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EDITORIAL

Mediation Before War.

It is hard to reconcile Secretary of State Lansing's refusal to consider offers of mediation with President Wilson's declaration to the New York Press Club that war is only a last resort. If President Wilson is right then mediation must first be tried in regard to whatever cause for war may exist. Should Secretary Lansing adhere to his unreasonable attitude, consistency would require that the President overrule him. S. D.



Hostages to Fortune.

President Wilson has given convincing proof that he is a peace man. His judgment may have been at fault at various times and he may have taken the wrong action to secure the desired result; but there can be no doubt that he stands for peace. Whether he should have leaned more toward the yielding—if not non-resisting—policy of Mr. Bryan, will always be a question of opinion among the Pacifists themselves; for there are two classes of peace people, the sentimentalists, of whom Mr. Bryan is fairly representative, and the rationalists, of whom Norman Angell is a type. Both are whole-heartedly working for peace, but they differ as to methods. The President believes that conditions may arise where force must be used in order to maintain order; but he has rigidly defined the limitations within which that force may legitimately be used. When he declared that the rights of Americans were coincident with the rights of humanity he drew the hard and fast line that separates the Pacifists from the Militarists. The Militarist cannot conceive of a successful foreign war that does not conclude with an accession of territory and the payment of an indemnity. The rational Pacifist may admit that conditions can arise in which war is unavoidable, except by increasing the evil conditions; but he maintains that, granted such an unavoidable war, it must conclude with the same scrupulous regard for the rights of humanity that is exercised by civil courts.

But one man, even though he be a President, no more keeps the peace than one swallow makes a summer. Notwithstanding President Wilson's evident desire for peace, he may unwittingly put himself in a position where his hand will be forced by a subordinate. It will be recalled how nearly we came to blows with Mexico over the ultimatum of an indiscreet admiral. So highly wrought was public opinion at the time that had not the President seized Vera Cruz, Congress would probably have taken the matter out of his hands, and voted intervention. A similar crisis has risen over the clash of troops in Mexico. American soldiers, engaged in the laudable task of suppressing lawlessness, were fired upon by troops of the Mexican government, resulting in a number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. Since it is inconceivable that a friendly government should hold our soldiers' prisoners, war depended upon whether or not the men were released. There can be no doubt that in the present high tension of the public mind the militarist sentiment of the country would have compelled the use of force, had not the men been surrendered. Yet it is not known who was at fault at Carrizal. There are already evidences to indicate that the American officer was the aggressor, and that the Mexican officer was within his rights in standing his ground.



The lesson to be drawn from the incidents at Tampico and at Carrizal point to the unwisdom of permitting matters to drift into such conditions that the act of a subordinate, even of an army captain in charge of seventy-six men, may precipitate war. It will be granted by all fair-minded persons, that the difficulty of handling the Mexican matter in such a manner as to secure justice for that country as well as our own is very great. The irritation caused by the semi-warfare along the border has been well-nigh intolerable; but the very fact of this wrought-up passion counsels care in the handling of troops. No subordinate officer should be placed in a position where his temper or his lack of comprehensive judgment can precipitate a conflict. President Wilson has avoided the war that a Militarist president would long ago have started, and he has kept out of a war that would have been forced by public opinion upon a Pacifist president; but he is giving hostages to the god of war so long as he permits American troops to remain in Mexico, contrary to the wishes of the Mexican government. The question of war should not hang upon the act of an indiscreet army officer. We can trust the President's judgment in determining international equity; but his judgment and the interests of

humanity should not depend upon the acts of these irresponsible subordinates either in the Mexican or in our own army. Now that both sides have looked into the muzzles of their opponent's guns, and found them to be loaded, they should get out of shooting range of each other as quickly as possible. If war should come it will be ended with mediation; let mediation take place now, and there will be no war. S. C.



Where Jingoism Belongs.

Should war come, common decency requires that the jingoism, who have urged it, be put in the places of greatest hardship and danger. Common decency also requires that these should seek, rather than try to evade such disposition of themselves. The places of greatest hardship and danger are not assigned to officers, but to privates. This fact should be impressed upon one of these jingoism, Colonel Roosevelt, who has had the bad taste to seek an officer's commission in command of a body of volunteers to be raised by himself. It should be impressed upon Robert McCormick, part owner of the jingo Chicago Tribune, who has gone with a militia regiment to which he belongs, not as a private, but in the safer and easier capacity of major. It should be impressed on William Randolph Hearst and more of the same kind, who are urging that others be sent to fight but show no disposition to go themselves in any capacity. Since some of the men who make wars want to shove on others the greatest hardships, suffering and dangers, why should not these others decline? S. D.



No Irresponsible Soldiers Needed.

The intimation given out at Washington that Mr. Roosevelt's offer to raise a division of volunteers and enter the war as a major general will not be accepted, is most welcome news. War is too serious a thing to be made the plaything of politicians, adventurers, and swashbucklers. Whatever may be Mr. Roosevelt's purpose, and however disinterested his motives, he has shown himself repeatedly to lack discretion; and the "round robin" incident in the Spanish war shows how little regard he has for the judgment of his superiors. Judging from his insubordination as a colonel, only the imagination can conceive the lengths to which he would go as a major general. War brings to the front enough unfit commanders at best; there is no excuse for appointing those who are already known. Human life is too precious to be used in turning colonels into generals. S. C.

A Personally Conducted Party.

In these days of personally conducted tours, trips, camps, shopping parties, and what not, it is only fitting that we should have personally conducted political parties. Such was the Progressive party. It was personally conducted from its cradle to its grave by Mr. Roosevelt; and with his usual slap-dash way of doing things, he accomplished the feat in the record time of four years. Heretofore, the life of a political organization that has risen to the dignity of a "third party" has extended over at least two elections; sometimes it has lived through a number of campaigns. But Mr. Roosevelt's personally conducted party, which rose to the dignity of dividing the honors with the Republican party at the first election, succumbed before the second.



Politics is not without its humorous—as well as its pathetic—side. And many a career that goes up like a rocket comes down like a stick. The fervor with which the Progressive party was started, its resort to religious songs, its high professions, and its exalted ideals, swept into its ranks many earnest-minded men and women who had grown heart-sick over the failures of the Republican and Democratic parties. But along with these justice-loving citizens came the self-seeking politicians who sought to use this moral strength for their own ends. And chief among these was Mr. Roosevelt. Not that Mr. Roosevelt was conscious of the enormity of his offense, for his is a mind that easily persuades itself of the righteousness of its desires; but he never, from first to last, was able to distinguish the difference between the needs of his country and the wants of Theodore Roosevelt.



Had Mr. Roosevelt believed in the moral purposes of the Progressive party, as its earnest men and women did, had he given to another the service he devoted to his own fortunes, the party might have lived and reached predominance at the expense of one or the other of the older parties. But his conduct during the following four years displayed throughout that colossal selfishness that marked the career of Napoleon. He trampled upon the rights of those whose devotion had given the party vitality; and he sacrificed every distinctive thing for which he contended four years ago for the sake of securing the Republican nomination. There was not a moment during the life of the Progressive convention when it was a self-sustaining and independent political body. Mr. Roosevelt's hand never relaxed its grip. The prin-

ciples that had generated the enthusiasm of the first campaign and aroused the hopes for a better day were thrown into the discard, and the most craven bid made, not for Republican approval of Progressive principles, but for the Republican nomination of Theodore Roosevelt upon whatever platform it chose to write.



Men and women will never agree in their estimate of Mr. Roosevelt. Hero worshipers do not reason; they feel. Such of them as remain in that hypnotic state will doubtless follow him into the ranks of the Republican party, and, submitting themselves to the leadership of the very men against whom they rebelled four years ago, and forgetting the principles to which they then pledged themselves, will work for the success of that party. But those whose minds have been awakened to reason and who see the trick that has been played upon them, will repudiate Mr. Roosevelt's action and do what they can to minimize the effect of his betrayal. Republicans have reason to be proud of their candidate; but Progressives, who were Progressives on principle, have every reason for opposing the unholy combination made possible by sacrificing the constructive social program of four years ago.

s. c.



Payment of Enlisted Employees.

The claim that all employers of militiamen, called into service, should continue the salaries of these men seems based on the idea that all employers get such enormous profits that they can easily afford the extravagance. In some cases this is undoubtedly true. It is probably the case with those large public service corporations and other monopolistic enterprises, which have been so quick to announce their willingness to promise such liberal treatment of enlisted employees. That, moreover, may be taken as evidence of power, conferred by privilege, to get extraordinary profits. But the ordinary employer has trouble enough to make ends meet. Enjoying no special advantage he is in no condition to maintain prices beyond what competition may allow, and consequently has no surplus profit to expend for salaries to men who no longer work for him. If he gets any benefit at all from maintaining of the militia, that, like all other public services, has helped to keep up the value of the land on which he lives and does business. He is consequently paying for this service in ground rent. Taxation of this ground rent would be the proper way to meet all expenses incurred in providing the service. Owing to public neglect that method has

not been adopted, but that does not justify censure of those employers who have done nothing to stir up war feeling and now refuse to contribute individually towards a need for which they are not responsible.

S. D.



History Again Repeats Itself.

History is filled with names of persons honored for great and unselfish acts which brought upon them legal penalties. It is also filled with censure of the mighty ones who let these penalties be inflicted. Carl Liebknecht enduring his prison sentence may rest assured that there is a far higher and more honorable place in history due him than to powerful William Hohenzollern.

S. D.



Why Add to the Disgrace?

Responsibility for the death sentence on Roger Casement may perhaps be placed on the prevailing belief that a barbarous law, which still disgraces the statute book, is entitled to obedience and respect. But it will not be a barbarous law, but barbarous men, who will be responsible should the sentence be carried out. The Dublin executions undoubtedly constitute a sufficient disgrace for England without any addition thereto.

S. D.



A Welcome Reform.

At last a halt on postal censorship has been called by the United States Senate. Through the efforts of Senators La Follette and Norris a vicious clause was eliminated from the postal department appropriation bill that would have strengthened this evil, and a provision inserted allowing appeal to the courts from decisions of bureaucratic officials against publications. At present such decisions are practically sentences of death against the papers thus arbitrarily barred from the mails. Under the Senate bill, if concurred in by the House, it will be possible for an accused publisher to get a hearing in court. This is a reform which has been long in coming, and is needed today worse than ever.



Chicago's "Will."

The majority of Chicago's Board of Education has given a new construction to the city's motto "I will." Without changing the words the members have changed the meaning from an expression of virile determination to one of slavish submission. So when the order came for arbitrary dismissal of 48 efficient teachers, each one of nine members responded "I will" and meekly obeyed. It is encouraging to note that there are still enough

Chicagoans who stand for the true meaning of the motto to offer determined resistance to this attack on the public schools.

S. D.



Unemployment Insurance.

The problem of involuntary unemployment is being studied by the State Superintendent of Insurance of Illinois, Mr. Rufus M. Potts. Mr. Potts' investigations have led him far enough to realize the need of measures for relief. So far he has gone no further than to advocate a system of insurance against unemployment. However, no insurance system is sound which fails to insist on elimination, to the greatest possible extent, of all removable causes of the evil insured against. As a fire insurance company will demand, before issuing a policy, that certain conditions be complied with to render a fire loss improbable, so must an unemployment insurance agency, to be successful, demand that involuntary unemployment be first made improbable except as the result of an unforeseen accident. That requires obedience to economic laws, and withholding of insurance whenever the State enacts legislation in disregard of them.



It would be safer to insure a powder factory against an explosion than for any agency, under existing economic conditions, to extend to all workers insurance against involuntary unemployment. This must be the case so long as we allow conditions to exist which make inevitable the periodical recurrence of panics and hard times. There must be an era of industrial depression when land values have become so inflated that it is impossible to carry on production at a profit. When such a depression occurs, it must remain either until land values have sunk sufficiently to once more encourage production, or until new methods of production make it possible to pay high land values without loss. No scheme of universal unemployment insurance can succeed while the menace of land speculation remains uninterfered with. The first step toward institution of such a system must be one that will put an end to withholding of land from use. This can be done by concentrating all taxes on land values. Without some such measure, insurance of all against involuntary unemployment would help inflation of land values and hasten a breakdown.

S. D.



Shifting a Land Value Tax.

The fact that a tax on land values is one that can be shifted is admitted by all economists of

standing, from the days of Adam Smith to the present time, including many who do not accept the Singletax philosophy. The reason why this is so is clear. Taxes on labor products can be shifted because they check production, reduce supply and thus make possible an increase in price. A tax on land values, however, cannot affect land in this way, since the supply is fixed. It makes it unprofitable to withhold land from use, thus increases the amount of land on the market and consequently tends to force the price down. The objection that the Singletax might be shifted is one of many anticipated and refuted by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," as well as by many other writers and speakers. As a result only an occasional objector now presents such an argument. One of these is the Pontiac, Illinois, Leader, which states in its issue of June 20:

Any additional burden placed upon the land would be made up by the landlord in extra rent, and in the end the occupier of the premises might pay more tax than he does under the present system. Going to the country the theory of the Singletaxers is that increased taxes on the farm land will have a tendency to reduce the price of land per acre on account of the heavier burdens of taxation, thus throwing it upon the market for sale division into smaller tracts and to the poorer people. The tenant would have no tax to pay upon his livestock or grain or farming implements and the landlord would be called upon to bear that burden. Here again the theorist fails to grasp the fact that instead of the landlord reducing the price of his land he would immediately exact a higher rate of rent from the tenant to make up for the increased burden upon him in the land tax.

The Leader does not explain how the owner of a vacant lot or a vacant farm is going to reimburse himself for the higher tax. The fact that the land is vacant indicates that the owner already wants more for its use than anyone is willing to pay. He could gain nothing by increasing his demands. The only way he could get rid of the burden due to increased land value taxation, with no other change in conditions, would be to induce someone to use the land. To do that he would have to put it on the market at a reduced price. This must have a depressing effect on land values generally. Has the Leader taken that into consideration?

S. D.

The greater a man's freedom the more does he become dependent on himself, and well-disposed toward others.—Wilhelm von Humboldt.

When the object is to raise the permanent condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects; they produce no effect at all.—John Stuart Mill.

JOSEPH LEGGETT.

Joseph Leggett died in San Francisco on June 10. He was a pioneer in the group of men and women that the work of Henry George has cemented in a world wide movement that seeks a freedom greater than human society has as yet attained.

Joseph Leggett was a democrat. That is, one who believes that each man and woman should be allowed to do as he or she shall will in private matters, and that in public relations the majority not only may, but must, rule. He found that the Singletax fits into this faith with absolute precision, and for forty-five years has stood a stalwart champion of this doctrine, patient, able, unafraid, with no shade of pessimism, bitterness, intolerance or viciousness.

His intellect was too clear not to detect hypocrisy, but his nature was too kindly to respond by stooping to like action. He was a cogent writer, a robust disputant, a vigorous fighter, but ever generous in warfare.

At different times Mr. Leggett was called upon to perform the duties of public office, and in this relation enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his official associates and all of those with whom his duties brought him in contact.

He was born near Dublin, in Ireland, and was one of the great host that Ireland has sent to the far corners of the earth, and whose mission—not always fulfilled—has been to preach freedom for mankind.

Leggett has fought the good fight. He has kept the faith.

His vision was as wide as humanity, and few if any could see more clearly the chain of events that leads through much darkness to an ever brighter day, and of all Singletaxers who knew, and knew of him, none will hold other than a kindly thought of Joseph Leggett.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

The invention of commerce has arisen since governments began, and is the greatest approach toward universal civilization that has yet been made by any means not immediately flowing from moral principles.—Thomas Paine.

Your Constitution was made twenty-five years ago. It has been found to be a practical impossibility to amend that document. You are ruled by the dead hand. Men who have passed away have determined for you a form of government which you are unable to change. It does not lie in the power of anyone to make a good State Constitution. No good State Constitution was ever made. Good Constitutions have to grow. They are a matter of development. And a Constitution that can not be amended can not grow.—Herbert S. Bigelow.

ON THE MATTER OF "STEPPING IN"

In seeking the answer to his query as to whether we, as a people, have reached the point where we may step in to meddle in territory and with people not our own, and trust ourselves to step out again at the right time, if President Wilson will turn to consider the attitude of those hitherto participating in and urging such interventions, he will find the answer clearly writ and that in the negative. We have, as a whole, attained no such ethical altitude. Nominally, in the "cause of humanity," our ridding Cuba of the "tyrannical domination of Spain" was in reality at the instigation of selfish predatory interests of our own which have been exploiting the people of Cuba ever since, whatever may be the incidental improvements in civic hygiene and the other contributions to a lop-sided form of civilization. Sub rosa, this was not only known at the time, but the interference was anticipated before the battleship *Maine* entered the harbor of Havana, where the propriety of its presence was at least doubtful. A full year in advance of the declaration of war against Spain, Michael J. Dady, at that time a prominent Republican politician and wealthy contractor, was negotiating to let sub-contracts of a very profitable character to favored ones, to be paid for of course by the people of Cuba ultimately, and to be undertaken—after the intervention "in the cause of humanity."

Cuba has maintained and is maintaining a pseudo government of its own, and political conditions are superficially better for the time than they were prior to the intervention, but if any suppose that ultimately the people of Cuba or the "cause of humanity" will have been well served by intervention at the behest of those large exploiters who really stand always behind such aggression, they have but to study the condition of the masses of people in Cuba—and bide their time for the logical outcome.

Turning to the Philippines, we find an acquisition of territory under conditions of doubtful social and economic integrity. We are holding, at extravagant cost and vast risk, a country to which our title is not good. We are controlling a foreign people in their own land. At great expense very considerable improvements have been effected—while vast needs at home are overlooked. All that might reasonably be expected of us "in the cause of humanity," as commonly measured, has been accomplished. Do we, then, "step out?" Do we retire from a land in which, whatever our accomplishments, we are not wanted? Every ef-

fort to have us do so is thwarted. Theoretically, in the minds of those objecting to our retirement, the Filipinos will never be qualified to own and control their own country, and, thus far, that is the attitude of our nation in apparently self-conferred rank of superiority. The crystallization of this sentiment, so far as it comes into view, is to be found in the attitude of those Americans who, through a policy of a more democratic administration, are being relieved of their sinecures and soft berths and sent home. Spurred on by those who wish to exploit the Philippine people, and by those in whose narrowed purview all they who are different must necessarily be inferior, and abetted by their own selfishness, these American office holders in the Philippines fairly burst with indignation over the termination of their graft. It is difficult for them to find words in which to adequately express their hatred of an administration which wishes to do simple justice to the Philippine people. Many of these office holders and governmental employes have held soft places at double, treble, or quadruple the salaries that they had ever received in the United States, or ever will. They have been the beneficiaries of an injustice to the Filipinos for three or four to fifteen years or more, a period sufficiently long to develop a sort of diluted sense of superior, not to say divine right. It does not take long for the man who is receiving that to which he is not entitled to evolve that idea of superiority. In some instances, both husband and wife have been on the pay rolls at high salaries in the public offices in the Philippines. Filipino servants have been convenient, inexpensive, and easily made to "knuckle." It requires character much above the average to relinquish a status so enjoyable and do it philosophically. Office holders as a rule are not above the average. The enforced termination of such agreeable lines calls forth vituperative denunciation of the removing power. But, back of that, and more significant, if President Wilson seeks an answer to his query, these denunciations find ready endorsement and are too widely echoed, for one reason or another, by too many people. However lofty and excellent may be the purpose of the administration, or of those who are democratically inclined, we may not yet trust ourselves to "step in" in the "cause of humanity" and step out at the right time, and we will be doing ill to voluntarily spread too great temptation for ourselves.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.



Persecution is really want of faith in our creed.—Wendell Phillips.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HOW MEXICANS FEEL.

Monterey, Mexico, June 17, 1916.

I cannot but thank The Public for its continued efforts for peace on the American continent and in behalf of true liberty in Mexico. Some may say that I feel in sympathy with this paper simply because it speaks favorably towards a political party in this country to which I belong. But I wish to explain that I am not a Carranzista, but have studiously kept away from all political tangles, as my work as a teacher and Christian missionary would thereby be hampered in after years.

For the sake of American readers I wish to say how we all feel down here towards American punitive expeditions in our territory. This is a general feeling among all classes and people of all political creeds. We feel that they can do nothing and therefore have no business in Mexico. They only help to irritate and exasperate everybody.

Just before Villa's raid into Columbus, we had begun to experience great relief. There were less difficulties in the circulation of our currency and we began to see a ray of hope after years of struggle. Then, with the news of the raid, something like a chill ran throughout business in the country and hard times came in as never before. Then came one raid after another in rapid succession and the consequent punitive expeditions. Now we see the fretting of Carranza administration under most adverse circumstances, the sighing of the Mexican people under conditions unbearable, and the stern rebuke of the administration in Washington for being told to withdraw the American soldiers from Mexico.

It seems incredible that Villa and his financiers should have succeeded to such an extent in creating dissatisfaction between the power whose recognition they failed to obtain and their more successful rival, to such an extent that they have rendered null and void all the success of the latter. Can it be that no possible good understanding can exist between Mr. Wilson and the men who surround him on the one hand and Carranza and his best followers on the other? I admit and we all know down here that a good proportion of Carranza's strongest adherents may have proved undesirable citizens in any honest commonwealth, and that they are the heaviest weight which drags behind the group of men who have made the revolution a fact. They are not to be social reformers in any sense, nor do they wish to do anything for true liberty in this country, being only impelled by the principle of "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

But which is most advisable? To destroy them, destroying Carranza as well and all the best the revolution has produced, making most imminent a return of the ancient regime with all its land-graft, clericalism and oppression? Or to strengthen Carranza and the best elements among revolutionaries, those who stand by the principle of honesty in government and freedom for the people, so that they may master the situation, beat the dishonest

ones into submission and carry on true reforms in this country?

The answer is obvious. How much would I give for the possibility of this need of ours being brought home and forcefully presented to the men who at present control our destiny from Washington, D. C.!

E. S. WESTRUP.



LAND VALUES IN DETROIT.

Detroit, June 30, 1916.

In the Public of June 9 I am quoted in a manner somewhat to misrepresent what I really said, with regard to the effect of the Ford profit sharing scheme upon real estate values in Detroit. You have it substantially correct, that within a week after the announcement of the Ford profit sharing scheme land values in Detroit were increased fifty million dollars, but my authority for the statement did not come from the head of the Ford "sociological" educational department, nor anyone else connected with the plant. It is news to them, and doubtless interesting, but they cannot be expected to accept responsibility for either the fact or the statement. Dr. S. S. Marquis does say that \$5 a day does not go much, if any, further than \$3 a day went three to five years ago, but he does not feel that this is true alone of Detroit nor that the Ford company is in anyway responsible.

The statements I made were given out extemporaneously at a meeting of the Taylor Society in Ann Arbor, May 13. There were no reporters present, and no stenographer and I expressly stated that I was not speaking for publication, because I had not at that time secured permission to quote Dr. Marquis for publication. How they got it into print I don't know.

It is true, however, that the picturesque illustration of a common fact, that land owners capitalize any increased earning power of labor, brought the single tax remedy before me in such a way that I could no longer refuse to see it. I am now engaged in an earnest study of single tax literature, especially Mr. Post's "Taxation of Land Values," but trust that no reader of The Public will engage me in correspondence on a subject on which I am not yet fitted to go into details.

Need I say that it is impossible to prove that the increased values in Detroit the week after the announcement of the Ford scheme amounted exactly to fifty million dollars? It could not be proved in court, so to speak, unless all Detroit property changed hands twice within a week. But on the basis of the frenzied selling actually transacted it figures conservatively that amount. One man alone speedily cleared a million dollars on Ford subdivisions. Another man recently made \$700,000 on the sale of a tract of land near the Ford tractor plant in Dearborn. He had offered it for sale with no takers, at a price \$700,000 under what he got immediately after the announcement that Ford was to erect a new plant. The gentleman will pardon me, I hope, but that \$700,000 belongs to the public. The sad part of it is that the people who bought the land from him expect to get a still further increment, which, it appears, they will collect mainly from Ford workmen.

BOYD FISHER,

PREPAREDNESS IN LOS ANGELES.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 23, 1916.

A situation has developed here that is typical of what is happening in other large cities of the country. It demonstrates that the preparedness craze is largely artificial and manufactured by interested individuals.

The Los Angeles preparedness parade was similar to those of other cities, in that coercion and intimidation were employed to make a showing. A few days after the blare of trumpets and flourishing of banners ceased it was found almost impossible to get recruits enough for the alleged Mexican emergency. This is admitted by General Robert Wankowski, in charge of the militia recruiting.

A week ago we had a preparedness parade and 70,000 people were in line. Today we are crying for recruits. Wouldn't the people of Los Angeles feel proud if their regiment were prevented from going to the border because of an insufficient enlistment? Wouldn't it speak well for our civic spirit?

I'm in the service of the United States government now, and as a consequence must be careful what I say, but this scarcity of recruits is a thing I cannot understand. The populace stands on the sidewalk and cheers and yells when the boys go marching by, but they won't come out and enlist.

The explanation of this is not so hard as General Wankowski affects to believe. The preparedness parade was not an honest expression of the attitude of the people of Los Angeles. The patriots, so-called, were for the most part self-seekers. The department stores found the parade an excellent opportunity for advertising. Men, women and girl clerks were ordered to march on the penalty of losing their situations. One of the large department stores posted a notice that no exceptions would be made to marching unless it were physical incapacity. The most liberal of the stores told its employes that they would be penalized with work in the basement if they failed to parade. Bullock's, the Fifth street store, Hamburger's, Hales and others appeared with large representation. The papers printed pictures of the department store marchers the next day, with the usual earmarks of advertising for the stores. Manufacturing establishments, hotels, newspapers and theaters enforced marching on their employes. In fact, the coercion was so patent in Los Angeles that there was little enthusiasm among the spectators and the reaction was noticeable among marchers and watchers alike. By actual count of two experts who make a business of numbering marchers there were 39,500 in line. Yet the parade managers gave 70,000 as the official total, and the newspapers all used this figure.

Many Los Angeles people have had their eyes opened by the preparedness parade. It has in fact defeated its own purpose. The commercialism of it has been demonstrated forcibly.

Let the preparedness advocates continue their activity in the same way a short time longer. They will succeed in making the American people fear that the stars and stripes no longer represent freedom, but rather intimidation and slavery—with men and women who dare not call their souls their own joining in a demonstration against their will to save their jobs.

ZOE PARKER HOFFMAN.

ANOTHER CONSCRIPT PARADE.

St. Joseph, Mo., June 29, 1916.

The "Preparedness" parade came off here yesterday under fair skies but tropical heat. Big business closed shops and factories and stores at noon. There were perhaps 5,000 in line, although the kept press claimed as high as 15,000. From all quarters today come reports of discharge of employes for refusal to march. The big retail stores "fired" girls who would not brave the scorching pavements for hours. The factories fired men who would not wear the collar of the corporation. The railroad officials made their fiats plain, and in some instances went outside their proper sphere of influence to gather recruits. Swift & Co. herded their motley crowd of different nationalities like so many cattle. Bands of music from country towns participated—to the public represented as the spontaneous expression of the rural sentiment for "preparedness," but they were really hired to come by money at the disposal of the St. Joseph promoters of patriotism. Over and over again men and women in the line of march would call to spectators, "I'm not marching because I want to!"

Altogether, to one who knew what forces were behind it, it was a most humiliating spectacle. It was patriotism for the other fellow—a conscript parade—which throttles what is finest, and leaves a feeling of anarchy and disgust at the powers back of it all. Even city and county officials had their walking orders and today their chief consolation is that their "bosses" are themselves "used up" for some time because of their recklessness in marching, too. "What does it all mean?" more than one man asked. I see in it the strangle-hold of Wall Street, radiating out into the country through bank connections, chamber of commerce bodies and other pliable channels to disintegrate labor and other organizations and glorify dividends. "Preparedness" is the shibboleth of the worst band of buccaneers that ever infested our country. Benedict Arnold was a patriot of the first order when compared with them. And the young men who are fooled into enlistment by such spectacles as yesterday will later confess to being tenderfoots indeed.

AN OBSERVER.



The barbarism which overwhelmed Rome came not from without, but from within. It was the necessary product of the system which had substituted slaves and coloni for the independent husbandmen of Italy and carved the provinces into estates of senatorial families.—Henry George.



Fortunately for liberty, there is no oppressive respect for law. Men, to be sure, glibly talk about Law, but what are the facts? What do men do when the law and the pocket collide? Which is the stronger influence—economic interest or the shaltnots of the Law? Let the corporations and trusts answer. They are vehement upholders of the law—at the expense of union labor, for example. Let the violent strikers and their sympathizers answer. These, too, want plenty of law—for the capitalists. Let the tariff-dodging importers answer, the adulterators of foods, and so on, and so on.—Benjamin R. Tucker.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Monday, July 3, 1916.

Congressional Doings.

Chairman Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee reported on July 1 the new revenue measure. It allows present income tax exemptions to remain, increases from 1 per cent to 2 per cent, the tax on incomes from the exemption limit to \$20,000, and levies the following surtax on greater incomes:

Incomes.	Rate per cent.
\$20,000 to \$40,000.....	1
\$40,000 to \$60,000.....	2
\$60,000 to \$80,000.....	3
\$80,000 to \$100,000.....	4
\$100,000 to \$150,000.....	5
\$150,000 to \$200,000.....	6
\$20,000 to \$250,000.....	7
\$250,000 to \$300,000.....	8
\$300,000 to \$500,000.....	9
\$500,000 and all over.....	10

Included in the income tax are incomes of non-resident aliens derived in the United States. Inheritance taxes are provided on all estates over \$50,000 as follows:

Amount of estate taxed.	Rate per cent.
\$50,000	1
\$50,000 to \$150,000.....	2
\$150,000 to \$250,000.....	3
\$250,000 to \$450,000.....	4
All over \$450,000.....	5

Stamp taxes provided in the war revenue act are repealed.

Another section provides a tax on war munitions. Ten per cent of the net profits of persons or corporations engaged in munitions manufacture is to be exempt. The tax, then, in addition to the regular income tax, is to be on gunpowder, with 10 per cent of the income exempt, a tax of 5 per cent on all net profits up to \$1,000,000, and 8 per cent on all over \$1,000,000. On cartridges, projectiles, shells and firearms of all descriptions, from small arms to 42-centimeter guns, a tax of 2 per cent is levied on net profits up to \$250,000; 3 per cent on profits between \$250,000 and \$500,000; 4 per cent on profits from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, and 5 per cent on profits in excess of \$1,000,000. A tax of 1 per cent is also levied on profits in excess of \$25,000 and below \$10,000,000 of persons or corporations engaged in ore mining and smelting, and of 1½ per cent on all in excess of \$10,000,000. [See current volume, page 610.]

Further provisions are for a "non-partisan" tariff commission of six members, with power to investigate and recommend. Ad valorem and specific duties on dyestuffs are provided in addition to the present Underwood law duties, which are already 10 per cent higher than those in the Payne-Aldrich act. Raw materials entering into the manufacture of dyes are placed on the free list. Another provision renders unlawful the selling of imported articles in the United States at a lower price than in the place of production.



Among important measures acted on was an amendment to the postal appropriation bill in the Senate, eliminating a section that would have allowed power to the Postmaster General to discriminate between publications. Under the terms of the eliminated section he might have ordered one journal to go by freight and a competitor by fast mail. This was objected to on the ground that it would strengthen the postal censorship. Amendments offered by Senators La Follette and Norris were adopted which not only forbid discrimination by the Postmaster General between publishers of the same class, but further give to publishers the right to appeal to the courts against administrative orders of the Postmaster General and such appeal automatically sets aside such orders until the courts have passed upon them.



The conference report on the bill federalizing the militia was adopted by the House on June 29. It eliminates the \$1,000,000 provision for payment of dependent families of guardsmen. On June 30 Congressman Hay introduced a bill to appropriate \$2,000,000 for such dependents. The House agreed on June 28 to the conference report on the good roads bill, appropriating \$85,000,000 for the purpose.



President Wilson and Mexico.

President Wilson's speech at the banquet of the New York Press Club on the 30th is taken to indicate his views on Mexico. Speaking of preparedness, he said:

Of course it is our duty to prepare this nation to take care of its honor and of its institutions. Why debate any part of that, except the detail, except the plan itself, which is always debatable?

Of course it is the duty of the government, which it will never overlook, to defend the territory and people of this country. It goes without saying that it is the duty of the administration to have constantly in mind with the utmost sensitiveness every point of national honor.

But, gentlemen, after you have said and accepted these obvious things, your program of action is still to be formed. When will you act and how will you act?

The easiest thing is to strike. The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action, but before a man really

conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the nation, he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it.

Do you think the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful nation like this against a weak and destructive neighbor would reflect distinction upon the annals of the United States?

Do you think that it is our duty to carry self-defense to a point of dictation into the affairs of another people? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history.

And I want you to know how fully I realize whose servant I am. I do not own the government of the United States even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own passions. I have no right to express my own ambitions for the development of America, if those ambitions are not coincident with the ambitions of the nation itself.

And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States. . . .

I am for the time being the spokesman of such people, gentlemen. I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces. We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said that as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history he had to record the judgment that force had never accomplished anything that was permanent.

Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent. I venture to say, in the great struggle which is going on on the other side of the sea. The permanent things will be accomplished afterward, when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues, and the only thing that will hold the world steady is this same silent, insistent, all-powerful opinion of mankind.

Force can sometimes hold things steady until opinion has time to form, but no force that was ever exerted except in response to that opinion was ever a conquering and predominant force.

So, gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great nation.

There are some gentlemen who are under the delusion that the power of a nation comes from the top. It does not. It comes from the bottom. . . .

Look for your rulers of the future! Can you pick out the families that are to produce them? Can you pick out the localities that are going to produce them?

You have heard what has been said about Abraham Lincoln. It is singular how touching every reference to Abraham Lincoln is. It always makes you feel that you wish you had been there to help him

in some fashion to fight the battles that he was fighting sometimes almost alone.

And could you have predicted, had you seen Abraham Lincoln's birth and boyhood, where that great ruling figure of the world was going to spring from?

So, gentlemen, I have not come here tonight to do anything but remind you that you do not constitute the United States, that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name America.



Militiamen Coerced Into Federalization.

News dispatches from various places tell of great reluctance on the part of militiamen to enter the federal service for the purpose of waging war on Mexico. A dispatch from Iowa City, Iowa, of June 28 says:

Refusal of 196 out of 308 members of the First squadron of the First Iowa Cavalry to take the new oath for service in the Federal army in Mexico resulted in the disruption of the cavalry force.

One of the same date from Des Moines states:

Because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and consent to fight on the Mexican border five privates in Company L of Council Bluffs were stripped of their uniforms and drummed out of camp in disgrace. Armed with a brush and a bottle of iodine, one guardsman painted a huge yellow streak on the first deserter's back. The remaining four were given similar decorations.

Another of the same day from Harrisburg, Pa., says:

Comment on reports from Camp Brumbaugh that many of the guardsmen declined to take the new Federal oath is refused at the adjutant general's department. Stories current here are of the wildest character. Some of the reports are that entire companies refused to be sworn into federal service. Questioning of guardsmen who visit this city shows that a number refused, basing their refusal on excellent domestic reasons.

A dispatch from Springfield, Ill., of June 27 says:

Of the men in Battery C twelve declined to be mustered into the federal service. Of Battery B six, of Battery E three and of Battery F three.

According to Captain Roy B. Staver, the twelve men in Battery C wanted to take the oath, but were not needed and asked to withdraw. No explanation was given of the other refusals.



Real Preparedness Conference.

In opening the Real Preparedness Conference at Washington on June 28, the chairman, John J. Hopper, of New York, said in part:

Real preparedness means the elimination of waste by the socialization of all natural resources and their utilization for the benefit of all and not for private speculation. Private ownership of natural resources enables the few to levy tribute on the

many as effectively as a conquering nation does upon a subjugated one and with no more sanction of justice. Such monopoly is fatal to industrial peace, as well as preparedness in war.

Speaking on the subject of Real Americanism, Frederic C. Leubuscher, president of the Lower Rent Society of New York, said:

Monopoly of natural resources is utterly incompatible with real Americanism and real preparedness. Profits from such monopoly are equally so. Workers are entitled to get what they produce, and until they do so, we are un-American and unprepared.

Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, who announced his belief in military preparedness, said that "social preparedness is the most important part of preparedness and one we need in both peace and war." He said further:

Professor King of the University of Wisconsin shows that something like two-thirds of our population have no wealth except the clothes on their backs and a little furniture and personal belongings, while the major part of the nation's wealth is owned by less than 2 per cent of the population. A nation can be said to be really "prepared" only when its people are as a whole hygienically, economically able to earn a decent living, to marry at the normal age and raise a healthy, happy family.

Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, said:

So many ways of insulting the flag have been discovered in recent months that it would not be hard to find another. May I offer an example from the unpublished reports of the Department of Labor in its investigation of child labor a few years ago? In one cotton mill of the South the flag was put to an unique use. It was hoisted to warn the people that government inspectors were in town and that the children must be kept away from the mill. But when the inspectors left, the flag was hauled down to show that the children might go back to work. That seems to me as deep an insult to the flag as could be conceived.

So when I say that child labor and preparedness are irreconcilable, and that we may as well realize that we kill more people every year by poisoned milk, impure food, bad air, lightless tenements, overwork, unemployment, child labor, and the whole miserable brood of grinding poverty, in New York City alone, than have been murdered on either side of the Mexican border, I hope I may lay claim to a patriotism which is permanent and not spasmodic.

[See current volume, page 611.]



Labor Victory in Arkansas.

The awarding by a jury at Little Rock, Arkansas, of \$7,000 damages to Alexander Howat of the United Mine Workers in a suit for slander against the Central Coal and Coke Company results from an effort to stamp out the miners' organization in the Arkansas-Oklahoma district. The corporation had charged Howat with acceptance of a bribe. In reporting the case the Committee on Industrial Relations states:

The verdict of the jury awarding Mr. Howat \$7,000 damages against his chief slanderer is but a small part of the significance of that legal vindication. The facts developed of record in the trial showed such a stew of attempted bribery and of actual corruption of their own creatures by the dominating coal owners of the district that Frank P. Walsh, who conducted the trial for Howat, declared in a speech in Pittsburg, Kansas, last Sunday:

It is absolutely wrong that the coal deposits of this country should be in the hands of private owners whose desire for profits induces them not only to beat down wages of the workers to starvation limits, but induces them to resort to brutal intimidation, to the corruption of government and governmental officials, and to the meanest thievery, bribery and graft to add to their profits. This is a matter of the most serious consequences to this generation and future generations, that the natural wealth of the country, the fuel of the country, on which all industry depends, should be controlled not for the public welfare, but for all that is antagonistic to the public welfare.

For nearly four years Alexander Howat had suffered under the stigma cast by this powerful corporation and its tools. This corporation, the Central Coal and Coke Company, is capitalized for \$7,000,000; the total value of its property exceeds \$21,000,000. Its president, Charles S. Keith, a very wealthy man, has been president of the Commercial Club of Kansas City, has been and is a big banker of this section, and is high in financial circles.

The statement was made by Charles S. Keith that he had paid \$20,000 to Joseph H. Hazen to be given to Alexander Howat and others to call off the strike in the southwestern district and to negotiate a contract with the operators having a permanent arbitration clause in it. Keith testified that the Operators' Association had conceived the idea of destroying the union in the southwestern territory. For the sole purpose of disorganizing the United Mine Workers in Howat's district, Keith testified that he employed a man named Harry B. Holmes, head of the Harry B. Holmes Detective Agency; that he had never met Holmes but once before, and that he employed him because he came recommended as a man who disorganized unions for the United States Steel Corporation. This great coal owner, Charles S. Keith, said on oath that his deliberate purpose and acts in the attempt to bribe Howat were done with the knowledge and voted consent of the executive committee of the operators' association. The committee consisted of Keith, W. J. Jenkins, Ira M. Fleming, Charles Elliott and John Mayer.

The cold recital of false charges made against Howat and their complete disproof in the court room, where statements had to be made under oath and could be controverted by records, by bank checks, and by vouchers, can give only the faintest idea of the real life and blood drama whose culmination was in the four weeks of the court trial.

It was proved that Howat never saw one cent of the money. It was proved further that instead of working for the arbitration clause (for which he was supposed to have sold himself) Alexander Howat continued his vigorous and successful opposition to the arbitration clause. It was proved by all the evidence that Howat fought with the same vigor for the rights of the miners against Hazen as he had

in all other instances, and that he won every contest.

The case was one that tested the quality not only of the jury but of the judge who presided at the trial and made it possible to bring out the truth and to have the truth triumph. Alexander Howat and the cause of union labor for which he stood in that trial were fortunate that an intelligent and incorruptible judge, a judge of broad human sympathies, Thomas J. Seehorn of the Jackson County Circuit Court, presided and held the scales of justice even.



To Enjoin the Telephone Merger.

A suit for an injunction against the merger of the Chicago Automatic telephone system with the Bell system was brought before Federal Judge Landis on June 27 by Otto Cullman, president of the Chicago Singletax Club and a member of the Public Ownership League. Mr. Cullman is a stockholder in the Bell company and bases his suit on the claim that the merger violates the anti-trust law. [See current volume, page 253.]



Chicago School Trouble.

By a vote of 57 to 4 the Chicago City Council on June 30 adopted a resolution to investigate the School Board's action in passing the two Loeb rules, the first being the rule against the Teachers' Federation, now blocked in the courts, the second being the revocation of the merit system. One object, the dropping by the Board of Education of four teachers, trustees of the Teachers' Pension Fund, was frustrated on June 30. The elimination of these teachers would have given to the Board control of the pension fund, amounting to more than \$1,000,000. Learning that their present contract of employment with the School Board did not expire until midnight of June 30, a meeting of the pension trustees was hastily called. Then one of the dropped teachers resigned as trustee and the others elected a successor. Another resigned, a successor was elected, and the process was continued until a new board was installed, consisting of strong federationists who have not yet been dropped from teachers' positions. [See current volume, page 614.]



English Liberals' Appreciation of Francis Neilson.

Francis Neilson has accepted an offer to direct a people's forum in Detroit. His resignation as member of the British Parliament has been accepted to the great regret of his Liberal constituents, shown by the following correspondence:

From the Chairman of the Hyde Division Liberal Association:

4 Reynard St., Hyde; 25 August, 1915.

Dear Mr. Neilson:

We have just held the special Executive meeting which I arranged. After my report and the reading of your letter to me there were many expressions of sympathy with you and the resolution of which

I send you a copy was passed unanimously, and I was asked to forward it to you. I may say that no objection was raised by anyone.

We cannot tell what will be the position of matters after the war or what parties there may be. If when the time approaches, you feel that you cannot fight the election, you will no doubt give us due notice. Meanwhile we hope for the best and you and your family's return, completely restored to health and prosperity.

With kindest regards to you all,

JOHN HALL BROOKS.

A copy of the resolution passed at the special Executive meeting of the Hyde Division Liberal Association:

The chairman of the association having reported as to the state of health of our member and read to this meeting a letter received from Mr. Neilson, we beg to assure Mr. Neilson and his family of our sincere sympathy and consent to his absence from England for six months in order that he may visit America, and we trust that the change will be of great benefit to him and his family.



HYDE DIVISION LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

14 Cross St., Hyde; 10 April, 1916.

Dear Mr. Neilson:

I have only just got your address from Mr. Hall Brooks and so send you the following resolution, unanimously passed at our annual meeting on March 11th last:

"That this meeting of the Hyde Division Liberal Association desires to place on record its sincere appreciation of the untiring zeal with which its late member, Mr. Francis Neilson, has worked on behalf of Liberalism and Democracy in this Division and throughout the country for a long period of years.

"It regrets the causes which have led him to withdraw from the position of member of Parliament for this Division and hopes that he and his family will find prosperity and happiness in his new sphere of labor."

The resolution was moved in feeling terms by Mr. Courtland, Mr. Fletcher, J. P.; seconded by Mr. J. E. Hickey and supported in the speeches of delegates present from almost all parts of the Division.

In forwarding it may I say how heartily I support it, and in spite of the use made of it by our opponents at the recent by-election, I hope the time will come, when this terrible war is over, that we may see you again, and hear your voice raised once more for the great reforms for which you labored so hard and with such ill results to yourself.

With all kind remembrances to Mrs. Neilson and the members of your family, I am,

A. SLATER, Hon. Secy.



HYDE LEAGUE OF YOUNG LIBERALS.

Branch of the National League of Young Liberals.
Hyde, Eng., April 15, 1916, 9 Knight St.

Dear Mr. Neilson:

I have been instructed by the Executive of the above League to forward to you copy of a resolution unanimously passed at their last meeting, viz.:

That we place on record our high appreciation of the great and memorable services rendered to the cause of Young Liberalism by Mr. Francis Neilson, ex-M. P.

for the Hyde Division of Cheshire, not only in the constituency which he represented, but throughout the country, and also our sincere thanks for the way in which he inaugurated and inspired the Hyde League of Young Liberals in the cause of Democracy and Freedom. And that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. Neilson.

I trust—as all the Executives do—that you are now quite restored to health, and also that Mrs. Neilson and family are well.

With kindest regards from all of us to you and yours.

GEORGE E. MAY,
Hon. Secretary.



Fixing Prices in Great Britain.

A special Trades Union Congress of 600 delegates, representing 3,000,000 organized British workers, met in London on the 30th, and adopted a resolution asking the government to regulate the price of food and fuel. Another resolution favored government ownership of merchants shipping. A third resolution declares that if the government makes objection to these proposals, steps will be taken to press for such an advance in wages as will meet the higher cost of food and coal, which the mover of the resolution declared to be 59 per cent. The government was asked also to increase the old age pensions 50 per cent.



European War.

The long-expected offensive of the Allies began on the western front on the 1st. After a terrific bombardment for four days over a front of nearly 90 miles, from south of the River Somme to the Sea, a concerted attack was made by the British and French forces on a front of 25 miles from Gommecourt, north of the Ancre river, to Chaulnes, south of the Somme. The battle is still in progress at several points. Full details have not been received, but it is reported that the Allies have taken nine villages and towns, and 50 square miles of territory. The British claim to have taken 3,500 prisoners, and to have included among their captures the fortified stronghold of Friscourt. The French announce the taking of 6,000 prisoners, and an advance to within six miles of Peronne, a railroad center and distributing point for the Germans. Nearly all the first line trenches were taken on this front, and in many places the second line trenches were penetrated, involving an advance of five and six miles at some points. A spirited offensive was assumed at the same time by the French at Verdun, resulting in the capture of Thiaumont, which has changed hands five times. [See current volume, page 609.]



The Russians have captured Kolomea, a junction of four railroads in eastern Galicia, and are striking at the Austrian positions to the west of the town, taking prisoners and war materials. They claim to have captured over 217,000 prisoners since the beginning of the drive in June. The Russians are approaching the Delatyn Pass

through the Carpathian Mountains to the southwest of Kolomea. The Germans appear to have stopped the advance of the Russians on Kovel. In the north the Germans are striving to cross the Dvina river, but without success. No news of moment comes from Asia Minor.



In the Trentino the Austrians continue to yield ground to the slowly advancing Italians. The retaking of Arsiero and Asiago, and the subsequent victories, have aroused all Italy to greater interest in the war. The new cabinet under Premier Boselli was supported by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 370 to 44. It is announced that Italy will now make larger contributions to the Allied strength.



A popular demonstration of Greek working men and demobilized reservists who surrounded the home of Eleutherios Venizelos, the pro-Ally ex-premier, led to riotous disturbances in Athens. The disorder indicates a high tension of feeling over the war.



Sir Roger Casement, tried in London on a charge of high treason in connection with the Irish uprising, was found guilty by the jury on the 29th, and sentenced to be hanged. His counsel will appeal to the criminal court of appeals, and if necessary to the House of Lords. Americans are trying to secure a pardon for him.



Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist leader, was sentenced on the 28th to thirty months' penal servitude and dismissed from the army for "attempted high treason, gross insubordination and resistance to the authorities." Dr. Liebknecht had been expelled from the Socialist party on account of his criticisms of the government in the Reichstag. In May he was taken into custody for participating in a public demonstration against the war.



China.

President Li Yuan Hung is taking radical action to restore peace between the disaffected provinces and the government. In a mandate issued on the 30th the president proclaims the restoration of the Nanking provisional constitution, which was demanded by the revolutionists, and orders the parliament disbanded by Yuan Shi Kai in 1913 reconvened August 1st. The mandate appoints Tuan Chi-Jui premier. China's troubles, the president declares, have been due to the lack of a permanent constitution; and he orders the parliament to make such a constitution without delay. The mandate is said to meet virtually all the demands of the revolutionists. [See current volume, page 566.]

Santo Domingo.

Rear Admiral Caperton reported an engagement on the 28th between the United States marines and the rebels, who still oppose the new government. One marine was killed; the rebel loss is not given. The engagement took place near Monte Christi, on the north coast of the island. [See current volume, page 590.]

**Mexico and the United States.**

Twenty-three Negro troops, members of the Tenth United States Cavalry, and the Mormon scout, who were captured at Carrizal, and taken to Chihuahua, were released by the Mexican government on the 28th, and delivered to the American authorities at El Paso on the 29th. As the release of these troops was made a condition prior to mediation or any other action, the safe return of the men has done much to relieve the strained relations between the two countries. Many rumors are extant as to the movement of troops by Mexico, and their meaning, which is supposed to be for the purpose of forcing the withdrawal of American troops. General Pershing has drawn in his men from some of their advanced posts, notably from Namiquipa to El Valle, and has put himself in readiness to guard his line of communications in case of war. Apparently no movements to the south, east or west are undertaken. State troops continue to gather at the State camps, and move to the border as rapidly as they are ready for service. About 20,000 are reported to be at the front, and 10,000 en route. The censor is eliminating all but the most general information.



No answer, other than the release of the United States troops held at Chihuahua, has been made to the American note of the 25th; but General Carranza issued on the 30th a memorandum, in which he charged bad faith on the part of the United States. He denied all the charges made by Secretary Lansing, and enumerated many of his own against the American government. His statement ends with the declaration that the American troops now in Mexico can serve no good purpose, that they are a source of irritation, that they have no right there against the protest of Mexico, and that they could better protect the border from the American side. President Wilson will ignore this memorandum, and await the formal reply of the Mexican government, which is said to be on the way.



Five labor leaders from Mexico, Louis M. Morones, Salvador Gonzalo Garcia, Dr. Abtl, Colonel Edmund Martinez and Carlos Loveira, have arrived in Washington to confer with American labor leaders in the interest of peace. They hope to make the American people understand why the Mexicans are afraid of the punitive expedition, the chief reasons being its size and the fact that it is accompanied by heavy artillery. They de-

clare that nobody in their country wants war, and nobody in this country seems to want war; therefore, there should be no war. When asked what a war between the two countries would mean to Mexico, one of the men answered:

War with Mexico would mean that Mexico would be occupied after a little while. It would mean the crushing of the revolution which carries all the ideals and the hopes of the Mexican laboring people. It would mean that eventually we would revert to the place where the laboring people of Mexico would have no more rights than they had under Diaz.

NEWS NOTES

—Mrs. Hetty Green, known as the world's richest woman, died in New York City on the 3d at the age of 80.

—Of the \$3,000,000 appropriated by the war relief commission of the Rockefeller foundation for the first six months of 1916, \$2,000,000 have been spent.

—Lynn Frazier, nominee for Governor of North Dakota of the Farmers' Non-Partisan league, won the Republican nomination for the same office at the state-wide primary on June 29.

—Reims Cathedral, according to plans of the French government announced by the *Petit Journal*, will not be repaired for several years, in order that people may see the effect of the German gunfire.

—Margaret Sanger and three other women were arrested in Portland, Oregon, on June 30 as a result of holding a protest meeting against arrest of three men for selling Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet on birth control. [See current volume, page 614.]

—A damage suit was won in Philadelphia by Madeline Davis, a colored woman, for exclusion from a local theater on account of racial discrimination. A similar result was obtained for the same reason in Nyack, New York, by Mack Grant.

—The common council of Schoenberg, Germany, refused to pay women street cleaners men's wages, on the ground that after the war the men would demand still higher wages. The women are paid 40 pfennigs an hour, instead of the men's 25 marks a week.

—It has been officially announced that the Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada, will be succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire. The new Governor General is 48 years of age, owns 186,000 acres, and one of the finest collections of pictures and books.

Miss Jane R. Bosfield, a colored stenographer discharged from the Medfield, Massachusetts, hospital, for refusing to submit to discrimination, was reinstated after the matter was brought to the attention of the superintendent, and she was assured that discrimination would cease.

—A demonstration of farm tractors will be given at Indianapolis on August 28. The demonstration will take place on a 600-acre site six miles west of the city. A number of tractor manufacturers will take part. C. J. Bullock of the Advance Rumely Company of Indianapolis will have charge.

—Ten members of the Japanese House of Representatives were convicted of accepting bribes in connection with pending legislation. The men sentenced to prison obtained a three years' postponement of execution, which is taken to mean that they will not go to prison at all.

—According to the record kept by the Division of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute there has been during the first six months of the year twenty-five lynchings. This is nine less than the number, thirty-four, for the same period last year. Of those lynched twenty-three were Negroes and two were whites. In the first six months of 1915 there were twenty-four Negroes and ten whites lynched. Five, or one-fifth of those put to death, were charged with rape. Other causes of lynchings were: Slapping a boy, brushing against a girl on the street, insult, charged with attempting to assist son accused of murder to escape, robbing store, killing officers of the law, and murder. Eight, or almost one-third, of the total lynchings occurred in the state of Georgia.

PRESS OPINIONS

Warning to Boy Scouts.

The Scout (organ Cleveland, Ohio, Council Boy Scouts of America), June 29.—Since the age of enlistment in the militia has been lowered to sixteen years, it is appropriate to warn older scouts against hasty entrance into military service. . . . It is not merely a question of measuring the physical dangers and discomforts of a Mexican campaign. There is the further question whether such service is one in which the recruit will feel any just pride in years to come. . . . In this case the proposal is not defense, but the invasion of another country, whose citizens will be fighting for their land, their homes and their liberties, just as the American colonists fought in 1776. Without discussing reasons for the present situation, it is enough to say that there is something very queer about the events on the border; about the Villa raid and other indignities to Americans. There is more than a hint that this war is being actively promoted by persons—not all foreigners—who hope to profit at the expense of the lives and blood and disease and thirst and heartaches of other persons. The evidence for or against this widely shared theory of the case ought to be weighed by an adult mind, rather than a boy's mind. To scout the flag means liberty. Transforming it into a symbol of oppression, even in the eyes of alien people, is a poor way to honor the flag.



Big Business Plots Against the Public Schools.

Chicago Day Book, June 28.—Big Business was too smart to make known its real reason for its bitter antagonism to the Teachers' Federation. It couldn't say it hated Margaret Haley and her courageous associates because they forced rich tax dodgers to pay their taxes. It wouldn't sound nice for it to admit that it hated the Teachers' Federation because its members gave their support to legislation preventing the exploitation of children in factories or tried to get a minimum wage for the girls in depart-

ment stores. It couldn't publicly say it hated these teachers because they did all they could to better conditions and help get a living wage for the workers. It couldn't admit that it hated them because they opposed the plan of Big Business to grab the public school system in order to train the children of the workers to become workers and the children of the bosses to become bosses. So the tools of Big Business lied and tried to make the public believe they were trying to make the schools more efficient and to protect the interests of children. Nor were they above such trickery as fanning the fire of religious prejudice and seeking to make Protestant parents believe that the Catholic church was trying to control the school system, and that the Catholic church controlled the Teachers' Federation. . . . If the Catholic church or any other church actually controlled the Teachers' Federation that would be reason enough for driving the Federation from the schools. For no church should have a controlling influence in the management of the public schools. But that isn't so. . . . Big Business knows it isn't so, but has made use of the argument to induce members of the board to play the game with Jake Loeb to destroy the Teachers' Federation. Those earnest and well-meaning parents who have fallen for this political bunk have unwillingly lent their aid to designing politicians who have struck the deadliest blow ever dealt the public school system of Chicago.



Industry's Useless Burden.

The Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg), June 14. If the various local farmers' associations throughout the West desire to get a better idea of the burden which they are carrying on account of our land policy it would pay them to make a map of the township in which they live. It is a very easy matter in this country to lay out a chart of a township and to mark the farms that are actually being worked and to show at the same time the quarter sections and sections that are held by railway companies, land companies, corporations and private individuals. Nearly every township in this country would show more or less land being held out of use for a rise in prices. This land was either acquired as a free grant or was purchased at a very low figure. The farmers that are engaged in tilling the land are also bringing up the value of the vacant land that is scattered throughout the township. Every bit of increase in value that has been made in this vacant land has been brought about by the presence and the labor of those who are occupying and working the other land in the township. The owners of the vacant land have no moral right to profit by holding land out of use and the values which have been created by the community should be taxed into the public treasury for the public good. The vacant land curse in this country is crippling development in all directions. If the local associations would make it a point to prepare a chart of their townships and study the situation as it actually prevails in their own community they would see the matter in a much clearer light than they do at the present time.



To be free is to be thrice armed.—Herbert S. Bigelow.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

MILITARISM VERSUS REASON.

Defense Statement of E. Stanley Oxley of Bristol, England, at Court Martial at Chiseldon on April 26, 1916. One of 700, now undergoing punishment, who resisted the Conscription Act.

I trust that whoever reads this will remember that I write as a civilian, not as a soldier.

I am accused of disobeying an order. The accusation is true.

HERE ARE MY REASONS:

I believe every man to be responsible for his own deeds. To me that is a first principle of life.

Therefore I cannot be compelled to do things simply because another orders them.

I believe a man's actions should be guided entirely by his reason.

That is why I cannot be compelled to act as another dictates.

Especially do I believe that a man should not fight unless after sincere thought he is convinced that his cause is just.

That is why I cannot obey the orders of fighting men.

I believe in liberty of conscience.

If it is wrong to force men to join the church and pray for victory, it is equally wrong to force men to join the army and fight for victory.

As a rationalist I cannot be compelled to support that in which I do not believe.

I believe as long as men fight at the dictates of others there will be wars, and the cause with the greatest violence will win; but if each man is only prepared to fight when he is convinced of the justice of his cause, the cause with the greatest justice will win.

I am a civilian. I have signed no papers. Marks through physical violence have been forced which I refuse to recognize as signatures.

I have not expressed my willingness to become a soldier, nor am I, nor will I be a soldier.

My only weapon is reason, yours is violence. By the threat of violence I was driven from my home and work.

Without any trial I was fined £2.

By the physical violence of three men my clothes were taken from me.

By violence, and the threat of violence, I am here.

I can bring nothing to oppose your violence. In it you are entirely victorious.

You can bring nothing to oppose my reason. In it I am entirely victorious.

I stand opposed to you. I cannot hope to defeat the British Army.

You cannot hope to defeat my reason.

Sentence: NINE MONTHS' DETENTION.

VISIONS.

Written for The Public.

In a glittering, noise-racked restaurant, three of us sat, friends of long ago, flung together by the swirl of time after years of separation. From its edge we watched the eddying pool of humanity, its brave exterior of gay garb, nonchalant gesture, thought-defying voice and manner, the scurrying of servitors, the passing greetings and casual partings. A diaphanously clad girl, spotlighted upon the stair-landing, sang of the flight of the years, and, descending with the vari-colored rays playing about her, stopped at intervals to illustrate the passing of Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Age. One of our party rose:

"I have talked too much," he said. "I'll leave you now. I have a fancy for the star-light to-night rather than the spot-light."

"A visionary," the other said, following with gaze of half-pitying disdain the figure threading its outward way through the maze of tables. "Who would have thought he would have developed along that line?"

Then he beckoned a waiter and gave an order material enough to acquit him of any indictment such as he had brought against his boyhood friend.

Words unheard for years crept from some recess of memory and echoed through my brain, drowning the meaningless medley of the restaurant:

"Where there is no vision the People perish."

The man who had left us had spoken of things he was looking for, hoping for, working for. He had said that humanity, clever, self-sufficient as it was, seemed to him, far from having reached its zenith of achievement, to be just emerging into a light the first dazzling glimpse of which terrified it into shutting its eyes and declaring vociferously that no such radiance existed.

"A visionary!" the other man repeated, shaking his head and fingering his wine-glass. "The world is good enough for me as it is."

The world? Yes. But the PEOPLE?

For them light, enslaved, summons shadows as realistic in form and movement as life itself; sound waves, captured, bring voices hemispheres distant or death-stilled; electricity has been chained and the winds bridled. Unravelling with deft fingers Nature's mysteries man declares confidently that things the maker of Proverbs regarded as supernatural are purely natural—that he has discovered the trick. Yet down the centuries comes the voice of the old Jewish King of Thinkers for whom phonographs and films, airships and electric cables were unconceived:

"Where there is no vision the People perish."

Visions! No dream of conquest over the forces of Nature or the chance of Fortune is now regarded as madness. It is only when men dare dream of spiritual conquest, of becoming masters

of the forces of the soul, that their brothers cry: "Visionary!" and turn away with shrug or frown. Yet, even in visions of lesser moment it is rarely that the first dreamer of any dream sees its realization. Nearly always he must tell his dream to another, and he to another, and when finally the dream lives as fact the brain that conceived it is dust. Yet the dream lives. And the man who went out to the star-light has had passed down to him the greatest dream of all—the vision that Solomon saw and told in words that cannot die, the vision that Christ saw and spread gloriously before his followers, the vision that Paul saw and entrusted to those who came after him, the vision that in every generation since has found so-called "visionaries" to follow the beckon of its shining finger, the vision that foretells the development not of man's work but of HIM-SELF. It is a vision so bright that those who dare look fully at it see at once the ephemeral nature of all those other dreams of which the realization seems so solid.

A climax in the development of the discoveries of science seems to have been reached. In appalling measure those discoveries are now being turned to evil and destructive uses. Farther advance seems to threaten ill rather than good to the race. Many are beginning to see that the new advance must be made along lines leading to the development of Humanity, that much of the most valuable material on earth is now lying unused or ill-used, that soul-forces now fallow or ill-directed contain the power, if developed with the same intensity of purpose that has been accorded the development of less precious material, to readjust a world out of joint.

Against the black background of the twentieth century the Vision shines very brightly. Here and there one lifts his head and, seeing it, cries: "Look, my brothers!" "Visionary!" they cry in answer, sadly or contemptuously. But: "Without vision the People perish," and the Creator never meant that his people should perish.

FRANCES E. GALE.

LAND AND LIBERTY.

A Marching Song.

Comrades of the common pathway,
Let us join with heart and hand,
Onward marching, forward moving,
On and on! To free the land!
And free land shall set us free
Source of life and liberty!

Piteous souls held down in bondage
By the tyranny of gain,
Piteous bodies bent and broken
By the tyranny of pain,
Wake, oh, wake ye slaves of patience,
Be rebellious, strong and sane!

Lords of Land no longer ruling
All the earth we may reclaim

He who basely sells his birthright
Shares the harlot's load of shame
Money-king or money-puppet
Prostitute in all but name.

Nature knows no narrow boundaries,
Clear the path from sea to sea.
Open air and field and heaven
To the great race that shall be
When earth gives us of her fullness
In the peace of equity.

AMY MALI HICKS.

BOOKS

FOR THE FUTURE OF THE RACE.

Your Baby: A Guide for Young Mothers. By Edith B. Lowry, M. D. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00 net.

"It is estimated that nearly half of the babies born into the world die before they are a year old. Statistics prove that the great majority of these die of some intestinal trouble, that their deaths might have been prevented by proper care, especially in regard to feeding.

"The mothers of these babies could not be blamed for this lack of intelligent care, for they gave as best they knew how to give. The blame lies deeper, for the mothers never had received any training for the very important work of motherhood."

A cursory reading of the body of this excellent work indicates that it is better considered and less likely to be mistaken than is the preface from which the above is quoted.

The book itself seems to be a safe guide for the care of babies from the moment of their anticipated coming into the world until they have reached the age where they know more than the fathers and mothers and the doctors. It seems to be thorough. It has the marks of accuracy and experience everywhere upon it. It emphasizes what most of us believe, that when we are sick we should call the doctor early. He or she may guess what should be done and may happen to do it. If the guess is right and the patient recovers the doctor gets the credit. Otherwise we are perfectly in line with the legal mode of dying and can be buried without the consent of the coroner.

In our present state of knowledge there seems to be no other proper way of exit from the world, so we should not complain unless the authorities deny us the right to pick our own doctor. So, we find no defect in this guide to the care of babies—except one. Babies cannot be cared for without an income to pay the expenses. If the income of the family is limited to the bare necessities of life the care of the infant must correspond to the income.

The book with its lucid directions presumes an income of reasonable amount or it cannot be of

any use. The very poor cannot follow it. The very rich do not have to follow it. They can delegate the care of their children to hired nurses and high-priced doctors. The poor will give the best to the infant that the means and the knowledge of the mother will allow. The infant born in poverty may get what the one born to wealth never knows—intelligent motherhood. The instinct of motherhood may sometimes make up for the lack of intelligence.

Between the two extremes of desperate poverty and excessive riches the book will probably fail to do half the good it might under better social conditions. The poor cannot and the rich will not use it.

So it is, that often when we try to do something for the benefit of human beings we are confronted with the fact of total or partial failure because there is something else that must be done first to make our efforts successful.

GEORGE V. WELLS.



SEA POWER.

The American Navy. By French E. Chadwick, Rear Admiral, U. S. N. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. New York. 1915. Price 60 cents net.

This volume of The American Books series is devoted to a popular and somewhat brief story of the American navy. Apparently it is a work of love with the venerable Admiral, for he lingers over the achievements of the ships and fleets as though they were sentient beings, and exults in their successes. The 280 pages are all too few to enable him to set forth all that he would set before his countrymen. So much indeed does he touch upon that it might be said of the book, as of Carlyle's French Revolution, that one should know the subject before reading it.

The American Navy nevertheless presents many bits of information that will be instructive to all but those who have not specialized in the subject. Particularly interesting is his account of the beginnings of the navy, of frigates 115 feet in length and 32 feet beam, armed with 18-pound smooth-bore muzzle-loading guns, whose range was less than 2,000 yards. These vessels were built of wood and propelled by sails. Yet it was in such ships, that deeds were done that still fire the heart of the American youth. The rapid increase in the size and strength of vessels as the young nation fought its successive wars of 1812, 1846, 1861, 1898 show in graphic form the changes that have followed the introduction of steam, steel, armor and high-power guns.

Admiral Chadwick closed his story before the preparedness fever had broken out, and so expresses no opinion as to what he thinks should be the strength of the American navy. Judging from his pronounced bias in favor of Admiral Sampson, and his slighting remarks regarding Admiral

Schley, one might expect the author to plead for a navy second to none, or at least only second.

S. C.

PERIODICALS

The Forum.

The July issue of The Forum contains at least one article well worth reading. It is entitled "A Trial of Socialism in Mexico," by M. C. Rolland. Since Mr. Rolland is one of the Mexican revolutionists and drafted the agrarian law of Yucatan which has proven so beneficial, he speaks with authority. He plainly says that the "policy of the revolutionary leaders is the first step towards the doctrine of the Singletax." Is it any wonder that a kept American press howls so loudly for intervention? But this issue contains other articles not so progressive as Mr. Rolland's. One is by Roger B. Wood, assistant federal district attorney of New York, who wants laws to curb freedom of speech. He bases his argument on a misquotation of a speech by "one Maurer, a so-called labor leader." The misquotation is one that has been shown to be such and in making use of it Mr. Wood seems himself to be abusing freedom of speech. But assuming that Mr. Maurer did actually say, what Mr. Wood claims he did, is the alleged statement so convincing and unanswerable that nothing short of forcible suppression can be relied upon to prevent spread of the idea it conveys? It does look as though Mr. Wood fears this to be the case. Another article in equally bad taste is "The Nourishment of the Pacifists," by Samuel Crowther. This is an effort to retaliate for exposure of influences back of the preparedness hysteria by Congressman Tavenner. It makes no pretense at argument, but is little more than a tirade against Henry Ford, Congressman Tavenner and others. In an editorial introduction the announcement is made that "in a subsequent number the Peace Party's point of view will have a hearing." There is no need of this, if Mr. Crowther fairly represents the preparationist side. If the pacifists were wrong Mr. Crowther would not have found it necessary to confine his remarks to personal abuse, as he has done.

S. D.



One day a teacher asked a little girl to spell "then."

"T-h-e-n," answered the child.

"Right," said the teacher. "Now, when 'T' is taken away what is left?"

"Please, mum, dirty cups and saucers," said the little girl.—Sacred Heart Review.



Little Nellie told Anita what she termed a "little fib."

Anita—A fib is the same as a story and a story is the same as a lie.

Nellie—No, it's not.

Anita—Yes, it is, because my father said so, and my father is a professor at the university.

Nellie—I don't care if he is. My father is a real estate man and he knows more about lying than your father.—Sacred Heart Review.

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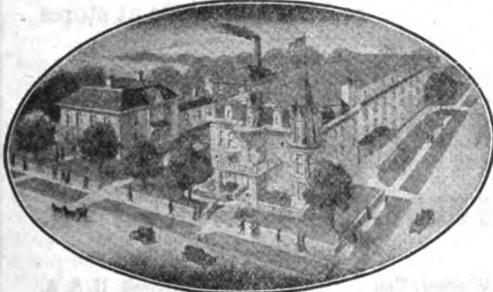
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