

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Constructive Patriotism

Amos Pinchot

The Enforcement of Peace

Mrs. Joseph Fels

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STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

By AVERY QUERCUS

THE OBVIOUS PURPOSE of a "settlement" should be to settle something.

The name Settlement is sometimes criticized because it is associated in many people's minds with the footlement of social and economic problems through methods employed by so-called social settlements.

A certain type of educated ignoramus is obsessed with the idea of giving people something for nothing, or for a mere fraction of the cost, and the means whereby this is accomplished is often called a "settlement," the word being used, not in its generic sense, but to describe the condescension of the "rich" in settling among the "poor" and showing them how to live.

The Straight Edge Industrial Settlement is guilty of no such nonsense, and recognizes no obligation to let good words go to the devil any more than good games or good music.

It aims to settle equitably, logically, progressively and permanently the terms upon which human beings may live and work together and enjoy the fruits of their combined labor.

OWNERSHIP and administration of the tools of industry is one of the fundamental problems of democracy.

The average worker throughout the industrial world as at present organized has to earn, in addition to his living, \$312 a year* for the owner of his tools.

That is a very heavy tax. It means that John Smith, Bill Jones and Eli Brown give up 90% of their surplus above actual necessities to support Ducketts, Lorgnette and Skinner in luxury. It is an ugly fact to face, and drives many men to desperation. But the Straight Edge has a saving sense of humor and an optimistic impression that the problem can be solved even without a "law."

* The United States census of manufactures for 1905 showed that 553,769 establishments, employing 6,718,618 persons, with a total capital of \$13,872,035,871—an average of \$2,065 per worker employed—produced \$16,366,706,935 worth of goods at a cost of \$9,497,619,351 for materials, \$3,623,589,623 for wages and salaries, and \$1,661,609,533 for miscellaneous expenses, leaving a margin of interest and profit amounting to \$2,093,893,976, which is \$312 a year per worker employed.

CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED by the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement under which an ever-increasing number of workers can own their tools by an expenditure of less than \$200 a year apiece.

Last year 65 Straight Edge workers earned, in addition to their wages, salaries, bonuses and dividends, \$11,333.84 with which to extend their plant and create new industrial opportunities for other workers.

At that rate, every four workers makes a place for one other worker a year to help them repeat the same operation on a 25% larger scale the following year.

That is beside earning their living and participating liberally in the profits of the business they conduct.

I LIKE A COMPARISON that is made in one of the Straight Edge booklets between the benevolence of the average church contributor in New York City—including, of course, most of the millionaires of the metropolis—and this struggling little bunch of workers who make Straight Edge Bread and Fruit Muffins and carry far more than their share of the burdensome problems of modern life and industry.

GIVING TO THE LORD

The average church contributor in Greater New York, according to the Eagle Almanac, gives toward the support of the churches and their various benevolences \$5.75 a year.

The average Straight Edge worker contributed, in 1916, toward giving some other fellow a chance to live and work under human conditions \$174.36.

NOW SOME OF US expect to get a law passed that will solve automatically all such problems as these that the Straight Edge is wrestling with. Maybe we will succeed. Maybe if we do the law will not work so automatically as we think. Maybe we shall still have to struggle with these same problems that the Straight Edge is struggling with, even after we get our law passed, and maybe the conditions will not be so favorable as they are now, because our "law" may be perverted from its righteous purpose through our neglect of the means of educating the public in the principles of fundamental democracy, applied to business and industry in the way the Straight Edge folks are applying it.

STRAIGHT EDGE "Foods that Feed" are made by cooperative labor and sold on their merits through cooperative distributing depots throughout the Metropolitan District, and by parcel post throughout the United States. Your weekly stream of food expense will not be increased, and may be reduced, by turning as much as possible of it into Straight Edge channels. Write for full information, or send a dollar for an "Easy Housekeeping Box." Address

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

That there should never be a declaration of war, without a referendum first, is a fact made clearer than ever by the events of the past week. Never again should authority be possessed by any official to act so as to make decision of war or peace with us rest entirely with our possible opponent, and that opponent in no condition to decide the matter calmly. The responsibility of war and peace is too great a burden to place on any one who has but delegated authority. The referendum means justice to faithful public servants, as well as to the people.

* * *

It is encouraging to note flashes of sanity in war-maddened Europe. The British labor conference that met recently in Manchester declared, among other things, against the trade boycott of the Paris Entente Conference, and in favor of free trade; and it asked for the taxation of land values. The real trial of the statesmen is still to come. It is easy to borrow and spend; the test will come in the repayment. It may or may not be found advisable to repudiate war debts; it will be absolutely necessary to get rid of all useless burdens. Trade must be freed from tariff taxes, and production must be relieved of direct taxes, which will leave no alternative but to take land values for government purposes. The British labor leaders are marking a course for British statesmen to follow.

* * *

It may seem to some a small matter to comment upon an utterance of Colonel Roosevelt; but considering the place he once held in the public eye, and the need of assisting to a fair estimate of the man those who are only cursorily acquainted with his work, it may be interesting to note his interpretation of his square deal philosophy. Mr. Roosevelt, in

commenting upon Secretary Lansing's note of December 20, conveying the President's communication to the belligerent powers, as quoted by the *Washington Post* of January 29, said that the President had "uttered a shameful untruth in saying that each side in the European war is fighting for the same thing." What the note really did say was: "He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which *the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides* have in mind in this war are *virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world.*" It may be fairly questioned if this habitual carelessness in regard to facts is not largely responsible for Colonel Roosevelt's loss of popular support.

* * *

The menace to forest conservation of speculative ownership is shown in a report just issued by the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. The report plainly states that such ownership "is the cause of frequent over-cutting of the market and waste of forest resources." It admits that a mistake was made "in such rapid and wholesale passing of title to timber lands in the public domain." Yet the speculative owners, whose wastefulness the Department has exposed, were active in Oregon and California in opposing Singletax propositions. They claimed that the Singletax would compel them to do the very thing that they are now doing voluntarily. In view of the Forest Service's report, the good faith of these objections is open to serious question.

* * *

There are members of the Manitoba Provincial Parliament whose action shows that, had the accident of birth made them German subjects, they would now be abusing opponents of the war, such as Carl Liebknecht,

approving his imprisonment and upholding the government in its policy of submarine warfare, Zeppelin attacks, and similar acts. The members who have placed themselves in this category are those who are attacking their fellow-members F. J. Dixon and R. A. Rigg for patriotically trying to save their country from the danger of conscription. It requires extraordinary courage to take the position which Dixon and Rigg have assumed, while any coward would be capable of joining in the attack upon them. Canada may well be proud of such citizens as Dixon and Rigg. And she has good cause to be ashamed of the miniature duplicates of Roosevelt and Bernhardt in the Manitoba legislature who are assailing them.

* * *

Skeptics who have been wont to scoff at the story of the French girl who, condemned to death, was sentenced by the judge to peel onions till she ran through her eyes, should no longer doubt its probability. Protectionists announce with the utmost gravity that Great Britain has, as a war necessity, abandoned free trade, and joined the rest of the "civilized" nations, which will enable each of the belligerents to pay its war debt by levying taxes on the others' goods. It is apparent that the village discovered by Dr. Johnson, where the people supported themselves by taking in each other's washing, was merely anticipating the philosophy of protection.

* * *

In the argument in behalf of Oregon's minimum wage law, presented by Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School before the United States Supreme Court, occurs the following:

Let us assume, in the absence of evidence, that Stettler cannot employ this very girl at \$8. What is the state in effect saying to him? You shall not use all her working energy unless you pay her the cost of producing that energy. You shall not employ Simpson unless you pay the price of food and lodging to keep her going. It ultimately comes down to that. That is why Stettler and not John D. Rockefeller should pay, because Stettler has the use of all her working power and John D. Rockefeller has not. Someone must pay the cost of her labor, and self-evidently it must be the man who profits by it. Why is the state poking its nose in? Because if there is a deficit the state must in the end pay the bill.

Is Mr. Frankfurter aware that his contention, if sound, condemns every method by which others than those who profit by labor

are compelled to contribute to its support? If every employer should pay the entire cost of labor, then what becomes of the plea for a protective tariff? Some one must pay the cost of labor in the protected industries. The owners of the plants are getting the profits from this labor. Should they be required to pay the entire cost of upkeep, or should a protective tariff be levied to force others to pay the bill? Mr. Frankfurter's reasoning implies that the employers should pay all. If they cannot do so they are engaged in business as parasitical as Mr. Frankfurter shows those to be at which the minimum wage law is aimed. No one who accepts his reasoning can advocate protectionism consistently.

* * *

The mystic spell of the church, with which Cardinal Richelieu confounded his enemies when he drew about himself the magic circle, was not more dreaded by the superstitious of that time than the frown of a British landlord by Britons of today. Though the nation is in sore extremity in a great war, and though the question of food is pressing, with a long war period predicted, it is charged that there are large amounts of land idle. The *Chronicle* announced that there were 14,000 acres, aside from public gardens, idle in London. *Land Values* speaks of idle lands in England and Scotland, which the owners still control, while bargaining for higher prices. The Defense of the Realm Act, which empowers the government to do about anything it wishes, stands impotent before the sacred rights of the individual land owner, while the people's commons are taken. Men are levied by force, but when a bit of land is wanted for the soldier's family to till, the autocratic government humbly haggles with the owner. This spell will not last forever.

* * *

Publicity bureaux of the liquor interests are urging opposition to the Randall bill and the Bankhead bill forbidding circulation through the mail of liquor advertisements. The bills ought to be beaten. The opponents of the liquor traffic should have confidence enough in the righteousness of their cause to feel that they can destroy through reason the effect of any statement that issues from the liquor side. Suppression of an opponent's literature is a confession of weakness, and a moral injury to the side that invokes it. So anti-saloonists should impress upon their over-

zealous co-workers the importance of avoiding resort to such methods. But let the liquor men take note of a fact they have overlooked. The Randall bill is not needed to bar liquor advertisements from the mails. A ruling of the Post Office Department can do it. Some bureaucrat need but decide that liquor advertisements are contrary to existing postal laws. He need produce no evidence to prove it. The mere assertion would be enough to bar them from the mails, and the liquor men would be powerless to do more than ask the Department for revocation or modification of the ruling. The courts could not interfere without disregarding precedent. Such is the law which menaces all freedom of the press.

The Veto of the Immigration Bill.

Says the New York *Evening World* in its issue of February 1 in comment on the President's veto of the immigration bill:

What we need is not more bars against the immigrant but more opportunities and inducements for the immigrant to cast off his alienism and become an out-and-out American.

True enough, but just now the principal opportunity afforded the immigrant is to displace the previous comer from his job. That is the real reason why restriction of immigration is demanded by labor organizations. The casting off of alienism and becoming "out-and-out Americans" would not remedy the situation. "Out-and-out Americans" need jobs as badly as aliens, and when there are not enough jobs to go around competition for them between Americans and "out-and-out Americans" has the same results as competition between Americans and incurably alien immigrants.

Now, either we can provide jobs for all comers without harm to anyone already here, or we cannot. If we can, why not do so? If we cannot, why bring more immigrants, even though they do become "out-and-out Americans"? It does seem, however, that we can provide more jobs. The natural resources of the country are extensive enough to support the entire population of the world. If they were open to all who wish to make proper use of them, there would be opportunities here for all comers. Jobs would be waiting for men at all times. There could be no competition for permission to work, no business depression and no hard times. But the natural resources are not open to those who would

use them. And that is the trouble that must be removed if we would offer the immigrant opportunities instead of exclusion.

It is only by advocating removal of obstructions to use of natural resources, that the veto can be upheld successfully. To justify it requires showing that the proper way to help labor is not by debarring immigrants, but by forcing into use land now withheld, even though it be privately owned. Otherwise any labor unionist who advocates restriction could make short work of such a defense as the *Evening World* presents. But when the fact is made known that it is land monopoly, and not immigration, that is responsible for scarcity of jobs, the arguments for exclusion as a means of bettering economic conditions are refuted. The overriding of the veto may be fairly attributed to failure to lay stress on that fact. S. D.

Mexico's Constitution Making.

Constitutions are easy to make; but, as Carlyle said of the work of the French Assembly, it is hard to make them march. The completion of the work of the Mexican Constitutional Assembly, which concluded its labors at Queretaro on the 31st, has resulted in the formulation of some advanced ideas in government, both as to political and social rights. The office of Vice President has been abolished, and the President made ineligible for re-election. The Presidential succession in case of death or resignation is carefully guarded, and placed in the hands of Congress. The new constitution provides for many social regulations, including the eight-hour day, compulsory arbitration, profit sharing, and universal military training.

The provisions that will excite most attention in this country, however, are probably those dealing with lands and natural resources. All natural resources are declared to be the property of the government, large estates are to be cut up, and communal and tribal lands are to be restored. This is in accordance with the theory of keeping Mexico for the Mexicans. Only citizens and foreigners who relinquish their treaty rights can acquire lands. Such provisions will impress the American as being drastic only because his point of view has been reversed. The limitation of the rights of foreigners to own lands in this country is already widely practiced by States; and few today doubt the wisdom of having the nation own the natural

resources, however much they may dislike for individual reasons to see the principle applied.

It must not be forgotten that Mexico is in an abnormal condition. The evils springing from her adoption of the policy of this country in giving the natural resources to individuals and corporations were intensified by the fact that so many of the individuals and corporations owed a foreign allegiance. It was bad enough to give common property into private hands, but to give it into private alien hands was to multiply many fold the evils of the mistaken policy. It was this practice that led inevitably to political corruption, and made possible the autocracy set up by Diaz. Merely to get rid of Diaz would avail little, so long as the system that made him remained. The Mexican people were endowed with a rich heritage of natural resources. Individuals and corporations from abroad sought to share them. Terms had to be made with the government. Agreements were entered into between foreign exploiters and dishonest officials, the net results being that the people lost their heritage, and a few adventurers in and out of office acquired great wealth.

But the movement that led to the overthrow of the exploiters, and the adoption of a new constitution has still before it the hardest task. The alienated resources of the country cannot be restored to the people without either buying out the present holders, or revoking the grants. To buy back what has been stolen from them would be merely to change the form of the oppression. To revoke the grants will be to arouse the opposition of every government whose citizens hold Mexican concessions. This will be the supreme test of the new administration. As no other government has ever accomplished the feat it is but reasonable to expect many failures in this instance. But it is the duty of right-thinking Americans to be patient and tolerant, and to remember that they also will soon be facing the same problem. Mexico needs American sympathy and encouragement as never before; for the exploited people of that country are in reality advancing the cause of the exploited in this country.

S. C.

A Fit Appointment.

A happy union of the man and the place is to be noted in the election of Charles A. Far-

well as president of the American Protective Tariff League. The *American Economist*, in congratulating the League upon its good fortune in securing such a representative business man to head its activities, says:

Mr. Farwell is a Southern Protectionist. He is a member of the firm of Milliken & Farwell, of New Orleans, and is a big figure in the sugar industry of Louisiana. His cane plantation holdings are reckoned as amounting to 100,000 acres. He is a Democrat in local politics and has never acted with any other party. But he is also a stalwart Protectionist. He stands not only for adequate Protection for Louisiana's sugar, rice and lumber interests, but for the beet sugar growers of the Northern States, and for the general body of American agricultural and manufacturing industries. "The Southern States are full of business Protectionists of the Farwell stamp," said Secretary Wakeman in a newspaper interview. "They nearly all vote the Democratic ticket in State and local elections, but at heart they are firm believers in the policy of Protection for all forms of American labor and industry. Charles A. Farwell is a fine representative of this class of Southern business men. He is known and respected throughout the South. In Louisiana he is a power for the interests of his State."

Doubtless all the *Economist* says regarding the new head of the League is true, more is the pity. It is the curse of American politics that both the great political parties are obsessed by the tariff delusion; and the Democratic party can never expect the support of the people as a national party until it has driven from its ranks all advocates of special privilege. But from a protectionist point of view it is peculiarly appropriate that Mr. Farwell should lead the fight for the economic spoliation of the people; for in addition to his professed principles there is the urge of self-interest. It makes a vast difference to Mr. Farwell whether every pound of sugar produced upon his 100,000 acres of sugar lands is to be arbitrarily advanced one cent by the government.

Since Mr. Farwell is said to be "a power for the interests of his State," it would be interesting to the public that pays the bonus on his sugar to know what advantages he has secured for the cotton growers of Louisiana. He charges them an extra cent a pound on the sugar they use; what does the protective system add to the price of their cotton? What could it add, if cotton were on the dutiable list? As the excuse given for empowering Mr. Farwell to charge his fellow countrymen an extra cent a pound on the sugar he supplies them is that it is for the benefit of labor,

it would be interesting to know the amount of wages paid on his plantations, and how it compares with the wages paid the cotton hands. And while he is gathering this data it would be enlightening to have the price of sugar lands in southern Louisiana, and the price of cotton lands in the northern part of the State. Mr. Farwell is in a position to tell an interesting story. Will he tell it?

S. C.

An Unnatural Mother.

Among the many schemes invented to repair the havoc of war is one put forth by the newly formed British Empire Resources Committee, of which Earl Grey and Rudyard Kipling are members. The proposal is that the mother country take 20,000,000 acres of land in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia, for which it will pay \$200,000,000, on condition that the Canadian government spends it all on the immediate development of the lands. It is believed that under such circumstances these lands would quickly reach a value of \$100 per acre; which would net the mother country a profit of \$1,800,000,000.

This looks like getting something out of nothing. And in a sense it is. The British government would put in ten dollars an acre, and the farmer who bought the land for use would put in one hundred dollars, which is getting ninety dollars for nothing. That, however, is new and strange only because the profit goes to the government, instead of to private individuals. The United States government gave to Illinois settlers lands for \$1.25 per acre that are now worth a hundred dollars an acre. The only thing wrong with the scheme of the Empire Resources Committee is that the profit should go to the Canadian people instead of to the British Empire; that is, it should go to the people who made it. The same might be said of the Illinois lands: The profit should go to the people who made it.

Great Britain has been doing this same thing at home ever since the landing of William the Conqueror. There is no necessity for reaching out after the land values of Canada, or any other country. There are vastly greater land values at home that can be had for the taking. The Canadian proposal is encouraging. It shows that so good a tory as Rudyard Kipling has a distinct view

of one phase of the land question. When a tory can see so much, one who claims to be a liberal should see more.

S. C.

The Patriotism of William H. Taft.

Ex-President William H. Taft has openly advocated the taking of an unfair advantage of the American people, during the excitement due to the German situation. In an address in Brooklyn on February 4, he urged that conscription be put over. The *New York Times* reports him as follows:

"Stirred as the people are by enthusiasm" at the break with Germany, they would support a conscription measure, Mr. Taft believed, not only to meet the present situation but "for the future after the war shall end." Conscription until now, he said, has been of "doubtful expediency," because popular opposition might have halted all plans for reasonable preparedness.

"Now the war is on us, however," he continued; "now that the people see the necessity, why should we not take advantage of this state of public mind and do what justice and real democracy require?"

It is not necessary to discuss the connection which Mr. Taft seeks to show between conscription and democracy. His public record is one of unfriendliness toward democracy, and does not indicate that he should be accepted as an authority thereon. The sinister part of his utterance is the suggestion that "we" should "take advantage of this state of public mind." That is, while the people are excited "we," the tory militarists, should urge them to consent to a proposal that has more danger in it than anything that Germany has threatened to do or can do. And such a suggestion passes for patriotism with William H. Taft.

S. D.

The Time to Urge Peace.

It should not be necessary to explain that severance of diplomatic relations with Germany need not imply war. It would not be necessary if the daily press were not so determined to speak of two different things as one and the same. It is one thing to refuse to have further dealings with one who refuses to behave properly. It is another to fight with him.

At present the German government is not in a rational mood. Crazy by war it has announced that it intends to resort to unprecedented savagery on the high seas, and to make no distinction between belligerent and neutral. The declaration shows to what depths a highly civilized nation may sink in

the effort to destroy an opponent in war.

But as a rational person will deal charitably with an individual not altogether responsible so a rational nation will also do. The German government being, for the present at least, apparently immune to all appeals to reason or conscience, the sensible course is to leave it alone and await patiently the return of reason. Then it can be called upon to discuss the harm committed while in an irresponsible state. It is neither necessary nor desirable that we descend to the level of a belligerent ourselves.

To avoid that requires a high order of courage. It needs statesmanship superior to what has been displayed by either Entente or Central Powers. It means restraint of a natural, but none the less mistaken impulse. Yet, it is the kind of courage and statesmanship which President Wilson can display, if he be not overwhelmed by our war-hungry jingoes. He should be given all possible encouragement to oppose firmly every effort to lower the United States into the belligerent class. Let Congressmen be given to understand that their constituents want no declaration of war. This is the most fitting time to stand firmly for peace—the time when peace is in danger, when the sentiment for war is formidable.

S. D.

No War With Germany.

Every reason that forbade war with Germany during the past two and a half years has been multiplied tenfold by the present crisis. Admit all that Germany is charged with having done, and grant all that America has borne, war still remains the poorest means of correction.

Those who wish war say: "When a wild bull breaks from his pen, and gores women and children, it is the duty of all men to rally to the attack and destroy the bull." To which it may be answered that a wild bull is not a fit symbol for the Kaiser or the German Government. Rather should the Kaiser or his Government be likened to a man temporarily mad or intoxicated. He may, while under the spell, be as destructive as the bull, and yet return to his right mind. His treatment therefore must depend upon circumstances. If conditions be such that his destruction is the only means of preventing the sacrifice of innocent lives, then he may be destroyed. But if it is possible to keep out of his way

until the rage passes, and he recovers his sanity, then the end in view may be better attained by reasoning with him when in his right mind, than by chastising him while possessed of devils.

The President has asserted the dignity of our Government by breaking off friendly intercourse with a nation that refuses to observe the rules of gentility. But in doing so he has expressed regret; he has given voice to the hope that Germany will not carry out its threat; and he has promised that should such a thing happen, he will ask Congress to give him authority "to use any means necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas."

Some have inferred that the President will ask for armed men to redress our wrongs. But why such an inference? He has been redressing our wrongs since the beginning of the war; and he has done so in a manner that has given a new meaning to international diplomacy. Why should he depart from this method, now that the war is nearing its end? Rather should he redouble his reliance upon reason, in order that there may remain at the end of the war one great and powerful nation that refused to join in this mad debauch, but stands ready with open hands to help the erring brothers whenever they are ready to listen to reason. The force that the President speaks of must be moral, not physical; for it was with moral force that he held Germany from doing what all her enemies could not prevent with physical force. And if he shall go through to the end relying upon moral instead of physical force, it will be the greatest possible vindication of the new order, and will enthrone reason and justice forever above material might.

It would be nothing less than calamitous for this country to engage in war, even as the light of peace begins to illumine the sky. Let us not sacrifice the vantage we have retained up to this time. But let every forward-looking American counsel forbearance yet a little longer; and the victory will be all the greater.

S. C.

* * *

In the establishment of justice, hot-heads are dangerous. The building of a higher civilization will come through the efforts of warm hearts and cool heads—not cold hearts and warm heads.—
LAURIE J. QUINBY.

Constructive Patriotism.

By Amos Pinchot.

On January 27th, the Congress of Constructive Patriotism concluded its sessions at Washington. The Congress of Constructive Patriotism was brought together by the National Security League. Its delegates included greatly distinguished men, and its sessions were devoted to promoting love of country among the people, and to building up America's military resources.

Appearing in the resolutions of the Congress is the keynote phrase "To establish a national morale and idealism through appealing to patriotism." This, in conjunction with military preparedness, was the subject of the three principal addresses delivered by Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root and George W. Wickersham. But it was Mr. Wickersham who perhaps most accurately voiced the sentiment of the delegates when he said that "the quickening of our sense of patriotism" was the main object of the Congress; and again, when he declared that America must not allow "the red blood of the nation's manhood to be turned to water by the corrupting influences of wealth and ease." The president of the Congress was Robert Bacon; the honorary president Joseph H. Choate, and the honorary vice-president Alton B. Parker, all of New York City.

The writer does not doubt the sincerity of the eminent citizens who took part in the Congress of Constructive Patriotism; on the contrary, he believes they were very much in earnest indeed. Still, he would like to point out the sheer impracticality of stimulating patriotism in the way these good people have set out to do, or without first taking into consideration some relevant facts which the Congress omitted to mention.

Patriotism, after all, is, like most other emotions, not an independent, causeless something, found in the breast of every normal man and woman. It is a thing related to other things; and if it is to be real and concrete in the nation's life, it must be based on a real and concrete foundation. Generally speaking, a man is patriotic in proportion to the justice and opportunity that exists in the country he happens to live in. This may not be an idealistic way to look at it, but it is, unfortunately perhaps, the truth. Human beings love and want to protect that which loves and protects them. You can no more make a man love his country by telling him to do so, unless he believes it is treating him and his as well as it can

reasonably be expected to, under the circumstances, than you can make him love his neighbor by the same means and under the same circumstances.

Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wickersham express fear that our flag is not sufficiently revered by the common people. To them we may offer the encouraging thought, that, in the long run, the flag of this country and every other country will receive no less and no more reverence than it deserves. The flag is the symbolism of the people's life under the flag. You can force a man to salute it, but you cannot force him to love it, unless he loves the things which it symbolizes. If this is not true, if adherence to country is not a good deal more dependent on the stark realities of life than on generalities and ex-cathedra pronouncements about the duties of citizenship, how then can we account for the vast river of immigration that has swept into the new world from almost every nation, where organized society has failed to square its demand upon the individual for patriotism, obedience and sacrifice with the individual's demand upon it for justice and opportunity. Russia, Poland, Serbia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Roumania, Italy, Ireland, have offered to our eyes, in the last fifty years, a huge drama in which millions of men and women have sat in judgment. They have placed on one side of the balance the opportunities and justice that have been afforded them, and on the other, their patriotism and duty to their country. And sorrowfully they have turned away, marching flagless from their native land to find elsewhere the things that the human spirit and body demand of life.

That a group of highly educated citizens should discuss patriotism from the 25th to the 29th of January, and yet refuse to consider either the experience of the people of Europe or the actual conditions of the people in their own country, is more than regrettable. For like Mr. Wickersham's statement, about the red blood of the nation's manhood being turned to water by the corrupting influence of wealth and ease, it implies that the distinguished conferees were thinking in class, rather than in popular terms.

The president of the Congress, Mr. Robert Bacon, might easily have set Mr. Wickersham right as to the corrupting influence of wealth at least among the labor elements of

the country. In 1910, a government investigation showed that 40 per cent. of the heads of families of steel workers at Youngstown, in the great plant of the corporation of which Mr. Bacon is a director, earned less than \$400 a year. Since then, it is true, wages have advanced, but the cost of living has advanced considerably more. And the federal government tells us that \$800 a year is the least that a family of average size can live on decently. In Youngstown, too, the infant death rate is 190.8 per thousand, while that of an ordinary healthy suburb town like Orange, New Jersey, is 78 per thousand. It is sheer poverty, which at Youngstown and at thousands of other mill and mine towns all over the United States, is responsible for such a death rate and for the conditions which are far from conducive to patriotism.

As one looks at the Congress of Constructive Patriotism, one is impressed by the number of stockholders and representatives of large industrial concerns—concerns which, by maintaining conditions like those at Youngstown, are doing more in a single day to destroy patriotism in the United States, than the oratory of the Congress could accomplish in restoring it, if its sittings should be continued from now until the millennium. Of course, I do not criticize the intentions of the Congress. I do not imply that the delegates are undesirable people. On the contrary, I think they are just as good as any other people, but they are trying, in a blind and class-conscious way, to do something that cannot be done in that way. If you work a man ten or twelve hours a day, pay him less than he can raise a family on comfortably, and then convene a congress of leading citizens to tell him how ease and wealth have ruined him for patriotic purposes, you may awake the fighting spirit in him; you probably will. But it may not be the kind of fighting spirit which the Congress most heartily approves.

In 1915, the author had made, by bureaus of economics in New York and Washington, a comparative study of prices and the cost of living. It covered five districts in different parts of the country. It compared the average wage, salary, income of the ordinary American, with the cost of food, fuel, clothing, household utensils and rent, from 1900 to 1914. Roughly speaking, it was found that in those fourteen years the income of the average American, including the labor class, the small business man, professional man, etc., had gone up 25 per cent, while the cost of living had risen 40 per cent. Soon after, I had an opportunity to discuss these figures with the general counsel of a great labor employing corporation. I told him that I could hardly believe in their accuracy; I told him I hoped they were untrue. He informed me that his company had just completed a survey of wages and cost of living among its twelve thousand employees. He said it showed that, in the last ten years, wages had gone up 20 per cent and the cost of living 35 per cent.

To the Congress of Constructive Patriotism, such figures would, perhaps, seem totally irrelevant. The captains of industry and finance, the distinguished corporation lawyers, the great employers of labor, trust magnates, mayors, bankers, colonels and monopolists among them would, no doubt, tell us that a discussion of these matters would be quite out of place in a gathering of this kind. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that until the economic system, which these gentlemen have shaped, shall cease to cause a steady decrease in the purchasing power of the average family, patriotism will have no conspicuous renaissance. Whether we like it or not, these are facts which must be faced unflinchingly, even by a Congress of Constructive Patriotism; and one of them is that a country, where the poor man is getting poorer and the rich man richer, is not on a sound basis for either peace or war.

The Enforcement of Peace.

By Mrs. Joseph Fels.

The conception of a league of nations for the enforcement of peace is coming to have an almost hypnotic influence on international thinking. With European nations the intensifying desire for a way out may make a straw seem a life line, but the plan is so full of consequences for the future of America

that citizens of this country should consider carefully a proposal that may radically alter our position in the community of nations. The League to Enforce Peace intends to secure an opportunity for the cooling of heads before the outbreak of hostilities. It is a plan of compulsory arbitration with refer-

ences to justiciable differences and as such has a certain commendable simplicity on paper. The difficulty lies in a complete disregard of the psychology of war. Nations do not go to war for justiciable differences but only for vital interests or national honor. These, however, are elastic terms which can always be made to cover the blind, unreasoning complex of motives that lie behind war. Proposals for the enforcement of peace suffer from the confusion of the reasons for war with the motives for fighting.

The threat of armed force is the sole medium of exchange in international negotiations; and diplomatists, so long as they are in power, will hardly suffer a depreciation of their currency. National policies are long standing matters and always cool-headed. When they come into conflict, their effectiveness depends on whether the common people can be switched on in a fighting capacity. The reasons for war lie within the field of national intention worked by diplomacy in conjunction with financial and commercial interests: But the waging of war is a matter of populations who have little understanding of imperialistic aims and are led to make their sacrifices for high-sounding ends, with the real motive lying in protracted fear, suspicion, patriotism and other feelings incapable of definition or criticism. Any issue in connection with which it would be difficult to make the people fight is in consequence justiciable. When the people can be scared into hostility, the issue is one of vital interest or national honor. From the point of view of juggling public opinion it is useful to be able to call your opponent the aggressor, but from the point of view of the realities involved it is senseless to say that this or that nation was the aggressor; every imperialistic negotiation of the last generation has been a constructive aggression. In like manner the possibilities for opening negotiations for peace are contingent upon phrases. That the prospect of ending this ghastly futile tragedy should depend even slightly upon whether the Chancellor opened his note by crowing a little or the Allies replied in insulting language, must be highly amusing to the gods.

The world is at war over the conflict of imperial policies. To secure control of backward or inadequately defended territories for purposes of economic exploitation is the real reason. The populations of Europe would never have entered the struggle for imperialistic designs. Self defense, rights of small nationalities, militarism, protection of liberty, are all incidental and therefore shams in so far as they are urged as grounds for conflict. The common people are not ready to

sacrifice life and property in the interest of diplomatic intrigue in Asia Minor, China or North Africa. Those responsible for the continuance of war do not dare to state their real attitude. Russian ambitions with reference to Constantinople were embodied in a secret treaty and only happened to leak out in a special contingency. Why were they not stated as openly as the rights of small nations? Small nations have been pawns in the game of the great. Does any one believe that a small nation standing in the way of either the Central Powers or the Allies received any special considerations? What happened in Morocco and Persia? The fate of Constantinople is a definite matter in which war or negotiations can have a concrete issue, but guarantees by international agreement, rights of neutrals and all similar matters are as manageable concretely as the north wind. The common people were fooled into hostilities and are now to be fooled on emerging.

The same confused thinking appeared in the idea that any nation would throw itself into a conflict merely to punish another nation that had broken the agreement. A nation does not throw itself into conflict without regard to its sympathy or the slow-growing blind antagonism goaded into hot hatred which is essential to the making of war. The diplomatic fraternity must be having a laugh at our simple-minded lawyers. War is a matter of national policy; fighting is only made possible by a blind hysterical complex. The enforcement of peace would be an idle threat or a reality. It could not be made a reality without the motive of war, in which case it would not enforce peace.

The plan naturally conceives America as the chief guarantor of peace. The reason is that our isolation gives us a special position. But entry into the League of Nations to Enforce Peace means an abandonment of our isolation. It is therefore urged that we can no longer maintain our traditional policy.

The penalties which we are to incur for maintaining our isolation are as empty as the preparedness arguments to which they are related. We have some dangerous advisers who see our future safety only in alliance with one or the other of the European groups. Else these groups will combine against us! The league of nations when the war is over will consist of two opposing customs confederations. America is to be a village policeman to prevent the inevitable consequences.

Whatever America may do toward insuring peace is not to be determined by promises made now but by the exigencies of the occasion. To be useful when the time comes is to

be able to deal with the situation with a free hand. Isolation is the very essence of American effectiveness in the future councils of the nations. Her weapon will not be her army and navy but her economic predominance. Her weight will be thrown on the side where her sympathies lie. The people must be trusted to place their sympathies on the side of right. To do this they must be acquainted with the facts.

What America can do is to preserve her integrity by preserving her isolation and take the lead by herself standing for a clean foreign policy. "The enthronement of public right" which Gladstone wished to see the rule of nations is possible to America. If we are involved in war, it will be because of a foreign policy that leads to it. Wars among great nations are not for national defense but for the defense of policy. Let our foreign policy be determined by the American people and not by commercial agents and financial adventurers. Let us repudiate once for all ambition to secure a privileged position in the weaker countries of the world. But the real test is much more drastic; freedom from war is almost synonymous with freedom for trade. Every tariff wall is an invitation to construct big guns for its demolition. A league of nations which has the slightest intention of insuring peace is a league in which trade is free. The present program of European nations removes this possibility. Each is to do as it wishes or as it can while America is to protect it from consequences!

APPLES OF SODOM

By Bolton Hall.

First came the Priest. Amid lightnings and thunders he engraved upon tables of stone: "Thou shalt not—shalt not—shalt not—drink gall." And men said: "Surely this gall has the savor of life; we must drink it or we die."

Next came the Prophet, and the Prophet put ashes upon his head and howled: "Whoso drinketh gall, upon his head shall ruin fall; his body shall God twist, and his soul shall Satan grip." The People said: "The Gods are jealous lest we, drinking this gall, should become even as they."

Afterward came the Reformer, and he put taxes upon the manufacturer of gall; he licensed the selling and he prohibited the drinking of gall. Gall rose in price, so that men said, "How well would it be with us, could we have our fill of gall."

Then came the Ruler, and he wrote a law and set it up in the Market Place, saying: "He that drinketh gall shall have his fore-

head branded with iron; he shall be cast in the deepest dungeon, and be hanged upon a tree." Men began to taste secretly of the forbidden gall, until a gall-drinking habit grew up.

At last came the Teacher, and he filled the cup with gall and pressed it to men's lips. "Drink deep," he said, "and drain the dregs. Ay, have your fill of gall." And when men had drunken, they found by proof that sin is vain; they knew the bitterness of gall.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending February 6, 1917

Congressional Doings.

The House passed on February 1 the emergency revenue measure by a vote of 211 to 196. Four Democrats voted with the minority. They were Page and Doughton of North Carolina, Callaway of Texas and Caldwell of New York. Martin of Louisiana and Schall of Minnesota, Progressives, and London of New York, Socialist, also voted no. Kent of California, Independent, voted in favor. [See current volume, page 109.]

* *

By vote of 285 to 106 the House on February 1 overrode the President's veto of the Burnett immigration bill. The majority consisted of 149 Democrats, 130 Republicans, 4 Progressives; Randall, Prohibitionist, and Kent, Independent. The minority consisted of 55 Democrats, 49 Republicans, Martin of Louisiana, Progressive, and London of New York, Socialist. On February 4 the Senate by a vote of 68 to 19 took the same action and made the bill a law. The majority consisted of 34 Democrats and 24 Republicans; the minority of 11 Democrats and 8 Republicans. On February 2 the House passed without a roll call the Senate bill applying prohibition to Alaska. The measure had been endorsed by a referendum in Alaska in November. It goes into effect on January 1, 1918.

* *

In an address to the House on January 29, Congressman Rainey of Illinois attributed the rising cost of bread to the internal revenue tax on mixed flour. This tax brings in but \$3,000 in revenue, at an expense to the Treasury Department of \$30,000, but Mr. Rainey declared that it prevents some 60,000,000 bushels of corn products from being added to the bread resources of the

nation. This, he said, is almost equal to the actual shortage in the supply this year under the average wheat supply available for domestic use. Bread made of American flour, as a result, sells cheaper in London than in the United States. Mr. Rainey charges that milling interests of Minneapolis maintain a lobby in Washington to retain this tax, in the fear that, if abolished, millers of the South and Middle West could take business from them.

* *

By a vote of 55 to 11 the Senate on February 2, practically killed the Myers water power bill by displacing it on the calendar for the agricultural appropriation bill. The Myers bill would have given private corporations perpetual leases to water power on the public domain, and required no payment of rental until some use of it had been made. It further allowed exploitation of the national forests. It was opposed by the National Conservation Association. [See vol. xix, pp. 1149, 1167.]

Court-martial of the "Spreadeagle" Officers.

At the court-martial of Lieutenant Frank Spencer and Captain Wilbur Wright of the New York militia for mistreatment of enlisted men, Lieutenant Spencer told on January 30, the story of the occurrence. Five enlisted men were in the guardhouse on January 9 for drunkenness the night before. Under orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hines he sent a sergeant to order the prisoners to clean the drill room in the armory. The sergeant reported that the men refused to work. Spencer said further:

I went to the guardhouse and ordered every man to do the work required. Then I reported the matter to Captain Wright, and he told me that if they did not work to tie them up. I then had the men marched into the ring, and asked each one, in turn, "Will you work?" When they replied in the negative, I informed Captain Wright, and he said "Tie them up!" I ordered a sentry to tie them to the wheels, and told the sentinel in each instance that as soon as a man would give in and consent to obey orders to release him. That was done. They were tied to the spokes of the wheels by the arms. One or two, perhaps, also by the feet. The arms were spread out about half way between the hips and shoulders. One man named McKeever made some comments, and I ordered him arrested. He said that it was a "dam shame," and "damn these militia officers," and that he did not blame the men for refusing to work.

Captain Wright when put on the witness stand on February 1, admitted having given the order to tie up the men. He said that

the officers in command on the Mexican border had taught him that method of enforcing discipline and he had been told that it had been applied there to refractory men. Colonel Hines on being informed that the men were tied up, and further notified that the newspapers would report it, ordered the men released. A verdict was reached in the case of each, Lieutenant Spencer and Captain Wright, and sent to General Wood for approval. [See current volume, page 86.]

Mothers' Pension Agitation in New York.

Judge Henry Neil of Oak Park, Illinois, in a campaign in New York City in behalf of mothers' pensions, has made public that "New York takes more children from their own mothers than any other five cities in the country." As an example of methods used he has cited the case of a woman with three children deserted by her husband. About this case he made the following public statement:

It is shown that there is a conspiracy to separate her from her children forever, to force her into the ranks of labor, outside her own home. I find that the innocent mother, namely, Mrs. Edna Hunt Jones, is to suffer the most terrible punishment conceived (separation from her children) because of the sins of an abnormal, deserting father and a grandmother.

This assault upon the home and family of Mrs. Jones is the result of an erroneous policy of uplift societies, namely that the best way to attack the problem of child-poverty is to discharge the mother and hire some other woman to care for the children in an institution which must in the nature of things resemble a prison or a soldier barrack.

This case is aggravated by the conduct of the grandmother, who, contrary to the nature of grandmothers, turns against her grandchildren and desires that they be incarcerated in an asylum and deprived of a mother's care and love.

I find that the case is just one of thousands in New York City and that mothers, innocent of any fault except poverty, have been cruelly punished. I find also that society suffers because children raised in poverty and in institutions are not thereby fitted for normal life, and that taxpayers have a burden which becomes more grievous every year.

I recommend that the State Legislature amend the Mothers' Pension law so that good mothers within the State of New York will never be separated from their children because of poverty, or because of the failure of the husband and father.

New York Birth Control Movement.

Governor Whitman of New York, on February 1, pardoned Mrs. Ethel Byrne, the birth-control advocate, after having served ten days of a 30 days' sentence on Blackwell's Island. The Governor had insisted as a condition of pardon that Mrs. Byrne should promise not to violate the law again. Her

sister, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, informed him that Mrs. Byrne, who had been on a hunger strike and had been forcibly fed, was dying and could make no promise, but in her behalf she would promise for her. The pardon was then issued, and Mrs. Byrne, unconscious, was removed to her sister's home. Her condition is critical but she is expected to recover. On February 2 Mrs. Sanger and her assistant, Miss Fania Mindell, were convicted in the Court of Special Sessions, without a jury trial, of disseminating birth control literature, Justice Freschi dissenting from his two colleagues in Miss Mindell's case. Mrs. Sanger was sentenced to 30 days on Blackwell's Island on February 5 after rejecting a suggestion by the court that she pay a fine and escape imprisonment. Miss Mindell was fined \$50, which was paid by the Committee of One Hundred, one of the Birth Control organizations. [See current volume, page 112.]

Washington Farmers and Laborers Unite.

The Washington State Federation of Labor joined with the Farmers' Union and the State Grange on January 25 in a demand upon the State Legislature for the submission of amendments providing for the Constitutional, Initiative, prohibiting alienation of water power, recall of judges and taxation of land values. Demands were also made for legislation against abuse of injunctions and recall of judicial decisions on constitutionality of laws. The Federal Suffrage Amendment was also indorsed.

New Constitution for Indiana.

On January 31, Governor Goodrich of Indiana signed the bill for a constitutional convention which passed the legislature. The convention has been demanded by the progressive forces of the State. Two nonpartisan delegates are to be elected from each legislative district, and the convention is to meet in January, 1918.

New Zealand Land Law for California.

The California Land Settlement League has had introduced in the California Legislature a bill for leasing of municipally-owned land to settlers. The bill authorizes county boards of supervisors to lease lands in tracts not to exceed 20 acres to each family. The boards are further authorized to build residences, not to exceed \$250 in cost for each family, and the settler is to have seven years to repay the loan. The board is to employ the settlers for three days each week, on

public work, while his first crop is maturing. When there is not enough municipally-owned land the counties may acquire by condemnation privately owned land. They are to be limited in expenditure for this purpose to one-tenth of one per cent of the assessed value of taxable property. Under this provision San Diego county could spend in one year \$73,685. The leased land is to be revalued every five years, but the rental for improvements is to remain fixed. Should the Legislature fail to pass the bill, preparations are afoot for submission through the initiative. James P. Cadman, 2406 I street, San Diego, is secretary of the Land Settlement League. [See current volume, page 111.]

Mexico and United States.

The withdrawal of the American forces in Mexico has proceeded without incident, and no untoward incidents have been reported from the regions evacuated. General Pershing with 10,000 men crossed the line at Columbus, New Mexico, on the 5th. Three thousand refugees who accompanied the troops are being cared for by the American authorities in New Mexico. [See current volume, page 112.]

* *

The Constitutional Assembly, which has been sitting at Queretaro for the past two months, completed its labors on the 30th. The following summary of the new Constitution is given in the press dispatches:

Abolition of the office of Vice President, prohibition of the re-election of a President, stringent and radical labor laws, which provide for an eight-hour day, seven hours of night work and six working days a week; compulsory arbitration, profit-sharing, free employment bureaus, anti-trust laws, a national Department of Health with plenary powers, and compulsory military instruction.

Many of the articles are based on the theory of keeping Mexico for Mexicans. Provisions in the Constitution give Mexicans the preference in obtaining and acquiring lands and concessions.

Under the new Constitution, foreigners must renounce allegiance to the countries whence they come to acquire title to real estate, in so far as foreign citizenship concerns such property. The land laws are stringent. They provide for the cutting up of large estates and the return of communal and tribal lands.

The provisions regarding separation of the church and State, virtually mean the taking over by the Government of the entire property in Mexico of the Roman Catholic Church, inasmuch as religious orders are prohibited from owning or administering real estate or mortgages, and all churches, as well as denominational, educational, and charitable institutions, pass into the hands of the Government. All clergymen must be of Mexican birth. They are prohibited from teaching in public schools, and are

permitted to give instruction in only the higher grades of private schools, which will be under the supervision of the Government, as all churches will be.

Criminal procedure is reformed in such a way that court costs are abolished.

The succession of the Presidency through absence or death is stringently regulated and placed in the hands of Congress.

All natural resources in Mexico are declared to be the property of the Government.

The new Constitution was promulgated on the 5th. A President and Congress will be elected March 11. The members of Congress will take office April 15, and the President on May 1. Congress will appoint the members of the Supreme Court.

European War.

Severe winter weather has prevented extensive operations in the field. Smaller engagements on the Somme front have resulted in slight gains by the British. The campaigns on the Riga front and at Verdun appear to have had small results. Little that is definite is reported from Roumania, or from Macedonia. The British on the Tigris report small gains in their campaign against Bagdad. [See current volume, page 113.]

* *

The chief subject of interest during the week has been the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. On January 31, the German Ambassador at Washington presented to the Secretary of State a note from his government, announcing a new policy in its submarine warfare, in which notice is served upon the world that "from February 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped by every available weapon and without further notice" in certain waters therein defined. The barred waters include the seas about Great Britain, the coasts of Belgium and France, the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Aegean Seas. An exception is made to permit one American ship a week to Falmouth, England, and of a safety lane through the Mediterranean to the coast of Spain and to Athens. Within the forbidden waters Germany withdraws assurances given to the United States against torpedoing vessels without warning.

* *

President Wilson addressed a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives on the 3d. The President called attention to the exchange of notes between this Government and the German government regarding the sinking of the steamship *Sussex*, in which he said:

"Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government

of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war, for the rest of its duration, to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interests, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law."

To this the American Government replied that it could not grant that its rights depended in any manner upon the conduct of other Governments, that "responsibility in such matters is single, not joint, absolute, not relative." The President then quoted the German note of January 31, to the effect that in view of the brutal and illegal methods of the Allies Germany takes back its freedom of action, which she reserved in her former note, and will, under these circumstances meet the

illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals, included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

The President declared that this action on the part of the German Government left no alternative

consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort. I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and in accordance with this decision to hand his Excellency his passports.

The President further declared that he re-

fused to believe the German authorities would do what they had warned us they felt free to do, and so sever a friendship of such long standing; but if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas.

Diplomatic relations between the United States and the other Central Powers, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, will depend upon whether or not they endorse the action of Germany. No submarine action of the kind threatened has taken place.

The State Department has directed the American diplomatic representatives in neutral countries to acquaint the governments of those countries of the action taken by the United States, and to say to them that the President "believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action."

Brazil is reported to have agreed upon a note of protest to Germany similar to that of the United States. Spain also is reported to be ready to protest. Switzerland, Holland, and Mexico are reported to have decided to remain neutral. The remaining neutral nations have not indicated their position.

* *

A bill has been adopted by the Philippine Senate providing for the organization of a Philippine army division of 25,000 men for national defense. The United States naval authorities in the Philippines seized the seventeen German merchant vessels anchored in Manila Bay to prevent their crews from destroying the ships.

NOTES

—The Minnesota House passed on January 31 the bill to submit a Statewide prohibition amendment in 1918.

—Chester C. Platt of Batavia, N. Y., has been made editor-in-chief of the *Ithaca Daily News*. Mr. Platt is prominent among the Singletax advocates of the State.

—All legal obstacles to the bequest of Mrs. Frank Leslie to the suffrage cause were announced cleared away on January 31. About \$1,000,000 is involved. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, as trustee, will form a corporation to administer the trust. [See vol. xviii, p. 621.]

—Carl Brannin of Cincinnati and formerly of Dallas, Texas, has resigned as assistant to Herbert S. Bigelow, to become field secretary of the Missouri

association to push the Homestead Loan and Tax Amendment. [See vol. xix, p. 924.]

—The North Dakota House passed on January 26 the bill submitting a new constitution to the people. The Senate must still act thereon. On February 1, the House passed the bill limiting the power of the courts in issuing of injunctions in labor cases. [See current volume, page 86.]

—The Indiana State Senate on February 2 passed the Statewide prohibition bill by a vote of 38 to 11. It has already passed the House. There is little doubt that the Governor will sign it. It goes into effect on March 31, 1918. [See current volume, page 113.]

—Lieutenant Shackleton announces in a wireless message from his ship *Aurora* the success of his attempt to rescue the men marooned on the Antarctic Continent. Three of the men died during the party's stay in the far south. [See vol. xix, pp. 853, 1196.]

—Among the numerous efforts made in this country to prevent war between the United States and Germany none was more unique than that of Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, who cabled to Karl Legien, president of the German Federation of Trade Unions: "Can't you prevail upon German Government to avoid break with United States and thereby prevent universal conflict?"

PRESS OPINIONS

Will America Adopt That Principle Itself?

Duluth (Minn.) *Herald*, January 24.—America cannot participate in an organization which, in the name of peace, purposes to perpetuate injustice.

If Europe is willing to recognize that no great nation has a right to annex a smaller nation against its will, and that no combination of nations has a right to dismember and divide any nation against its will—that the doctrine that "governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed" must be the cornerstone of the foundation of permanent world peace, well and good. In that event we are willing to join hands with it and do our share, whatever it may entail, in a League for Peace.

That is the heart and substance of the president's message to America and to the world.

How Roosevelt Begs the Question.

New York *World*, January 22.—"The position of Mr. Holt and his associates in these international proposals is precisely like that of an individual who in private life should demand that if a ruffian slapped the face of a decent man's wife and if the decent citizen promptly knocked the ruffian down, the Peace League should, in the interest of the ruffian, attack the man who objected to having his wife's face slapped."—Theodore Roosevelt.

From Theodore Roosevelt's point of view the human race is divided into three classes:

1. Wives whose faces are slapped.
2. Men who slap the faces of other men's wives.
3. Husbands who personally avenge the slapping of their wives' faces.

Yet in spite of the authority of Mr. Roosevelt, we venture to think that this is not the sum total of

human relationship, and that it might even be possible to provide an international code which contemplated a milder calamity than an immediate world war in the event that the face of one's wife was slapped, which usually it is not.

Buncombe Advertising.

The Union Leader (Chicago), Jan. 13.—"How \$12,000,000 a Year Are Distributed in Wages," is the attractive headline of a Chicago Surface Lines advertisement, which appeared in the local daily papers recently. Well, what of it? How many employees are these \$12,000,000 distributed among, and how much do they get individually? What are the profits of the Chicago Surface Lines? Do the employees benefit proportionately from these profits? . . . Does the Chicago Surface Lines, out of its bigness of heart, give away these \$12,000,000 a year, or does it demand in return exacting service? And who gets the profits from this service? Why does the Chicago Surface Lines exploit the \$12,000,000 pay roll, and why is it necessary for a public monopoly to purchase advertising space in the daily papers? Does it have to solicit business, or do car riders have to patronize their lines whether they want to or not? These questions, answered in fairness, should make good "copy" for future advertisements of the Chicago Surface Lines. They would furnish the public with real facts concerning traction methods, instead of the one-sided blare of public benefaction.

CORRESPONDENCE

FIGHTING CONSCRIPTION IN CANADA.

Recent events in Canada, and particularly in Winnipeg, prove that the spirit of democracy has not been quenched by the flood of militarism which thirty months of war has loosed upon this country. From the beginning of the war press, platform and pulpit have afforded publicity to none but pro-war advocates, and it was but natural that our local Prussians should make full use of the opportunity to press their ideas to the front. Advocates of conscription have of course been particularly active, and seemed to have the field to themselves until the first overt step in the direction of their aims was taken by the Canadian government. Then the other side, long silent, made itself heard. The government inaugurated a plan of registration, listing the entire male population between the ages of 16 and 65, for what they dignified with the title of "National Service." Organized labor at once recognized the resemblance to the notorious "Derby scheme," which was the forerunner of conscription in Great Britain, and organized opposition to the plan sprang to life all over the Dominion. In this city, for example, large anti-registration meetings were held on two consecutive Sundays. Afternoon and evening of both days, four and five concurrent meetings were held in as many halls in the Labor Temple, the speakers passing from one meeting to another. On the third Sunday a large public meeting was held in a local theatre. The local dailies vied with each other in misrepresenting the character of the meetings and the remarks of the

speakers. As a result of the movement, large numbers of the registration cards were returned blank, and other filled in with answers indicating opposition to the whole proposal. Naturally, every active participant in this movement has been vilified to the limit, especially those who hold public office. In addition to four Labor members of the city council who have thus come in for abuse, F. J. Dixon, Independent, and R. A. Rigg, Social Democrat, members for Winnipeg constituencies in the Manitoba Legislature have been conspicuous targets for attack. At the annual convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association attempts were made to have Dixon's name struck off the list of speakers. He was billed to speak on "Free Trade." The Grain Growers however stood splendidly by the principle of free speech, and Dixon never got a better reception than on that occasion. So grossly was the whole matter distorted by the press that the Convention passed a strongly worded resolution condemning the newspapers for wilfully misrepresenting the affair.

On the opening of the Manitoba Legislature a few days later, the usual official speeches in reply to the address from the throne contained further attacks upon the opponents of registration. In reply to these attacks both Dixon and Rigg delivered vigorous anti-war speeches, and all the fat is in the fire. Petitions are being circulated asking Dixon to apply the principle of the Recall, of which he has been chief exponent, to himself. Whether these petitions will be largely signed or not remains to be seen. One gathers, however, that the people responsible for their circulation are having their troubles. Dixon's attitude toward the request depends, of course, upon the size of the petitions. But whichever way the scheme terminates, I think the militarists are going to be painfully surprised at the strength of the anti-militarist sentiment. Even among those who support the war there is considerable resentment at the attitude of the Liberal Premier of the Province, who has publicly declared that the anti-registrationists should be jailed, and this resentment has been augmented by the dismissal of two letter carriers, who as delegates from their union to the Trades Council took a more or less active part in the anti-registration movement. Also by the dismissal by the *Manitoba Free Press* of one member of its editorial staff and a reporter, for the same reason.

One noticeable and gratifying effect of these developments is the coming together of Radicals, Socialists, Social Democrats and Trade Unionists to face their common enemy, Privilege. We are probably in the minority, but do not judge our strength by the lack of space accorded us in the press, nor the strength of the conscriptionists by the noise they are making.

S. J. FARMER.

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

During the past two years we have been trying to get the Town Council of Port Augusta to take a poll under the Land Values Assessment Act. Port Augusta is the starting point in South Australia

of the East-West Transcontinental railway. The Federal government is spending over £8,000,000 in building and equipping this railway. A big sum of money is being spent in Port Augusta in building engine and carriage sheds, new wharfs, electric lighting works, and other public improvements. Naturally with this expenditure, the population has increased, and as a natural result land values have also gone up. Land speculators have a number of vacant blocks in the town held out of use for a further rise, whilst people are living in tents owing to the scarcity of houses. We pointed out to the local councillors the need of taking for the community the land values which the community creates, instead of allowing the increment to flow into private pockets. After a good deal of agitation a motion to take a poll was carried through the Council, and the voting took place on Saturday, December 2nd. With a view to arousing interest in the question, the League sent me to Port Augusta. Public meetings were held, literature placed in every house, and a post card sent to every one whose rates would be reduced under land values. According to the Act a tentative assessment has to be prepared, and exhibited for 21 days before the poll, showing the rates paid under the present system, and what each will pay under land values. We go through this assessment and send out postcards as stated. Under land values in Port Augusta, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d in the £ would produce about £30 more revenue than is now derived from a rate of $2\frac{2}{3}$ in the £ on improvements, and furthermore the land values rate is just in its incidence. The efforts put forth were the means of bringing the poll to a successful issue. The voting was: In favor of land values, 215; against, 13; informal, 2. This makes thirteen municipalities in South Australia that have adopted land values as the basis for raising revenue.

E. J. CRAIGIE.

Adelaide, South Australia.

OREGON AFFAIRS.

The legislature is afflicting the people of Oregon again, and there is no telling what may come of it. So far the enemies of the initiative do not appear to have much hope of carrying out their scheme to kill it. The average member of the legislature appears to be a little shy in supporting any energetic attack upon it. The labor people and the Farmers' Union have united with the Grange to keep a joint committee on the job, and quite a number of the last two organizations are in the legislature itself. Several measures have been introduced to chain the initiative in the cellar, as it were, but so far they are not getting along well.

The Singletax element that cast 43,000 votes in Oregon for the People's Land and Loan measure, is not organizing nor acting. When the California singletaxers have started out for a measure it is quite likely that something will be done in Oregon along the same lines. The People's Land and Loan measure may be resubmitted, or modified. That will probably be up to a conference of its supporters which will be called in due time.

Many of the commercial bodies of Portland profess great anxiety to secure manufacturing establish-

ments and payrolls in Portland. The great natural advantages of the city have been bottled up by the land speculators and its development throttled by the extortions practiced. For years a coterie of banks and grain speculators have robbed the farmers of the interior by undergrading until Seattle, which gives better treatment, has taken away the business to an alarming extent. Portland business men are only just beginning to wake up to the necessity of retaining and regaining this business. None of the commercial bodies dare to, or care to, discuss the industrial and economic problems from a fundamental basis. Like a lot of demented Fourth of July celebrators they march round in circles shouting "we want pay rolls!" Nobody who could tell them how to get pay rolls is allowed to butt in on the processions. The writer as representative of the leading daily publications has had to report some of these proceedings, and the only fear of the officers in charge has been that he might so far forget the etiquette of the occasion and tell them how to gain the object of their professions! A reporter is not supposed to speak, or to say anything if he does. It seems to be the same as to the latter action with those who speak on the pay roll problem.

Oregon would be a hard state to organize for any fundamental proposition because of the magnificent distances, and the poor roads. Whoever undertakes it must be prepared to travel! That the 43,000 people in Oregon who voted for the most radical Singletax proposition ever formulated could be organized around a similar proposition is evident to any experienced worker in the reform field. But it cannot be done by traveling in palace cars. It cannot be done by a few lectures in the only large city in the state, Portland. It can only be done by the formation of as many as possible in each locality throughout the state, and giving them something to do. To secure initiative signatures; to secure space in the local papers to discuss the great evil; to secure attention to abuses by public officials of the assessment and taxation laws now in force; to secure able and capable men in the legislature and on the different county commissions; to arouse a hope and an understanding of a free earth and a free people; these are things to be done by patient work from precinct to precinct, house to house, man to man, woman to woman. It will require time, and effort, and sacrifice to do this.

The same problem is confronting the California Singletaxers. They must organize. This fact seems to be more clearly realized in California than in Oregon. Submitting measures is all right; sending out literature is all right; but we have all fallen down on the proposition of sending out precinct workers and talking to the individuals, to the small groups, to the isolated farmers hoping for something, they know not what. We have counties as large as the state of Massachusetts. One of our large agricultural counties is larger than Belgium. Two of our congressional districts are 400 miles long. Some state! It is ours for the pains of a systematic, energetic campaign.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

Portland, Ore.

* * *

In a society that has lost sight of the individual, the few live, while the many only exist; and the few live, and live as they live, because the many only exist.—James H. Canfield.

POETRY

"Scum O' The Earth."

By Robert Haven Schauffler. Reprinted from "The Little Book of Modern Verse," by Jessie B. Rittenhouse by kind permission of Houghton, Mifflin Company, publishers.

At the gate of the West I stand,
On the isle where the nations throng,
We call them "scum o' the earth."

Stay, are we doing you wrong,
Young fellow from Socrates' land?—
You, like a Hermes so lissome and strong
Fresh from the Master Praxiteles' hand?
So you're of Spartan birth?
Descended, perhaps, from one of the band—
Deathless in story and song—
Who combed their long hair at Thermopylae's pass?
Ah, I forget the straits, alas!
More tragic than theirs, more compassion-worth,
That have doomed you to march in our "immigrant
class,"
Where you're nothing but "scum o' the earth."

You Pole with the child on your knee,
What dower bring you to the land of the free?
Hark! does she croon
That sad little tune
That Chopin once found on his Polish lea
And mounted in gold for you and for me?
Now a ragged young fiddler answers
In wild Czech melody
That Dvorak took whole from the dancers.
And the heavy faces bloom
In the wonderful Slavic way;
The little, dull eyes, the brows a-gloom,
Suddenly dawn like the day.
While, watching these folk and their mystery,
I forget that they're nothing worth;
That Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians,
And men of all Slavic nations
Are "Polacks"—and "scum o' the earth."

Genoese boy of the level brow,
Lad of the lustrous, dreamy eyes
A-start at Manhattan's pinnacles now
In the first sweet shock of a hushed surprise;
Within your far-rapt seer's eyes
I catch the glow of the wild surmise
That played on the Santa Maria's prow
In that still gray dawn,
Four centuries gone,
When a world from the wave began to rise.
Oh, it's hard to fortell what high emprise
Is the goal that gleams
When Italy's dreams
Spread wing and sweep into the skies.
Caesar dreamed him a world ruled well;
Dante dreamed Heaven out of Hell;
Angelo brought us there to dwell;

And you, are you of a different birth?—
You're only a "Dago,"—and "scum o' the earth!"

Stay, are we doing you wrong
Calling you "scum o' the earth,"
Man of the sorrow-bowed head,
Of the features tender yet strong,—
Man of the eyes full of wisdom and mystery
Mingled with patience and dread?
Have not I known you in history,
Sorrow-bowed head?
Were you the poet-king, worth
Treasures of Ophir unpriced?
Were you the prophet, perchance, whose art
Foretold how the rabble would mock
That shepherd of spirits, ere long,
Who should carry the lambs on his heart
And tenderly feed his flock?
Man—lift that sorrow-bowed head.
Lo! 'tis the face of the Christ!

The vision dies at its birth.
You're merely a butt for our mirth.
You're a "sheeny"—and therefore despised
And rejected as "scum o' the earth."

Countrymen, bend and invoke
Mercy for us blasphemers,
For that we spat on these marvelous folks,
Nations of darers and dreamers,
Scions of singers and seers,
Our peers, and more than our peers,
"Rabble and refuse," we name them
And "scum o' the earth," to shame them.
Mercy for us of the few, young years,

Of the culture so callow and crude,
Of the hands so grasping and rude,
The lips so ready for sneers
At the sons of our ancient more-than-peers.
Mercy for us who dare despise
Men in whose loins our Homer lies;
Mothers of men who shall bring to us
The glory of Titian, the grandeur of Huss;
Children in whose frail arms shall rest
Prophets and singers and saints of the West.

Newcomers all from the eastern seas,
Help us incarnate dreams like these,
Forget, and forgive, that we did you wrong.
Help us to father a nation, strong
In the comradeship of an equal birth,
In the wealth of the richest bloods of earth.

BOOKS

VITALITY IN RELIGION.

The Wisdom of God's Fools. By Edgar DeWitt Jones. Published by the Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 225 pages. \$1.00.

The author of this vital collection of sermons is pastor of a large church in Bloomington, Illinois. He belongs to that growing fellowship, recruited from all denominations, which is teaching the world how to combine spirituality with sociological and economic insight. The little volume ought to go into the libraries of ministers and theological seminaries as an example of sermon building out of present day material. People generally think of sermons as dry and uninteresting. But these discourses are as attractive as the live editorials in our favorite newspaper. If you have ever doubted whether a preacher can have interests like your own; if you were ever tempted to think that all gentlemen of the cloth are pre-occupied with matters that have no concern for practical folks; read the sermon called "The Middle Estate," or the one-headed "Goodbye to Glory." We cull a few sentences from these though provoking homilies, as samples of what the volume contains:

Abject poverty and abounding wealth; the very poor and the very rich;—how shall we account for such inequalities, such disparities, such extremes? Explanations are numerous, and the causes given are many and diverse.

Time was when many planted the issue squarely with God. They said: "It is God's will that some be poor and others rich. It is not society's fault; it is God's decree." Not very many hold to such a view today. Such a belief is a gruesome travesty upon the interpretation of God that Jesus Christ brought into the world.

Others have explained these extremes by affirming it to be a question of sheer personality, of pluck, of persistence. The difference between men, they tell us, is the difference in will power, in ambition, in initiative, in industry. This view also leaves the issue with the Creator, though not so candidly and directly as the first.

Another group assures us that the trouble has its source in the mind. Some are poor because they think poverty. Others are rich because they think riches.

Still others hold that the fundamental cause of poverty is land monopoly, and that as free access to the soil is denied, poverty increases. This answer cuts deep, and it is encouraging to know that an increasing number of thoughtful persons are studying with profit the principles of the Singletax.

But whatever the reason or the cause, these inequalities are here. What forces may be confidently expected to work out the solution of this vexatious condition of society? The state, the school, the home, the church, must work it out together.

Our country faces a grave issue in the policy of preparedness, advocated by many of our political leaders. It has been our glory in the past that our dependence was not in forts, in battleships, or in soldiery, but in the spirit of democracy, justice, and liberty. The ideals of our fathers in this high regard may go aglimmering before the new policy of a great army and a mighty navy for American defense.

The hope of a people lies largely in the crystallization of sentiment against public and private sin, against corporate delinquencies. Agitators and reformers, even of the most radical type, are necessary. They are the John the Baptists, the Voices in the Wilderness, calling on the people to repent. Without such voices we should soon be undone, and Ichabod ("Goodbye to Glory") written largely over every institution.

Glory has departed from many a church once useful, once the centre of peace and power. Churches exist as a means to an end, and whenever they become self-centered, Ichabod is written over their thresholds.

Increasing numbers of clergymen are approaching the social problems of today in the spirit of these paragraphs. "The social question is at bottom a religious question," said Henry George. "The beneficent and far-reaching revolution at which we aim can be carried by nothing less than the religious conscience." Henry George was wiser than many of his disciples; and if the interest of ministers and church people in the social problem

continues to increase as it has during the last few years, we shall soon see the dawn of a new era. For the destiny of America is in the power of organized religion.

LOUIS WALLIS.

A BIOGRAPHY OF THE PRESIDENT.

Woodrow Wilson—the Man and His Work. By Prof. Henry Jones Ford. Published by D. Appleton & Co., N. Y. 1916. Price \$1.75.

Since entering public life, Woodrow Wilson has been subjected to more than the usual criticism. While Bryan deplors his concessions to militarism, Roosevelt depicts him as a molycoddle peace-at-any-price idiot. When Big Business views with alarm his friendship with the labor unions, the Socialists denounce his capitalistic tendencies. The hyphenated of the German variety, displeased with the failure to send an ultimatum to England, and the Anglo-Americans, disappointed at his disinclination to declare war on Germany, are equally relentless in attacking him as a coward, flunky, and traitor. Some have even gone as far as to suggest an impeachment.

By numerous and well-chosen extracts from writings and speeches, Prof. Ford shows the Wilsonian philosophy. He neither justifies nor condemns, but explains the facts. The public career of the president has been one of purposeful activity aiming at the solution of important social problems. The war has interrupted many of his plans, and has postponed reforms which, by this time, might have been in full operation. Though greatly handicapped, he has taken an active part in the details of legislation and has succeeded in promoting action and enforcing party discipline.

"Woodrow Wilson," says the author, "has set such a high standard of constitutional propriety, and he has established such cogent precedents, that the character of the Presidential office will be permanently affected. When the time comes for history to display the process, Woodrow Wilson's Administration will figure as the beginning of a new era."

It is not too much to hope that it will be an era of justice and peace.

HYMAN LEVINE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Studies in Democracy. By Julia H. Gulliver. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

True Principles of Freemasonry. By Melville Rosyn Grant. Published by Truth Publishing Co., Meridian, Mississippi. Price \$2.00.

Hygiene in Mexico. By Alberto J. Pani. Translated by Ernest L. de Gogorza. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price \$1.50.

Profit and Wages. By G. A. Kleene. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.25.

Thrift. By Bolton Hall. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

Henry Ford's Own Story. As told to Rose Wilder Lane. Published by Ellis O. Jones, Forest Hills, New York City. Price \$1.00 net.

Wage Earning and Education. By R. R. Lutz. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. Price 50 cents.

The Cleveland School Survey. By Leonard P. Ayres. Published by The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. Price 50 cents.

School Organization and Administration. By Leonard P. Ayres. The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. Price 25 cents.

Household Arts and School Lunches. By Alice C. Boughton. Published by The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. Price 25 cents.

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What Is An Internal Bath?

by R. W. BEAL

MUCH has been said and volumes have been written describing at length the many kinds of baths civilized man has indulged in from time to time. Every possible resource of the human mind has been brought into play to fashion new methods of bathing, but, strange as it may seem, the most important as well as the most beneficial of all baths, the "Internal Bath," has been given little thought. The reason for this is probably due to the fact that few people seem to realize the tremendous part that internal bathing plays in the acquiring and maintaining of health.

If you were to ask a dozen people to define an internal bath, you would have as many different definitions, and the probability is that not one of them would be correct. To avoid any misconception as to what constitutes an internal bath, let it be said that a hot water enema is no more an internal bath than a bill of fare is a dinner.

If it were possible and agreeable to take the great mass of thinking people to witness an average post mortem, the sights they would see and the things they would learn would prove of such lasting benefit and impress them so profoundly that further argument in favor of internal bathing would be unnecessary to convince them. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to do this, profitable as such an experience would doubtless prove to be. There is, then, only one other way to get this information into their hands, and that is, by acquainting them with such knowledge as will enable them to appreciate the value of this long-sought-for health producing necessity.

Few people realize what a very little thing is necessary sometimes to improve their physical condition. Also, they have almost no conception of how a little carelessness, indifference or neglect can be the fundamental cause of the most virulent disease. For instance, that universal disorder from which almost all humanity is suffering, known as "constipation," "auto-intoxication," "auto-infection," and a multitude of other terms, is not only curable but preventable through the consistent practice of internal bathing.

How many people realize that normal functioning of the bowels and a clean intestinal tract make it impossible to become sick? "Why man of today is only fifty per cent. efficient." Reduced to simple English, this means that most men are trying to do a man's portion of work on half a man's power. This applies equally to women.

That it is impossible to continue to do this indefinitely must be apparent to all. Nature never intended the delicate human organism to be operated on a hundred per cent. overload. A machine could not stand this and not break down and the body certainly cannot do more than a machine. There is entirely too much unnecessary and avoidable sickness in the world.

How many people can you name, including yourself, who are physically vigorous, healthy and strong? The number is appallingly small.

It is not a complex matter to keep in condition, but it takes a little time, and in these strenuous days people

have time to do everything else necessary for the attainment of happiness but the most essential thing of all, that of giving their bodies their proper care.

Would you believe that five to ten minutes of time devoted to systematic internal bathing can make you healthy and maintain your physical efficiency indefinitely? Granting that such a simple procedure as this will do what is claimed for it, is it not worth while to learn more about that which will accomplish this end? Internal bathing will do this, and it will do it for people of all ages and in all conditions of health and disease.

People don't seem to realize, strange to say, how important it is to keep the body free from accumulated body-waste poisons. Their doing so would prevent the absorption into the blood of the poisonous excretions of the body, and health would be the inevitable result.

If you would keep your blood pure, your heart normal, your eyes clear, your complexion clean, your mind keen, your blood pressure normal, your nerves relaxed and be able to enjoy the vigor of youth in your declining years, practice internal bathing and begin today.

Now, that your attention has been called to the importance of internal bathing, it may be that a number of questions will suggest themselves to your mind. You will probably want to know **WHAT** an internal bath is, **WHY** people should take them and the **WAY** to take them. These and countless other questions are all answered in a booklet entitled "**THE WHAT, THE WHY and THE WAY OF INTERNAL BATHING**," written by Doctor Chas. A. Tyrrell, the inventor of the "J. B. L. Cascade," whose lifelong study and research along this line make him the pre-eminent authority on this subject. Not only has internal bathing saved and prolonged Dr. Tyrrell's own life, but the lives of a multitude of hopeless individuals have been equally spared and prolonged. No book has ever been written containing such a vast amount of practical information to the business man, the worker, and the housewife; all that is necessary to secure this book is to write to Dr. Chas. A. Tyrrell at Number 134 West 65th Street, New York City, and mention having read this article in **THE PUBLIC**, and same will be immediately mailed to you free of all cost or obligation.

Perhaps you realize now, more than ever, the truth of these statements, and if the reading of this article will result in a proper appreciation on your part of the value of internal bathing, it will have served its purpose. What you will want to do now is to avail yourself of the opportunity for learning more about the subject, and your writing for this book will give you that information. Do not put off doing this, but *send for the book now*, while the matter is fresh in your mind.

"Procrastination is the thief of time." A thief is one who steals something. Don't allow procrastination to cheat you out of your opportunity to get this valuable information which is free for the asking. If you would be natural, be healthy. It is unnatural to be sick. Why be unnatural when it is such a simple thing to be well?

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Wish you great success in the East, but you can hardly make a better paper than THE PUBLIC has been. Even if you make it worse, it will still be better than most.

ROBERT SEIBERT, ST. PAUL, MINN.

I read all the sensible things I can get hold of but I would not today trade THE PUBLIC for all the others. It is more nearly the real thing in my opinion than all of them combined.

E. T. HARTMAN, BOSTON, MASS.

I often think of Mark Twain's parody, "Those Annual Bills," but this bill for my PUBLIC is always received with a welcome and paid with pleasure. If I have in any measure aided in holding up the hands of THE PUBLIC, the democratic service it can render (and I cannot) is my sufficient compensation.

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