

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

Woman Suffrage Number

ARTICLES BY

Anna Howard Shaw

Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

Jennie Bradley Roessing

Carrie Chapman Catt

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Published Weekly

Five Cents a Copy

One Dollar a Year

August 24, 1917

Number 1012

NEW YORK

Volume XX

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By Avery Quercus

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1915..... .78	2.2%
1916..... 1.55	14.0%
1917..... 1.74	17.0%

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STRAIGHT EDGE

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CONTENTS

Editorial	807
Lyrics from the Chinese.....	812
Men of America on Trial for Democracy. Anna Howard Shaw.....	813
Federal Suffrage in a Dynamic State. Jennie Bradley Roessing.....	814
Win-the-War Women. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers.....	815
Ready for Citizenship—Carrie Chapman Catt.	817
News of the Week.....	819
Press Opinion	823
Correspondence	823
Books	824

Founded, 1898, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE THACHER POST

EDITORS:

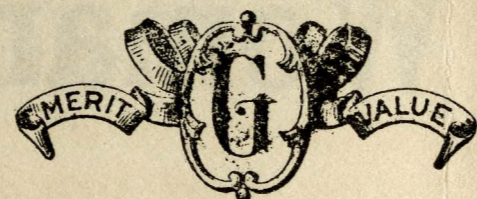
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Published Weekly by
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
122 East Thirty-Seventh Street, New York City.

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter January 11, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

The Pope must be given credit for having chosen the psychological moment to propose conditions of peace. Evidence that these conditions express the views of Austria and would be supported by the Centrist party of Germany, and the fact that they will give a lead to Catholic opinion everywhere, make their consideration a matter of serious importance. There is also a certain disarming appearance of moderation, a certain implication of renounced ambition, a penitent desire of the Central Powers to enter the comity of nations, well calculated to commend them to a war-weary world. The Pope's plan is a return to the territorial status quo and the submission of all other questions to diplomatic negotiation. The real point at issue is only an aspiration "that the material force of arms shall give way to the moral force of right." Our more prominent weekly press has been amazingly "taken in." In spite of our business-like attitude to our job, the general conception of what that job is to mean in the world is misty and confused. Whether our job is to be carried through now or later will depend upon the judgment of our statesmen regarding the probability of success in the existing very complicated situation. There may be many reasons to renounce our aim and help toward a negotiated peace.

* * *

But our war aim, whether or not achieved, remains the same. It is the very definite and uncompromising one of bringing to an end the German Imperial organization. When this is defined as freeing the German people, it indicates no desire to make them accept our political lollipop; it indicates a determination that they cease to be a nuisance and a menace in the world. If the world is an open field for imperial and therefore irresponsible ambition, there is and can be no such thing as international right. Every political action of an imperial power is actual or potential war, force or the menace of

force. To be imperial is constructively to be perpetually at war. The necessity that is laid upon us to "make the world safe for democracy," a phrase now tossed about with cynicism and levity, is the grimest reality in the history of mankind. It is suggested that peace might be discussed upon the cessation of submarine activity. But the submarine can only be attacked effectively at its base, and the ultimate base is Potsdam. The violation of public right whether on the sea or in Belgium or over London, is the essential character, in principle and in fact, of imperial activity. It is an ignorant or myopic statesmanship that fiddles with details as conditions of peace, and blinks the great major premise.

* * *

The world has become a close community, and must through wise planning or clumsy groping find the necessary adjustments of international living. But this further evolution is an impossibility if the world has to stop and tremble and submit whenever the general purpose displeases a feudal dynasty that is based on political principles of five hundred years ago, and that contributes to international organization only the shining armor and rattling sabre. As to the war aim of the United States there can be no equivocation. It is, that the German State organization, as it now exists, shall get off the earth. This does not mean that we must impose on Germany a constitution ready-made from without. Neither does it mean the sacking of Berlin, the exiling of the Kaiser, the laying of heavy, punitive indemnities, or any of the other absurd things which German politicians pretend to see in the Allied refusal to submit at this time. It means carrying on the war until the Prussian idea shall be effectually and unmistakably discredited both at home and abroad. This is no impossible program. Some of our citizens are too unacquainted with international affairs to understand that ultimate submis-

sion to Germany is the alternative to the achievement of our aims. Our chief obstacle is the complacent feeling that the war does not vitally affect our future. It may be that war is too horrid a business for us, so we must leave the supreme effort to our children twenty years hence. But whether it be irresponsibility, or provincial ignorance, or fear, or lack of ability, the issue will remain to be settled. We must compel Germany to submit to the new world conception, or we must submit to Germany. The Pope's peace will not be peace; it will be the gathering of energies for a greater and deadlier struggle. Our European Allies, war-sick, crippled in human and economic resources, want the thing settled now once for all. If the submarine brings England to her knees, our task is indefinitely greater, and still more urgently our task.

* * *

And when the real peace comes at last, next year, or twenty years hence, if it is our destiny to triumph, little will be said in the conditions about boundaries or compensations. Democracy can fight only for its own preservation. Territorial aggrandizement, monetary indemnification, special trade privilege, the domination of colonies, are all part of the feudal baggage of an imperial régime. They all represent burdens that fall on common people for the benefit of an ascendant class. They all go by the board with the form of government that holds itself superior to justice. Russia is no longer fighting for territory or the hegemony of the Balkans, but to make the development of her people secure from aggression. We of America are fighting to make liberal civilization secure from aggression. That security will be achieved only when Germany is "free or powerless."

* * *

There can be little doubt that the missions sent by the various countries to their allies have had an enormous influence in bridging the chasms of ignorance, hate, and misunderstanding that separate nations. A common need has turned men's thoughts toward the same goal, and personal conferences have shown them how to attain their objects without obstructing each other. But of all the missions it may be doubted if any others have had the influence of the American mission to Russia, which, as Charles E. Hughes so

happily phrases it, began as a mission to Russia and ended as a mission to the United States. Much as these Americans have done for Russia, Russia appears to have done more for them. When a conservative-minded man like Elihu Root can be changed from an anti to a pro-suffragist by what he saw in Russia in a few weeks, it will be realized how compelling were those events. Democracy in this country has been strengthened by the triumphs of Russian democracy; and if the mission accomplished nothing more than to bring back this message it has been well worth while. If it has in addition resulted in the conversion of Mr. Root himself, it will have proven to be of lasting benefit. Distrust of the people of his own country prompted Mr. Root, as chairman of the New York Constitutional Convention, to place such limits upon their freedom of action that the popular vote was overwhelmingly against its adoption. But now that he has seen the Russians successfully attacking political problems, he appears to have greater faith in the people.

* * *

Private ownership and control of natural resources is the factor in the steel situation that permits the manufacturers to hold out against the Government for more than a fair price, just as it has enabled them to gouge the allied governments, American railroads, and the public. A Washington dispatch to the *New York Times*, dated Aug. 13, said: "A report is current that, outside of the United States Steel Corporation, which controls its raw material to a large extent, the majority of the steel producers have kept their prices up because of the excessive demands of those who control their raw materials. With the price of raw materials regulated, it is said, other prices must come down." Washington correspondents have been habitually concerned with politics rather than economics, and it is not surprising that *The Times'* correspondent gives us this truism as a "current report." But the price of raw materials cannot be regulated without denying the right of the owners to capitalize the monopoly value of their ore holdings. Those holdings were acquired for a song. Much of the valuable ore land of the Steel Corporation is still owned by the State of Minnesota and leased to the Corporation. Are we not a helpless and fatuous democracy if in our time of need we leave this vital

natural resource in the hands of men who use their control for purposes of extortion?

* * *

Senator Johnson of California made a clever hit during the debate on the Revenue bill. In pleading for a heavier tax on war profits he said that Senators had been ready enough, when the Conscription bill was up, to plead the example of England, and urge that the United States begin where England left off; but in the matter of taxation it was now proposed to begin where England began. Since we had acted upon the Senators' advice in drafting men, he insisted that the same rule be applied to the taxing of wealth. This plea means much; for while the Senate bill as reported by the majority taxes war profits only 20 per cent., the British are now taking 80 per cent. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon this point. It is inconceivable that men who are awake to actual conditions can seriously propose that in a time of great sacrifice, nationally and individually, some citizens shall be permitted to enrich themselves through the necessities of their fellows. Congress should not fail to heed Senator Johnson's protest.

* * *

The minority report of the Senate Finance Committee protesting against the pending revenue bill should be read by every man and woman who wishes to follow the major issues of domestic policy—the issues involving the question of whether this war is to advance or retard democracy here at home. In another column are printed extracts from the report, which is signed by Senators La Follette, Thomas and Gore. It would be a pity if Mr. La Follette's activities as an apologist for Germany should compromise his efforts in behalf of a just and democratic program of war finance. The thing for radicals to do is to disregard Mr. La Follette and judge on its merits his fight against the Simmons-Penrose program of war financing. The minority report virtually charges Messrs. Simmons and Penrose with a conspiracy to commit the country, almost without its knowledge, to a program of raising the great bulk of war revenues by bond issues. They seek to accomplish this by urging a revenue bill that raises only a small proportion of the revenue needed for the current year. Any increase in the rate of taxation on incomes

or excess profits provided by a later bill would be denounced as retroactive, and business men would have cause to complain that they accepted the pending bill as a final and authoritative announcement of what they must pay in taxes for the current year. THE PUBLIC has repeatedly characterized the pending bill. Those who wish a clear statement of the situation will find it by turning to the news chronicle of this week's issue and reading what is there so clearly set forth in the minority report.

Free Ports and Free Seas

Much is made of the plea for freedom of the seas, but less is heard of freedom of ports. Yet it is the latter rather than the former that will be instrumental in establishing a permanent peace basis. Freedom of the seas we have long had in times of peace, but that freedom has been bounded by the shores of the sea. Though goods might be sent to the ends of the earth without let or hindrance upon the high seas, no sooner did they reach land than they met with all manner of obstacles to further progress. These obstacles were in the main self-imposed, but not a few were created by others. Nations having direct access to the sea under favorable conditions had only the shortsightedness of their own statesmen to thank for whatever hindrances were placed in the way of trade; but those countries lying inland, or such as had harbors less convenient than those of their neighbors were at a disadvantage, not through lack of freedom of the seas, but because of trade restrictions of neighboring countries.

It would be asking too much that the statesmen who draw the peace agreement should stipulate for international free trade. That is still in the future. It is likely to come only with the slower means of evolution. Though all publicists and statesmen are convinced that free trade within a country, among its states or provinces is the only rational system of economy, few have yet been able to grasp the idea that international free trade is the same as national free trade, except that it is better because greater. But there will be no excuse for ignoring at this time the necessity of free ports and international trade routes on land. No adjustment of boundaries, by whomsoever drawn, can satisfy all the conflicting interests that

are seeking expression. Neither natural boundaries nor arbitrary adjustments can meet the ambitions of races and nationalities. But such rearrangements as are made will be far more satisfactory if each and every one is given free access to the sea.

And it is not unreasonable to expect that this very important step will be taken. Numerous have been the proposals looking to such an end, and many are the advocates. The details do not so much matter so long as the principle is applied. Fortunately there are precedents to reassure the timid. Antwerp has long sent its commerce unhindered down the Scheldt through Dutch territory, and Austro-Hungary has been as free to use the Danube running through Roumanian territory. But why limit such rights to rivers? Does not the principle apply as well to canals and to railroads? And if inland cities have the privilege of sending goods in bond across foreign territory, with tariff duties payable only in the country of destination, it will matter little whether the port through which they reach the sea belongs to the same country or to another.

A league of nations acting through an international commission would find little difficulty in setting up such trade arrangements, or of maintaining equitable relations between national and international commerce. Yet even so slight an advance as this toward free trade would produce incalculable benefits, not alone in freeing commerce from needless restrictions, but in disabusing people's minds of foolish prejudice. Were Illinois or West Virginia dependent upon the caprice of surrounding States to reach the sea, interstate wars would have occurred as often as preparations could be made. But even if the States had continued their tariffs, after the manner of the Thirteen Colonies before the formation of the Union, freedom to ship across the surrounding States to the sea would have been a pronounced step toward the national free trade they now enjoy. The smaller countries of Europe are not unlike our States, with populations little less mixed. Give them the same freedom in trade and the tendency will be toward similar toleration. The process would be more rapid if all restrictions were removed; but a long advance will be made by instituting free land routes in connection with the freedom of the seas.

Mob Law and the Negro

Mob rule must stop. Law and order must prevail. If liberty is to survive, if justice is to obtain there must be a government of law, rather than a government of men. When men singly or collectively take the law into their own hands to redress a grievance that is considered intolerable, they will come to take that same summary action for a lesser cause. Men who now mob Negroes will soon mob immigrants, and ultimately native whites. Besides, violence in one thing tends to violence in all things. A disregard for law and order on the part of grown-ups begets similar conduct in children. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a large part of juvenile crime is due to the example of lawless citizens.

It has long been realized that the race question cannot be settled by law. Rather must it yield to the slower influences of evolution. It is the heavy cross laid upon our shoulders, and it calls for the utmost patience on the part of both whites and blacks. But this is no excuse for these bursts of unreason that shame and humiliate our country. The Negro has at no time done anything that is not covered by law, by law made and executed by whites. What a sorry judgment then is this confession that the white race is incapable of administering its own affairs.

Attempts have been made to secure action in regard to or at least denunciation of these conditions by the President. It would be most fitting for him to deliver one of those ringing appeals with which he searches the hearts of men. Doubtless he will do so when his already immeasurable duties permit. He owes this not only to the Negro, but to the great cause of human freedom that he has elected to champion. But this is a matter that does not and should not rest upon the President. It rests upon the country at large; not upon the South, nor upon the North, the East or the West, but upon the whole country. It should not be said that the United States has more mob violence than any other country, or that it is only in America that men are burned alive. America that has the highest ideals should not be taunted with permitting the lowest practices. The clash of race riots where men can strike back is deplorable enough; but when an individual culprit, helpless and in the hands of the law is deliberately done to death by a mob, it is

worse; and when there is added to this the cruelty of burning the victim at the stake in the presence of a great crowd, as occurred at Memphis, and men cut parts from the charred body as souvenirs, the offense becomes unspeakable.

But the enormity of this offense lies not in the fact that some men permit themselves to be carried to such lengths—for there are ever unbalanced minds in the community—but that so few citizens have the courage to oppose it. Setting aside for the moment the economic factors, the maladjustment of property rights that tend inevitably to intensify racial antagonism, there remains the glaring want of a social conscience of sufficient vitality to stand for fair treatment to a proscribed race. This social conscience must be aroused. All men and women capable of reflection and of taking the broader view must set their faces resolutely against this lawlessness. It taints our ideals. It delays our progress. It smothers our aspirations. We must create a public opinion that will overwhelm and utterly subdue these unruly spirits that have wrought such incalculable harm to a helpless race, and are undermining the stamina of those who permit it.

A National Obligation

The story of what women have done and are doing in the Great War will some day be written adequately, and we shall have then a great epic of sacrifice, courage and devotion. It will be a story of unshaken faith and stoic endurance no less than a story of dashing initiative and dramatic heroism. The Russian Battalion of Death and the British nurse facing the German firing squad without flinching will furnish its dramatic episodes. But its pages will be no less glorified by the spirit of the millions who toiled and waited at home,—the millions of "average" women whose unweakened morale, month after month, year after year, heartened the men in the trenches and strengthened their determination to "see it through." French statesmen have testified that it was the women at home they watched most anxiously for any sign of wavering. With them rested, finally, the decision whether the Allied nations should compromise with the regime that exalts brute force or fight on until it was finally and utterly discredited. Their answer has been never in doubt. With the unerring

intuition of their sex, the women of the democracies have recognized in Prussianism something that must be driven from the earth at all costs. Their very loathing of bloodshed and brutality has steeled them to hold out, determined that no future generation shall be called upon to face the horrors they have endured. The Great War has presented an issue that is peculiarly a woman's issue. It is not without significance that the rulers of Prussia have preached Kirche, Kinder, Küchen for generations. It is not meaningless that we hear of women heroes in every belligerent nation except Germany. That country has been of an unmitigated masculinity throughout these three blood-drenched years. The nation that caused this war is not merely the nation distinguished by an autocratic government, by suppression of the individual in the interests of the State. It is also the nation distinguished for the subordinate place given to women in its social and political life.

To say that women should be placed on a plane of political equality with men is to say a thing so obvious today that the need of saying it is exasperating. Every stale argument against it has been removed, dramatically and finally, by what women have done in the Allied countries, by what they are doing in America today. The votes of women will keep us out of war only when to enter it would mean aggression, as in Mexico last year. The votes and brawn and brains, even the blood, of women will be valiantly for war when war means an opportunity to free the world of aggression and violence. The real democrat needs no evidence of what woman suffrage will accomplish. It is part of democracy. Democracy means self-government for the individual as for the nation. In its subjective effect on the individual it has its supreme justification. If women were less capable than men of meeting political responsibility, as they have proved that they are not, it would be only another reason for giving it them. This is the ultimate *raison d'être* of democracy,—to improve the individual. Only the foolish Nietzschean, in and out of Potsdam, thinks it can be done any other way than the way of democracy. Our self-respect as a nation is compromised by every day in which Congress delays the enactment of this national obligation into law.

Lyrics from the Chinese

*Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new?
it hath been already of old time, which was before us.*

(Written 675 B. C.)

I would have gone to my lord in his need
Have galloped there all the way,
But this is a matter concerns the State,
And I, being a woman, must stay.

I watched them leaving the palace yard,
In carriage and robe of state.
I would have gone by the hills and the fords;
I know they will come too late.

I may walk in the garden and gather
Lillies of mother-of-pearl.
I had a plan would have saved the State—
But mine are the thoughts of a girl.

The Elder Statesmen sit on the mats,
And wrangle through half the day,
A hundred plans they have drafted and dropped,
And mine was the only way.

(Written 780 B. C.)

The wise man's wisdom is our strength,
The woman's wisdom is our bane.
The men build up the city walls
For women to tear down again.

No man from any woman's wit
Hath yet learned aught of any worth,
For wise is she, but unto ill,
To bring disorder on the earth.

What does she in affairs of State?
Her place is in the inner room.
Her wisdom does least hurt in this,
To mind the silkworm and the loom.

Trans. by Helen Waddell.

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Men of America on Trial for Democracy

By Anna Howard Shaw

Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense

So many and varied are the opinions expressed in regard to the picketing at the gates of the White House and the unhappy events which have followed, that those whose years of steady purpose, unflinching perseverance, and tenacity have won all that has been gained of suffrage for women, are called upon to express their views as to the wisdom of the semi-militant tactics of the Woman's Party.

There is no doubt that ninety per cent. of loyal, active suffragists deplore the picketing as injurious to the best interests of suffrage; and that they consider that, instead of hastening the passage of an amendment to the National Constitution submitting to the States for ratification the enfranchisement of women, it has been the means of delaying its passage and has made its most optimistic supporters despair of success during the present session of Congress.

Yet in the face of discouragement and disappointment, the National Woman Suffrage Association has never for a moment lessened its active efforts with the President, with members of Congress, and with the public.

Unreasonable as is the action of the Woman's Party in spending time, energy, and money in waving a few banners at the gates of the White House, their lack of reason cannot compare with that of the men, either within or without Congress, who hide behind the pickets and their purple banners, and seek to make the conduct of a few women an excuse for their own failure to vote for the political freedom of the millions of loyal, patriotic and law-abiding women of the United States.

The shallow claim that the picketing is a prophecy of the future conduct of all women in the face of the fact that two million members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association repudiate the methods of the Woman's Party and for more than forty-five years have appealed to Congress, always within the bounds of decorum and in a constitutional manner, though their appeal has been denied, is the sheerest unreason and deceives no one.

If we, as a nation, are true to our ideals of democracy; if it is true that we are fighting to make the world a fit place for democracy, let men stop quibbling about the objectionable conduct of a few women and ask what is the vast body of American women doing at this hour of their country's need.

Let men, who are men, learn what the government is asking of women. Let them behold the thousands of wives who, while clasping their babies to their aching hearts, are looking, perhaps for the last time, into the eyes of the fathers of their children. Let them behold the vaster number of mothers yielding their sons without a murmur, the sons for the hope of whose coming they are ready to lay down their lives. Let them listen to the eager demand to serve of millions of women, and witness the splendid spirit of self-effacement as they respond to the request of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense that they unite in every State to co-ordinate their efforts and co-operate in helpful and efficient service wherever the government may require it.

Let honest men remove the mote of the pickets from their eyes that they may see clearly the vast army of patriotic women who are already in the workshop, field and hospital, toiling with heart and might to aid in winning that democracy for which men claim we are fighting in this war, to win which America's women, as well as her men, have pledged their prayers, their labor, and their sacred honor.

If American men are worthy of such women, they will not wait for them to appeal at the polls to every native or foreign born citizen for the political freedom which is the birthright of all, but they will demand the enfranchisement of women as an immediate and far-reaching reform, as a war measure, before they undertake the democratization of the world.

It is the men of America, and not her women, who are on trial; and upon their wis-

dom in meeting this question will depend the judgment of the world as to the sincerity of the claim that political justice and democracy are their aims in entering the war.

Men of America, the time for words is past, the time for action is at hand. Will you lead, or will you follow the new-born

nations struggling for freedom, in accord- ing justice to women?

Is it, or is it not true that we are fight- ing for the thing that is dearest to our hearts, democracy, that those who submit to authority shall have a voice in their own government? The answer rests with you.

Federal Suffrage in a Dynamic State

By Jennie Bradley Roessing

Acting Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

The passage of the national woman suf- frage amendment, providing that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," is confidently expected by the Na- tional American Woman Suffrage Asso- ciation during the present Congress. At the special session the agreement of party leaders on both sides to confine legislation to the President's war emergency program has barred the suffrage amendment from consideration, but it is predicted that the legislators will not be able to resist the de- mand of suffragists when Congress recon- venes in December. The National Associa- tion, ever since the war began, has been lev- eling a steady finger at the progress of de- mocracy in the monarchies of Europe and in Canada and asking whether the Mother of Republics will allow herself to be left behind in the race. Backed by the fact that 8,000,- 000 women will vote for President at the next election, the National Association be- lieves this argument is irresistible.

Meantime, the Association, under direction of its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, is preparing for the biggest and most com- prehensive campaign in the whole history of the suffrage movement. The organization maintains a national congressional commit- tee in Washington, and this committee is re- inforced by State congressional committees in every State with sub-committees in every congressional district, and a total enrollment of two million members. The National Suf- frage Association has been called "the best fighting organization in the country"—and its entire strength will be turned upon Con- gress at the opening of the regular session.

The policy of the National American Wom-

an Suffrage Association is wholly construc- tive, its methods non-partisan and non-mili- tant. It has built up suffrage sentiment and suffrage laws State by State, until it now has to its credit 19 States where women may vote for President of the United States and in 11 of these they have full suffrage. Since the leverage in the States became sufficient to make woman suffrage a national political issue, the National Association's State work has taken the form of legislative campaigns to secure presidential suffrage laws, similar to the law of Illinois, and since the election of 1916, seven States have been won in this way—namely, North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Michigan, Nebraska, and Ar- kansas, the latter with primary suffrage. These victories make a total of 172 members of the Electoral College elected by votes of women as well as of men.

In Congress during the special session, in view of the agreement of the party leaders that Congress should pass no measures not included in the war emergency program, the Congressional Committee's legislative program has been to obtain every possible advance for the amendment up to the point of actual consideration of the measure on the floor of each House.

In the Senate a hearing was obtained be- fore the Committee on Woman Suffrage, and a favorable, and probably unanimous, report from that committee is assured. In the House, the first step was to secure a Com- mittee on Woman Suffrage, corresponding to the committee in the Senate, which would be able to give full, and it was hoped, more careful consideration to the amendment than the Judiciary Committee could give. To this end a hearing was obtained before the Rules Committee, the Speaker's endorsement was

secured, and the President himself wrote to Chairman Pou that he did not regard the necessary action of the Rules Committee on this question as in conflict with the legisla- tive program. The Rules Committee voted to bring in a favorable report at the first opening in the program, and the chances of adoption of such a rule are good.

At different times during the special ses- sion, each House of Congress has given evi- dence, by the action of some of its leaders, that the suffrage issue is one which will not long be left unsettled. It has become dynamic to a high degree, and these occasions have, in fact, brought some anxiety to suffragists by reason of the partisan zeal of members of Congress. Since neither party has the nec- essary two-thirds majority in either House to pass the amendment, and either party has votes enough to defeat it should the other precipitate a vote as a party measure, the National Suffrage Association has recognized the acute necessity of keeping the question free of party politics. The war legislative program, however, has yielded small oppor- tunity for party politics and the leaders are hungry for party issues. Thus, Minority Leader Mann, in the House, moved to dis- charge the Judiciary Committee from con- sideration of the suffrage amendment, in order to bring it to the calendar. Demo- cratic leaders, not to lose the advantage of the initiative on such a valuable party asset, prepared to force the measure to an imme-

diate vote. This premature action was averted by Mrs. Catt's successful appeal to the Democratic leaders in the House to put suffrage before party advantage.

In the Senate, more recently, minority members of the Woman Suffrage Committee attempted to have the committee discharged from consideration of the amendment, on the ground that the majority members were "bottling it up." Fortunately, in this case, the partisan fight was kept within the com- mittee, and the motion went over without action. The flurry left the situation essen- tially unchanged, but did reveal again the fact that the issue of woman suffrage is high- ly charged, and re-emphasized the vital im- portance of keeping the amendment out of party possession. The measure must receive the votes of members of all parties if it is to pass. It is because of this fact that the Na- tional Association, wherever it takes part in elections considers the candidates on anti- suffrage grounds only, and regardless of party. We ask the support of all parties and want the enmity of none.

At the present writing, an early report is expected from the Senate Committee, and the Rules Committee of the House will prob- ably report in favor of the creation of a suff- rage committee in that body as soon as the war revenue bill is disposed of. This will clear the way for action on the amendment under the most favorable conditions.

Win-the-War Women

By Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

Chairman of Committee on Suffrage Agriculture of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

It needed neither political acumen nor woman's intuition to enable the suffragists of the United States to sense the fact, as soon as war was declared, that one of the greatest of international problems was to be that of food. Food is the business of government, and it is also the housewife's business. Neither can budge an inch toward solving the problem of daily living without the other. If the point needed demonstration, it had it, and from the Administration itself, when Mr. Hoover appealed to the women of the country to save the food situation for the world.

Suffragists might have answered, when they were called upon, that they could not do

what they were asked to do without the vote. For it is true that lack of political represen- tation blocks every effort to keep the food supply, even in their own households, normal and steady. For instance, housewives are just now being urged rather frantically to can food for winter use. Certain kinds of vegetables, like peas, will not stay preserved, even though the housewife use scientific ac- curacy, if they have been picked too long. Yet the problems of food distribution and of marketing are problems of politics with which the housewife must not meddle.

All the women of the National American Woman Suffrage Association—and their

number goes up into the millions—know this; yet it did not hinder them from offering their services to the Government for war service, and particularly for service in the field they know most about—the production and conservation of food. And it is to be remembered in this connection that nearly all the suffragists of the nation enlisted for service; they did not wait to be drafted.

The National Suffrage Association offered four lines of work to the Government as early as February, but agricultural work preceded all others in point of time. Plans formulated at national headquarters were sent out in March to every state suffrage organization, with the result that more than 30 State presidents responded promptly. Special officers were appointed to stimulate the food supply. A garden for every home came near to being a reality. "War gardens" and "patriotic lots" were planted in every county, and by early summer more land was under cultivation than ever before in this country.

Suffrage associations from Texas to Wisconsin, and from Portland to Portland attacked their new task merrily. They made clever slogans to attract attention. They prompted activities with quips and enticements after the custom of women the world over. They invented working costumes, novel and convenient.

Certain States, like New York, Nebraska, Connecticut and Maryland made food conservation a part of their suffrage programs. In other States, like Tennessee and Michigan, suffrage leaders used the machinery of their organizations in conjunction with State agencies. It was reported in July by Tennessee women that "223,067 women were enlisted in the army of food preparedness, probably 10 per cent. more than ever before." This refers only to those women listed in food preservation clubs. It does not include the thousands of women who raise and conserve food individually—naturally the larger number.

In every instance, suffrage organizations put themselves in touch with the agricultural authorities, working in harmony with Government plans, national and local. Maryland suffrage headquarters were used as centers for the lectures from the State colleges on production of vegetables, crop diseases and insects and their cure. The organization used its wide membership for the distribution of garden primers.

Garden seeds were given away in Alabama and Pennsylvania. Oregon suffragists obtained and parcelled out hundreds of vacant lots to families who wanted to cut the high cost of living. Just outside of Baton Rouge, a big sign in front of a fifty-acre tract has called attention ever since spring to the work of Louisiana suffrage workers: "Suffrage War Garden—Watch Us Grow." New York City, itself, had seen another war garden on a small scale. A practical form of stimulating food increase carried out by the suffrage organization of Richmond, Virginia, was to advance money for gardens. Wisconsin suffragists set themselves to the task of promoting 1,000,000 gardens this year.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri, who is national chairman for suffrage thrift and the elimination of waste, had in the meanwhile, gone out into the field to arouse the women of the country to save in every possible manner. She lectured on thrift throughout the South, getting a remarkable response from civil authorities as well as from suffrage organizations. Community markets, farmers' markets at trolley terminals, municipal canning and drying centers, farm schools for women and industrial bureaus for women farm hands were all set going by these two branches of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's war service before the Government's own plans were matured. As soon as these plans were ready to be declared, Mrs. Miller went to the office of the Food Administrator in Washington, and put the entire food conservation scheme of the association into his hands. "Helping Hoover" was taken up by suffragists with the same whole-souled commitment they had put into the making of gardens. Hundreds of thousands of Hoover pledges have been distributed through the agency of the suffrage organizations.

Suffrage work for the Red Cross has been carried on systematically side by side with food raising and food preserving. A nationwide service in Americanization of the alien has been put under the direction of women well equipped to carry it on. Registration Day found suffragists offering their services to their city governments as registrars, and in many cities they were duly appointed clerks to take the military census. This was interesting in Southern States where women in official positions were a distinct innovation. Yet the newspapers of Birmingham,

Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; Albuquerque, New Mexico and Dallas, Texas, were just as appreciative of the high grade of the women's help as if they had not always declared women much too fine and good for human nature's political offices.

Millions of dollars of the Liberty Loan have been placed by suffrage organizations. Naturally when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was put on the Federal Women's Committee for Placing the Liberty Loan, there was a great stimulation of interest in this form of war service.

Suffragists' part in the war work of the nation has been emphasized by the fact that the chairman of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense is the hon-

orary president of the national association, and Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Stanley McCormick, president and second vice-president of the association, are among the members of the committee. Suffragists had efficient machinery to offer the Government and they have offered it, in no hope of reward, but as the loyal service of that group of citizens who never once in the world's history have failed to bear their share of national burdens. What these women want from the Government is not a bonus, but the recognition of the fact that the service of women, being essential to the state, can be better performed by women enfranchised as citizens, than by women hampered by a ballotless condition which even the most indifferent alien would consider a hardship.

Ready for Citizenship

By Carrie Chapman Catt

President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

It has been frankly acknowledged that but for the suffrage movement in Great Britain, the massing of women for war service would not have been possible. For the very life of their cause suffragists were in compact formation, organized to their speed limit when the war broke in 1914.

Because suffragists were tense for action, the more sluggish of their sex, women opposed to suffrage, had been reluctantly dragged into an opposing organization. In alertness this lagged far behind the suffrage organization. But it presented groups with inter-communicating channels throughout the Kingdom. In a sense woman suffrage was the force cohering all of these women, even those opposed being massed to oppose.

In the midst of the general unreadiness in England, the women of the country had the high pressure machinery necessary for concentrated action. They could intercommunicate swiftly. They had habits of acting together and that *esprit de corps* which make for the frictionless following of a leader. An indication of the swift, sure and steady machinery of the suffragists was the creation of nine hospital units, staffed entirely by women and supported entirely by the British suffragists of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. These began in Septem-

ber, 1914, with a capital of £17. Within a year seven of them were in the field. What the British suffragists have accomplished through those Scottish Women's Hospitals has become world famous.

This concisely indicates that the suffragist stands for two sorts of power; group power, with its cohesive force of a unifying idea, and the power which awareness gives every individual. The suffragist is more aware of the significance of events than most men. She has to be aware. For half a hundred years right here in America women have been watching politics. Their hand has been on its pulse, as it were, to gauge its relation to their deepest interests. They have ceased to envisage government as an absentee overlord. They know it is an everyday affair concerned intimately with their right to be guardians over their own children. Their resentment at taxation without representation is no individual bitterness of a person left out where she ought to be in. It is a profound contemplation of the province of government in its relation to the individual pocketbook. Thus the suffrage woman's reaction to war is no mere blind patriotism cheering for the flag. It is rather the partaking of responsibility. The suffragist looks at war spiritually and demands of her soul that

it shall think straight on the subject. If war must be, she is determined that her share of service for it shall be such as to make repetition of war impossible. Her mental responses are of the sort called by men intuitive, but known by women as rapid ratiocination. Women have come clear-eyed and unhampered by tradition in their perceptions of government. They see it as extending the affairs of their everyday life.

Just at first new nomenclatures made a barrier which awed them, but they soon marched past the new names and recognized familiar concepts. City garbage collection is seen quickly to be a multiplication of many house garbage cans. City markets mean that the places where the individual housewife buys her children's food are multiplied many times over. Police systems mean to her the safeguarding of the streets on which her children walk.

The woman, more intimately even than the man, finds government a matter related to her own work at every turn.

Civic crises, catastrophes, emergencies—how much more in woman's line are they than in man's. War's problems are her very own problems of feeding, clothing, distributing, nursing, protecting. How many times has her eager spirit yearned to say, "Let me do it," when unaccustomed, slow-fingered men have seemed at a loss, and has had to sit still and watch them fumble with machinery she knows by heart.

In the United States, suffrage associations have illustrated this alertness of women. Suffragists were already stimulating the production and conservation of food before any definite governmental action was worked out. And through their suffrage associations they were passing on the word to other women. What Connecticut found out was told in Alabama. Nebraska's thrift aroused emulation in New York. Women in Plattsburg, New York, and San Antonio, Texas, were of one mind about being "camp mothers" to soldiers. They had seen camps in both places. Women of Wisconsin joined them. All of them knew something about what adolescent youth needs. There has been no sectionalism, there can be none among women, alike disfranchised, and alike seeking for the ballot for the common end of protecting that which is dearest to their hearts.

No other group of people came so readily

into line for national service, for no other group seeking enfranchisement has ever sifted through every class and station of life. Ready-to-serve suffragists have put the handles of the tools of their colossal organization into the government's hands. These tools have been sharpening for three generations for use.

Thus it happens that by her vast struggle for the vote, woman has developed within herself a sensitiveness to the inner meanings of government. She has awakened a self-conscious responsibility to the State, and this is a new factor in civic life. It argues for a purer government than has ever been in the history of the world. The sharpness of vision, bred in her by man's efforts to stamp out her desire for citizenship, has made her keen against injustice.

When war itself brings freedom to women, as it must, it will find her ready. There never has been given to a nation such a spiritual accretion at any one moment as will come to America when her 20,000,000 unenfranchised women shall have the ballot given to them.

REPRESENTATION

(My wife is against suffrage, and that settles me. —Vice-president Marshall.)

I.

My wife dislikes the income tax,
And so I cannot pay it;
She thinks that golf all interest lacks,
So now I never play it;
She is opposed to tolls repeal
(Though why I cannot say),
But woman's duty is to feel,
And man's is to obey.

II.

I'm in a hard position for a perfect gentleman,
I want to please the ladies, but I don't see how I can.
My present wife's a suffragist, and counts on my support;
But my mother is an anti of a rather biting sort.
One grandmother is on the fence, the other much opposed,
And my sister lives in Oregon, and thinks the question's closed.
Each one is counting on my vote to represent her view.
Now what should you think proper for a gentleman to do?

*(From "Are Women People," by Alice Duer Miller—
Published by George H. Doran Company.)*

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending August 21.

Congressional Doings

Senators La Follette, Thomas and Gore brought in a minority report against the pending revenue bill, which, it is estimated, will raise about \$2,000,000,000 of the approximately \$10,000,000,000 required, exclusive of loans to the Allies, for financing the first year of the war. The minority called attention to the fact that England takes 80 per cent of excess profits by taxation, as compared with the sliding scale averaging about 20 per cent provided by the pending bill. Extracts from the report follow:

Every member of the Finance Committee, whether of the majority or minority, fully understands that the bill presented by the majority is only intended to raise a small part of the money which must be raised for the support of the Government during the ensuing year. Yet the country will be given to understand, and will have a right to understand from the majority report and bill, that the bill fixes the amount of taxation to which the property and industries of the country are to be subject for the current year.

All the revenue which this bill provides for raising will be exhausted in a very few months. Every member of the Finance Committee knows it, and knows that in the meantime the business interests of the country will have accepted the taxation features of this bill as covering the amount to be raised by taxation for the present fiscal year, and as far as possible will have adjusted themselves to the taxes imposed by the provisions of this bill. This will scarcely have been done, however, before it will be necessary to raise other and much larger sums than are provided for in this bill. To levy then a new tax upon the industries of the country will be a burden of which they may most justly complain. Fair dealing requires that a sufficient tax should be levied and that the business of the country should know at this time, approximately at least, what the tax will be, and be given an opportunity to adjust themselves to it.

While this bill and the report of majority members of the committee accompanying it are silent on the subject of further bond issues, it is perfectly obvious a bond issue to meet the many billions of dollars left unprovided for in this bill is in contemplation—indeed the plan will doubtless be made public soon. A few months from now, when it becomes necessary to raise other billions of dollars, there will, no doubt, be great opposition to any plan to raise more money by additional taxation.

We must always remember that the argument that by heavy taxation we reduce the ability of the public to purchase bonds is wholly fallacious. What we raise by taxation we do not need to raise by bond sale and if we raise enough by taxation we will not need to sell any bonds at all. After all, any bonds we may sell for the purpose of this war must be sold to our own people and must be paid for out of income or investment.

If paid out of income then that income was also available to the Government through an income tax. If the bonds are paid for out of investment, that must mean that the bonds are made so attractive by high interest rate, tax exemption or other features as to attract money from normal business enterprises to the disturbance and injury of the regular business of the country.

To advocate lower tax rates at present on war

profits, with a view to leaving a margin for a later day, is to leave out of sight the fact that this prolific source of revenue will automatically disappear with the end of the war and that the opportunity to tax each year's profits passes with the year.

If it is fair and reasonable to impose a tax of 50 per cent on normal incomes of a certain size, as the majority bill proposes to do, should there be any hesitation in applying a flat 50 per cent tax or indeed a higher rate on excessive war profits?

Neither the war profit tax nor the income tax affects the amount of existing capital. Both these taxes are levied upon extraordinary and unusual profits. Even if they absorbed the greater part of the profits of individuals such taxes would not in any way affect the income of the same individual the next year. The capital remains. The tax does not impair the earning power of that capital, and in the next year the profits will again be received from the business as before.

From these two sources, the income tax and the war profits tax, there can be raised without subjecting the country to serious financial strain and without depriving the wealthy of even the luxuries of life, more than double the amount proposed in the bill and accompanying report submitted by the majority of the committee. This is the minimum amount which we can afford to provide for by taxation from these sources at this time. To do less than that is to enter upon a course that is bound to be ruinous to the country on account of the excessive bond issues that will be required and which is unjust and indefensible from every point of view.

It is monstrously unfair to tax the everyday necessities of the average man and woman to pay the expenses of this war in addition to commanding their services and the lives of many of them and of their children, so long as the swollen and abnormal profits are not taken—profits which the war has created and which will disappear as soon as the war ends. Every dollar of the above profits can be taken and still the enormous peace time profits of these and other great corporations will not be touched. Will any one contend that the food and the medicine and the most absolute necessities of the poor shall be taxed so long as these enormous war profits remain as a source of revenue?

Johnson Scores Revenue Bill

Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California attacked the War Revenue Bill in a speech in the Senate on Monday. At its close, Senators who had been thought favorable to the bill rushed over to his desk and assured him of their support, says the *New York Tribune*. Mr. Johnson said in part:

In the portion of the remarks quoted the chairman was speaking of the figures of the great steel corporation, and I refer to this corporation not in an invidious sense at all, but because it has been used by way of example upon this floor again and again in this debate. Just imagine what we do! We give to the steel corporation a dividend, first upon its preferred stock. Then, I use the language of the distinguished Senator who is chairman of the Finance Committee, we permit it to pay all its expenses, and all its taxes of every kind and every nature, and then we give to this steel corporation in our time of stress and in our time of dire need, when every man's heart is bleeding for his loved ones that go beyond the sea, a dividend equal to more than has been paid in upon its capital stock.

How the people laugh to scorn a Congress that deals thus tenderly with war profits while dealing with such severity with the common human clay to be put up against the gun! To the Steel Corporation is returned under the bill nearly \$300,000,000 war profits for the year; not of ordinary profits, mind you, but of war profits, computed under the terms of this bill; Congress hands to the Steel Corporation because, forsooth, it has coined the blood and the bone and the sinew of the land into the dollars, the monstrous sum of nearly \$300,000,000. Can you justify it? Can you justify it particularly at this time, when you demand the maximum human sacrifice?

The distinguished Senator who is chairman of the Finance Committee says: "But, truly, this is a war profit tax." Oh, no; this is no war profit tax. This is a tax by which you just touch the war profits of those who have grown wealthy out of the conflict. It is but the shadow and shade of taxation, with profits undreamed of still remaining with the corporation.

England to-day takes 80 per cent of the war profits there to run the war. Do you realize how much we take based upon the minimum of \$3,000,000,000 war profits for the last year? We take additionally under this bill less than 20 per cent and England takes to-day 80 per cent of war profits.

Oh, the generosity of the United States, that of an income of \$10,000,000 in time of stress will take \$5,000,000 and hand back to the impoverished possessor of that income \$5,000,000 as well!

What a terrible thing it is, what an assault upon business, what an endeavor to prevent the usual and ordinary currents of trade from proceeding in the usual and the ordinary way that we give back to a man with an income of ten million dollars, five million dollars! Think how cramped he will be in his living in the next year if he has only five million dollars upon which he may for himself and his family obtain the necessaries of life. A generous Congress, indeed it is, tender, indeed, of these incomes, which stops with \$500,000 and never puts another cent or another percentage by this bill upon incomes that exceed \$500,000.

Of incomes in this time, war profits in this crisis, why should we not take the largest sum that can be taken, the largest amount that it is conceivable may be taken, and not leave, of course, the recipient of the income in rags or in tears or in starvation or in squalor? Why should we not take what we may for the public defence and the public weal? That we should take from these swollen war profits the very highest percentage—even as high as does England herself—it seems to me, goes absolutely without saying, and that we should increase our income taxes proportionately is wholly justified.

Again I advert to the suggestion that we must have a reserve in the future—a reserve of war profits—upon which to draw. With war determined overnight, the profits are determined overnight, and the profits then safely remain in the pockets of the men who have made them, and we have not taken from this reserve at all. I submit, Mr. President, this time is one where there must be a tenderness alike for all things, human and material, and where, if it is necessary to do what we have done in respect to human beings—and I assume it to be necessary, and I join in doing it because I deem it necessary—I insist that the necessity exists when dealing with money and with property to have the same inexorable mental attitude which the Senate has displayed in dealing with flesh and blood.

Troops Arrest I. W. W. Leaders

Federalized national guardsmen acting under orders from district headquarters at Portland, Ore., raided I. W. W. headquarters in Spokane on Sunday and arrested the leaders, who had called a general strike of agricultural workers and timber workers for the following day. The officer in command refused to give his prisoners the privileges accorded to civil prisoners and arrested a man who tried to talk with them. President Wilson has sent Justice Covington of the District of Columbia court to western centers of I. W. W. agitation to report on conditions there. The army authorities at Columbus, N. M., have not yet escorted the deported copper miners back to Bisbee, Ariz. The Attorney General of Arizona declared after a personal investigation at Bisbee that the city was "a hot-bed of anarchism," referring to arbitrary control by the employing interests, and said that only Federal intervention could restore law and order. The authorities have not yet made any arrest for the lynching of Frank Little, I. W. W. leader, at Butte, Mont.

Mr. Gompers Calls Conference

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, has announced that the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, formed by trades unionists to combat pacifist and pro-German influences in the labor movement, will hold a conference at Minneapolis beginning Sept. 5. Socialists who have left the party because of its opposition to the war, and others, will participate. The conference was called in order to counteract the influence of a pacifist gathering to be held in the same city beginning a few days earlier.

Anarchism in Bisbee

Thomas McGuinness, a real estate operator of Bisbee, Ariz., has written for the San Francisco *Bulletin* an account of the deportation of 1,200 striking miners. Extracts from his article follow:

The Y. M. C. A. proved an effective ally for the forces of "law and order." Arthur Notman, son of the treasurer of the Copper Queen Company, is head of the Y. M. C. A. directorate.

The only clergyman of Bisbee to take the part of the strikers was the Rev. Mr. Brewster, pastor of the Bisbee Episcopal Church. The clergyman is a man of culture and a student of sociological problems. Before the start of the strike, he had become unpopular on account of the fact that he had publicly discussed child labor and employers' liability legislation. Such discussion is regarded as unpleasant and dangerous in Bisbee.

Heading the Rev. Mr. Brewster's board of vestrymen were Mr. Greenway, manager of the C. & A. mine, and another man who was head accountant for the local water and light company. The clergyman's interest in unsafe subjects was punished by the simple expedient of cutting off his salary. Although he remained in the settlement, continuing to insist that the miners had a right to demand better conditions, he was ostracised by the conservative element of the community and suffered poverty and insult.

The other clergymen of the city have stood solidly with the mine owners and the Y. M. C. A. has been used as the assembly place of the armed deputies.

Before I left Bisbee the companies had extended

and strengthened their military organization and secret service, and entrance to Bisbee is now dependent upon the sanction of the allied interests of the mining region.

Automobile entry to Bisbee from the east is via Douglas, about 30 miles away. Mine owners and business men in this vicinity are co-operating closely with the Bisbee mine owners and have evolved a plan designed to bar "undesirables." Any person desiring to go to Bisbee via Douglas must obtain a passport from the Douglas Chamber of Commerce. Persons seeking this official endorsement are given a searching examination, and there is no possibility of any person expressing sympathy with the strikers entering the Warren district.

It will be recalled that 433 of the deported men were married. Many of them have wives and children. These families are now being cared for by public charity. Mine officials deny that the women and children have suffered, and point to the fact that the charity contributions will be quite sufficient to take care of them until they are sent somewhere.

Post Office Censorship

Gilbert E. Roe, attorney for the *Masses*, filed a protest before the third assistant postmaster-general on the 14th protesting against a proposal of the Department to deny that paper admission to the mails as second-class matter on the grounds that it had missed its August issue and was therefore not a "continuous publication." Mr. Roe cited the decision of Judge Hand of the Federal District Court that the paper had been "illegally and wrongfully" barred from the mails by the Post Office Department, and that the Department had no right to take advantage of its own illegal act. Quoting from a letter of Postmaster-General Burleson that "any publisher who may question the validity of the rulings of the Post Office Department" may appeal to the courts, Mr. Roe said:

That can only mean what it says. It can only mean that a publisher has the protection of the courts against illegal rulings of the Department. But this proposal to bar *The Masses* from the second-class privileges is a plain violation of the assurance given to the public by the Postmaster-General that no publisher is wholly at the mercy of the department. Under your present plan, you first stop a given issue of a magazine and then you permanently penalize the publisher, not on account of his own conduct but on account of yours. I cannot believe that the Department seriously contemplates such an inequitable procedure. I am inclined to believe that this is a mere routine proposal and that when your attention is called to its anomalous character, the Department will abide by the decision of the Federal courts in spirit as well as in law.

The Post Office Department decided against *The Masses*.

To Tax Land Into Use

Protesting against the Revenue Bill proposed by the Senate Finance Committee because it bears most heavily on the workers of the country and permits the beneficiaries of privilege to escape their fair share of taxes, the American Committee on the High Cost of Living says:

We beg to remind you that the three per cent of the population of the United States who own nearly all the value of land, secure about \$4,000,-

000,000 a year net unearned ground rent, and the selling price of land to which they hold title increases by about \$2,000,000,000 annually. Nearly 400,000,000 acres of arable farm land in the United States is held idle. We respectfully urge that Congress at once levy a tax of one per cent on the value of all land and of 2 per cent on the full value of all unimproved land. This will not only secure \$900,000,000 to \$950,000,000 revenue, but will reduce the cost of living materially by forcing most of the idle arable farm land into productive use.

Such a tax involves a payment of only \$10 to \$15 by the average small farm and home owner, or about one-tenth of what the average per family interest charge bids fair to be for a generation under the proposed policy of deferred payment of the cost of the war.

Such taxation would tend to make it possible to follow the President's suggestion that at least half of the cost of the war should be met currently. If the action of the Senate Finance Committee is an earnest of the way the war is to be financed, and the war lasts three years, we shall incur a debt of about \$50,000,000,000, upon which the annual interest charges alone, at 4½ per cent, will be \$2,500,000,000, or nearly \$25 for every man, woman and child in the United States to-day. Most of this will have been incurred to save the worst enemies of democracy in the United States—the land speculators—from doing their fair share toward winning the war. Such a course would be repudiation at the outset of our noble purpose to make the world safe for democracy.

European War

Fighting has been more general during the week than for a long time past. On the extreme western front the British and French made a considerable advance northeast of Ypres, in which Langhemarck was taken, together with 1,800 prisoners. In the advance north of Lens the Canadians distinguished themselves in capturing Hill 70. The French, besides smaller successes at several points on their line, advanced in force at Verdun on the 20th on a front of 11 miles, and penetrated the German lines to a depth of a mile and a quarter. More than 4,000 prisoners have been taken. Italy on the 19th launched the most extensive campaign since her entry into the war. The attack covered a front of 37 miles, extending from Plava to the Adriatic. One hundred officers and 7,500 men were captured in the first advance. On the Russian front there is still confusion and uncertainty. The German and Austrian forces have driven the Russians and Roumanians across the River Sereth on the Roumanian front, capturing 3,500 prisoners. Elsewhere the Russians are showing greater resistance. [See current volume, page 796.]

* *

Considerable interest still attaches to the Stockholm Conference. The correction of the report that Premier Kerensky opposed holding the conference revived the question in Great Britain, where a joint meeting of the executive committee of the National Labor Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress voted confidence in Arthur Henderson. The meeting named delegates to Stockholm, and voted to ask the Government to grant passports to the delegates. On the other

hand, the conference of representatives of seamen's organizations of several Allied and neutral countries, in session in London, voted thanks to the Government for refusing passports to delegates to the Socialist conference at Stockholm. The resolution expressed the opinion that the vote of the labor conference in favor of sending delegates to Stockholm "was not a true and representative vote of the opinion of organized labor, and that a true vote can only be taken by a referendum of the trades unionists." A referendum vote therefore is asked. The Russian Socialists are expected to attend the conference. The French are still debating the matter. The German attitude toward the conference is undefined. Some express the fear that the British action has destroyed its usefulness.

* *

Pope Benedict made a peace proposal that bears date of August 1, and was given to the press August 15. His proposals include: No annexations or indemnities; complete restoration by Germany and Austria of Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania, and the occupied parts of France; settlement of the Italia Irredenta and Balkan questions and the future of Poland and Alsace-Lorraine on the line of national aspirations; restoration by the Entente Allies of the colonies taken from Germany; no retaliatory struggle for commercial supremacy after the war; full freedom of the seas; reduction of armaments to a strictly defensive basis; an international court of arbitration to settle all disputes that may lead to war and to enforce peace. Among the Entente Allies and in America the feeling appears to be decidedly against the proposals as not meeting the requirements of the present situation. German opinion so far as given out is divided. The Socialists, Liberals, and Clericals appear to favor the terms, but the junkers and militarists oppose them. No official statement has been made by any Government, but an exchange of views is in progress.

* *

Premier Lloyd George has made the first statement of the British tonnage loss by mines and submarines. Heretofore the statement has been of the number of ships over 1,600 tons; now he gives the actual tonnage. From February, when the ruthless campaign began, to April, the loss was 450,000 to 500,000 tons monthly, after allowing for new construction. In June the loss fell to 320,000 tons gross. This would give for July and August 175,000 each. The new tonnage building in 1915 was 688,000 tons. In 1916 it was 538,000. For the first six months of this year it was 480,000. The tonnage acquired during the last six months will be 1,420,000, of which 1,100,000 will have been built in Great Britain. The total for the year will be 1,900,000 tons. In making this statement the Premier expressed the utmost confidence in the situation. There are 16,000,000 more bushels of wheat in England than there were a year ago; and there are 1,000,000 more acres of land devoted to wheat.

* *

Mobilization of American forces, including national guardsmen and volunteers, continues at the camps in the South. Since the nation entered the

war volunteers to the number of 121,514 have been accepted for service in the navy and marine corps; in the regular army, 190,347; and in the National Guard, 139,998; making a total of voluntary enlistments since April 1 of 448,859. The army is being re-organized on European standards, at the recommendation of General Pershing. The administrative unit hereafter will be a company of 250 men with six commissioned officers, instead of about 100 men with three commissioned officers. The purpose of the first and second captain is to provide for the reorganization of the company if the first is killed. The second captain remains in the reserve. The regiment will have about 3,600 men, and a division about 28,000.

Russia

Interest in the conference to be held at Moscow, August 25-27, increases as the time approaches. Definite plans have not been announced, but it is understood in a general way that the conference will consider the political situation and plans for the new national government. The membership of the conference will be representative of the whole country. Petrograd and Moscow Town Councils will have 15 delegates each; other large towns, 7 each; Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates, 100; Peasants, 100; Town Zemstvos, 400; co-operative societies, 300; industry, 120; agricultural societies, 100; representatives of science, 100; Duma, 400. [See current volume, page 797.]

* *

The deposed Emperor Nicholas Romanoff, who with wife, children, and suite, was removed from the palace at Tsarskoe-Selo on August 14, has been transferred to Tobolsk, in western Siberia, 1,500 miles from Petrograd. With him went the Empress, the children, and certain members of their suite of their free will.

NOTES

—The fourth annual Babson Conference on Co-operation will be held at Wellesley Hills, Mass., September 5th, 6th and 7th.

—The total German casualties, killed, wounded, and prisoners, as tabulated in London from the German official lists, are announced as 4,500,000.

—In accordance with a ruling of the Food Administration, issued on the 16th, all processes in the production of distilled spirits for beverage purposes must cease at 11 o'clock P. M., September 8.

—Several million eggs destined for Germany from Holland have been held up on the Dutch border because the Dutch demand gold payment, instead of German paper money offered.

—Airplanes hastened the end of the recent brief reign of China's baby emperor. A few bombs dropped from the sky upon the imperial palace so disconcerted the Dictator, General Chang Hsun, that he immediately promised the reabdication of the little emperor.

—German occupation of Belgium thus far has cost in money raised from the Belgian people by the so-called "war contributions" and destruction more than \$1,600,000,000, according to the compilation of the American Committee of American Engineers in

London. Besides this the Belgian Government and the charitable world have contributed \$250,000,000 to feed the Belgian people during the three years of war. No figures exist as to the amount of machinery taken, the goods requisitioned, and the forests destroyed. The total is estimated at over \$2,000,000,000.

—A house-to-house canvass of the Canal Zone taken by the police and fire division between June 10 and 30, 1917 shows the total number of inhabitants, exclusive of military population, to be 23,295. This is an increase of 465 over the civil population at the same date in 1916.

—Food Director Hoover estimates the grain shortage of the world at 400,000,000 bushels. America's contribution toward making up the shortage will consist in raising our exports of wheat from 88,000,000 to 220,000,000 bushels. This can be done, Mr. Hoover says, if we will reduce our consumption of wheat flour from five pounds per week to four pounds per week per person, using other grains in place of the wheat.

—Speaking of China's troubles, Professor Jeremiah Jenks says that the United States at its beginning was worse off. For poor as China's credit and monetary system are, the credit and money of the United States were worse. We should remember, he says, that throughout our Revolutionary War the separate States were practically independent of the central government, and so were not so very unlike, in situation, the Provinces of China.

PRESS OPINIONS

Controlling the Uncontrollable

The *World* (New York), August 20.—Solely through their own fault the coal-operators and coal-dealer have brought about a situation which requires that the Federal Government shall assert its powers. For the last year conditions have steadily been growing worse.

By systematized profiteering the coal interests have created a state of feeling that leaves them friendless. The campaign of extortion begun many months ago has reached a point where it cannot be longer endured. Public resentment is so strong that any steps that will help to avert a coal panic and protect consumers will be approved.

A few years ago the prospect of the Federal Government's taking over the coal supply of the country, with the purpose of fixing prices and regulating distribution, would have been denounced as rank Socialism. To-day it is accepted as a measure forced by the rapacity of the producers.

In Washington, it is evident, action cannot be long delayed. The Federal Trade Commission recommends that the Government take possession of the output of the mines and provide for its marketing. The Railroad War Board and the War Industries Board realize that the Government must direct shipments. These measures could have been voluntarily adopted by the coal interests if they had honestly sought to co-operate with the Government in the emergency. But their one desire has been to fill their own pockets, regardless of every other consideration.

The Bad Faith of Rulers

The *New York Times*, August 18.—With the Pope's first proposal—"the fundamental point," he calls it—that military force "shall give way to the moral force of right," and that disarmament and arbitration be substituted for war, everybody will heartily agree. The world has had such a bitter acquaintance with the trickery inherent in the methods of the German ruling caste that no nation in its senses would disarm on Germany's promise to disarm too, and no nation would consent to reduce its force, regiment by regiment and corps by corps, with Germany as Germany is now ruled. It would be quite possible to place trust in a disarmament agreement negotiated with the German people, but not in one negotiated by the Hohenzollern.

The world, too, would willingly enter into arbitration agreements with the German people if it could, but its disillusionment on the subject of Hohenzollern faith is so complete that it will not enter into such agreements with the Kaiser.

Wiping out the Color Line

Evening Post (New York), August 18.—The War Department has taken gratifying action in reversing its previous decision to segregate the negro troops in the army, break up existing brigade organizations along color lines, and rigidly to keep the colored troops out of the South. It has now decided to treat them just like the others, and so the Eighth Illinois Regiment will go to Texas with the other Illinois troops. This is not only in accordance with justice and military efficiency, but with good sense. In France colored troops have been fighting with a bravery that no one denies. No Frenchman has thought of drawing the color line; and nothing would astonish the French more than to learn that there should be social distinctions among men who are giving their lives to a joint cause. They have not forgotten over there how a colored battalion of French troops vacated a perfect shelter to give place to a column of wounded men, suddenly brought under German fire. These gallant natives of Africa were decimated as they left their place of safety. Secretary Baker has been wise enough to see that our colored troops must not be sent into action to carry democracy forward, while smarting from anti-democratic discrimination at the hands of the country for which they are asked to give their blood.

CORRESPONDENCE

A QUESTION

President Wilson, in his Flag Day speech, has said that "We now know as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it, and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own."

All of which is recognized by the American people, I believe, as being entirely true. But the thought leads to an extended question.

We are agreed, in the main, that the German War Office and its parasitical military caste are the pro-

moters and instigators of the world-war; that the majority of the German individuals had no more voice in the choice of precipitating present conditions than had the individual American citizen in the adoption of our conscript law.

There is no doubt that the German War Office and its cohorts of carnage are, practically, still intact, notwithstanding the wholesale slaughter of hundreds of thousands of obedient Teuton subjects. Past events show that continued assaults, or defense, mean but further annihilation of human beings who are fighting under enforced acquiescence, while the actual perpetrators of the bloody affair remain full-fed and safe in dignified "leadership." It is an absolute fact that "all the king's horses and all the king's men" cannot get within striking distance of the feudal faction, that has mobilized its "loyal" subjects for an unnatural and untimely end, unless—what?

Unless every enslaved German subject, who has been given his choice of shooting or being shot and who is being used as a war-shield by his estimable "leader," shall be wiped out of existence. Then, only, can the united efforts of the Allied Armies reach the iniquitous instigators of this affair. But "we are not the enemies of the German people" and "we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own!"

Under actual conditions, is there not a touch of irony in our President's statement?

"Johnny," said the fond father as he laid his impulsive son across his knee and vigorously wielded a slipper, "I am doing this for your own good. It hurts me more than it hurts you."

True, it was for Johnny's own good. Although Johnny was severely chastised, yet his life was spared so that he might hesitate, reflect and profit by the lesson.

We are at war.

"We are not the enemies of the German people."

The military murderers of Germany are inaccessible unless we annihilate every human obstacle and destroy every material obstruction that stands in our path.

If we pursue our objective to the bitter end how can those trusting, loyal Teutons, marked as they are for destruction, "some day see—that we are fighting their cause?" How can their now toddling infants come to realize the great good that we are now about to confer upon them? Who shall survive to teach them the moral issue involved? Will they accept the word and explanation of those who have slain their fathers? Will the few "loyal" survivors of the Fatherland's fight carry to them an undistorted story of our righteousness and of their own wrong? Will these infants, then grown, accept in humble, grief-stricken acknowledgement the verdict of "humanity's" judgment?

Do we intend to pursue this war until the German War Office and its coterie have been wiped out of physical existence? Or shall we fight only until the German war machine is compelled to admit the inevitable failure of its own program? Shall the war lords then be permitted to declare a truce and enter into civil settlement for indemnities, including the abandonment of their cherished hopes, with the

usual post-war methods of overlooking and forgetting the "leader's" culpability? Are we to insist simply upon the relinquishment of power by the Teutonic military politicians and permit them to "retire" with their already ill-gotten means of affluent subsistence, or shall we carry through the action, as is done in our national courts, and cause the death penalty to be meted out to the murderers?

It may be said that the preceding questions indicate a vindictive spirit. If, so, are our national courts vengeful, in the blood-thirsty sense, in consistently carrying out the provisions of our criminal laws? If our national laws are right and consistent, is there any logical reason why we should not apply the spirit of legal retribution and justice to our international affairs?

Beyond fighting until the Allied Armies, or the Central Powers, or both, are exhausted, what actual, definite objective have we in view, and how can we attain it without the wholesale slaughter of the people whose enemies we are not and who "are not our enemies?"

Fall River, Mass.

THOMAS N. ASHTON.

BOOKS

The Menace of Peace. By Geo. D. Herron. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York, 1917. Price \$1.00.

Like Scott Nearing, Geo. D. Herron is an intensely religious radical. Seventeen years ago he was Professor of Applied Christianity in Iowa College, and wrote such books as "The Call of the Cross," "A Plea for the Gospel," "From Revolution to Revolution," "Why I Am a Socialist." He taught in the classroom and preached on the platform that social conditions should be made to conform to the universal democracy of love which he saw in the teachings of Christ. So genuine was the democracy which he taught, and so fundamental the Christianity, that he soon brought down upon himself the wrath of the Board of Trustees, and suddenly found himself confronted with the task of looking for another job. When, therefore, Geo. D. Herron speaks of peace as a menace, radicals and conservatives alike must sit up and take notice.

From the outbreak of the war in Europe three years ago Dr. Herron saw in the war not merely a struggle between one group of nations and another, or between German and British groups of capitalists, but he saw in it an essentially spiritual conflict, the issue of which will decide the destiny for long centuries to come. Therefore, he thinks that:

The thing that urges and counts is, not when the war shall end, but what it shall be seen to mean. For the war to close, and the world not to know what it has been fighting about, would be the supreme catastrophe of history. Terrible as the war is, the peace which the pacifists propose would be more terrible. A compromise between the contending belligerents would be a betrayal of the peoples of every nation, and would issue in universal mental and moral confusion. A peace that leaves the nations where they were, that recognizes neither victor nor vanquished, that ignores the conflict's causes and questions, that evades all judgment as to the right or wrong of the matter—such a peace would be the last disaster of mankind. Perhaps at the time these words were written they

were true. At that time the various contending nations had great hopes of conquest. For the war to have ended then might have meant nothing more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, and nothing less than an increased preparation for another war, one which would be more devastating, more destructive, more ruinous.

But times have changed. Many things have happened. And what was true then is not true to-day. Then Russia was an autocracy, fighting for Constantinople, for Galicia, for Eastern Prussia. Then America was neutral, and energetically occupied in coining profits. But to-day Russia is a republic with ideals of liberty and freedom as great, if not greater, than our own. To-day Russia wants no territory but asks justice for all men. To-day America is in the war by the side of England, France, and Russia. To-day Germany has experienced a great political upheaval, and may soon experience another. To-day Austria has had its changes and is willing to dance to another tune. To-day Russia demands peace without annexations or indemnities, America wants the world made safe for democracy, Germany and Austria have asked for a peace with mutual understanding. From all over the world comes the news that the people have tired of the struggle, that they are willing to forget the animosities of the past and to bury them in a brotherhood of the future. The ruling powers have given up hopes of conquest. The common people refuse to fight for conquest. The universal cry is peace with democracy, peace with understanding, peace with justice. Why then should peace be a menace? Why not let the world have what it so passionately craves?

Prof. Herron hopes for victory for the Allies, but prays that "no cry for revenge will profane their lips." But the hope of humanity lies elsewhere. The world will be made safe for democracy when the nations will get together, cease their futile combats, scrap their armies and navies, and organize the world into one co-operative unit; when they who toil and struggle for a living, who fight the battles and suffer the pains, throw off the yoke of junkers and landlords and capitalists; when exploitation will have been abolished; when justice and good-will rule among men.

For peace to come now from an agreement of the junkers and the capitalists would be a real menace. But peace coming from a mutual agreement of the working classes of all nations would be a blessing which the world will long remember and be thankful for.

HYMAN LEVINE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Rural Sociology. By Paul L. Vogt. Published by D. Appleton & Company, New York. Price \$2.50 net.

Workmen's Compensation. By J. E. Rhodes, 2d. Published by The Macmillan Company. Price \$1.50.

German Imperialism and International Law. By Jacques Marquis de Dampierre. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y.

Principles of American State Administration. By John Mabry Mathews. Published by D. Appleton & Company, N. Y. \$2.50 net.

State Government in the United States. By Arthur W. Holcombe. Published by Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$2.25.

Why Italy Entered into the Great War. (In Italian and English.) By Luigi Carnovale. Published by Italian-American Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

The Budget. By Prof. Rene Stourm. Published by D. Appleton Co., New York. Price \$3.75 net.

American Private Schools—1917. By Porter E. Sargent. Published by Geo. H. Ellis Co., Boston, Mass.

The Reconstruction of Poland and the Near East. By Herbert Adams Gibbons, author of "The New Map of Europe," etc. Published by The Century Co., New York City. Price \$1.00 net.

An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics. By P. Orman Ray. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

British Workers' Educational Association. Second Annual Dominion Report, for year ending December 31, 1916. Published by "Worker" Print, 290 Wakefield Street, Wallington, England.

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