford scholarship; Ireland, Cra-ven and Derby scholarships; Fellow of All Souls, 1902-1909 M. A.

Buch, C. J., 1900. Lieut. Bedfordshire Regiment, aged 36. History Lecturer, Minister of Education, Cairo, B. A.

Darbishire, A. D., 1897. 14th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, a well known research-student.

Dickinson, H. N., 1900. Lieut. Royal West Kent Regiment, died of wounds; aged 34, B. A. Had gained some distinction as a novelist.

Wallace, A., 1912. Sergeant New Zealand Fusiliers, died of wounds at Gallipoli, age 24, Rhodes Scholar, mentioned in dispatches.

And so on through the long list. A quarter century hence we shall see an emasculated Britain, a Germany, a France, an Austria as well. But the world will never miss what it has never known, and the most terrible result of war will then, as now, pass unnoticed by the statesman, the diplomatist, the man on the street.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

MILITANT BENEVOLENCE.

The work of the joint commission on Mexican affairs has come to an end without emerging from the *impasse* which it entered even before it began its sittings. Apparently the knot is to be cut by the decision of President Wilson to withdraw the Pershing forces. What ground was covered by the commission is not yet known, but the attitude of the press has been most illuminating.

In America we enjoy the freedom to comment on matters *sub judice* by an international commission. Naturally the comment should be above suspicion, patriotically speaking. We express our feelings in terms that may refer to the personal attributes and characters of the foreign commissioners. We have no use for any silly politeness in these matters—American directness instead! The Mexican commissioners are stubborn and obstinate in insisting on their impossible point of view, whatever it may be. Mr. Cabrera has the reputation in Mexico of being an exceedingly able and patriotic man. The deluded Mexicans have been informed that he is a stupid obstructionist blocking the road of progress. Our own commissioners, on the other hand, are above reproach. They are examples of illustrious and patriotic firmness. We have upheld their hands in each of the recurring crises in the negotiations by a vigorous press campaign, by false reports of an ultimatum, and by insisting that Carranza retire from the obstinate position that he has assumed.

We are not at war and are under no obligation to display the critical incapacity of belligerents. On the contrary, we profess sympathy and good will. As the larger trump cards lie in our own hands, can we not afford to understand the implications of the game and decide whether we really desire to continue waving these trumps menacingly under the noses of those we choose to treat as our opponents?

What are the grievances that are so difficult of adjustment? Surely a matter that can again and again threaten a rupture of negotiations must be of vital interest. As the only report of proceedings that has escaped the veil of reticence is that concerning the commissioners' obstinacy, we are left to surmise the point of difficulty. The occupation of Mexican territory by American troops seems to be the issue; that this is of vital interest to Mexico only slight imagination is needed to show. No one can be so fatuous as to suppose that Carranza would run the risk of active American intervention just for the sake of indulging his obstinate disposition. The truth is that he and all Mexicans are obsessed by the idea of intervention. It is the "phantasm" of Mexican history. Everything turns on the status of the occupation. We have been doing our best to get that status defined as one of intervention. Mr. Carranza has been endeavoring to define it otherwise for the simple reason that, as soon as it becomes intervention, he must fight.

The administration policy toward Mexico has been consistently wise and sound except for the dark blot of the Pershing expedition. It was sent to forestall a probably dangerous movement of opinion in this country that might have supervened upon the Columbus raid. That was hard on Mexico, but may have prevented worse. No one acquainted with northern Mexico could have imagined for a moment that there was the slightest chance of the capture of Villa. Nor is anyone so ignorant as to suppose that the expedition has been of any value in protecting the border. Why then have the troops remained in Mexico?

When the expedition was dispatched, we declared before the whole world—and Latin America was listening very intently—that the expedition was of an entirely punitive character. We invited the Mexicans to accept our reiterated protestations of good faith. A protocol was arranged which conceded the mutual right to pursue bandits. What has been the result? The soldiers have continued in Mexico for the greater part of a year. Our commissioners have been endeavoring to enforce terms and conditions of their withdrawal. In other words, the punitive expedition became an occupation, with the consequent repudiation of our national good faith. The administration must have understood that the continuance of troops on Mexican soil was a terrible embarrassment to Carranza, that the time must arrive when he would have to fight or retire. But much

worse has taken place. We went into Mexico to catch Villa; we have assisted Villa to create an army by enabling him to advertise far and wide that he was going to drive out the invaders. This army has been supplied with munitions from the United States, unofficially to be sure, but that makes no difference in effect, while supplies have been refused to the de facto government. Villa is thus enabled to overcome the garrison of certain towns because of their shortage of ammunition. Whereupon we protest loudly that Carranza is unable to restore order. What can be the motive that actuates this kind of policy?

We have confessed our inability to protect our border and have demanded that Mr. Carranza protect it for us. He has acceded to the demand, but requires time to bring about effective control. Villa's raid had an undeniably political objective; we have played his game at every point. The multitude of actions directly inimical to the interests of the de facto government together with an attitude pretty consistently truculent cannot be explained wholly by official density. There is reason to look for some subtle and pervasive motive which seriously affects our point of view and obscures our vision of facts.

To an American who has lived long abroad and returned to his native land one characteristic of his countrymen is especially striking. This is a sort of missionary fervor, an aggressive helpfulness, the belief that it is the manifest destiny of America to set right all the ills of the world. The most dangerous element in our foreign policy today is our unintelligent benevolence. One hears it said sometimes almost plaintively, "We want to help the Mexicans," or, again, "The Mexicans refuse our help, therefore we must adopt strong measures." We are capable of waging a disastrous war upon them with the full conviction that it is for their own good. We feel hurt and resentful toward Carranza, because he has not opened avenues of helpfulness. Our national disposition discloses itself in the commodious formula of desiring to "clean things up." What we would clean up we do not know, but we can decide after arrival. There is sanitation—we are very strong on sanitation. Then we could red cross the professional beggars; we hate to see beggars. Then, of course, we would catch the bandits; we have already shown what we could do. The most precious of our principles and traditions require that the bandits be caught. To waste time over the introduction of silly reforms while a bandit is loose is intolerable to our sense of how other people should manage their affairs. Besides, if they want reforms, they have only to come

over here and get some. For Carranza to imagine that he can manage without us is an affront that almost warrants intervention. Because of that we have felt rather exultant each of the many times Obregon was reported in our papers to have placed the obstinate old man under arrest. If Carranza had good sense, he would call upon us to stop Obregon's arresting him.

The danger of this attitude is its uncritical character. It assumes without question the general superiority of our political, economic and social system. It believes that our administration is expert and honest, that our leaders are statesmen, that we have gone further than all other nations in the elimination of crime and poverty, that our distribution of wealth is in accord with justice, that our schools produce that discriminating intelligence which is the only safe basis of a free citizenship. We believe in our way of doing things, our *kultur*. We stand ready to extend it. Stupid backward people would bless us for giving it to them even through force of arms. If we have a neighbor who wastes time and blood in working out what he foolishly believes to be problems of his own social and political evolution, it is our duty to step in and clean things up. As for the Pershing expedition we said it was a punitive expedition and that it had no other object, and that we would bring it out. Now we have half a mind to keep it there to show we resent having our good faith doubted. Our benevolence enables us to bracket the problem of withdrawing our troops with all the internal problems of Mexico. We can even discuss the question of taxes on mines and bullion. The nations of the western hemisphere constitute a family in which we are older brother; and the older brother has not only responsibilities but prerogatives as well. Differences of race, language, history and institutions are nothing. We have decided that we are a family and are going to act accordingly.

The good intentions of the general American public are undoubtedly genuine; that is the curious point. If Mr. Hearst and Mr. Guggenheim should trick us into an unjust war, a hundred million people would beg the privilege of standing for a little while on their necks. But there are several difficulties. First of all, the Latin Americans are slow forgetters, and there are several incidents in our history that militate against their acceptance of our profession of good will. Again, our Americans abroad are excellent business men, and no nation likes to receive benevolent prescriptions from those who have relieved it of its property and income. Finally, the most effective way in which we can give as-

sistance at present in Mexico is by keeping our hands off. Mexico is making her way slowly and with great difficulty through the final stages of her long climb from Spanish colonial administration toward the exercise of democratic institutions. Latin America copied our political system, but only two republics in South America have in recent years succeeded in making the machine work, to use Lord Bryce's phrase. In Mexico this machine was nothing more than a front window decoration. Carranza is determined to make it work. Its first working will undoubtedly be lumbering and creaky, but if it works at all, the purpose of the revolution is accomplished. This is a job that they must manage for themselves. No outsider can do it for them. When it is accomplished, there will be full scope for our benevolence, a thousand ways of co-operation that will work out to our mutual benefit.

J. W. SLAUGHTER.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 28, 1917

President Wilson on European Peace.

President Wilson appeared before the Senate on January 22 and laid down suggestions for terms of peace in Europe. After reporting on the notes sent the belligerent nations and their replies, he declared that there must be no dictated peace, that the rights of all nations, big and little, must have equal consideration, that big nations have not the right to dispose of small ones, that peace must be based on the right of self-government, that the freedom of Poland be recognized, that the freedom of the seas and equality of rights to natural outlets to the sea be recognized, that there be limitation of armaments, and that a broader Monroe Doctrine be recognized, so that no nation be conceded the right to force its government on another.

In speaking of conditions necessary to a lasting peace the President said:

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settle-

ment of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance. . . .

Equality of territory, of resources, there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. . . .

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am, in effect, speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear. . . .

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful. . . .

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies.

We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

[See vol. xix, page 1237.]

Congressional Doings.

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce decided adversely, by a 7 to 3 vote, on January 16, on the proposition to forbid strikes or lockouts on railroads pending investigation of the cause of dispute. Senators Smith of South Carolina and Underwood of Alabama voted with the Republicans against the clause. [See current volume, pages 38, 60.]

* *

The House Committee on Rules has engaged Sherman L. Whipple of Boston as attorney to conduct its investigation of how advance information was given concerning the President's peace message. On January 16 the House accepted the Senate's amendments to the Burnett immigration bill and it was sent to the President for approval or veto.

* *

The House Ways and Means Committee decided on January 16 to provide for the deficit in revenue by a tax on profits in excess of 8 per cent. on capitalization of corporations and co-partnerships. Concerns having profits of \$5,000 or less are to be exempt, as are also profits derived from agriculture and from personal services. In addition to this tax the inheritance tax is to be increased fifty per cent. The minimum tax on taxable inheritances is to be raised from one per cent. to one and a half per cent., and the maximum from ten per cent. to fifteen. A bond issue of \$289,000,000 is to be authorized.

* *

Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania introduced on January 22 a direct land value tax bill to raise \$200,000,000 by apportionment among the States and District of Columbia, in proportion to population. In a statement to the press Mr. Bailey showed that his proposed tax would be open and above board, that every man would know what he was paying and how much. Moreover, it would stimulate production by forcing valuable land into use and thus afford larger employment to labor and capital. It is in striking contrast with all other proposals yet submitted in Congress. He said further:

It should be borne in mind that land values are essentially community values, they grow with the growth of population and they are greatest where population is most dense and where the division of labor is carried to its highest point. Most of our rev-

enues are now derived by indirect methods from those least able to bear the burden. Many taxes are shifted from the apparent payer to the ultimate consumer. The method I propose has the high merit of simplicity and the tax would merely take for the use of the whole people a value which belongs to them of right.

Would not this tax fall particularly upon the farmers of the country? No. Farm values are mostly improvement values. Land values are chiefly to be found in the great industrial centers like New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco and New Orleans. But wherever they are found they are community values and are therefore properly the source of community revenues for community purposes.

I want to add, however, that I regard any increase in taxation at this time unwarranted. The country is already over-taxed. There should be vigorous retrenchment in the public expenditures, especially for military and naval purposes.

Rooseveltians and Old Guard Fight.

Strained relations have developed in the Republican National Committee between the Rooseveltian faction led by George W. Perkins and the regular faction led by Chairman Willcox. The trouble came as a result of the action of the National Executive Committee on January 16 in electing a regular, John T. Adams of Iowa, as vice-chairman. The office of vice-chairman was created by the last Republican National Convention and was filled by Alvah T. Hert of Kentucky, a Rooseveltian. His displacement by a member of the Old Guard while Chairman Willcox, also a regular, was re-elected, has been denounced by Mr. Perkins as an affront to those former members of the Progressive party who supported Mr. Hughes. In his protest Mr. Perkins has the support and approval of Theodore Roosevelt, Oscar Straus, Everett P. Colby, Governor Whitman and other former Progressive Hughes supporters.

Officers Ordered Courtmartialed.

Lieutenant Frank A. Spencer and Captain Wilbur T. Wright of the New York militia were ordered courtmartialed by General Wood of the United States army, on charges growing out of the "spread-eagling" of privates. An investigation by Colonel Thomas Q. Donaldson had disclosed that five privates were subjected to this treatment. The court-martial will be under the provision of the articles of war against commission of "offences not specifically covered by other articles of war." The five privates were also ordered courtmartialed. [See current volume, page 60.]

Anti-Protection Propaganda Planned.

A four-year nation-wide educational campaign on protectionism is being urged by the South Side Democratic Club of Freeport, Long Island, New York. A letter signed by John M. Harrington, president, sent to the Democratic State Chairman of every doubtful State says in part:

The South Side Democratic Club, of Nassau County, Long Island, New York, announces "The Freeport Plan" for a four-year national campaign to be conducted through the agency of, and at the expense of, small clubs throughout the country.

The expense upon each club (except the South Side Democratic Club) will be small; and the advantage to our party immense, not only in national politics, but in local, county and state politics as well.

If the people remain in ignorance as to what so-called "protection" really means, it will be useless for the Democratic Party to nominate a candidate for the Presidency in 1920; while, on the other hand, if a man becomes a Democrat as the result of an understanding of the tariff issue, he will always be a Democrat and be unafraid of the campaign threats of the advocates of special privilege.

Our club is convinced that the plan itself has merit; and the arguments contained in the circular have met the approval of tariff experts and of well-known Democrats.

The plan is practicable, provided only it receive the active support of the officials of the Democratic Party throughout the country.

If, by our lethargy, we permit the "ownership" of the government to revert, in 1920, to the special interests, we shall each be guilty of moral treason.

A four page circular accompanies the letter containing arguments against protection, and declaring:

The tariff issue can never be taken out of politics until the people shall have acquired a more thorough understanding of the subject and shall have expressed their conclusion thereon in a manner not to be misinterpreted by the special interests.

The State Chairman is urged to place the matter before state committeemen and county chairmen, with a view to forming local organizations to carry on the educational work.

Suffrage Progress.

The North Dakota House passed on January 16 the bill for limited woman suffrage which has already passed the Senate. [Erroneously reported on page 64, as a resolution for a constitutional amendment.] The bill went at once to Governor Frazier for his signature. It gives women the right to vote on all offices aside from those provided by the Constitution. The House also passed the resolution to amend the Constitution so as to

grant full suffrage. This has also passed the Senate and must still be approved by popular vote. [See current volume, page 64.]

* *

Republican leaders in both Senate and House of New York were reported on January 15 as having agreed to resubmission of the woman suffrage amendment, which was defeated at the polls in 1915. [See vol. xviii, p. 1098.]

Tax Reform News.

The Arkansas State Senate passed on January 12 a resolution for a constitutional amendment to place a graduated tax on large holdings of land. The object is declared to be to break up big holdings withheld from use and to stimulate establishment of small farms.

* *

In his inaugural address Governor Bickett of North Carolina denounced the prevailing tax system as one that penalizes industry and curtails opportunity. He urged the legislature to order an investigation of the subject. He said further in part:

If there be a man in North Carolina who desires to drain a swamp or terrace a hillside; if there be a farmer who is struggling to escape from the crop lien's deadly clutch; if there be a tenant who hangers for a vine and fig tree he may call his own, I want all such to know that the Governor of the State will count it honor and joy to rise up at midnight and lend a helping hand.

If there be men or combinations of men who want to build factories that will multiply the value of our raw products; to harness our streams and redeem the sad waste of the waters; to construct or equip railroads that will insure adequate transportation for our growing commerce; to form or maintain insurance companies that will keep at home the Niagara of gold that has been flowing out of the State, I want these men to feel that the State recognizes their wisdom and their worth, and places no discount on their patriotism.

The first and dearest work of this administration will be a supreme effort to translate the tenants of the State into landlords. Here and now, in the presence of God and these witnesses, I consecrate myself, and all the power and prestige of my office to this endeavor. I shall neither rest nor permit the State to rest, until every honest, industrious and frugal man who tills the soil, has a decent chance to own it. . . . There can be no government for the many while the lands belong to the few, for the history of the world teaches that the men who own the land will rule it.

California Reformers Unite.

The conference of California tax reformers, held at San Francisco on January 13 and 14, formed the California Equity Tax Association and declared for a state wide measure

for exemption of personal property and improvements. Representatives of the Great Adventure movement which backed the campaign of last year, and of the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, which backed the campaigns of 1912 and 1914, participated in the conference, together with representatives of other organizations. J. Stitt Wilson was chosen campaign manager. The action taken unites all factions in a harmonious movement. The following report was sent by R. R. Waterbury, of Oakland:

Great progress has been accomplished during the past week in bringing together the fundamental democrats of California for a united movement against special privilege in this state. The work culminated in a two-day conference held in San Francisco on January 13th and 14th, in which "State Wide" "Home Rule" and "Great Adventure" adherents from all parts of the state got together, agreed upon a constitutional amendment, formed a state organization, elected officers, and appointed a campaign manager.

The state federation is to be known as the *California Equity Tax Association*. Mr. J. Stitt Wilson, of Berkeley, who acted as chairman of the conference, and to whom great credit is due for his masterly ability in harmonizing what have been hitherto conflicting elements, was unanimously elected president, and Mr. R. E. Chadwick of Los Angeles, secretary of the conference, was chosen secretary of the association. In addition, Judge James G. Maguire was elected Honorary President. The next step was to appoint a campaign manager, such manager to receive a salary, open up state headquarters, and devote his entire time to the task of opening up the idle land to the idle men of California. J. Stitt Wilson was prevailed upon to accept this position.

Among others who contributed to make the convention a success were Senator James W. Bucklin, Charles James, J. H. Ryckman, Isidore Jacobs, Clarence E. Todd, Edw. P. E. Troy, Judge John Roth, Dr. H. F. Dessau, Mrs. Norman Duxbury, A. Snyder, C. K. Stern, Walter Thomas Mills, W. R. Edwards, J. W. Wells, W. R. Workman and T. E. Zant.

Those having the reform at heart now have every reason to believe the movement is on a sound business basis that gives every promise of big achievement in the not far distant future

[See current volume, page 38.]

Pastoriza's Mayoralty Campaign.

Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza of Houston, Texas, who has made the city famous as a leader in advanced methods of taxation, is this year a candidate for mayor at the Democratic primary, to be held on February 23. Pastoriza's candidacy was announced early in December. A report, dated January 10, from Houston, says that within 48 hours of the announcement "hundreds of men had telephoned him and offered their services." Another candidate, Masterson, had announced

his intention to run on the same day. The report states further:

Within a week the "Big Boys" met, there being about 200 present, 50 or 75 of them being Pastoriza's supporters who went there out of curiosity. They appointed a committee of 15 to select a candidate to "beat Pastoriza." They absolutely ignored Masterson. In their expressions at this meeting, they all admitted that Pastoriza was honest, but they wanted to get a different kind of a man for their candidate. Now, if they did not want an honest man, what kind of a man did they want?

The committee of 15 reported a week later at a meeting at the auditorium, where 200 or 300 were present, a great many of them being Pastoriza supporters. Millionaire Link was nominated. The Press threw the searchlight upon him so rapidly and so plainly that they kept him dodging the bullets running from one side to another, morning, noon, and night for a week. At the end of the week he realized that his whole fort was going to be blown to atoms, so he withdrew from the race. Since then the "immortal 15," known as the "Big Boys," have been combing the city with a fine-tooth comb, looking for a "suitable" candidate to beat Pastoriza. So far that "suitable" candidate has not come out, although Mr. Andral Vann seemed willing to be. Some say he is the "Big Boys'" candidate; some say he is the street railway company's and public service corporations' candidate, his record being that he has worked for public service corporations for many years, until recently.

A meeting was called for Pastoriza's organization about two days before Link withdrew, it not being known at that time that he was going to withdraw. It was the largest organization meeting that was ever held in the City of Houston, there being from 1000 to 1500 present. They were arranged according to their voting boxes, and they appointed three men from their number to represent their voting boxes in the campaign. These committees met the following Saturday at Pastoriza's headquarters, 207½ Main Street, and they were all there and about 50 more. At this meeting definite plans were outlined for organizing Pastoriza Clubs at every voting precinct in the city. Many of them have been organized and are doing good work. It has been already announced that between 2000 and 3000 are going to join these Pastoriza Clubs, and vote for him in the primary February 23rd.

The opposition is still looking for another candidate. All kinds of overtures have been made to Pastoriza, which would result in doing away with a great deal of opposition, but he is deaf and dumb to anything but a free discussion of his record and the record of his opponents, and is leaving it to the people to decide. [See volume xxiii, p. 193, xix, p. 421.]

Labor Injunctions Denied.

Judge McDonald, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, on January 20 revoked an injunction forbidding the local Central Labor Union from publishing an "unfair" list. The Judge held it to be a fundamental right of workers to publish the fact that they consider cer-

tain employers to be their enemies. He further held that such publications do not constitute ground for a suit. A similar decision was rendered in Brooklyn on January 19 by Justice Cropsey of the Supreme Court of Kings County. Justice Cropsey lifted an injunction issued on December 20 by Justice Aspinall forbidding the members of a restaurant employees' union from letting it be known in any way that an employer had violated one of their rules, or that a strike was on. Justice Cropsey held that the union was within its legal rights.

Danish Indies.

The Danish West Indies on the 17th passed under the sovereignty of the United States with the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of cession by Secretary Lansing and Minister Brun. The formal transfer of the islands and the raising of the American flag will take place as soon as the \$25,000,000 purchase price has been paid, which will be some time within the next ninety days. The treaty provides that meanwhile the Danish governor shall continue his jurisdiction, and that a committee of one Dane and one American shall be appointed to arrange fuller details. The form of the government of the islands and their name are now in the hands of Congress. [See vol. xix, p. 1217.]

Mexico.

The Constitutional Assembly, sitting at Queretaro, approved on the 21st an article of the Constitution providing that Mexicans shall have the preference over foreign born citizens in regard to all classes of concessions and for those posts in the government employ the holders of which must be citizens. The article provides that in time of peace no foreigner shall serve in the army or on the police force. Those joining the navy must be Mexicans by birth; and all captains, pilots, and first engineers of merchant vessels must be citizens. Two-thirds of the crews also must be citizens. [See current volume, page 63.]

* * *

Major General Funston, in command of the troops on the border, has issued orders for the mustering out of 25,243 militia-men as fast as rail facilities for their return home can be found. This will leave 50,000 militia-men still on guard at the border. The maximum number of State troops on the border at one time was 150,000.

European War.

Military activities on all fronts have slackened on account of bad weather. Raids and

artillery engagements mark the extent of operations in France and Belgium. No further action is reported from the Riga front. In Roumania the Teutonic forces are making slow progress against the Russians and Roumanians. Berlin announces the capture of the town of Nanesti on the Sereth River. The Russians in their retreat across the river lost 556 men. Bad weather is given as a reason for the slowing up of the German advance. No action is reported from the Macedonian front, but the diplomatic pressure of the Allies upon Greece is taken to indicate military movements at an early day. In compliance with the ultimatum of the Allies, the Greek King has liberated the Venizelist partizans who were arrested in the fighting in Athens a month ago. [See current volume, page 63.] * * *

Naval warfare has again been brought into prominence by the exploits of a German raider in the South Atlantic. The British steamer Yarrowdale, in charge of a German prize crew of sixteen men, and carrying 469 prisoners, was brought into a German port, December 31. The news had been withheld for strategic reasons. It was made public when the Japanese vessel *Hudson Maru*, one of the raider's prizes, was landed at Pernambuco, Brazil. Among the vessels taken are said to be one Norwegian and seven British ships. The identity and extent of the raiding force is not announced. A large number of cruisers are scouring the seas in search of the enemy force. * * *

No official peace moves have occurred during the week. On the 17th the British Ambassador at Washington delivered to the State Department a communication from Arthur J. Balfour, amplifying the position set forth in the note of the Entente Allies to President Wilson. Mr. Balfour sets forth at greater length the demand that Turkey be excluded from Europe because the country under the party of Union and Progress is as barbarous as it was under Sultan Abdul Hamid. He repeats the charge that Germany was responsible for the war, and that she cannot be trusted to keep the peace if victorious; and he declares that an enduring peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled:

The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened. The second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples. The third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for prevention or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardest aggressor,

NOTES

—The city of Calgary, Alberta, has adopted proportional representation as the means of electing representatives by a vote of 2,840 to 1,374.

—Admiral George Dewey died at his home in Washington on January 16, aged 79. [See vol. v, p. 193.]

—Secretary Daniels announced on January 17 that he had awarded contracts for 7500 projectiles to the Hadfield's Company of Sheffield, England, which had underbid the Bethlehem Steel Company.

—William Frennd De Morgan, noted English novelist and artist, died in London on the 15th. He achieved renown not only because of the excellence of his literary work, but because he turned to literature at the age of 65, and spent the remaining twelve years of his life in writing the highest class fiction.

—Dr. Ben L. Reitman was convicted by a jury at Cleveland on January 17 of distributing birth-control literature. He was sentenced by Judge Cull to six months' imprisonment and \$1,000 fine. He has appealed but Judge Cull has refused a stay of sentence pending appeal.

—Federal District Judge Meek of Dallas, Texas, instructed the Grand Jury on January 20 to investigate charges of peonage. Land owners in the northern part of the State are said to be forcibly detaining negroes on the ground that they are indebted to them.

—The United States Supreme Court on January 15 held by a 5 to 3 vote that the Mann "White Slave" act is not limited to commercialized vice, but applies to all interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes. The decision was dissented from by Justices Clarke, White and McKenna. Justice McReynolds did not sit in the case.

—Thomas Mott Osborne, former warden of Sing Sing Prison; Professor John McCormick, of Bowdoin College, and his secretary, Harry Bolaniskey, voluntarily began a term of ten days' imprisonment on January 16 at the United States Naval Prison at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. All donned prison attire and are to be treated as ordinary prisoners. [See vol. xvi, p. 971; vol xix, p. 974.]

—Cruel treatment of convicts in the New Jersey penitentiary at Trenton, and a bad state of affairs generally in that institution is being exposed by the New York *Evening Post* in a series of articles. In a report to the Governor on January 20, Warden Richard P. Hughes recommended institution of wholesale reforms. Insanity and tuberculosis are largely prevalent among the prisoners and there are no adequate accommodations for taking care of such cases.

—By a 4 to 4 vote the Supreme Court of the United States on January denied the claim of the railroads for \$35,000,000 extra compensation for carrying the mails. The railway pay for a year is based on the amount of mail carried during a period of 105 days selected by the Post Office Department. Up to 1907 the practice was to figure the transportation for one day by dividing the total for the period by 90. Since 1907 the Department has ordered that 105 be the divisor and on this basis the amount of transportation to be paid for

the whole year has been figured. The railroads protested and in 1911 began suit for the difference for four years amounting to \$35,000,000. The Court of Claims decided adversely to them and the Supreme Court now upholds it. No announcement was made of how individual judges voted.

PRESS OPINIONS

Getting Dangerously Near to Fundamentals.

New York Call, December 20.—Consider the following from the Public Health Service, in admonition to the public not to worry:

"So far as is known, no bird ever tried to build more nests than its neighbor. No fox ever fretted because he had only one hole in which to hide. No squirrel ever died of anxiety lest he should not lay by enough nuts for two winters, instead of one, and no dog ever lost any sleep over the fact that he did not have enough bones laid aside for his declining years."

How these sapient gentlemen know that animals never worry is something that is not disclosed. But, worry or no worry, all animals, human or otherwise, die if they have not sufficient food. No squirrel can live without nuts, and no dog without bones; the fox without a hole, or, indeed, several of them, to hide in would find his cunning of little use in preventing his hide being nailed to the barn door, and it is only too obvious that no nests mean no birds. Besides, there are birds that steal each others' nests, birds that lay eggs in the nest of others; but no naturalist has ever discovered a rent-paying or rent-exacting bird. But the comparison carries with it the admission that millions of people, who actually work hard all their lives, can lay up nothing for their declining years. To tell them not to worry is even more mockingly ironical than the constant adjurations to "lay something up for a rainy day," and the assurances that all can do it if they only try.

The Agricultural Tenant Problem.

Oklahoma City (Okla.), *Times*, January 9.—Landlordism, or, what amounts to the same thing, tenancy, is the biggest problem before the people of this state at this time. More than half of our producers are victims of a system which destroys hope, impoverishes the State's resources and breeds nothing but poverty and discontent. The legislature cannot, of course, enact a law which will make a farm-owner out of a tenant or breed thrift in men. Neither can it dispossess present owners of farm lands of their property. All it can do, by way of finding a remedy for this condition, is to submit a constitutional amendment which will give the State power for taxing large holdings of land out of existence. This is an inadequate remedy, to be sure, but it is the most the State can apply at this time. In later years, perhaps, we shall progress to the degree that title to agricultural lands will be valid only when vested in the individual who occupies and uses it. That day, however, is a good way off. In the meantime, we should do what we can toward arresting the growth of tenancy, both by making it unprofitable to hold large areas of land in private

ownership and creating a more equitable economic system.

Fear, Lest the Example Spread.

Clinton (Ind.), *Argus*, January 12.—It would be the height of genuine humor to observe the alarm that appears in the editorial columns of certain papers because the farmers of North Dakota prepare to exempt all farm improvements from taxation. This alarm would be side splittingly funny if there were not a serious sub-phase to the matter. Can it be possible that there is an underground connection between the hired writers and their organs, the parties who own them and the land speculators in North Dakota? Why should any newspaper man in Indiana howl because North Dakota farmers propose to abolish all taxes on farm improvements?

CORRESPONDENCE

ARMY MAN CONDEMNS MILITARISM.

Democracy found a real champion here the other day in an unexpected quarter when Maj. Wm. C. Harlee of the United States Marine Corps, before a sub-committee of the United States Senate, publicly uncovered the whole gigantic scheme of military pretence. Senators Chamberlain, Brady, and Thomas, who had summoned him to testify on the compulsory military training bill, were aghast. "Team work" had been the departmental watchword since the present preparationist enthusiasm began and no one had reason to expect a break in the ranks. Clearly Maj. Harlee regards his first duty to the public rather than to the so-called War Department ring. That it took courage cannot be doubted, for before now for much less military men have been banished to colonial service or to isolated army posts.

It might be noted that the removal machinery was in operation within 24 hours of his testimony. That he is not now on duty in Porto Rico is probably due to the friendship of Secretary Daniels or perhaps to the growing prudence of the departmental crowd who have learned that to pluck a disturber too near to the time of the disturbance is poor management.

But the important thing is the man's message. Compulsory military training he condemned but he went much further and demonstrated that our boasted soldier training instead of teaching skill in the armed defense of our country actually unfits men for war service.

The military caste system and barracks life, with its petty intrigues and dissipation for officers, its lackey service, loss of self-respect and dissipation for privates—these are the things, according to Maj. Harlee, that destroy the fighting qualities in men.

Officers invariably prefer new men and when there is real work ahead dread the re-enlisted man; the reason is the re-enlisted ones have learned to "soldier." The effect of regular army life upon the officers, their fear of taking the initiative, as described by Maj. Harlee, is even worse. Caste, in the last analysis, is chiefly responsible for the demoralization of both officers and privates.

Our military system is not American; it was imported. It is today much the same as brought us by Baron von Steuben of Prussia when he came to drill the American revolutionists. We borrowed it from Prussia and England, countries that recognized two classes of men, gentlemen and common men. And our system today reflects faithfully the social conditions which prevailed at that time. The officers came from the gentleman class, the enlisted men represent the common caste. It fitted the European social structure of the 18th century, but it does not fit America.

American army law of the present recognizes two separate and distinct classes of men in the military service. Those of the one caste are forbidden to associate on a plane of social equality with members of the other. Brothers or father and son in the service, if one be an officer and the other a private, may not eat at the same table under penalty of courtmartial. The enlisted man signs an oath which binds him for three years whether he would remain or no. An officer is free to quit when it pleases him. After the age of 27 the private no longer has the possibility of becoming an officer; his rise is stopped by law.

Here are a few high points in Maj. Harllee's testimony:

Napoleon destroyed caste in the army because he saw that it injured the business. The impulse toward democracy which the French Revolution gave the French army has never reached the American regular establishment from top to bottom. There was no caste in the Confederate army nor in the citizen army of the United States during the 60's.

The thing above all others which prevents men from entering the military service is the oath of enlistment. It is an oath of bondage. Any other employer who contracted with his men on this basis would be guilty of peonage—a felony under the law of the nation which practices it itself. In my experience in recruiting I found men profoundly unwilling to subscribe to such an oath.

Unhappy or dissatisfied men are of no earthly use to a military body. It is a much better policy to let them go and then investigate the cause and seek the remedy. I am absolutely opposed to universal service or compulsory service or any kind of service except that which is rendered by willing men. I am opposed to it because dumb, driven cattle cannot be taught or trained. The Persians had universal service; the Greeks did not.

It does not require years to train a soldier—for fighting. The individual instruction is simple. It can be done in weeks. With the proper machinery developed it can be done in less time than any army can cross the ocean.

If war should come now the most serious problem would not be the lack of numbers, the lack of men able to bear arms with credit to themselves. The most serious problem would come from the necessity of working off the dead wood which has risen to the top of the military service by the passage of time, the elimination of the men who are entrenched by law but who are unaccustomed to the habits of active armies. The development of new leaders and the casting off of the old were the real problems of the war of the 60's.

Maj. Harllee's chief activity for two years past has been promoting rifle practice among civilians throughout the country. It has been opposed as tending to cut down enlistment. Maj. Harllee's comment in connection therewith is significant: "You can't oppress a people who know how to shoot."

SID EVANS.

Washington, D. C.

A SENSIBLE ASSESSOR.

Captain J. D. Lee is serving his fourth term of office as assessor of Klamath county, Oregon. It takes four years to make a term, so "Cap Lee" will have served for 16 years, if he lives. He is a peculiar composition, and a product of the direct primary. "Cap Lee" came to Klamath county

an itinerant minister from Texas. He still stops to pray or preach as he goes his rounds. His county is as large as the whole of Massachusetts, or close to it.

When first elected assessor he was a political accident. His re-election followed because of the direct primary which did not permit the bunch of Democratic statesmen of that county to stop the rank and file from writing his name on the ballot.

"Cap Lee" is near-sighted. He can't see the lone cow, the little old shack, the two lean horses, the rattly wagon, the cleared field of the settler or the homesteader. He is also forgetful. He forgets to note these sights down on his notebook when riding a district.

He remembers, however, to have a big speculative tracts of timber "cruised" and assessed well. Cruising timber is a task for experts and consists of estimating acre by acre the amount of timber on it. "Cap Lee" employs experts at it who know how.

He remembers that some big, idle tracts are held for speculation on the plains and valleys that ought to be settled up. He comes mighty near assessing the idle land at the same figures as the improved lang alongside, especially when the improver is a settler with more family than wealth.

"Junk," says "Cap Lee" at the sight of the farm machinery.

"Bones," he remarks at the sight of the horses in the spring whose owners are struggling to make a "live" of it in the sagebrush. "Junk and bones are worth nothing so far from a city," he explains.

He is accused of holding prayer meeting at a settlement, and then using his persuasive powers to keep settlers from putting themselves on the assessment rolls for too many cows, horses, and pigs.

He notices that Lux and Miller's foremen return only such cattle as they have within fences. Lux and Miller are the big land grabbers of California and Oregon. Both are dead, but their tax dodging and land grabbing continue unabated. "Tell the folks up the valley to turn their cows out in the brush. I am coming up there tomorrow," he telephones. On some speculative tracts he increased the figures 500 per cent. He takes up the assessments lost on settlers' cattle and "dunder" in such a manner.

"If only land owners could vote, and the speculative non-resident land owners had a vote each, old 'Cap Lee' would hit the road lookin' for another job," a settler told me some time ago.

"It is hard to get some of these settlers to understand," said the Klamath county assessor. "They want to tell me the truth. They want to pay their just share of gov'ment. I tell 'em how the banks lie to me; and the money loaners keep their money in San Francisco, and lie to me; and the big timber owners employ smart lawyers to lie to me; and the big cattle owners lie to me. I can't play the game of taxing a feller 'sif he had broke some law who breaks up the sagebrush and sets out to raise a family. Unless he is well fixed I tax the idle brush and stump land a l-e-e-t-l-e bit more on each acre, and it makes up for the cleared field. We want people in Klamath, it seems to me, and when they come we ought to

treat 'em right. I never see much use in the land speculator."

After three terms of such an easy-going assessor the absentee and resident speculators determined to oust "Cap Lee." He failed to get the Democratic nomination in the direct primary. Just how it was done is not known as of public record. It was done. The political wirepullers rejoiced.

"I reckon there are Republicans enough in Klamath to elect me," observed the old preacher. He therefore filed as an independent. The operation of the direct primary law makes it hard sledding for an independent candidate who has been beaten in the primaries. The speculators slept easily. When the returns came in last November "Cap Lee" had carried about every precinct in the county, and had nearly as many votes as his three opponents put together. There are nearly a third of the voters in Klamath county who voted for the Singletax measure. "Probably they helped some," observed a settler friend of his who was visiting Portland.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

Portland, Oregon.

ADMIRAL DEWEY ON PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

The late Admiral Dewey has been quoted as opposed to the Independence of the Filipinos. Whatever modification of expression it may have been his duty to make when the Administration had declared its attitude in the matter, the following statements of the Admiral's opinion are of record:

Aguinaldo, insurgent leader (against Spain), with thirteen of his staff, arrived May 19, on the "Nashua." I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government. In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races. (Telegram from Manila to Navy Department, June 23, 1898).

And again, quoting the above:

Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion. (Telegram from Manila to Navy Department, August 29, 1898).

It is to be remembered that at this time there was no question as to the fitness of the Cubans for self-government, the United States being at war with Spain, ostensibly because Spain had denied them that right.

Boston.

ERVING WINSLOW.

EQUALITY.

By Harriet Martineau

All men are equal in their birth,
Heirs of the earth and skies;
All men are equal when that earth
Fades from their dying eyes.
'Tis man alone who difference sees,
And speaks of high and low,
And worships those, and tramples these,
While the same path they go.
O let man hasten to restore
To all their rights of love;
In power and wealth exult no more,
In wisdom lowly move.
Ye great, renounce your earth-born pride!
Ye low, your shame and fear!
Live, as ye worship, side by side;
Your brotherhood revere!

BOOKS

FUNDAMENTAL PEACE.

Towards a Lasting Settlement. Edited by Charles Roden Buxton. Published by Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.00.

To those who can trace the purpose written on the face of things, it becomes increasingly evident that as one of the final results of the agony the world is now suffering, there is taking place a consolidation and unification of thought and feeling as to the future of the human family. The patriot, the pacifist, the equal suffragist, the educationist, the land reformer, are all uniting in a common desire to shake free of the conditions that have led up to the European cataclysm, and to make a fresh start. Enthusiasms and passions which formerly ran in narrow channels are coalescing into one stream of fervent aspiration towards that larger outlook which has already been named "The International Mind."

A concrete example of this tendency towards a convergence of aim and effort is provided in the collection of articles by notable English writers, edited by Charles Roden Buxton, under the title of "Towards a Lasting Settlement." The names of the authors give sufficient guarantee, not only of the value of these contributions, but of the variety of viewpoints from which the great enigma is being regarded. The editor himself contributes an essay on "Nationality," in which the points of contact are convincingly indicated between a wholesome Nationalism, and that sentiment of Internationalism on which the future of civilization depends.

The premier place, however, is deservedly given to Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, whose article "The Basis of Permanent Peace," contains the sanest discussion we have seen of the great problem, "not of the ten days of diplomacy that preceded the war, but of the general state of things that make war continually imminent." It strengthens one's belief in the capacity of the human mind to free itself of partiality or prejudice, when we find a distinguished Englishman frankly admitting that the responsibility for this "general state of things" must be distributed with some degree of equality among the belligerents. "The corporate egotism" which masquerades as patriotism, the jingoism that represents the idea of making as well as demanding concessions, Mr. Dickinson candidly uncovers in the past attitude of England to European nations.

An exceedingly valuable article on "The Freedom of the Seas," by H. Sidebotham, gives a lucid explanation of that much misunderstood expression, and is also remarkable

(as coming from an Englishman) for its frank admission of the parallelism that may be drawn between German Militarism and British Navalism. Mr. John A. Hobson, a well-known economist, in a paper entitled "The Open Door," offers a well sustained argument for the removal of the economic causes of discord among nations, and for the conclusion that the claim made for German expansion "would have been ineffective had it not been supported by the feeling of restricted enterprise which led large numbers of German business men to support the pushful policy it indicated." Miss Maude Royden, one of the most highly cultured among the supporters of the British Woman's Movement, writes on the relation which that movement must bear to any international understanding which may be hoped for after the war. Mr. H. N. Brailsford's article on "The Organization of Peace," and Mr. Philip Snowden's on "Democracy and Publicity in Foreign Affairs," are both remarkable for the soundness of judgment expressed, and not less so for the entire absence of that insular prejudice which one has occasionally to pardon in English writers. The volume closes with a contribution from a writer we could wish to hear from more frequently, Mr. Vernon Lee, on "The Democratic Principle and Internationalism," and though last, it is by no means least in importance. We make but one quotation: "Foremost among the principles of democracy is hostility to artificial privilege and monopoly," and it may stand as the key-note to which the remainder of Mr. Lee's article is tuned.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

EMANCIPATING AMERICAN CITIES

Municipal Freedom. By Oswald Ryan. Published by Doubleday, Page and Co. Price 60 cents net.

Very clearly, and with close reasoning, Mr. Ryan drives home the argument on which his belief is based. He emphasizes the fact becoming every day more apparent, that Home Rule for cities must arrive, for of all the cities in the English-speaking world, ours are the only ones that are denied self-government. Home Rule charters, in his opinion, lead to commission government as a rule, as they did in Denver, Spokane, Tacoma, and Springfield. For, with the enlargement of the powers of the municipality, a more efficient organization is found necessary, hence the Commission. The success of the one, he finds, cannot be permanently complete without the success of the other.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

"What on earth did that fellow mean when he said he was a peregrinating pedestrian, castigating his itinerary from the classic Athens of America." "He meant he was a tramp beating his way from Boston."—*Baltimore American*.

* * *

Lawyer—"Do you drink?"

Witness (quite huffy)—"That's my business."

Lawyer—"Have you any other business?"—*Widow*.

* * *

At an evening party the hostess had coaxed a protesting guest to sing. After the song she went up to him smiling. "Oh, Mr. Jenkins," she said, "you must never tell me again that you can't sing—I know now!"—*Argonaut*.

* * *

SHE—"Do you believe that too many cooks spoil the broth?"

HE—"Yes, altogether too many."—*Yonkers Statesman*.

* * *

"And the audience, my boy, were glued to their seats," said the delighted actor.

"That certainly was a neat way of keeping them there," said the critic.—*New York Times*.

* * *

"Why is George Washington described as 'First in war and first in peace'?"

"I dunno," replied Senator Sorghum. "I suspect somebody was trying to square him with both the preparedness people and the pacifists."—*Washington Star*.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Small classified advertisements we will insert in The Public at the rate of 2c a word, cash with order.

Subscribers who want to buy or sell something which would not, in their opinion, warrant a large advertisement will find here a method of advertising specially adapted to their needs.

LIVE NEWSPAPER MAN, of editorial ability and business training, wants position with a progressive journal or newspaper east of the Mississippi. Harry W. Olney, 880 State Street, Springfield, Mass.

CALL-to-ACTION, published semi-monthly by Alli Reed (Address Sturgis, So. Dak.), advocates the "Twentieth Century Plan" of making public improvements. Independent in everything, neutral in nothing. 25c a year.

NUMBER ONE SELECTED EGGS delivered at your residence in New York or any other Eastern State 80 dozen lots, 48c; 15 dozen, 50c. Price good until next issue of The Public. R. C. Marr, Glasgow (Mo.), Egg Man.

CLEVELANDERS—Drop in at 401 Sincere Bldg., East 4th and Prospect, 3 P. M., Sunday, 28th, to hear Judge S. G. Rogers speak on "Free Trade" and Henry P. Boynton on "Free Land." "Twont hurt you a bit."

YOUR CHANCE IS IN CANADA—Rich lands and business opportunities offer you independence; Farm lands, \$11 to \$20 acre; irrigated lands, \$85 to \$50; Twenty years to pay; \$3,000 loan in improvements, or ready made farms. Loan of live stock; Taxes average under twenty cents an acre; no taxes on improvements, personal property, or live stock. Good markets, churches, schools, roads, telephones; Excellent climate—crops and live stock prove it. Special homeseekers' fare certificates. Write for free booklets. Allan Cameron, General Superintendent Land Branch, Canadian Pacific Ry., 119 Ninth Avenue, Calgary, Alberta.

ORDER YOUR BOOKS through The Public's Book Dept.

NEW YORK AND VISITING SINGLETAXERS meet at luncheon every Tuesday at Union Square Hotel, Fourth Avenue and 18th Street, New York City.

PHILADELPHIA and visiting Singletaxers meet for luncheon Thursday of each week, at 12.50, in second floor dining room of Thomson's restaurant, 1800 Market Street.