

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Keep Out of War

Amos Pinchot

Peace Still Possible

John Willis Slaughter

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CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

597 Fifth Avenue, New York

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

The power of some Senators to block the will of that body has been abolished. Now when will we abolish the far worse power of the Senate itself to block the will of the American people?

* * *

Was it an inspiration or merely chance that caused the conference of labor leaders at Washington to pledge their support not to the country, "right or wrong," nor the flag, wherever it may be, nor even to the President, whatever he may do, but "in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic?"

* * *

Says the American Federation of Labor in its war resolutions adopted at Washington on March 11:

The Republic that Labor is eager to defend and sacrifice for is a Republic that belongs to the people and that offers the opportunities that befit a free and intelligent population.

And it might well have added that the enemies deserving first attention are those opposed to the establishment of such a Republic. These enemies are not abroad. They are within the country, and are loud in their demands for foreign wars, for preparedness and in denunciation of pacifism.

* * *

The State Legislatures which have denounced the Senate filibuster have a brilliant opportunity to prove their consistency. The worst form of filibustering does not consist in talking against time. A much worse one is the practice of smothering in committees bills drawn in the public interest. In the New York legislature, for instance, there is

pending a bill to untax improvements in New York City and increase taxes on land values. Filibusters in previous Legislatures have kept this bill from coming to a vote, although its adoption would give the city much needed relief from congestion and high rents. This year there is virtuous Legislature which considers filibustering wrong. At least it has so expressed itself in regard to the United States Senate. Now we shall soon see how many New York legislators were in earnest in their condemnation.

* * *

Christianity received a blow in the house of its supposed friends when the New York Federation of Churches, on March 11, by a vote of 158 to 52 endorsed compulsory military service. Sixty years ago it would probably have taken similar action concerning black slavery. But the encouraging fact is to be noted that 25 per cent of the vote was against repudiation of the Ten Commandments and Golden Rule.

* * *

The army order calling for the listing of approximately 4,000 soldiers in the ranks who are capable of discharging the duties of commissioned officers in case of need, emphasizes again the necessity of overhauling our officer-making machinery. The greatest need, and the most difficult one to supply in assembling a large army, is sufficient officers to drill and lead the men. West Point and Annapolis cannot supply them; and as now appointed and trained they are out of touch with the men they command. All officers should come up from the ranks, and attend the technical schools to finish their education. The 10,000 privates among the soldiers landed at Vera Cruz, whom Captain von

Papen, the German Military Attache, pronounced to be capable of assuming command should be promoted to an enlarged and democratized West Point. The small army needed by this country might be used almost entirely for the training of men for command, in case we should ever have to raise a volunteer force to repel invasion.

* * *

It is a fine compliment that China has just paid to the United States, in sending the little ex-Emperor to this country to be educated. Though the Manchu royal family has been divested of political power it appears still to be an object of attention on the part of the government, and it was necessary to obtain the President's approval. The dispatches hazard the guess that America was chosen because it was desired that the boy be educated in a country where he should not be prejudiced against a republican form of government. A more plausible reason lies in the long friendship between the two countries, and the fact that of all the great nations having dealings with China the United States is the only one to refrain from the use of force to obtain concessions and privileges. It will be fitting that the first President and the last Emperor of China should have been educated in this country.

* * *

The fallacy is urged in behalf of compulsory military service that it is as justifiable as the right to levy taxes. The Southern slave holders might have argued in the same way that they had as good a right to compel their Negroes to fight for them as to appropriate their labor. If taxation and conscription are the same in principle, there is little to say in defense of taxation. Singletaxers have long contended that if a man has a right to himself, not even the government may rightfully deprive him through taxation of any part of the product of his labor. Their opponents who have tried to answer this contention hold that there is a difference in principle between taking by the government of a "reasonable" percentage of an individual's earnings and taking it all. If this reply is correct then there is a difference in principle between taxation and conscription. If wrong, then taxation itself, so far as it applies to labor products lacks justification. To hold otherwise would be to assert that the

most extreme form of slavery is as justifiable as taxation of labor products. Conscriptors are welcome to chose whichever horn of this dilemma they prefer.

* * *

The independent progressive members of the new Congress seem to be driving the reactionary tory members of both parties to unite. That is the inference to be drawn from the reported deal by which Champ Clark is to be reelected Speaker and James R. Mann made Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Other reactionaries are to be put at the head of other committees. Something has been gained when reactionaries must drop the pretense of standing for essentially different principles. Now let the progressives get together, and give the combine some real opposition.

* * *

Alton B. Parker's childish and contemptible message to Bryan would be beneath notice, but that it furnishes evidence of exceptions to the principle of equality before the law. Mr. Parker's message, expressing the opinion that Mr. Bryan should "have gone to heaven," can be construed with far more reason as an incitement to violence than the expressions which have been made a pretext for prosecution of speakers and writers less favored by plutocracy. However, Mr. Parker is in no danger of the law. He must have known that his utterance was of the same nature as those attributed to many so-called anarchistic speakers and writers. But he also knew that the law is not always equally administered. And he knew, moreover, that Mr. Bryan as a patriotic upholder of the American doctrine of free speech, would not attempt to have any one punished for expression of opinion, however outrageous it might be. Like so many who charge others with lack of courage, Mr. Parker seems to have indulged in a very safe pastime.

* * *

How dangerous to freedom and true Americanism the preparedness propaganda is may be noted from the following in the Cincinnati *Post*:

From this time on, until peace again reigns in the world, the citizen or alien in this country, whatever his propaganda for unpreparedness, is an enemy, and if there is no law to punish him as such, Congress should enact one.

The inference to be drawn from the *Post's* demand is that opposition to preparedness is based on truth so obvious that the militarists cannot hope to refute it. In demanding suppression of the propaganda, it demands that the American people be blindfolded and led to adopt a policy, in the correctness of which the *Post* has not sufficient confidence to have fairly discussed. If at any time in the future some one in power should seek to censor the *Post* for anything it may say, whether right or wrong, it will be estopped from protesting by reference to its own position on this issue.

War and Democratic Control.

A valued correspondent asks in regard to submitting a declaration of war to a referendum whether the French nation should have held a referendum when the German army started across their boundaries. Since the demand for a referendum makes an exception of actual invasion the question is not relevant. The situation is different in the United States. The country is in no danger of invasion. It would be criminal to plunge the nation into war regardless of the popular will.

When France should have held a referendum was not while an army of invasion was on the way, but as soon as the question arose of helping Russia. And even long before that time the alliance with Russia should not have been formed without the formal consent of the people. Democratic control means more than a popular vote on a declaration of war. It means an end to the binding of people by treaties concerning which they have not been consulted. Western Europe at least might have easily avoided getting into war under such conditions.

The same correspondent speaks also in behalf of censorship of the press. He cites the Hearst papers as a terrible example of freedom and asks—

What is the advantage of the freedom of the press to criticise the mishandling of a war, when that very freedom of the press is the channel through which that war was brought on?

The correspondent forgets that unless the right to preach error be conceded the right to preach truth cannot be safe. Some one must decide what is truth and what is error; no censor, however able and honest, can be depended upon to do that. A mistake on his part would give free scope to error and

suppress truth entirely. Whatever evil there is in the Hearst papers would probably be allowed to stand under censorship. It is not advocacy of war on Mexico, compulsory military service and similar iniquities to which a government inclined to exercise censorship would object. What would be censored would be ideas still unpopular, and criticism that cannot be refuted. Even if censorship were not wrong in principle, it should be shunned because it is worse than any evil it would be designed to cure.

S. D.

Another Reason Against Wars.

Whether it be true or not that wireless communication has been established between Mexico City and Berlin, there is every reason to believe that such a feat is possible; and it is another evidence of the utter madness of those who seek peace through armaments. President Wilson said this was the last great war that America could keep out of; and he might have added that it is the last war that any country can keep out of if it be conducted upon present lines. The wireless station in neutral nations complicates censorship, submarines destroy battleships, and air craft fly over coast defenses; so that the entire world may be drawn into the struggle. If it were not that the belligerents were now so near to the point of exhaustion they might yet precipitate universal war. But outraged nature has laid her restraining hand upon them. Failing physical strength must soon compel them from very weariness to seek peace.

Physical force can never maintain peace because the stronger will tend to intolerance and impatience of the weak; and the weak will in self-defense unite till they are stronger than the oppressor. And so the struggle for supremacy will waver back and forth, as one side or the other secures a new ally. But justice and reason can surmount armaments. And the question of whether the world shall at the end of the present war adopt a policy tending toward might or toward justice will depend more upon the course now taken by the United States than upon that of any other country. We are in a state of hysteria, bordering in many places upon panic. We see plots and traitors upon every hand. And in our confusion a few aggressive men have stampeded

the country into a preparedness program that is likely to be viewed with shame and humiliation when the delirium has passed.

And even if it should be found in the end that we must come to a dependence upon physical force for safety, there is no occasion for such haste. The belligerents are already so exhausted that years will be required for their recovery. Meanwhile, if they disarm, our preparations will be unnecessary; if they renew their armament we can build much faster than they. Why then the haste to begin before we know what is to be the future policy of the world? Is it so small a matter that, having survived all these years in freedom, we should now upon a moment's notice, and in a state of high nervous tension, adopt military conscription, with all that such a despotic system implies? Leaders who have allowed themselves to be swept from their feet by this wave of emotion discredit their own leadership. It is time for second thoughts. S. C.

What Constitutes Disloyalty.

Two hundred and twenty-five years ago the good people of Salem were searching the town for witches; today the Trustees of Columbia University are combing the school for traitors. Two centuries have not been sufficient to enable the world to forget the foolishness of the witch-baiters.

A correspondent complains that THE PUBLIC'S "insidiously disloyal articles are nothing less than disgraceful," and makes strenuous objection to its "anti-American attitude." Is this charge well founded? Who has defined the American attitude? Are we to accept a decision of a court, or a majority at the ballot box? And is the present time, when there is so much excitement and confusion over the war, the best time to determine just what is and what is not Americanism? Is it not possible that a momentary wave of passion may obscure our vision, and cause a hasty conclusion to be regretted?

There is a general feeling that American life and institutions stand for something. They are felt to be in some vague, and as yet loosely defined way, the expression of an ideal. But the people of the country have never at any time been unanimous in agreement. Nor has the verdict of one time always been accepted by the people of succeed-

ing generations. What do Americans of today think of the controversy between Roger Williams and the Plymouth Colony officials? Who came the nearer to the American ideal, Cotton Mather or Roger Williams? And later, who stood for American ideals, James Otis or Governor Hutchinson? And still later, whom do we honor as foremost in aiding America to attain her ideals, Robert Toombs, or William Lloyd Garrison? Williams and Otis and Garrison were bitterly denounced in their day; yet the descendants of those who persecuted them have erected monuments to their memory as men who aided America in carrying out her mission.

But if one is disloyal it must be to something. What is it? For a hundred and forty-one years this government has rested upon volunteer military service. It has been the frequent boast of Americans that they have not been subject to enforced military service, such as prevails in many countries in Europe. Freedom of choice, freedom of action, freedom of speech, these are some of the things that America has been supposed to stand for. But a wave of emotion sweeps over the country, and a cry is raised for universal compulsory military service. Who are disloyal, those who would destroy the bulwarks of personal liberty that have endured since the foundation of the Government, or those who defend them?

Age alone does not sanctify anything. Nor should anything be condemned merely because it is new. There are those who believe that the way to stop wars is to cease fighting. No one believes in fighting all the time. A few believe in never fighting. The mass of mankind believe in fighting under varying degrees of provocation. Is it not a little presumptuous for any of these fighters to denounce others as traitors, when they themselves may be denounced with equal reason? If a man has a reason why we should fight let him set it forth to the best of his ability; but if another man has a reason why we should not fight, may he not also set it forth to the best of his ability? If not, why not?

THE PUBLIC believes that wars never settle anything but the victor in a particular fight. Right and truth and justice make their way upward through the ages in spite of victories and defeats of arms. Some wars have appeared to be necessary; others have been forced upon nations; but practic-

ally all of them could have been avoided had those in charge really wished. Are the nations to fight on to the end of time, or may we look forward to a day when reason instead of might shall prevail? And if reason is ever to prevail may we not plead for it in our day without being called disloyal or anti-American?

S. C.

Mercenary Patriotism.

It is not necessary to impugn the motives of all militarists in order to lodge a charge of selfishness against some. There is no question that the mass of the people who wish preparedness, universal military service, and a physical defense of our national honor are just as sincere, and just as disinterested as the pacifists. They are as eager for peace, and even for ultimate disarmament; but seeing conditions from a different point of view, they believe the end must be obtained through different means.

But while the motives of these militarists are not questioned, their wisdom is. And so long as they ally themselves with interests that are wholly mercenary, and permit themselves to be used as tools to further dishonest ends they cannot be held entirely guiltless; for ignorance, no less than sin, must pay the penalty of broken laws. The man who is eager to fight for his country, and willing to sacrifice his property and even his life to preserve its independence is inspired by a noble ideal; but he defeats the very purpose of his sacrifice when he permits himself to be used for the profit of those less sincere.

The armed clash of nations that inspires the greatest possible sacrifice of the patriot, offers at the same time opportunity for others to amass private fortunes. And it happens at the close of every war that while the many are poorer because of the war, and large numbers are dead or maimed, a few are found to have grown rich. How can this be? If our country were to be overrun by invaders some among them might, because of the loot taken, be enriched. But how can some of our own citizens profit by the sacrifices of the others? And even granting that there are some so dead to ideals that they could profit by their country's necessities, what is to be thought of the discretion of those citizens who permit it?

Few capitalists place their plants and equipments at the service of their country

without profit, as Henry Ford has done. They retain not only the profits of the business, but too often advance prices and reduce the quality of goods at the very time the life of the nation hangs in the balance. And instead of the capitalist's giving his own capital to the service of his country, as the soldier gives his life, he lends at an abnormal profit that is by means of bonds made a burden upon succeeding generations. That one man should thus be enriched while the others are impoverished, maimed, or killed in behalf of the same ideal is a monstrous perversion of reason.

If the conscientious militarist would convince the country of his sincerity he must purge his preparedness schemes of all profit. If he would compel men to serve as soldiers, he must compel the rich to pay the bills. Nor does the taxation of war profits meet this requirement. There can be no legitimate war profits. War means sacrifice. It means the sacrifice of wealth and life by the country. How then can it be possible for a few to profit except at the expense of the many? And if some citizens gain at the cost of other citizens, what becomes of patriotism?

If honest militarists would prove their sincerity let them establish laws that will require of all manufacturers and dealers what Henry Ford has volunteered, service without profit. When this is done compulsory military service will not be necessary; and until it is done compulsory military service will defeat its own end.

S. C.

The Congresswoman's Opportunity.

That Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin of Montana will be helpful to the progressive forces in the House of Representatives is forecast by her address in New York City on March 2. She strongly advocated the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and showed moreover an understanding of the need of fundamental economic reform. "Economic conditions exist," she said, "not because of the perversity of human nature, but because laws are made for the protection and special privilege of the few." Concerning the land question she said in part:

In the beginning, the land of Montana and all its resources were owned by the people as a whole, the land was free. Now, when we come to look closely into the ownership of Montana's resources, we find that three corporations control the mines, the water power and the forests—the same few that are in possession in other States. . . . The resources

of the country should be used for the benefit of the people instead of for a few.

With so clear a grasp of the main underlying cause of bad social conditions, Miss Rankin should not find it difficult to co-operate with those Congressmen who have a definite remedy to propose. These are the members ready to support such measures as the Crosser bill to conserve for the people the remaining public lands, and the Bailey bill to restore by a tax on land values the resources held out of use by speculators.

Miss Rankin will find much work awaiting her along the line she has mapped out. Devotion to that will prove beyond peradventure that Montana voters acted wisely when they chose her instead of her male predecessor. And besides being helpful in bringing about social betterment such a cause will make easier the fight throughout the nation for political equality of woman. A splendid opportunity exists for the pioneer Congresswoman.

S. D.

Argentina and Manhattan.

Byron W. Holt, who has so long vitalized his weekly stock letter by injecting sound economic observations into his analysis of the market, appears to have some imitators. It has already been noted that the Foreign Trade Letter of the First National Bank of Boston is warning American business men against the overwhelming competition of government-directed business after the war. The National City Bank of New York is more rational in its comment on Argentine taxation, which appeared in its publication, "*The Americas*." In a recent issue it says of the situation in Argentina:

Present day taxes rest far too heavily upon the product of the land and the increase of the herds rather than upon the land itself; that is, improved land or the product thereof pays a tax altogether out of proportion to that levied on unimproved land. . . . Should this system be reversed, the new form of taxation would contribute to the breaking up to a substantial extent of the enormous single ownership of land, so large a proportion of which is wholly uncultivated, thereby making possible the existence of small farms, which up to the present have been practically unknown.

Such a statement in the columns of a radical newspaper, or from the mouth of an "agitator," might pass unnoticed; but when it appears in a publication issued by the National City Bank it is evident either that

the light is penetrating dark places, or that some one has blundered. But be the cause of the statement what it may, the interesting fact is that it is true. And a still more interesting fact is that the statement would be as true of Manhattan Island, or the State of Illinois, as it is of Argentina. Every year thousands of Italians, and other Europeans cross the ocean to the Argentine Republic in search of employment, but most of them return at the end of the harvest season. The great estates need labor for a short time, and then it is cast adrift; and as there is no opportunity for self-employment the men return to the home country. Argentina is a fertile country, and there is a market for its products, but the owners of the great landed estates will not sell. The present small tax encourages them to keep land in cattle ranges that should be under plow. But if the tax be removed from the herds and other farm products, and be laid upon the land, it will, as the City Bank says, "contribute to the breaking up to a considerable extent of the enormous single ownership of land, so large a proportion of which is wholly uncultivated, thereby making possible the existence of small farms, which up to the present time have been practically unknown."

The question will arise in some minds as to whether the City Bank editor appreciates the fact that natural law is universal, and that the taxation of buildings has the same effect as a tax upon cattle, and that many landed estates on Manhattan Island—value instead of area being considered—are far larger than they are in Argentina, with a greater portion vacant. For it must be evident that as a field over which a steer may roam is vacant, so a lot on Broadway with a one- or two-story shack is vacant. And just as the removal of taxes from Argentine herds to Argentine lands will tend to multiply herds and decrease vacant land, so the shifting of taxes from Manhattan buildings to Manhattan lands will tend to multiply house-room so much needed, and decrease vacant land. It is to be hoped that the National City Bank editor will give this matter further consideration. It is highly important.

S. C.

Edmonton's Possible Mistake.

Because members of the city council of Edmonton have asked the Alberta Legislature to allow the city to levy taxes on indus-

try, some Singletaxers elsewhere have expressed concern. They fear lest granting of this demand may create the false impression that the Singletax has proved a failure in Edmonton. They should have more confidence in the intelligence of their fellow citizens. The situation in Edmonton, as explained by the Canadian *Municipal Journal*, shows that the city has the Singletax in name only. That is, so long as the tax took but a small fraction of rental values, it was allowed to stand. But now that speculative values have been largely eliminated the tax, if enforced, would take so large a part of the rental value as to make it unprofitable to hold the land unused for a future rise. The holders would either have to use the land or let go. To save these speculators the council has asked for power to reimpose taxes on labor products.

If this should be done it would be notice to capital and labor everywhere that Edmonton wants neither to come. It would mean that the city wants land held out of use, even though her streets be filled with unemployed men able and willing to use it, and owners of capital be eager for a chance to invest in improvements. If Edmonton actually prefers that land owners get tribute before producers of wealth get a just return for their efforts, then she should be allowed to have her way. A horrible example of a city so unwise would serve the Singletax movement almost as well as one of cities that have taken the proper step.

As a kindness to Edmonton—but for no other reason—the citizens may properly be warned by outsiders of the meaning of the proposed step. If they nevertheless persist in such a folly then the consequences are upon their own heads. The outside world will simply pass Edmonton by. S. D.

Making Public Opinion by Headlines.

As it is the worst wheel on the wagon that makes the most noise, so it is the most sensational speaker that is quoted in the newspapers. It might be well to keep this in mind during this panicky condition of public opinion. A vast amount is being said and written on the war situation, and not all of it is foolish. But there are a few speakers and writers who delight in extreme statements. They may not necessarily be dishonest, or even altogether foolish. They lack a sense of

proportion. They view everything in the superlative degree. A possibility becomes a certainty; a suspicion is immediately transformed into a fact. Were the press to treat the two classes of writers and speakers alike, little harm would be done. But the journalist's desire to catch the eye of the reader prompts him to headline the striking, the uncommon, the sensational. And the mass of readers, who have not heard the speeches, are impressed by the amount of printers' ink they see. As concealed Greek judges in the oratorical contests made their estimates from the volume of applause given by the audience, so in a way the American citizen estimates public men by the frequency with which they appear in the headlines. This is most unfortunate. It enables the sensational, the unbalanced, the out-of-proportion men and women to wield an influence disproportionate to their numbers and ability. Little can be done to counteract it till the reading public has learned to tell the difference between froth and substance; but the really discriminating reader will look for information inside the paper, rather than in the flaring headlines on the front page.

S. C.

Rockefeller's Faulty Political Economy.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., repeats in the Hearst organs of March 11 his argument to show that labor and capital are partners. The trouble with Mr. Rockefeller's position is that he sees no factor in the situation besides labor and capital. This may be due to failure to grasp the correct meaning of these terms. Since he offers no definition of his own, let it be stated that in political economy "labor" means any effort put forth to satisfy human desires. "Capital" is labor products used in further production. So Mr. Rockefeller's statement that labor and capital are partners means that labor is in partnership with its product. If there were no other factors to be dealt with there would be no occasion for Mr. Rockefeller to write about industrial disturbances. As the producer of capital labor would be master of the situation.

But that there is another factor Mr. Rockefeller's own experience in Colorado should show. The reason that his miners there lack power to improve their condition without his help is not because he owns machinery and

other labor products, while they own little or none. It is because, besides owning much capital, he owns the land without which both capital and labor would be useless. Without access to Colorado's mining lands, no capitalist, even though he had all the machinery and other materials which Mr. Rockefeller owns, could form a partnership with laborers that would have any beneficial results. As an owner of capital Mr. Rockefeller is in a position to be a helpful factor in producing wealth. But as a land monopolist he is in position to obstruct wealth production until labor agrees to concede him a larger share of the product than he could get under fair conditions.

It is regrettable that Mr. Rockefeller has ignored this phase of the matter. When he takes up the subject again perhaps he will go into it more completely. S. D.

Beating a Sick Man.

Those super-timid persons who have been trying so hard to work themselves into a panic over the destructive commercial competition of the belligerent countries when peace is restored can be likened to nothing so aptly as to the valourous peasants in the fable who girded themselves to destroy a great beast that had taken refuge in a cistern, but who found when they peered in that the noise was only the magnified wailings of a starving cat. Ordinarily men reason from point to point, from the known to the possible; but there appear to be places in this mental process where the connection is broken, where the regular sequence of cause and effect is suspended, and experience is set at naught.

What normal business man fears the competition of the little shop keeper? And if that little shop keeper suffer a series of misfortunes, such as impairment of credit, loss of members of his family who had aided in his work, and the burning of his stock, how much less will his competition be felt. Yet this is analogous to our situation in regard to Europe. We have the most capital, the greatest credit, and the best workmen. Europe has burned up its capital, shot away its credit, and killed off its workmen. Yet there are men in this country who profess to fear the competition of these poor, sick countries, and would place upon them not alone the handicap they already bear, but add still more to the burden.

Why do these men thus prostitute their reason? What business man does not know that one part of the country cannot long be prosperous with hard times in another part? Does not every merchant look for good business when his countrymen are prosperous, and for poor business when they are hard up? And does it make any difference whether his customers live on one side or the other of an imaginary line? Efforts have been made to frighten us with stories of the great quantities of manufactures stored up by Germany to be dumped upon our markets as soon as peace is declared. Germany with every able-bodied man under arms making goods for export! Germany that has melted down the cooking utensils for shells making kitchenware for America! Germany that has not enough cotton for the manufacture of munitions making cloth for this country! Out upon such a travesty of reason!

Germany and the other belligerent nations have used up their raw materials, they have ruined their credit, and they have killed and crippled their workmen. When they again take up the routine work of peace they will have to buy on credit, at higher interest, and will have to man their shops with crippled men. The only possible injury they can do this country will lie in their inability to exchange goods with us as formerly. They can take from us only as much as they can send us goods in exchange; and since their productive power will be low their buying power will be correspondingly diminished. The harm that we shall suffer, in short, is not from the goods they will send to this country, but from the goods they cannot send. S. C.

TO ONE EARLY CELEBRATED.

By Richard Warner Borst.

'Twere easier far to lay thy fair life down
 In noble death on some heroic plain
 Than sit alone, forgot, watching the wane
 Of those high honors that to thee were known.
 For thou may'st know, since thy full years are flown
 And empty decades yawn ere thou may'st gain
 The silent bourne that knows nor pride nor pain,
 That men may come too soon into their own.

What others strive a lifetime to attain
 Was thrust upon these by the fawning crowd
 Who shouted forth thy name in lane and town
 Sweet, sweeter far, with faltering steps to gain
 A little honor, spoken in tones less loud,
 Then cease, while yet is green the laurel crown!

Keep Out of War

By Amos Pinchot.

A well informed newspaper correspondent has sent me the following figures of war losses up to January 1st, 1917. Necessarily they are inexact; but they are compiled from the best available sources.

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>	<i>Missing.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Russia	1,500,000	3,200,000	2,500,000	7,200,000
Germany	1,000,000	2,500,000	250,000	3,750,000
France	950,000	2,250,000	400,000	3,450,000
Austro-Hungary ..	600,000	1,700,000	1,300,000	3,600,000
Great Britain	400,000	900,000	100,000	1,400,000
Turkey	100,000	250,000	90,000	440,000
Serbia	65,000	150,000	85,000	300,000
Italy	70,000	175,000	90,000	335,000
Belgium	35,000	80,000	60,000	175,000
Bulgaria	25,000	60,000	15,000	100,000
Roumania	50,000	150,000	200,000	400,000
	4,795,000	11,415,000	5,090,000	21,150,000

These losses apply to belligerents only. The best opinion is that losses among non-belligerents, due to violence, disease, increased infant mortality, hunger and other incidentals to war, have been as large as those among the soldiers. This would bring the total up to over forty-two millions. In addition to this the Commission for Belgian Relief reports three and a half million people in Belgium and two millions in France wholly or partially destitute. It reports over 50 per cent of the working population of Belgium unemployed. It reports a million and a half undernourished children in Belgium, and 100 per cent more attendance at tuberculosis clinics than before the war. In addition to this, from such returns

as are available, the amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases in France and Germany has increased at least 50 per cent since the war began.

Thus, to people who have poise and mentality enough not to be filled with a desire for war every time some one beats a drum, the war is a serious proposition. It is more than that; it is the most gigantic, unparalleled catastrophe to humanity that the world has ever known or imagined in the cold sweat of a nightmare. In the face of such a world disaster, any man that talks about personal rights or purely national considerations of honor is not talking about right or honor. He is talking about something else.

The common need of humanity demands that we should keep out of the war. Our non-participation in the war is for Europe the only reasonable hope of peace. The nations of Europe cannot stop fighting by themselves. Some great neutral unembittered power must draw them together into a peace conference.

Have not the American people common sense enough, courage enough, self-respect enough and humanity enough to see their duty and do it—no matter what howls of "cowardice" our jingoes, exploiters and Rights Committees may raise?

Write to Your Congressman, Senator and to the President, protesting against the kind of national honor that means more war and devastation to the world.

Peace Still Possible.

By John Willis Slaughter.

The interval that has fortunately succeeded the first confrontation with the probability of war has permitted reflection upon the issues, and the emergence of a large body of public opinion which the Administration would be wise to take into account. If the President's hands are forced by those who have an economic interest in war, he will enter the conflict without the support of the nation. Nor is anyone longer influenced by the boy-scout heroics—that break into occasional eruption. The issues of the situation are too serious for a mental age so little advanced and so little responsible. Pacifist baiting was to be expected, but it is known by now that pacifism has nothing to do with one's capacity to fight, but is a conviction

that nothing is to be gained and much is to be lost by war. And this is the conviction of an overwhelming majority of the people.

As the fighting is not done by bankers or editors, but by the plain man, this plain man, before he allows himself to be inoculated with the madness has a right, and in a few days will formulate a demand, that the question of war be considered wholly on its merits and in this particular concrete situation. If the nation enters the war, what purpose can it hope to achieve? The European belligerents have perfectly tangible objectives, the possession of Constantinople, the hegemony of the Balkans, the redemption the lost Provinces, naval or commercial supremacy. The probability is that none of

them will gain anything more than they had, but none of them have just run amuck for the fun of the thing. They have left that proud distinction as a prize for America to grasp.

The decision of this question can only be muddled by dragging in considerations of America's future part as a world power. All the patented systems of "national policy" which the editorial boards of our great weeklies have generously produced can be kept on file and examined to fuller advantage when vision is clear, not when it is made wall-eyed by war-brides. No self-respecting American wants his nation to jockey for advantageous position against a crippled and exhausted Europe.

It was unfair to bias the public judgment at a crucial moment by the announcement of the German plot in Mexico. It was a perfectly logical but not very sensible thing for the Germans to do. The effect should be not to inflame us against Mexico, but to increase our capacity for self-criticism. No nationality on earth desires amicable relations with us more than do the Mexicans, we have held over them the menace of intervention during all the time they were struggling to liberate themselves from a system of intolerable tyranny and arrive at the exercise of free institutions. The big stick is now suddenly disclosed as a dangerous element in our foreign policy. It is an American copy of the Kaiser's mailed fist.

There is nothing so far in the attitude of Britain which demands that we conciliate her. If she falls upon us through Canada, we may have to come to terms. But it will require some time to grow a population sufficient for that purpose. Our war department should arrange to give our professional soldiers regular holidays. Their work puts their nerves under great strain and they should be protected from these phobias. They may otherwise be driven to intemperance.

The problem, cleared of complicating irrelevancies, is this: Is it inconsistent with the dignity of the United States to take a position on the side lines for a few weeks while this submarine issue settles itself? If England is threatened with starvation, and we mean to go to her assistance, let us do so without any disgusting by-passing about our rights. Everybody knows that neutral rights have been whittled to the vanishing point by both sides. This is the desperate final encounter in Europe. It is a fight for existence under the malevolent shadow of starvation. Every infringement of neutral

prerogatives has the plea of desperation. There is on Germany's part no primary intention to injure or affront us. Are we, in the face of this situation in which neutral rights have become in reality mere legal quibbles, without definition and without possibility of enforcement, are we to determine our course by injured susceptibility? It is curious that the hardest task of modern America with all her isolation, is to keep her hands to herself. We have a permanent bias toward "cleaning things up" all over the world. If we have an ounce of neutrality, if we genuinely desire a speedy return to peace, let us keep our special brand of madness in bounds for a few weeks. Who can doubt that the submarine campaign is a failure from the German point of view? Who can doubt that from the British point of view it is a most disquieting success? Who can doubt that at the next suggestion of peace there will be less blatant crowing about victory, less insistence upon terms conditioned by victory? American intervention means indefinite prolongation and eliminates the possibility of an equitable settlement.

The really dangerous element in the situation is the feeling of inevitability. This feeling made the British people accept war without wanting it. As a matter of fact we are not constrained by anything resembling necessity. Our dignity was appeased by the severance of relations.

If our ships remain at home we will not be involved in the war. If our ships sail, armed or unarmed, war is all but inevitable. A month more will probably decide the submarine issue? Peace may be approaching more rapidly than anyone dreams. Is it not worth a little patience?

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending March 18.

Extra Session of Congress.

A call for an extra session of Congress to meet on April 16 was issued by President Wilson on March 9. The only reason given in the call is that public interests require it.

Extra Session of the Senate.

The Senate, having been called in special session by President Wilson, met on March 4. All the nominations which had not been confirmed in regular session were sent in by the President once more. Among these were the nominations of Dr. Cary T. Grayson for Rear Admiral, and of W. B. Colver and Franklin Fort for the Trade Commission. On

March 8 a resolution was adopted revising the rules so as to put an end to the right of unlimited debate. The role on this charge was 76 to 3. Those opposed were La Follette, Gronna and Sherman. [See current volume, page 228.]

Aftermath of the Filibuster.

The filibuster in the Senate against the armed ship bill has had considerable attention from a number of State Legislatures. Resolutions censuring the Senators engaged therein were passed by the Legislatures of Kentucky, Oklahoma, Delaware and New York, and by the Idaho House of Representatives. The Wisconsin Senate by a vote of 19 to 13 practically killed a similar resolution directed against Senator La Follette, by referring it to the Committee on Education. The Nebraska Senate rejected a resolution outright directed at Senator Norris. The Colorado Senate defeated a resolution of the same nature, and the Iowa House of Representatives emphasized its rejection of a resolution directed against Senators Cummins and Kenyon by ordering it expunged from the record. A resolution in the Missouri Senate was rejected which denounced filibustering but expressed confidence in Senator Stone. At a mass meeting in Philadelphia on March 11, Senator Norris denied that he considered his action on the closing hour of the Senate session on March 4 as filibustering. "I wanted first," he said, "to see the Senate appropriation bills passed, and if talking about the expenditure of \$1,600,000,000 was a filibuster, then I suppose I am guilty." Resolutions were adopted calling upon all Congressmen to reject any espionage bill that may be introduced at the extra session. The President's peace efforts were endorsed and he was requested to continue laboring for peace. John E. Milholland of New York presided.

Labor Conference on War.

At the call of President Samuel Gompers, the heads of different organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor met at Washington on March 12. Resolutions were adopted saying "it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace." But further on the resolutions offer the services of organized labor to the government should it be drawn into war. The resolutions state also in part:

Labor demands that, in order to secure the support of labor, the government be a government that

upholds and puts into practice the highest ideals of the republic. The republic that labor is eager to defend and sacrifice for is a republic that belongs to the people and that offers the opportunities that befit a free and intelligent population. . . .

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defence. . . .

The cornerstone of national defence is justice in fundamental relations of life economic justice.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defence. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government, which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service, should also demand the service in the interest of these human beings of all wealth and the products of human toil, property.

Washington Street Railway Strike.

Refusal of the Washington, D. C., Railway and Electric Company to recognize or deal with the street railway employes' union, and its rejection of an offer of mediation by the Secretary of Labor, brought on a strike on March 12. As a result 16 lines were tied up. About 1,000 men are affected. The other company, the Capital Traction, met the demands of its men and continued its service. The District Commissioners have sent to Clarence P. King, president of the corporation, and to George A. Wilburt of the street carmen's union, a letter stating in part as follows:

The public interest in the maintenance of efficient street car service and in the prevention of disorder is so great that the Commissioners now desire to request you and the general officers of your company to accept mediation.

The circumstances of the time make the possibility of disorder in the National Capital a matter of grave concern to the Republic itself. An adjustment of the controversy should not be impossible, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia most respectfully but most earnestly request you to take no steps toward a lock-out or the substitution of strikebreakers for the motormen and conductors until the whole matter at issue has been made the subject of mediation. The Commissioners again offer their services as mediators. If there is any objection to the Commissioners acting, we feel sure that some other disinterested agency could be found. . . .

The interests of the public transcend the interests of either party to this controversy so far as the controverted issues are concerned. Representing the public, we make this request in the confident belief that it will be complied with.

In spite of the request of the Commis-

sioners 500 strikebreakers are reported to be in the city, and in a public statement Mr. King stated emphatically that he would not consent to arbitration that would bring in the Amalgamated Association as a factor.

Scott Nearing Resigns.

On March 10, Professor Scott Nearing, of the Toledo University, gave to the press the following statement:

During the past few days a number of prominent Toledo citizens have made statements indicating that my further continuance at Toledo University will prove detrimental to the welfare of that institution. In order that the Board of Directors may feel free to act for the best interests of the university, I have tendered my resignation, to take effect at their discretion.

My utterances on the question of pacifism and patriotism have led to the storm of criticism that has been directed against me and against the university. May I take this opportunity to make clear my position?

I am opposed to tyranny, despotism and irresponsible power, whether vested in a king, kaiser or any other individual or group of individuals.

I believe in democracy and in the brotherhood of all men. No community can endure which ignores the Golden Rule, the basic law of social life—"Each for all, and all for each."

Millions of people, the world over, are today seeking to overthrow German militarism. There are two methods of securing this result. The first way is to militarize all of the great nations. I am opposed to this plan because I believe that the dearest liberties of democracy must be sacrificed in the process.

There is another method of overcoming German militarism—to promulgate a higher ideal than the ideal of militarism.

Ideas and ideals are the most powerful and permanent things in the world, as our own history shows. A century and a half ago our ancestors immortalized themselves by broaching the idea of political democracy to a king-ridden world. Since that time, the idea has encircled the earth.

The only possible way to save the present-day world from militarism is to cut to the root of the problem and establish an industrial democracy, which, in its turn, may prove a beacon light to mankind. If we adopt militarism, we lower ourselves to the level of German militarism. If we adopt industrial democracy, we have an opportunity to raise them to our new plane of justice and liberty.

I oppose militarism because I believe that it stands for the brute in human nature, and that if we adopt it, the democracy is doomed. I hold to the doctrine—"Peace on earth and good will among men"—because I believe that only thus can the spirit of man be emancipated and the human race be saved. They that take the sword shall perish with the sword. It is only those who are willing to overcome evil with good that can attain to the full promise of manhood.

I revere the government that represents democ-

racy. I honor the flag that stands for liberty and justice. So strong is my feeling on this point that I resent seeing the government turned over to irresponsible plutocracy or an irresponsible bureaucracy, just as I resent having the flag, which is the symbol of our democracy, used to cloak special privilege and shameless exploitation.

Militarism is the madness of the past—dragging us down and destroying us. The spirit of brotherhood and good will among men is the voice of the future, calling us to a higher plane of life than humanity has ever known. To that future I have dedicated my life, and so I purpose to continue to the end of the chapter.

Professor Nearing's resignation came before the trustees on March 12. By a vote of 6 to 3 it was decided to place it in the hands of a special committee "to ascertain where the true interest of the University lies."

Military Prosecution Fails.

Charles Baker of Hamilton, editor of a local Socialist paper, was acquitted on February 27 by a jury in the Federal court of charges brought by a militia officer, based on publication of an article alleged to reflect on officers and members of the regiment. The article was in the form of an imaginary call to enlist, addressed to persons in capitalistic, criminal and vicious occupations with the words added: "Workingmen, follow your Masters." The article also referred to those enlisting as "poor, weak-minded, deluded-brained dubs." [See vol. xix., pp. 675, 748.]

High Cost of Living Exhibit.

It is estimated that nearly 37,000 people attended the Exhibit on the High Cost of Living conducted by Benjamin C. Marsh and Frederic C. Leubuscher in New York City, during the three weeks it was open. Probably 24,000 or 25,000 attended the meetings, some of which lasted as long as three hours; 45,000 pieces of literature were distributed and hundreds of signatures were secured to the petition to the Governor and Legislature asking for a referendum on transferring taxes from buildings here to land values. The total cost of the Exhibit was only about \$900. There were several columns of publicity in the metropolitan papers, and stories of the Exhibit were published throughout the country. It is planned to place the Exhibit in Brooklyn and other places in New York within a few weeks.

Militarist Churches.

The New York Federation of Churches endorsed on March 11, by a vote of 158 to 52, universal military service and declared

President Wilson justified in recommending to Congress the most extreme measures necessary. The vote by churches was as follows:

	For.	Against.
Baptist	16	1
Congregational	10	0
Disciples of Christ.....	3	0
Seventh Day Adventists.....	1	1
Protestant Episcopal.....	27	3
Reformed Episcopal.....	0	1
Evangelical Association.....	1	2
Society of Friends.....	0	2
German Evangelical Synod.....	0	1
Lutheran	14	7
Methodist Episcopal.....	23	4
Primitive Methodist.....	1	0
Moravian	4	1
Presbyterian	27	20
Reformed	19	3
Unitarian	1	0
Universalist	1	2
Union Protestant.....	10	4

Cuba.

President Menocal's forces continue their work of sweeping the rebels from the field. General Jose Miguel Gomez, the most influential leader among the rebels, together with 200 followers, was captured near Placetas, Santa Clara Province, on the 7th. Five hundred American marines were landed at Santiago on request of the civil Governor, when the rebels moved out. Small bodies of marines have been landed at other points for guard duty. The activities of the rebels appear to be confined mainly now to burning cane fields and destroying sugar mills. [See current volume, page 231.]

Mexico.

A national election of President, Senators and Deputies was held on the 11th. General Carranza as the candidate of the Liberal Constitutionalist party and with no opposition received from 700,000 to 1,000,000 votes, according to preliminary estimates, as compared with the vote of 300,000 cast for Francisco Madero in 1911. Candidates of the Liberal Constitutionalist party for the Senate and Lower House are reported to have carried the great majority of seats. The new members will take their seats April 15, and the President will be inaugurated May 1. There is no vice-president under the new constitution. Quiet and order are said to have prevailed throughout the country. Among the striking features of the early dispatches is the announcement of the voting of Indians, who never before had been permitted to cast their ballots and who are said

to have shown much interest. In the Fifth District of Mexico City Miss Herlinda Galindo, a suffragist, was elected to the Lower House of Congress. She will be the first woman to take a seat in that body. [See current volume, page 231.]

Homes for Canadian Soldiers.

The Government is taking steps to furnish soldiers with farms along the lines of the Canadian Northern from North Bay to Port Arthur, and on the National Transcontinental from Cochrane to Graham. Farms not exceeding 80 acres will be laid out by the Government on the most approved plans for securing social life in the rural districts, with houses as near to each other as may be, and with part of the land cleared for immediate use. This will be given the soldier free. He will also be advanced \$500 for stock and equipment, and have the privilege of paying back in twenty years, with interest at six per cent. Neither interest nor principle payments will begin till the fourth year.

Australian Labor Conference.

Reports from Australia say that owing to the charges of corruption against the Hughes Government the Cabinet has decided to call an election early in May, which will delay the visit of the Premier and his colleagues to England. The special inter-State conference of the Labor party passed resolutions urging the Parliamentary Labor party to introduce a bill to establish the initiative and referendum immediately in the Federal Government. It declared also for a compulsory voting feature; a system of absentee voting for Australian citizens engaged in active service at the front; and the qualification of State members for nomination and election to Federal seats, without prior resignation of such seats. The conference demanded that except in times of actual invasion of the Commonwealth, every person convicted by court-martial of any offense shall have the right of appeal to a civil tribunal, and that the members of the citizen forces shall maintain their full citizen rights, including freedom of speech and the right to write for the press. [See vol. xviii, page 448; current volume, page 221.]

European War.

Military activities on the western front have been confined to minor engagements that appear to have produced little result, except on the Somme, where the British have

made further small advances along the Ancre, following the German retreat to Bapaume. Nothing of moment in the way of military operations is reported from the other European fronts. In Mesopotamia the British have reached Bagdad, which they captured on the 11th. As Bagdad is practically undefended the British are pushing on up the Tigris toward Mosul, the important Turkish base through which the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia and Western Persia are supplied. The Russian forces in Persia are moving to join the British forces near Bagdad, which will make a line of over 1,000 miles, extending from Trebizond on the Black Sea to Basra at the head of the Persian Gulf. There appears to be a concerted movement of all the forces in Mesopotamia, Armenia and Persia. If successful this movement will cut off the Tigris and Euphrates valleys and trap the Turkish forces in Persia. A large part of the British force, both of cavalry and infantry, is made up of troops from India, part of whom have served in France and at the Dardanelles. The British expedition in Syria has worked its way northward from Egypt as far as Hebron, west of the Dead Sea, and within a few miles of Jerusalem. It is expected that the Turks will make a stand in this region between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. [See current volume, page 231.]

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No official reports on the submarine losses have been issued since the beginning of March, and the random press dispatches are too much confused and overlapping to permit of anything like accurate judgment. Apparently the losses are decreasing, though whether from failure of submarines or less shipping entering the war zone does not appear.

* * *

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany have undergone little change during the week. The Administration at Washington has assumed the right to arm merchant vessels passing through the War Zone, and preparations are reported to have been taken to use naval guns for this purpose.

* * *

Former American Ambassador to Berlin, James W. Gerard, and party, traveling by the way of Switzerland and Spain, arrived in Havana, Cuba, on the 11th, and landed at Key West on the 12th. Former German Ambassador at Washington, Count von Bernstorff and his staff, arrived at Christiania, Norway, on the 10th.

There are reports of suffering from lack of food in the Central Powers, and in Roumania, Greece, Belgium and Poland, but the real condition is not known outside of those countries. German officials admit a serious shortage in food, but insist that they can hold out. Submarine activities have hampered shipping to such an extent that stricter regulations of food are being imposed among the Entente Allies.

* * *

Chinese Premier Tuan Chi Jui, who resigned his post on account of a difference with the President on the war policy, has been induced to return to his post. President Li Yuan Hung, finding popular sentiment so strong against him, yielded to the extent that permits the restoration of the old Cabinet. Negotiations with the ministers of the Entente Allies regarding the terms upon which they will admit China as an ally are now under consideration.

NOTES

—By a vote of 73 to 54, the students of Cooper Union rejected a proposition to introduce military drill.

—Compulsory workmen's compensation laws of New York, Iowa and Washington were upheld by the United States Supreme Court on March 6.

—In his message to the Arkansas Legislature, Governor Brough advocated a graduated land tax and classification of property for taxing purposes.

—By a vote of 87 to 40, the Texas House of Representatives decided to investigate charges of illegal action against Governor James E. Ferguson.

—The Russian Duma and the Council of the Empire have been suspended by Emperor Nicholas, to resume their sittings next month unless extraordinary circumstances supervene.

—The Iowa Department of Justice decided on March 2 that the Federal law prohibits the printing of the American flag at the head of newspaper editorial columns.

—The military training law of New York was extended to working boys of 19 years of age by act of the Legislature on March 7. The two Socialist members, Whitehorn and Shiplacoff, alone voted against it.

—Dr. Ben L. Reitman was acquitted by a jury at Rochester, N. Y., on February 28 on charges based on his activity in birth control propaganda. His defence was conducted by Harry Weinberger, of New York, acting for the Free Speech League.

—Announcement was made at Washington on March 6 by members of Congress that Postmaster General Burleson had notified them that the President has decided to put all first, second and third-class postmasters under civil service. The order is to go into effect on April 1.

—The resolution resubmitting woman suffrage in New York passed the State Senate on March 12. It has already passed the House and does not need

the Governor's signature. It will be voted on in November. The Vermont House passed, by a vote of 110 to 89, a bill granting women taxpayers the right to vote on appropriations and for town officers.

—A newspaper report of March 12 says that the President will send to the Senate, as appointees on the Tariff Commission, Professor Frank W. Taussig of Harvard, ex-Congressman William Kent of California, Daniel G. Roper of South Carolina, and E. P. Costigan of Denver. For the two remaining places, Professor Harry Fisher of Yale, Miss Ida Tarbell and E. E. Pratt are reported under consideration.

—Cooperative societies in Russia which made slow progress during the forty years following the establishment of the first one in 1865 have grown so rapidly during the last ten years that that country claims to be ahead of the rest of Europe. The members in these Russian societies number 11,299,404, which, allowing five persons to a family, means that forty or fifty million persons are in touch with cooperative enterprises.

—British claimants of the German prize ship *Appam* were awarded their suit by the Supreme Court on the 6th. The *Appam* was captured by the German raider *Moewe* January 15, 1916, and taken into Newport News by a prize crew. The court held that the treaties of 1799 and 1828 do not entitle German prizes, unaccompanied by captor warships, to indefinite American asylum. The value of the ship and cargo is estimated to be between three and four million dollars.

—The Peruvian Government has instituted a system of agricultural loans by means of which farmers and stock raisers may borrow on agricultural implements, saw-mills, live stock, meat and dairy products, fruits—growing or harvested, timber and lumber. The debtor retains possession of the property, and is responsible for its upkeep. Interest may not be more than four per cent above the usual banking rate in the community, or in the capital of the respective department. Loans may not be made on property already mortgaged.

PRESS OPINIONS

"Tax Vobiscum."

Progress (Melbourne, Australia), January, 1917.—At Christmas time, more so than usual, the blessed phrase "Pax vobiscum" with its message of good will engages our attention.

But our politicians, Federal and State, with their advanced and so-called scientific taxation reaching out to place an impost on anything taxable, have given to the Australian people a new rendering of the heaven-sent announcement, and it now reads "Tax vobiscum."

Following on the Income Tax, Stamp Duties, Customs Taxation, Death Duties, Excise and the like, we have now been introduced to the Amusements Tax, Tax on Betting Tickets, Super Income Tax, Tax on Wealth, War Profits Tax, etc., etc.

All these taxes are unjust in their incidence and are calculated to hamper industry. Moreover they will not bring in a revenue anything like their pretensions.

If Governments would drop these fancy methods of taxation and utilize the Natural Revenue, land values, then the heavenly greeting "Pax vobiscum" would have a real meaning for the people of the world.

Judicial Usurpation.

The *World* (New York), March 1.—Attorney General Gregory's remark that the Federal Courts are reluctant to enforce the Anti-Trust Law because they disagree with Congress in their view of monopoly and extortion would receive instant attention in times less strenuous than these. Since this law has been upheld by the Supreme Court time and again, a few impeachment trials might bring the inferior Federal Courts into greater harmony with the law of the land.

Sensible New Jersey.

Duluth (Minn.) *Herald*, March 1.—New Jersey was considering the adoption of military training in its high schools, and submitted the proposal to a commission to investigate and report. Having investigated, the commission has reported against military training in high schools, but urges compulsory physical training for all the pupils in all the schools. The commission reports eighteen reasons for its stand, every one of which is valid and unchallengeable. Here are the more important of these reasons:

There is no good reason for selecting high school pupils for military training. If any boys must be trained, all boys of the required age and strength should receive training. High school boys are but a small fraction of the boys of their age.

Compulsory training in high schools would cause pupils who desire to evade it to leave school, and would thus serve to counteract all the agencies which tend to prolong school life.

The selection of high school boys for military training is objectionable because it will lead to undesirable social distinctions.

The knowledge that none of the great military nations of Europe has gone so far as to resort to training boys should prevent us from doing so.

As well known military authorities oppose juvenile training, we should not adopt it.

Boys of high school age cannot successfully take up the strenuous work of real military training.

Military training does not inculcate the habit of willing obedience. It is discipline under restraint, the removal of which leads to laxity of conduct.

Patriotism is not taught by military training. It is best taught by a study of the country, its history, its progress, its provisions for the happiness and welfare of the people.

The school trains for life. Attention should not be drawn away from this great purpose by a special activity which may never be realized.

Military drill is not advisable as a means of physical training. Thorough courses in physical training are better, as giving a mental training for military service, and are surely necessary for all.

For these reasons—and there is no answer to any of them—this New Jersey commission rejects high school military training and urges compulsory physical training for all the pupils of all the schools. And that's plain common sense.

CORRESPONDENCE

TRICKERY IN NAME OF PATRIOTISM.

An instance of the work of the war propaganda carried on in this country came to light in the Maine Legislature this week. The passage of a resolution advocating "a fair and equitable law establishing a system of universal military training under the direction of the Federal Government," called forth an outburst of carefully prepared patriotic addresses from various members on both sides of the House. Pacifists were classed with Socialists and anarchists. But the climax came when the yeas and nays were called for in order to get the exact sentiment of the House on the resolution and its sponsors, some of whom even went to the extreme of advocating "universal compulsory military service."

As the writer has been conspicuous in Maine for four years in upholding Woodrow Wilson's "watchful waiting" policy with regard to Mexico, besides opposing the G. O. P. "war-cry" of "Preparedness" (meaning "Universal Compulsory Military Training"), he accepted the challenge, and in a brief speech went on record as opposed to "Compulsory Military Training." When he took his seat, the motion for a yeas and nays vote was withdrawn, and a simple demand for a rising vote, which does not place individual members on record, was substituted. But here is where a rather amusing "trick" was played upon the writer, the only member who had gone on record as opposed to compulsory military service. As the vote was ordered, a request came to the Speaker to see that a count was made. This is done by monitors, or tellers, in each section. Being monitor in his section, the writer arose with the rest, and, walking along the middle aisle, counted the members. As he returned to his seat, prepared to inform the clerk of the House, as usual, of the number standing, the Speaker himself announced that the resolution had carried "unanimously." Doubtless noticing the strong look of dissent on the face of one monitor, the chair dispatched a page to the surprised teller, asking him to confer with the Speaker. This request was obeyed, and the Speaker, who is really a very fair gentleman usually, informed the writer that he had seen through the well-laid plan to put some of us in a false light, so he adopted the expedient above described to save any from unjust criticism. The explanation was accepted, and the matter dropped. But imagine the writer's surprise when every paper in the state later announced that "he voted with the rest." Comment is unnecessary.

R. LEE BUSSABARGER.

Augusta, Me.

* * *

CANADIAN FARMERS AND THE TARIFF

In this province the annual Grain Growers' Convention has come to be the chief event of our calendar. It is interesting to note that the work of the Legislature now in session was delayed last week on account of this great farmers' parliament. Though a frankly class-conscious organization, the G. G. A.

has never lost its vision of the common good. Several years ago it refused to endorse the British tariff reformers' proposition to discriminate against grain from other countries "if it would increase the cost of the poor man's loaf of bread," and now it has tabled a resolution against oleomargarine because the protective character of the resolution would weaken its contention for free trade. In both cases it set aside selfish interest in favor of broad principle.

The President in his address counseled caution in adopting after-war policies, lest passion and prejudice might cast that policy in lines opposed to the prosperity and peace of the world. He said: "One of the best services we can render to the Empire now and after the war is to cultivate the very friendliest feeling between ourselves and our neighbors." He advocated conscription of wealth equally with labor for the nation's needs, and indicated the idle land of speculators as ample for the placing of our returning soldiers and later immigrants.

The farmers' united activities here have found expression in two forms of organization: first, the original Association, designed to be educational and propagandist; and second, the highly successful trading companies of later development. As the companies had confined themselves mainly to the grain trade, the Association in this Province some three years ago incorporated for the purpose of handling various commodities on orders from the locals. While that course has greatly increased its membership and apparent strength, there can be no question that it has resulted largely in the setting aside of the educational work, the fundamental impulse of the whole movement. Now, at the invitation of the Elevator Company, the Association proposes to give over this business and confine itself again to its original purpose.

Several illuminating and highly appreciated addresses indicated the convention's trend of thought. Ex.-Lieut. Gov. Brown pointed to the daily increase of between seven and eight hundred thousand dollars in our national debt, which he estimated would amount to four billions at the war's close, and upon which the interest will be 220 millions annually. "Can we pay it?" he asked, and answered, "Yes, but in order to do so we must become 100 per cent efficient, and to become 100 per cent efficient we must eliminate every form of tribute." Since our agricultural exports exceed by over 50 per cent all other exports combined, it is from these that we must pay our war debt. "What is the use of production," he asked, "without a market?" We must ship our wheat to where it is wanted and the only pay we can get in return is the goods we need. The western farmer, more than anyone else, lives on an international market and his prosperity demands that this should not be restricted.

Prof. Swanson, of the Saskatchewan University, represents a school of economics that draws its deductions from the obvious facts of life. He regards the division of wealth as the great problem of economics. He analyzed "wealth" of an illusory nature that is based on mere power to exact tribute. He asked how much richer was Canada for the cement merger's writing millions of stock against the country's buying powers in a corralled market. "Idle-

ness," he said, "is as great a disgrace to a state as typhoid fever or smallpox." He showed the lack of co-ordination of the country's labor, its misdirected application and its inefficiency due to imperfect training. He pointed out the economic loss of the idle rich, together with that of workers engaged in ministering to their vanities; and under and through it all the crippling of economic power by blighting monopolies.

Much of the four days' busy session was spent in considering the seventy or eighty resolutions that were acted on. These related to such diverse subjects as the civil service, an educational survey, the extension of the right of jury trial and professional monopolies, notably the cases of architects and physicians. But the center of the stage was taken by the National Political Platform, which has now received the approval of the organized farmers from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains. This begins with a strong appreciation of the virtues of free trade and a condemnation of protection as morally debasing and economically weakening, and proceeds to advocate an extensive free list (to include the 1911 Reciprocity Agreement) and a progressive reduction of the tariff remaining. To take the place of this, it proposes a land value tax, a graduated income tax, a graduated inheritance tax and a tax on excess profits of corporations. In addition, the platform calls for the nationalization of railways, the retention of all remaining natural resources, direct legislation, publicity of campaign contributions, the abolition of political patronage, provincial autonomy in liquor legislation, and the federal franchise for women.

During the sixteen years of their activity the organized farmers have developed a group of leaders that might well head any popular movement in any land, and have gained an important if not a dominating influence in the governments of all three Prairie Provinces. Further progress has so far been blocked in the east, where the movement comes up against a stone wall. It is at Ottawa that our future battles must be fought.

All this makes interesting reading, but it only throws into stronger relief the work of internal organization, the subjective preparation for a herculean task, that as yet has been undertaken only in the most superficial and inefficient way, and without which the battle against privilege can never be brought to a victorious conclusion. My attendance at provincial conventions is once a year, but my contact with individual members is daily, as also with the much larger number who ought to be members but are not; and I speak from intimate knowledge and acquaintance when I say that to these the Grain Growers' Association has only given the dimmest and vaguest and most distant vision of the state it proposes to create, or of the means absolutely necessary for that creation. The great mass of members are not Grain Growers in any distinctive sense, but only in the most casual way. The knowledge and the moral enthusiasm required for a great social reconstruction has not penetrated their stratum.

Circumstances have thrust upon this farmers' movement an awful responsibility, and it finds itself ill prepared. Take the single issue of free trade.

This is the only considerable area in the British Empire today, if not, indeed, in the world, where an aggressive popular wave is setting steadily toward unrestricted commerce; yet any intimate, searching study of the subject is confined to a few leaders. The policy that has made Britain famous among nations and enabled her to surmount the handicap of grievous sins, social and economic, is weakening under the stress and hatred of war, and we have no assurance that it will not give way. It may fall to the Canadian farmers to catch up and bear aloft the torch of commercial liberty.

The importance of developing the neglected educational phase of this movement has long been recognized, and the idea has received passive approval wherever it has been proposed. But to put the purpose actively in operation requires organization and administration that have not yet appeared, and it requires on the part of members the formation of new habits, especially that most difficult and painful of all habits, the habit of thinking. But I am convinced this is far from an impossible or thankless undertaking. The spirit of earnest inquiry is abroad. The people are not indifferent. But they want leadership and require to be shown the way.

Edward Porrit has told us how, under the influence of protectionist propaganda, the Maritime Provinces were weaned from their ideas of commercial liberty. A solid educational foundation is the only thing that will prevent a similar weaning from taking place here when the time comes. It is not sufficient that correct theories be held. They must be buttressed by an intelligent sanction and defended by a moral purpose. It behooves the organized farmers now to place the foundation under their structure that should have been placed at the beginning; but must some time be placed, or it will totter and fall.

GEO. W. ATKINSON.

La Fleche, Saskatchewan.

BOOKS

STORY OF A DEMOCRAT.

"Henry Ford's Own Story." By Rose Wilder Lane. Published by Ellis O. Jones, New York City. Price \$1 net.

It is doubtful whether any generation of mankind has ever adequately appreciated its own endowment of those gifts of the gods who descend among us from time to time in the form of great men. Perhaps this is inevitable. It may be that distance in time is required to bring the outlines of a Colossus into their true perspective, and to give that sense of proportion that lies at the root of real understanding. It may also be true that the hero is never a hero to his valet, and equally true that the fault usually lies with the valet. To apprehend greatness is in a very real sense to be great. To understand the interpreter of life is to be already a potential interpreter. Is it because, like the nations of old, our hearts are waxed gross and our ears dull of hearing, that we cannot believe in greatness until it has passed? "Show the dullest clodpole or the haughtiest featherhead that a soul greater than his own is here, and though his knees were stiffened

into brass he must down and worship", but before the possibility of such a worshipping attitude is reached, the clodpole or featherhead must have ceased to be such; must have become transfigured and had the eyes of his understanding opened, and by that time the object of worship will probably have passed on.

This insensibility to the presence among us of transcendent genius is all the more remarkable when the great man is actually representative of the age we live in; when our inspired citizen stands for the best that is in us; when he personifies the very ideal after which we are blindly and unconsciously groping. If we did not believe that the human race is still in its callow youth and subject to those spiritual infirmities which it is the business of manhood to outgrow, the conclusions to be drawn from such considerations would be depressing indeed. But one of the hopeful signs of our time is that we are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for such spiritual guides and pathfinders. We are learning, too, that even the purest democracy not only needs great men to interpret its ideals and give them life and form, but that it offers a free course for their growth and development when in the fulness of time they do appear.

We are much indebted to Miss Rose Wilder Lane for her admirable sketch of the life-story of Henry Ford, with its wealth of detail and its affectionately-told history of the indefatigable energy and persistence with which the gleam of the ideal that inspired his life's work has been followed for nearly forty years. Our only regret is that the larger or birds-eye survey which would have shown the man in his relation to humanity, is lost in the detailed view of his struggles with inert matter, mechanical laws and human stupidity. But it may be churlish to complain of the lack of that which could not reasonably have been expected, and which can only be looked for after the man has finished his task, laid aside his tools and handed in his checks to the Great Taskmaster. We may therefore leave it to some future Emerson when writing of "Representative Men", to speak of "Henry Ford as 'The man of the world'", or to a possible Carlyle to transmute his Bobus Higgins or his Plugson of Undershot into "The hero as 'Captain of Industry' Henry Ford". Meanwhile through Miss Lane's luminous pages we are enabled to catch a glimpse of the actual man as he lives and works among us, and for that every reader of the book will be grateful.

Henry Ford is indeed typical of all that is best in the American mentality. The intense practicality, the sense for efficiency, the horror of waste;—and the equally intense idealism, the forward reach, the contempt for wealth except as an instrument with which to do things;—all the qualities which, unequally distributed, specially distinguish the American people are there, intensified, magnified, and focused to the one point of eliminating waste and producing commodities for common people at a minimum cost. "Anything that is good for only a few people is really no good. It's got to be good for everybody or in the end it will not survive." . . . "What do I mean by a good idea? I mean an idea that will work out for the best interests of every one,—an idea for something that will benefit the

world". Into these two sentences Ford's view-point may be crystallized, and the remarkable thing about this remarkable man is that he has maintained his view-point through a multitude of experiences that would have knocked such idealism out of the mind of any smaller man. His view-point is that of the America that is to be, the America towards which all the highest aspirations of its best representatives rise. Miss Lane has aptly described Mr. Ford as "not a big business man, but a big man in business". Had he continued the vocation towards which in his youth destiny seemed to point, he would doubtless have been a big man in farming, and would almost certainly have been equally big in any sphere of life in which fortune or liking had directed his footsteps. Mr. Ford is still in the prime of life. May we indulge the hope that he may yet become a real force in guiding the larger destinies of this great nation;—that he may convince his fellow-citizens of the atrocious waste of life and wealth that results from the loading of the scales of justice against those who toil and suffer;—that he may demonstrate to our preachers, teachers and rulers the worthlessness of wealth that is inequitably distributed;—that he may discover and lay bare that canker-worm of privilege at the root of our democracy that is steadily sapping its vitality? The age is calling loudly for a "big" man with just the qualities which Mr. Ford has devoted to the problem of making cheap automobiles by the hands of contented and loyal workmen. Is not this our man? If we fail to lay hands upon him now it may be long e'er such another passes our way.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Susan Lennox, Her Fall and Rise. By David Graham Phillips. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. Price, \$2.50.

Cartoons. By Bradley. Published by Rand McNally & Co., Chicago. Price, \$1.00.

Business Competition and the Law. By Gilbert Holland Montague. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price, \$1.75 net.

A League to Enforce Peace. By Robert Goldsmith. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, \$1.50.

American World Policies. By Walter E. Weyl. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, \$2.25.

"There." A Pilgrimage of Pleasure. By George A. Taylor. Published by Building Limited, 17 Grosvenor St., Sydney, Australia. Price, \$2.00.

* * *

The employer of a Polish servant maid who has learned to speak English was telling of her experiences with the telephone. After its use was explained to her she was eager to answer every call. One day a ring came and she jumped to the instrument.

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"Hello!" answered the girl, flushed with pride at being able to give the proper answer.

"Who is this?" continued the voice.

"I don't know!" exclaimed the maid. "I can't see you."—*Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

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