

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

FOR THE MEN AT THE FRONT

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A Short Cut to Peace

By a German Scholar

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Is Labor for Labor ?

Mr. McAdoo's Generosity

Published Weekly
New York, N. Y.

December 28, 1917

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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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

New York, N. Y., December 28, 1917

Volume XX Number 1030

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I shall be pleased to serve readers of THE PUBLIC

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A Journal of Democracy

Volume XX

New York, N. Y., December 28, 1917

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Editorial

Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons on December 20 marks a changed attitude on the part of the British Government. The strength of moderate sentiment among both liberals and conservatives, fostered by President Wilson's message and the Lansdowne letter, has obviously made its impression, and the Premier spoke almost on the defensive in his disclaimer that the Government harbors any imperialistic ambitions. On the necessity of defeating German militarism Lloyd George is still admirably clear, but he says now that "the people of Germany must be heard," and that "there can be no peace without victory over the controlling caste in Prussia, which must abandon militarism." This distinction between the German people and the controlling caste is new in the mouth of Lloyd George. We can take it as an assurance that Mr. Wilson's policy will prevail, that Allied diplomacy will no longer play into the hands of Hindenburg by utterances that, in spirit at least, seem to confirm the German people's illusion that they are fighting a defensive war, a war against national annihilation. The time was never so auspicious for a propaganda that will assure the German people of the sincerity of Mr. Wilson's war aims as avowed, and of the concurrence in these aims by the other Allies. The Berlin *Vörswarts* complains bitterly that forty millions of the German people are on the verge of starvation, and asserts that within a month Germany may witness a revolution as stupendous as that in Russia, unless steps are taken to ameliorate the hardships of the people. The article by an anonymous German in this issue shows how black is the situation for Germany, and how ready their people must be to demand any peace that does not threaten their existence as a nation, either politically now or economically in the years following the war.

Will Mr. John Mitchell and Mr. E. S. Martin of *Life* now tell us just what they think of Josephus Daniels as Secretary of the Navy? The verdict on every hand today is that Mr. Daniels has "made good big." The present wave of muck-raking dashes futilely against Navy efficiency. Let the editors of *Life* point out wherein Mr. Daniels has failed and is failing, or let these two usually gracious and generous minded men enter their apology for taking part in one of the most intemperate and vicious campaigns of slander ever waged against a faithful and efficient public official. We single them out because they are among the few of Mr. Daniels's journalistic detractors who, we can be sure, are beyond the influence of the Navy League and other interests that resent Mr. Daniels's courageous attitude toward the steel and munitions interests, as well as his thoroughgoing democracy in other directions. As for the War Department, there is no cause for uneasiness. It seems apparent enough that Mr. Baker has welcomed such disclosures of incompetence as we have had, as a means by which he could make changes long contemplated, but rendered difficult by the peculiar touchiness and pride of the professional army men and the necessity of maintaining the esprit de corps of the only body of military experts on whom we can rely. If we consider the vast field in which the Secretary's discretion must prevail, and the efficiency with which, on the whole, the enormous task has been performed, General Crozier's crotchets and delinquencies are seen to be relatively unimportant. They were the faults of a man who also had his conspicuous virtues, and of an official who had held his present post through the administrations not only of Mr. Garrison, but of Mr. Root and Mr. Taft. Surely, if General Crozier's inefficiency were such as to reflect on Mr. Baker for

keeping him there this long, he could never have survived the relentless and omniscient, not to say God-like, judgments of President Roosevelt.

* * *

There is a story current that the British technological experts and the manufacturing interests in control of their patents have refused to invite other nations' representatives to cooperate in the work now going forward to standardize machinery and processes in England and America. This work is being done under Government auspices, but regardless of that it has a bearing on the public interest of the utmost importance. American and British financial and industrial interests have it within their power to nullify President Wilson's diplomacy and frustrate the world's hope for a just and lasting peace. Any tendency on the part of either British or American interests to join in a campaign to dominate the world's markets through a cooperation that is exclusive and monopolistic in its workings should be exposed and denounced. How long will it take the people to learn that the world will never be free of predacity and war-making, not to speak of poverty and oppression, until they repudiate the prevailing theory of business enterprise and insist that trade and industry be organized in a way to exclude private control for the benefit of the few?

* * *

Compensating us for the defeat of the Fickert recall movement in San Francisco, comes the news from Arizona that the Supreme Court by unanimous vote has found for George W. P. Hunt in the governorship election contest. Governor Hunt was counted out at the 1916 election after a campaign notable for the energy and bitterness with which the great copper companies opposed him. Had the election officials and the lower courts done their duty, we should undoubtedly have been spared the Bisbee deportations and the reign of brutal lawlessness inaugurated by Phelps-Dodge and the other big copper companies. It was because Governor Hunt had refused to tolerate that sort of industrial tyranny and had even used the State troops to keep the mine managers in hand in the Clifton-Morenci strike of 1916 that they swore a vendetta against him and assailed him through every politician and newspaper editor their money could reach.

By prohibiting the importation of armed guards and strikebreakers at Clifton and Morenci, Governor Hunt showed how the peace could be kept without infringing on any man's rights and without the use of machine guns. The apparent election of Governor Campbell gave the copper companies back all their old arrogance. They accepted it as a sign that they could carry things with a high hand, and subsequent events proved that they were right. Campbell's feeble protests availed nothing to mitigate their lawlessness. Governor Hunt is a thorough-going democrat whose devotion to the public good has cost him heavily. He is a great-hearted champion of the cause of justice and democracy. His election would never have been in doubt if the national Democratic Party organization had listened to the pleas of organized labor and made a little more effort to aid him in his fight against copper company money. His campaign was left too largely to a few devoted labor leaders like Mother Jones and Mr. James Lord, and to his own very limited financial resources. The press of Arizona was almost solidly under mining company influence.

* * *

The report of Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, seconds the urgent appeal to Congress made by the President in his message for "systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government." Secretary Wilson renews his recommendation made in a former report for a policy of leasing lands to settlers and assisting them with Government loans. He shows that the homestead law through its alienation of the Government's title, has brought more benefits to speculators than to settlers. For the purpose of helping returned soldiers and wage earners in general he says "the Crosser colonization bill now pending in the House seems well adapted in principle and easily adaptable in terms." In view of the Secretary of Labor's recommendation and the further fact that the President has declared that "the pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious," there is no excuse for further delay by Congress. The food shortage of today would have been less acute had Congress passed the bill when first introduced. The longer that duty is postponed the greater grows

danger of the industrial depression, and the more certain it becomes that returning soldiers will find opportunities for civil employment scarce. What more important business than averting of so great a calamity has Congress to transact?

* * *

The hearings before the United States Tariff Commission regarding the proposal to establish a free port at New York should be the means of spreading a little truth regarding the laws of trade. It is not to be expected that medievalism will be swept away at once, and trade between nations be given the freedom that has proven so advantageous to trade between the States—for the mass of the people today are as convinced that tariffs are a good thing as they were five hundred years ago that the earth was flat; but it is possible to relieve the bonds at certain places. The proposal to set aside a stated area at the port of New York, or other port, into which goods from abroad may be brought for re-shipment without payment of duty, would facilitate foreign trade. To permit the importation of free raw materials into such a port to be manufactured into goods for export would be to give to that port the advantages enjoyed by the manufacturers and traders of Great Britain. True, the area set aside for such purposes would necessarily be too small for a complete test of the principle of free exchange; but it would nevertheless show whether or not a business could be conducted within this country—but outside of the tariff walls—and pay American wages. One demonstration will be worth years of argument. By accepting the suggestion of Calvin Tomkins, ex-Dock Commissioner of New York, of expanding the bonded warehouse provisions, these free zones might be set up by executive rulings of the Treasury and Commerce Departments, co-operating with local authorities. To meet the objections to the idea that have been raised by opponents that inland cities would be jealous of coast cities, the same privilege could be extended to them. And thus we might proceed, adding free zone to free zone until the whole country enjoyed free trade without disturbing the tariff.

* * *

Employing interests in England are granting wage increases in the form of uniform fixed percentages, and calling these increases "bonuses."

They are not bonuses in the usual meaning of the word, which implies free will offerings by the employer to certain workmen who exceed a fixed rate of production or efficiency. The English war-time bonuses make no discrimination between workmen, and therefore do not arouse the opposition with which organized labor always meets any scheme of payment designed to speed up the workman and to set one against another. Such schemes are properly opposed, because long experience with them has shown that in time the standard or base rate always falls, so that the most efficient get no more than before and those of average efficiency less. This is admitted by the foremost efficiency engineers of America. The war-time increases are not really bonuses at all. They are called bonuses in order to impress the workmen with the fact that they are granted to meet temporary war-time conditions, and not as permanent increases. We shall undoubtedly see this practise adopted by American employers. It may fail of its object. Organized labor's boast is that the time has gone when wages can ever be reduced in this country. But nominal wages are not so important as they seem. By running half time, or laying off large numbers of men, employing interests can accomplish the same result in times of depression as by reducing wages. Labor is fast learning that wage increases must be supplemented by political action that will take from the great financial interests the power to hold natural resources idle at certain intervals and thus to force men and women to work on whatever terms it pleases them to offer.

* * *

What is the matter with the farm press of the United States? Scores of weekly papers with circulations equal those of the big city dailies flourish in every section of the country. But a reading of them convinces one that they are valuable only for their shop-talk—their tips on feeding, breeding, planting, and poultry. Surely the farmer's mental pabulum is not confined to these. Where does he go for the articles and editorials that make him feel himself part of a great economic and political force, that give him the sense of striving, shoulder to shoulder with his fellows, for the advancement not only of his own interests, but those of society? There is the sharpest contrast between the dreary shop-

talk of the average farm journal and the intelligent, alert discussions that fill our labor press. The answer must be that the farmer is getting his political and emotional satisfactions from the general magazines, and that the farm journals are neglecting a great field. For the Non-partisan League of North Dakota has demonstrated that farmers have the same "cosmic hunch" as wage earners, and that they will read and support by the hundred thousand, a farm journal like *The Nonpartisan Leader*. It is a joy to come on this ably-edited, exuberant, intensely-alive sheet after scanning the pages of the average farm journal, the editors of which seem to fear that they will be in hot water if they print anything more controversial than a bulletin of the Department of Agriculture.

* * *

The significant thing in the testimony of General Sharpe, head of the Quartermaster's Department, is that every contract entered into by the Department for supplies was in compliance with a recommendation from the Committee on Supplies of the Council of National Defense. In each instance the Committee recommended both the name of the manufacturer and the price to be paid, as well as other details of the contract. The Committee was headed by Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, president of the Sears-Roebuck Company, and it comprised leaders in the manufacturing and mercantile field. Responsibility for the failure to supply uniforms, overcoats and other equipment on time is therefore put squarely on the shoulders of the business community, and for once a result that is not all we could desire cannot be blamed on politicians. Perhaps we should not blame our big business men, either. We shall not have an army of a million men properly equipped in the field by next spring, and the hope that we could make the Germans feel our full force early next year must be abandoned. General Sharpe testified that the Committee on Supplies gave invaluable aid. But there is more than a suspicion that big business, having had its innings at Washington through its representatives on the various advisory committees, has fallen down on the job. These committees have now been dissolved, and henceforth we are to see a firmer and more direct control by the Government itself, acting through experts who are not also corporation officials, but

responsible solely to the Government. There was nothing for Washington to do last Spring, when business volunteered its services, but to accept the fullest measure of cooperation that was offered. There have been some fine instances of unselfishness and devoted service as a result of that arrangement, but President Wilson spoke feelingly the other day when he told Congress that the law of supply and demand had given place to unrestrained selfishness.

Mr. McAdoo's Generosity

Not content with his decree against further taxation of wealth to meet this year's war budget, Secretary McAdoo has now presented Wall Street with a Christmas present so generous that it has surprised even that none-too-modest community. For several weeks past, banks, bond houses, stock gamblers and individual investors have been dumping gilt-edged securities onto the market at absurdly low prices in order to register heavy losses when making up their income-tax and excess-profits tax returns at the end of the year. "Those who know how," says the *New York Times*, "can use the market for that purpose without losing their securities. They can be bought back at a small loss, or perhaps even at a profit." It was a method that involved annoyance and brokers' fees, the advantage being that such sales served to depress the price of stocks and thus to increase the showings of loss for the year, as well as to impress Congress with the fact that business is bad in spite of the unexampled disbursements of extra dividends. Now, thanks to Mr. McAdoo, these losses can be recorded in the tax returns without going to the trouble of actually selling the securities. They will be "constructive" losses. United States Steel may be earning at the rate of more than \$500,000,000 a year, but because the stock market has been manipulated to show a decline in the value of its stock to about \$81.00, millions of profits can be wiped off the tax returns. The ruling applies only to "dealers," an ambiguous phrase, but, adds the *Times*, "no sooner was the news received than there were demands that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue go a step further and make the regulation applicable to banks, insurance companies, corporations, and individuals who have investments in securities. It was said by

persons in close touch with Washington that the prospects of having the ruling extended further were encouraging."

Wall Street has nothing but praise for Mr. McAdoo now. The *Times* has an approving editorial comment, in which it takes Congress to task for its assault on wealth *via* the war revenue act (engineered by those reckless demagogues Penrose and Simmons). "This," says the *Times*, "does not exhaust the list of things which have been put into the law by those who did not enact it. The list is long enough to make it worth while for any man of considerable business to make his tax return upon advice, and not upon his understanding of the law. The teeth were put into the law by Congress. The dentistry is done by the Treasury."

The question arises whether it is worth while for Congress to bother about revenue measures at all. Mr. McAdoo and his assistants seem capable of attending to the entire matter, and in a way that meets the approval of our most prominent financiers. If they are satisfied, why should others complain?

Our "Popular" Press

The Standard Oil Company has a new President, and he is getting himself interviewed in compliance with the new Rockefeller policy of publicity. It is the policy inaugurated some years ago under the guidance of Mr. Ivy L. Lee, who, it may be remembered, cited Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Henry VIII as instances of what a great man could "get away with" if he had a good publicity agent. And so we read, even in the liberal and enlightened New York *Evening Post*, of Mr. Walter Clark Teagle's "splendid physical efficiency. Six feet one and a half inches tall, thick-thewed, broad-shouldered, with a chest like a weight-thrasher, Mr. Teagle can carry a burden of work that would break down the average man. He weighs about 200 pounds, and he has the deliberate manner that goes with bulk, although (we are quickly reassured,) in his actual movements he seems extraordinarily agile. He is slow in speech, too, and speaks straight to the point. His features are large, massive, almost, and his face is clean-cut, with a square chin that thrusts forward. He is very dark, and direct of gaze." No Harold Bell Wright hero

could be more satisfying. Mr. Teagle, it seems, has been living in Canada, and he talked in nine figures of Canadian preparedness. The bond issues filled him with enthusiasm. "In fact," he concluded, "I do not know of any people of whom I am prouder than of the Canadians." Mr. Teagle is scrupulously fair here. There is nothing to indicate that he is not equally proud of America, or France, or even China, where Standard Oil has a large and growing business. Nor could anything be better than his attitude toward the public. "I want the newspapers to feel that they have a right to send here whenever they wish to know anything about us," he assured the interviewer. "They will always be welcome. If you will give me a little notice ahead, I will always be glad to see you myself." And then "he stood up and shook hands, a powerful, crunching grip, the grip of a man who means what he says."

It is too bad that all this is from such an excellent newspaper as the *Evening Post*, which every day grows in the graces of honesty and courage and liberal thinking. For it is such a lovely example of a truth recorded by Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton in his "Utopia of Usurers," recently published in this country by Boni and Liveright: Says G. K. C.: "The point about the press is that it is not what it is called. It is not the 'popular press.' It is not the public press. It is not an organ of public opinion. It is a conspiracy of a very few millionaires, all sufficiently similar in type to agree on the limits of what this great nation may know about itself and its friends and its enemies. . . . There is the notion that the press is flashy or trivial *because* it is popular. In other words, an attempt is made to discredit democracy by representing journalism as the natural literature of democracy. All this is cold rubbish. The democracy has no more to do with the papers than it has with the peerages. The millionaire newspapers are vulgar and silly because the millionaires are vulgar and silly. It is the proprietor, not the editor, not the sub-editor, least of all the reader, who is pleased with this monotonous prairie of printed words. . . . Did you ever hear a plain man in a tramcar or train talking about Carnegie's bright genial smile or Rothschild's simple, easy hospitality? Did you ever hear an ordinary citizen ask what was the opinion of Sir Joseph Lyons about the

hopes and fears of this, our native land? . . . You could no more get an intelligent poor man to praise a millionaire's soul, except for hire, than you could get him to sell a millionaire's soap, except for hire."

Is Labor For Labor?

The triumph of District Attorney Fickert of San Francisco in the recall election of December 18, by a majority of 20,000 votes out of 76,000 votes cast, brings us face to face with some unpleasant political facts. It is true that the issue of the Mooney cases and Fickert's unscrupulous conduct of them was confused with that of so-called moral reform, and that San Francisco's hatred of "moral" regulation and holier-than-thou reformers came to Fickert's aid. But if labor had voted solidly against him, as its honest and intelligent spokesmen urged it to do, the result would have been different. The truth is that organized labor has not yet found itself in this country in the political field. Large numbers of its rank and file still see the labor movement as merely a means by which they can obtain an occasional wage increase and slightly mitigate the harshness of the established order in its effect on their personal fortunes. They are still confused by the hazy compromising attitude assumed by even their highest leaders, leaders who worship the established order as piously as any banker except when they collide head on with it in the carrying out of some of their relatively-trifling remedial measures. These leaders have yet to come to grips with fundamentals. They will insist on the right to strike and to picket an employer's place of business. They properly attack the theory that to do these things is to interfere with a legitimate property right. Yet they are complacent and respectful before the exercise by employers of other property rights not a bit less unjust and anti-social—such as the right to exact huge profits through the holding of natural resources and machinery out of use and thereby creating scarcity prices.

The plain truth is that too many of the rank and file of labor, and the expropriated masses generally, still look up to the men who exploit them. They still follow the predacious strong man, glorying in his prowess and thankful for a few crumbs tossed to them from his table. Even among organized workmen, there is still

some of this feeling toward their exploiters among the capitalist and employing class. But in an organized field this worship of the strong man is more often diverted to some labor chieftain. In San Francisco there are labor leaders who belong to fashionable clubs, who are seen at every prize fight and every gala event in the smartest of clothes and with conspicuous diamonds. All their followers ask is that in a narrow segment of the common life they "deliver the goods" in an occasional wage increase or an occasional personal favor, and, by efficient management of the union's affairs, that they maintain it as a bulwark against petty tyranny and a means of fostering its members' independence and self-respect. But outside of this field they not only expect their leaders to wax fat on the perquisites of politicians, but they actually glory in the fatness and sleekness and prestige of their chief. It is enough for them that now and then he can get a friend out of jail or do some other favor of the sort that are at the disposal of a political machine. That machine may have twin roots in the tenderloin and in the inner office of a public service corporation, but the rank and file are tolerant. Leaders of this type had much to do with keeping Fickert in office.

Mr. W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, spoke from the heart recently when he said, in addressing an audience of Brotherhood men: "Congressmen have long since learned that to oppose the designs of the wealthy men of the United States is to bring upon themselves an avalanche of political opposition that surpasses in its intensity and efficiency even Prussian militarism. When members of these Brotherhoods can readily be hired by the funds contributed to a political campaign by these same wealthy men to defeat for election Congressmen and others who fought for the legislation objectionable to wealth, let us not be too quick to condemn Congressmen for not already having put an end to profiteering and not already having taxed war profits out of existence. When working people are politically honest and have sufficient political intelligence to distinguish friends from foes, much of which they now bitterly complain will disappear as does a morning mist before a morning's sun."

Some day soon, let us hope, we shall hear a man speaking after this fashion to the whole

American labor movement. The movement is ready for such plain speaking. It needs a leader who, for instance, would have denounced and repudiated a labor official like Mr. Frank Feeney of Philadelphia, who helped Senator Boies Penrose spend the slush fund of the Republican National Committee in the campaign of 1916 against President Wilson. Instead, Mr. Feeney's name appeared on an important committee of the Buffalo convention. It needs a governing body more interested in labor's welfare than in the perpetuation of a political machine. It needs the leadership of men who are willing and glad to cooperate with every intelligent, sincere, liberal element in the community in a drive against the fundamental causes of poverty and oppression.

Labor in England is doing that today. A similar policy cannot be long delayed in America.

Washington—A Horrible Example

The city of Washington is today the most glaring example in the United States of the folly of permitting land-owners to capitalize the public necessity and extort huge sums for little or no service. For the first time in our generation, Washington has become the industrial as well as the political nerve-center of the Nation. It is filled with men working at top speed to prosecute the greatest and most critical enterprise ever undertaken by the American people. And these men are being hampered and harassed at every turn by the extortion and slackerism of a little group of landlords and monopolists. The telephone service has been execrable. The street cars, operated by a monopoly notorious for paying low wages and denying its men the right to organize, creep along with exasperating slowness at infrequent intervals. The few good hotels have raised their rates beyond reason. They are all crowded, and men who need their time and energy for work of the utmost importance are forced to walk or motor about the town for hours on end looking for a night's lodging. Restaurants are jammed with people, who wait endlessly to be served while their nerves suffer. And meanwhile large unused spaces and lots occupied by flimsy one-story structures mount so rapidly in value that the owners permit them to lie idle

or nearly so. Investors intent on building are discouraged by the prices demanded for suitable sites. Men called to Washington for a few days or weeks may be the chief sufferers, but the permanent officials and employes are not much better off. It has been said that a German aviator would have to drop a bomb on almost every building in Washington if he wished to hit the War Department. Workers that should be brought together under one roof are scattered through the town, and officials driving along at top speed are working in many instances under conditions that would not be tolerated by a factory inspector. The Government pays more than a million dollars a year in rents, and the sum is mounting every week. The Government is now planning a large building programme, and will pay many millions of dollars to Washington landlords for the privilege of using land that now lies idle. The effect of all this is to make the visitor in Washington feel himself the victim of graft and extortion on every hand, with the Government meekly acquiescing. It is small wonder that the man who comes with something to sell, and with every intention of selling it at a reasonable price, feels that "everybody's doing it" and that to forego excess profits would be to indulge in a Utopian and almost-ostentatious virtue. There is every reason why land-value taxation should commend itself to Congress at this time as a means of increasing production, lowering the cost of living, and raising war revenues. We are permitting half our cultivable agricultural land and hundreds of thousands of our best sites for manufacturing and distributing to remain idle in order that a small minority of our people may be enriched through their practice of sabotage and extortion. Hundreds of millions are being drained from the people by this process and handed over to the few who control our land and other natural resources. Included in the "legitimate" earnings of the great corporations are huge sums representing interest on inflated land values, on the capitalization of their control over resources that rightly belong to the community. In Washington itself Congress has an excellent object-lesson in the result of this folly. But Congress can not be expected to act while the people themselves are so acquiescent—while even those whose duty it is to urge action—men like Mr. Gompers—are so luke-warm in advanc-

ing any adequate measure of relief. For we have what Mr. Albert Jay Nock calls the coach-dog theory of political leadership—that “a

leader's function is to see which way the political coach is going, and then run out in front and bark.” And we must blame first of all ourselves.

Peace After the War

By Louis F. Post

II

When the German people acquire sufficient authority over their government to make its international guarantees worthy of international confidence, and the German troops withdraw from the countries they invaded in pursuit of imperial conquest, the necessary primary conditions for entering into a treaty of peace, democratic in character and permanent in purpose and plan, will have been established. To end the war without reference to those primary conditions, would amount to a crowning of the despotic government of Germany as victor. It would necessitate perpetual military preparedness in anticipation of wars and again wars after this one ends. It would turn the democratic tide back upon itself. But consequent upon those primary conditions a general truce might be securely made, under which negotiations could proceed with reasonable confidence. It would then be possible to negotiate a treaty of permanent international peace, not a “scrap of paper” and neither German nor tory but effective and democratic.

In their details, the indispensable conditions of permanent peace would depend upon circumstances existent at the time of the treaty. But the principles which should govern the formulation of details may be considered in advance. They have been already broadly outlined by President Wilson in his note through the State Department to the Pope. Classify the principles of an enduring peace as the President outlines them there, and we find him rejecting everything that would make for either a German or a tory peace, and exacting all that is necessary to assure a democratic peace.

The characteristics of a German peace will have been rejected, at least temporarily, if this country and its allies refuse a truce until the German troops withdraw from invaded territory and the German people offer trustworthy

guarantees for their government. But those guarantees must be renewed or otherwise confirmed when the permanent peace treaty comes before the peoples for ratification.

They are the *first condition*—those guarantees—of a treaty of permanent peace. “The object of this war,” says the President in his State Department note to the Pope, “is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principles of international action and honor.” The bare word of this perjured government the rest of the world can not take. Before its word can be accepted “as a guarantee of anything that is to endure,” says the President in the same State Department note, it must be “explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting.”

This is not a proposal—let it be repeated until there can be no mistake about it—this is not a proposal to interfere with the German people in their home affairs. The President's note freely acknowledges that “it is no business of ours” how they came under their ruthless master. But by all means let us emphasize his assertion that “it is our business to see to it that the history of the world” is no longer left to the dictation of the Prussian oligarchy.

The American test, therefore, of every plan of peace, as the President puts it, is this: “Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing government on the one hand and of a group of free peoples on the other?” This test,

the President adds, "is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied."

To question the loyalty of the American people to this basic condition, would be either to doubt their confidence in their power to exact it or their sense of prudence. If we cannot exact it, we cannot exact any condition; if we can exact it and do not, we are sadly in need of a guardian. Any treaty which can not pass that common sense test would be as worthless as a lunatic's note of hand.

Having, however, put the matter to the President's test satisfactorily, we should be ready to proceed to the *second condition*. This comprises relinquishment of all manner of profit and revengeful gratification for ourselves or our allies. "We seek no material advantage of any kind," says the President.¹ There must be no punitive damages for anybody, no dismemberment of empires, no vindictive action of any sort, no kind of revenge or deliberate injury, no reprisals upon the German people. This must be a peoples' treaty of friendship.

The *third condition* might properly relate to territorial adjustments, to the reconstitution of small nations, to agreements to disarm, and to covenants for peaceful arbitration of international disputes.

It could include arrangements regarding Alsace and Lorraine and similarly situated territory. We may not presume that the disposition of Alsace and Lorraine, for instance, would be determined earlier than after-the-war negotiations for permanent peace. Hardly would the revenge faction of France be permitted by their suffering countrymen, in order to make Alsace and Lorraine appendages of France instead of Germany, to carry on this bloody war after Germany had withdrawn to her own frontiers and offered satisfactory guarantees of international fidelity for her government. Alsace and Lorraine do not belong to France any more than to Germany. They belong to neither nation but to the peoples who live in them. Let those peoples choose their own political ties and let this right be provided for in those clauses of the treaty that would relate to territorial adjustments. At any rate let us of the United States carry on no war at the expense of American lives for the

recovery for France of sovereignty over the peoples of Alsace and Lorraine. Our country is not fighting in behalf of any nation's ambition to rule otherwise than democratically within its own borders.²

Any rule of one people over another can have but one or more of three objects—more man-power for military purposes, more taxes for imperial purposes, or wider opportunities for exploiting natural resources. As to the military purpose, this war will not have been worth a fraction of its cost if it leaves a condition in which man-power for military purposes can tempt any country to dominate another. As to the taxation purpose, it is to be hoped that with the end of the war will come the end of all taxation by any community of any other community. As to the natural-resource exploitation purpose, the democratic principle—and let it not be forgot that it is democratic principles for which we are waging this war—the democratic principle as to natural resources is that they are the common inheritance of mankind.³ This common inheritance can be secured without either extending or contracting the area of any nation's sovereignty.

The question of colony restoration is of the same general nature. To protect rights to colonies would be to protect rights of exploitation.

¹ "Frontier questions, colonial questions, are now entirely secondary, and beyond this minimum program"—namely: "political revolution in Germany and Austria-Hungary," or "a demonstration on the field that the Germany Army is not invincible, a renunciation by Germany of all the territory she has conquered, a special compensation to Belgium and an acknowledgment of the fallacy of exclusive nationalism by an application for membership in the league of nations"—beyond this, "the United States has no direct interest in the territorial settlement."—"World Conflict in Its Relation to American Democracy," (Senate Document, No. 80, Sixty-fifth Congress, First Session. By Walter Lippman.)

² "The right to occupy a portion of the earth's surface is not absolute; it is undoubtedly qualified by a proper consideration for the general welfare. The right to private property in land is vigorously challenged, and must be justified at last upon the theory that the interests of the community are best served by the assurances of continual possession which ownership gives. . . . The same principle applied to the international community would require the inhabitants of every country to make some reasonable use of the natural riches which are in their possession."—"Property Rights and Trade Rivalries." By George E. Roberts. Published by the National City Bank of New York.

For a systematic exposition of this principle and a simple method of practical application, see *Progress and Poverty*, by Henry George, books vii., viii. and ix.

"If chattel slavery be unjust, then is private property in land unjust. For, let the circumstances be what they may, the ownership of land will always give the ownership of men, to a degree measured by the necessity (real or artificial) for the use of land." Yet it may be said: "As every man has a right to the use and enjoyment of nature, the man who is using land must be permitted the exclusive right to its use in order that he may get the full benefit of his labor. But there is no difficulty in determining where the individual right ends and the common right begins. A delicate and exact test is supplied by value; and with its aid there is no difficulty, no matter how dense population may become, in determining and securing the exact rights of each, the equal rights of all."—*Id.*, book vii., chapters i and ii.

¹ Note of the President through the Secretary of State to the Pope.

The only difference between the rule of one people over another and colony rights is that in colonies the exploited are as a rule "backward races." Colony restoration is not a patriotic, it is a plutocratic, a tory proposition. If the territorial homes of "backward races" must be conserved for civilization, let it be done by the cooperative action of civilized nations for the benefit of all—the "backward races" included,—and no longer for the destruction of the "backward races" and the profit of private interests among exploiting races.

Included in this third enumeration of treaty conditions, comprising matters of secondary consideration as noted above, are agreements to disarm and covenants for peaceful arbitration of international disputes. Those items are included in that condition not because they are regarded as essentially secondary, but because treaty provisions for national disarmament and international arbitration would be hardly more than formal phrases if radical economic adjustments were not concurrently made. Neither disarming nor arbitrational agreements can execute themselves unless they are vitalized by life-generative processes. Parchment compacts to keep the peace are not in that category. They are secondary rather than primary conditions of permanent peace. To make them effective they must be executed by military force; this means war, which is an absurd contradiction. But they can be made self-executing by rooting them in economic adjustments which make for international peace by fostering international justice and world-wide and world-diffused prosperity. Unless this is done, we shall escape a German only to be entangled in a tory peace.

So there must be a *fourth condition*, something to guarantee the world not only against kaiserism with its mailed fist, but also against toryism with its velvet-covered claws. Economic relationships must be established to the end that international fraternalism may develop normally, making militarism "bad form," dynastic and commercial exploitation impossible, and arbitrations matters of course. President Wilson refers to this condition of enduring peace when, in his famous note to the Pope, he denounces "selfish and exclusive economic leagues" as "no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace." He emphasizes it by asserting in the same document "that no peace can rest

securely" upon "economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others." His emphasis is still heavier where, in the same note, he speaks for this country as demanding that peace rest upon the equal right of peoples "to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world." Inclusive of it all is his generalization that an enduring peace "must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind." For the common rights of mankind comprise, fairness contemplates, and justice demands equality of participation in economic opportunities.

The solution internationally is that upon which Henri Lambert, the Belgian manufacturer, lays stress in his *Pax Economica*.⁴ "Force can not solve international problems," writes Mr. Lambert, "any more than other problems, can not make the world more secure in the future than it has made it in the past, cannot establish a peace worthy to be lived, cannot save civilization." This is obvious. Obvious also, but for bad national habits, would be Mr. Lambert's assertion that "tariff restrictions are the worst obstacles to the advent of that true civilization which will be marked by peace with disarmament," a peace which "will be possible only under the conditions of economic justice and security that will result from free trade."

We of this country have developed, through the manipulation of our politics by monopolistic business interests, a feeling toward free trade not unlike that of the Puritans toward witchcraft. Yet it is free trade between our States that has made us a homogeneous nation. Here is the most conspicuous exemplification of Lambert's statement that "it is the adoption of free trade within a nation's own borders, that, by consolidating and unifying its economic interests, furnishes the real support and solid foundation of national concord and unity." As he rightly infers "it will be the adoption of free trade between nations that will have to accomplish the same work in the wider international sphere." Our nation is not committed to free trade between its constituent States because it is a national unit; it is a national unit because its constituent States are welded together by free trade

⁴ "Pax Economica: Freedom of International Exchange the Sole Method for the Universal Abolition of War." By Henri Lambert. New York: John C. Rankin Company, 26 William Street, August, 1917.

between them. It would be so with international free trade. Every nation would be to every other instinctively a friend, as our States are friends, feeling a common instead of a hostile interest, and being so associated in good will that military organizations would be as harmless as a museum of barbaric war weapons.⁵

Lambert's permanent peace proposal does not necessarily contemplate immediate and complete establishment of international free trade, but progress toward it. As he puts the matter⁶ "a final adjustment that will make for permanent peace, involves, in the first place, agreements sanctioning the removal of tariff restrictions between belligerent countries—or at any rate the gradual lowering of tariffs with a guarantee to all of equal and reciprocal treatment." This is a detail. It were better to establish universal free trade at once in order to enable the world to recover promptly from the destructive economic effects of the war; but if private and national blindness or greed make this impracticable, a gradual lowering of tariffs for free trade reasons would be better than renewal of the war. To shift the tendency from more and more to less and less tariff obstruction would be an immeasurable gain for international good will and permanent peace. It would at least look toward a system of equal rights for all peoples "to participate upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world"; it would be an earnest of that enduring peace which "must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind." In its tendencies it would be a democratic and not a tory peace.

Let the war be settled on free trade principles, and Alsace and Lorraine will cease to be a problem. There will be no colonial problems, no problem of free seas; and agreements for disarmament and arbitration will execute themselves. For free trade means for all the world that freedom of exchange which flourishes in the United States. Our own nationality is rooted in free trade between our States. Internationality can exist only on the same basis. Let the people of the world freely trade, and there will be

⁵ "If it is civilization that we wish to spread, if the progress of the world is our object, we have only to become universal free traders instead of imperialistic freebooters. Here is the choice. Free trade with the olive branch of peace and the horn of general plenty; or imperialism with the destructive implements and the demoralizing influences of war. Which shall it be?"—Post's "Ethics of Democracy," 3d ed., p. 314. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. See also Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade."

⁶ Pax Economica, p. 18.

no wars between the nations of the world. There would be nothing to go to war about. It is true, as Mr. Lambert further says, that "division of labor and exchange is the origin and the means of all economic progress"; that "the moral importance of this phenomenon is not secondary to its economic importance," that "the necessary and sufficient foundation of human intercourse is furnished by freedom to produce and to render mutual services"; that "it is so within the nation"; and "will be equally so between nations"; and that "militarism, international quarrels, bellicose spirit, armaments and even 'race hatred' are in our day, and particularly amongst the great European nations, merely effects, of which the cause is to be sought in antagonism of economic interests, due in the great majority of cases to protection."

Free trade means the world unbound. It is part of that liberty which "secures and safeguards all growth, all development," which contains them in itself "as the oak is contained in the acorn," which "can never become obsolete because it is a material manifestation of spiritual impulses." And "the spiritual can no more do without the material than the material can do without the spiritual."⁷ Free trade is to liberty what good works are to faith; without it liberty is dead. It is the golden rule of international relationships, the economic law of national love of the neighbor.

There are indispensable conditions of peace besides free trade, but without this freedom other freedoms will wither. Again to quote Henri Lambert, "all other reforms that are the objects of legitimate national hopes or interests must, in order to be profitable, be the consequences or corollaries of this equitable economic adjustment."⁸ To international life it is what food is to individual life. Let the terms of permanent peace be never so perfect in every item, they will nevertheless not preserve a world peace permanently if free trade be not among them. Let them be never so imperfect, if free trade be of their number the others will be vitalized by it and permanent peace will bloom like flowers in congenial soil.

It is to be understood of course, that free trade connotes more than unrestricted bartering

⁷ "Europe Unbound." By Lee Marche Phillips. London: Duckworth & Co.

⁸ Pax Economica, p. 18.

of consumable commodities. Free trade in that narrower commercial sense has corollaries as important with reference to the principles as the bartering is. One of these is unobstructed interchange of world thought and of world news. Customs tariffs are not the only obstacles to those friendly international relationships that are promoted by free trade. If the nations are in the dark regarding one another's activities, public opinion and common affairs, they will be to each other like "devils across the mountain." To bring them into friendly international intercourse, not only must goods pass freely back and forth, but news facilities must be made so complete, so expeditious and so cheap that no nation will be ignorant of the thinkings and the doings of sister nations.

Such facilities do not now exist. To distribute news fully and widely costs too much. Cheaper facilities must be created and maintained by the signatories to any treaty that contemplates durable peace. To create them, all international telegraph facilities—overland, under-sea or wireless—must be taken over by the league of nations for joint ownership and operation, in order to

develop and expand them with a view to the establishment of adequate and cheap international intercourse, without censorship or other discrimination, for both public and private use and on equal terms. Let this be done and we shall soon have a high grade international free press, abundantly supplied with the information that tends to make friends of strangers, allies of enemies, one people of many.

Free trade in this inclusive sense would make rich soil for fostering permanent peace. The militaristic spirit would fade away. Economic development would spread over the world. In the sun of a more advanced civilization all peoples would have their place. It would diffuse its light and warmth until the darkest spaces on the globe were illumined, the coldest full of cheer. The nations would come closer together. War would not be known any more. And if the blessings of universal peace and democratic progress did not fall upon every household, it would be because the nations within themselves and by their own laws or institutions continued to favor some of their people at the expense of the rest.

A Short Cut to Peace

The following article is by a German scholar of force and standing, whose identity cannot be disclosed for obvious reasons. Its author is vouched for by Dr. David Starr Jordan, to whom THE PUBLIC is indebted for the manuscript.

The promotion of democracy in Germany through propaganda is an indispensable postulate in the formulation of a subtle and constructive foreign policy. The impressive fact is that 21 nations are arrayed against Germany, with infinite resources in men and wealth, thus making a German or Hindenburg victory at least somewhat questionable, in spite of the successes in Italy, the disorganization of Russia and the firmness of the Western front, for even without Italy and Russia it would be hopeless to defeat over-sea countries like the United States, Brazil, Japan, China or Siam. The hostility of practically the entire non-German world, which makes the German nation and German individuals abroad outcasts, will increase with the continuation of the war and will render the difficulties of restoring Germany's position among

the nations of the world almost insurmountable.

The submarine warfare, according to Captain Persius, special correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt on Naval matters, has been a complete failure. The losses of German lives in the submarine campaign have been reported as being greater than those of the Allies. The submarine war has produced the active hostility of practically all America and China, has destroyed German sympathy in neutral countries (like Norway and Spain and others), has destroyed German prestige and has netted more harm than benefit to the people of Germany. The representatives of big industries, mines and agricultural interests have already publicly expressed their keen disappointment with the negative results of the submarines war, entered upon following the advice of militarists and navalists.

Since the beginning of the war the losses of Germany alone have been an average of more than 1,200 men actually killed every day throughout the 3 years of war, and at least 1,500 men killed every day in the fourth year of war. This has been stated by the deputy Erzberger in the Reichstag, but the censor has prevented publication of these deplorable figures. Note that the German nation has been cleverly deceived about the actual losses from the very beginning of the war. Statements proving that the man-power of Germany was steadily increasing instead of decreasing were frequently published and made quite plausible by pointing out that 85 per cent. of the wounded were sent back to the battle front, that new classes had been drafted into service, and that men formerly declared unfit had been taken to replace the losses of battle. The Government has forbidden the publication of *Verlust-Listen* except those applying to the place where the newspaper is published. The number of crippled, wounded and diseased, the numbers of actually missing, of those taken prisoners and interned in foreign countries, have been concealed from the German public and would make an impressive show on every person in Germany if presented in cold figures. Statistics of German losses would go far in destroying the support of militarism, the fighting spirit and the morale of the German nation, if submitted to the people extensively. Additional figures might cover the deaths among civilian population, the decrease in the birth-rate, the spread of epidemics and diseases, and the rise in infant mortality. Furthermore, the diminution and frequently elimination of German population in foreign countries—figures which in their totality could not fail to stir even the most enthusiastic supporter of the present German government—and the war!

The absolute financial ruin of Germany is manifest in the dropping of foreign exchange and the discount of both the German mark and the Austrian crown. Austria has now 15,000 millions crowns of paper money, as against only between 300-400 millions crowns of metal, which practically means bankruptcy. The German situation is somewhat better, but rapidly approaching a similar state. The Austrian crown is now quoted as about 38 per cent. of its value, the mark between 40 and 50 per cent. Whereas the English pound sterling and the dollar have main-

tained their exchange rate, and suffered but a small discount in neutral countries. The recuperation of Germany will be a very difficult if not impossible process. There will be no indemnities, and the longer the war lasts the harder will it be for Germany to regain her former economic strength. Certain foreign markets will perhaps remain closed forever; others will have been taken over by other nations, and numerous substitutes for German goods will be sold. As said by President A. Ballin of the Hamburg-American Line: "Every month of war will require an additional year of hard work to regain German foreign trade after the war."

"The Coming Democracy" by Herman Fernau, shows clearly what actual defects are inherent in the German government and constitution, the political impotence of the Reichstag, the class rule of aristocracy, land-nobility and soldiery, the political helplessness and ignorance of the masses. The German people themselves know nothing or little about this, since they are told in school that Germany is the "best governed" country, the "most democratic" nation, and the one place on earth where "liberty prevails." Only those Germans who know the history of their own country better than they are taught in school realize what it means to stand for "German democracy" versus "sham democracy," that the struggle for liberty in Germany has not begun today, but more than a century ago (1806) when Freiherr von Stein, a greater German than Bismarck, introduced communal self-government in Prussia, and liberated the peasants from serfdom to the landowner. The history of the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 is hardly mentioned in German schools, or distorted, and thus few Germans know who Carl Schurz was, what he stood for and why he was expelled from Germany. Nor do they know what were the causes of the exiles from Germany of such great Germans as Heinrich Heine or Richard Wagner. To remind the people of Germany today of this century-old struggle for the people's rights, the Volksrechte in Germany, through an extensive educational campaign would tremendously promote the subconscious currents favoring democracy and a republican form of government, making mention of the analogies in such countries as France, England, Russia,

Switzerland, China and United States. I refer to the work already being done in this direction by a large group of German pacifists and minority socialists residing at present at Berne, Switzerland, where they publish a radical paper *Die Freie Zeit*, since April, 1917, and from where they spread their propaganda through Germany, more particularly among the fighting forces, the German armies and navy, through means of carefully selected committees. [In New York there exists a similar organization, called "The Friends of a German Republic" (32 Union Square), advocating the democratization of Germany.]

The future of Germany must be built upon new foundations. A Hindenburg peace is a dream, a lie, an impossibility. There is some truth in his words: "We must have peace that will let more light and air into Germany." But light and air cannot consist in territorial conquest, but in the liberation of Germany from militarism and autocracy. This is, in a general way, what might be pointed out to the German people through a careful propaganda. There can be no doubt that such propaganda will achieve its objects and get at the people. It must be borne in mind that the German people have been continuously misled, that they ignore the truth, they still believe firmly in victory, they still expect large indemnities and huge territorial aggrandizement. They will continue to support their government unless they can be made to realize the utter hopelessness of their task; firstly and secondly, that the Allies are not fighting for the purpose of making Berlin or Cologne a French or British city, but for their own safety; this is what German people cannot understand, namely, that there is such a thing as mere defensive war on the part of their enemies. This propaganda should be carried out in German, it must be well written, i. e., in a scholarly fashion, thus meeting the psychology of the German people, instead of merely antagonizing them. The articles or pamphlets must be convincing, they must be of such character as to deceive the reader with their title, and to overcome the difficulties of the censor. The propaganda should be carried out secretly, so as not to fail in its purpose nor to be anticipated from the government, as was the case with President Wilson's reply to the Pope. There are more ways of reaching the German public

from Switzerland and Denmark than is commonly known. Aeroplanes are a poor way of spreading propaganda, for they do not get into contact with the addressees sufficiently.

The reasons why such a propaganda should be carried out are simple. The German government is afraid of nothing so much as precisely of such propaganda. The death penalty has been threatened for reading or owning or spreading or even mentioning such documents of enemy origin likely to destroy the confidence of the public or the fighting morale of the troops. Germany has taught the Allies a lesson as to what can be achieved in war through such propaganda and intrigues. The Russian *débâcle* has been caused through clever German propaganda, and the collapse of Italy may be due to similar causes. Why not apply those same methods against her, why not learn the lesson taught by her, why not resort to this most effective weapon and win the war more speedily, more efficiently and with less effort and energy, with less resistance to overcome and with thousands of lives and millions of dollars saved? Finally, such a propaganda of democracy in Germany will turn out to be of benefit to the German nation and to humanity at large. Let us therefore begin today, let us realize what is the demand of the hour. The war will end when Germany is free. Let us free her. German democracy can not be shot into Germany, but it can take hold of the minds of the people and once established there, it will free the world. This is the great problem of the hour, this is the "Short Cut to Peace." The recent events in Russia show clearly what can be done by means of such propaganda; indeed, Germany has taught us a lesson which we should not fail to learn and learn soon. There are two ways, it seems, of winning wars. The first is the hard and costly and expensive and bloody and ruinous way of shooting and killing and getting killed. The second is the less costly and more humane and more intelligent and smart way, namely, through destroying the morale of the enemy through propaganda among the soldiers and among the civilian population. And particularly in this war in which the aims of the Allies do not consist in territorial conquest, but in the overthrow of autocracy, monarchism and militarism, it should be easy to achieve the ends in view through the cheaper and more rational

way of propaganda than through shooting and uncompromising phrases about crushing Germany or canning the Kaiser. After all, democracy must have taken hold of the minds of the German people before it can be permanently established. What the Allies have done so far was merely to strengthen militarism in Germany instead of weakening it." The German and Austrian governments are very much afraid of any such ideas being promulgated in their territories, so much so that even girls in Austrian schools who were found to have with them President Wilson's peace appeal or reply to the Pope were condemned from one to six years of prison and hard labor, which of course is not a severe punishment from the Austrian point of view, since they have already hung 80,000 people since the outbreak of the war, mostly for one or the other form of disloyalty or high treason.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending December 24

Congressional Doings

The Senate concurred in the House amendments to the Prohibition resolution on December 18 by a vote of 47 to 8 and the measure now goes to the States. The House voted on the same day to refer the Suffrage resolution to the new Women Suffrage Committee, as desired by the suffragists. The favorable vote on this exceeded two-thirds by seven and is regarded as a test vote on the proposition itself. The Committee on Rules fixed January 10 as the date for a vote. Congress then adjourned until January 3. [See current volume, page 1249.]

Trust Investigations

A denial of the charges brought against the Food Administration by Claus A. Spreckles, of the Federal Sugar Refinery Company, was made before the Senate Committee on Manufactures, on December 19, by Earl D. Babst, president of the American Sugar Refinery Company. The sugar shortage was due to car shortage said Mr. Babst. Denying that George M. Rolph, general manager of the company, and director of the Food Administration's sugar division, had refused to release supplies for Mr. Spreckles's refinery, Mr. Babst said he had offered to let him have 25,000 tons at the basic price set for Cuban sugar. On December 19 Mr. Rolph appeared before the committee and corroborated Mr. Babst. The latter appeared again, and said that famine stories spread early in the year had caused hoarding of sugar, and that the canning campaign of last summer had caused consumption of 900,000 pounds more than usual. Also he blamed the I. W. W. for causing strikes, and the Department of Agriculture for stimulating the canning campaign. A

statement by Food Administrator Hoover was given the committee on December 22, which is supposed to be a defense of his board. But the committee postponed the reading of it. The committee adjourned until December 28. [See current volume, page 1250.]

* *

The report of Francis J. Heney, counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, concerning the packing industry, was made public by the Commission on December 20. Mr. Heney is trying to get the facts regarding ownership of the Chicago Stock Yards and Terminal Railroad facilities at the packing plants. Mr. Heney reported that the Stock Yards Company was organized to provide a legal method for payment of rebates to the packing plants. It took over the Chicago Junction Railway and other utilities in connection therewith. Frank R. Pegram, cashier for F. H. Prince & Co., of Boston, at a salary of \$2,500 a year, nominally controlled the assets of the Chicago Junction Railways, and had received therefor \$8,000,000 in Stock Yards common stock, and \$1,000,000 in cash. Heney's charge is that Pegram was but a dummy for Prince, who is closely connected with Armour. On December 22 reports of Federal investigators were received showing that directors of the Chicago Junction Railway were persons connected in different capacities with the three big packing houses of Armour, Swift and Morris. When the packers had got wind of the investigation they distributed 34,480 shares of stock into 17 portions, and paid the dividends thereon to the clerks in whose names they stood. A number of these admitted on questioning that they were but dummies, who took orders from higher authorities, and chiefly from J. Ogden Armour. On being informed of this report, Mr. Armour issued a public statement denying that any effort had been made to conceal facts from the Commission.

Free Port Hearing by Tariff Board

A hearing by the Tariff Board began on December 18, on the proposal to establish a free port in New York City. Chairman F. W. Taussig and William Kent conducted the hearing. Professor Taussig explained in opening the hearing that a free zone means an area into which foreign goods might be imported free of duty for reshipment to other countries. Foreign raw material could be manufactured into finished product within the zone and shipped to foreign markets without paying duty at American ports. But should the raw material or the finished product be shipped from the free zone into the interior of the United States it will be required to pay regular tariff rates. Calvin Tomkins, former dock commissioner of New York, Dr. R. S. MacElwee of Columbia University, and a number of local business men appeared and strongly urged the establishment of free zones, not only in New York City but in other ports, as a means of holding the trade acquired as a result of the war. At present goods received for transshipment must be put into bonded warehouses to avoid payment of duty. This causes burdensome red tape. Germany's free

ports at Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck have been the means of attracting much trade. Hamburg has become the great transshipping port of the world, as well as an important ship building center. With a free port in New York, American manufactured goods could be sent to South America, and the vessels carrying them bring back raw materials for transshipment to European markets.

Gorgas Reports on Training Camps

Surgeon-General Wm. C. Gorgas in a report to Secretary of War Baker on December 18 found fault with conditions at Camp Bowie, Texas, Camp Funston, Kansas, Camp Dauphin, Oklahoma, and Camp Severn, South Carolina. He found these training camps overcrowded, sanitary conditions bad, and that the men had not been furnished with sufficient clothing. Disease has been brought in by new men who had not been properly observed. He recommends that heating and plumbing work be hurried and that the winter clothing be furnished the men. His report, however, is based on observations made in November, since which time most of his recommendations have been carried out.

Governor Hunt Victorious

Governor Hunt, of Arizona, has won his election contest against Governor de facto Campbell. Hunt was a candidate for re-election in 1916. He was bitterly fought by the mine-owning interests of the State for his refusal to use the militia in a partisan manner in their behalf during a strike. The first returns showed Hunt elected. Then a number of alleged errors was discovered, and the election boards threw out enough votes for him to give Campbell an apparent plurality of 22 votes. Hunt yielded the office, but began contest proceedings. The Supreme Court's decision rendered on December 22 seats him and ousts Campbell.

An Economic Program

In an address issued on December 20 by the American Committee on the High Cost of Living, Senators and Representatives are urged to bring about equality of sacrifice for war purposes by extending the taxation of excess profits and incomes to raise \$4,000,000,000 additional revenue. Furthermore, Government acquisition of coal, oil, iron, timber lands and water-power is urged to save the workers \$1,000,000,000 a year; the taxation of land values is demanded "to cover into the public treasury all increments not created by the owners of land, to enable repeal of taxes on workers and provide \$2,000,000,000 additional revenue; and Government control if not ownership of the railroads is required. Concerning the railroads, the Committee declares that of the capitalization of \$19,681,483,092 at least \$5,000,000,000 represents increase in land values over what the railroads paid therefor. A 5 per cent dividend on this item is \$250,000,000 or about \$11 per family in the United

States. It further shows that only 140 stockholders out of 117,480 own over one-fourth the value of the seven large railroads, the New Haven, New York Central, Pennsylvania, Northern Pacific, Erie, Chicago and North Western, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. Five per cent of the stockholders own a very large part if not the greater part of the stock. The Committee on the High Cost of Living is headed by Charles H. Ingersoll, and the executive secretary is Benjamin C. Marsh. Other members are Frederic C. Howe, Frederick L. Cranford, Frederic C. Leubuscher and John J. Hopper. The Headquarters are at 258 Broadway, New York City.

Russia

Civil war appears to be spreading, but reports are too conflicting to permit of an intelligent summing up of actual conditions. In the southeastern part of the country the Cossacks are in control, while in the southwest the Ukrainians hold sway. They control the great port of Odessa, and the great wheat fields of the south. In their dispute with the Bolsheviki government at Petrograd they threaten to shut off food for the north. The Ukraine government has declared for a democratic republic, to form part of an all-Russian republic. The Soldiers' and Workmen's delegates have granted the Ukrainians the right to separate. The contest between the slowly arriving members of the Constituent Assembly and the Bolsheviki continues, each contending for supremacy. No meeting of the Constituent Assembly in regular session has been announced. The peace negotiations under way at Brest-Litovsk by authority of the Bolsheviki government are opposed by the other factions in Russia. [See current volume, page 1252.]

European War

The Italian front was the scene of the only military activities that rose above routine action during the week. Repeated efforts were made by the Austro-German forces to break through the Italian line between the Brenta and the Piave Rivers, but the gains are said to be unimportant from a military point of view, and to be out of proportion to the losses in men. Spirited attacks in the Verdun region were made by the Germans, but were easily repulsed by the French. The same result attended their efforts near Ypres. The British in Palestine are moving northward both from Jerusalem and from Jaffa. They report little resistance from the Turks. [See current volume, page 1252.]

* *

The conference of the peace delegates of the Central Powers and Russia met at Brest-Litovsk on the 22. The delegates from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey are headed by men well known in the diplomatic world; but the Russian delegation of thirteen is made up of men hitherto unknown. Roumania is not mentioned as participating in the conference. Dr. Richard von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Minister, and head of that country's dele-

gation, presided. Subsequent sessions are to be presided over by the heads of the delegation alternately, and in the alphabetical order of the countries. The terms outlined by the Russian delegates were:

First, no compulsory annexation of territory taken during the war and speedy evacuation of such territory; second, that political independence shall be restored to all nations deprived of independence by the fortunes of war; third, that national groups not independent before the war shall decide by a referendum whether they shall become independent or give their allegiance to some power; fourth, where mixed nationalities occupy any territory the rights of the minority shall be defended by a separate law assuring educational freedom and administrative autonomy, if possible; fifth, no belligerent country shall be required to pay contributions, and private persons shall be compensated for losses incurred through the war from a special fund contributed by all the belligerents on a proportional basis. The same principles shall be applicable to colonies as to the parent countries. The final clause of the terms prohibits the boycotting of one country by another and provides for separate customs agreements and for naval blockades not pursuing direct military objects.

The delegates of the Central Powers expressed a willingness to discuss the Russian proposal at the next sitting of the conference.

* *

The British Premier, Lloyd George, speaking to the House of Commons on the 20th, declared that the Central Powers as a preliminary to peace must give up all conquests, and promise compensation for damages. Palestine, he said, would not be surrendered to the Turks. The German colonies would be disposed of by the peace conference. Many rumors of peace proposals from the German Government are current, but nothing has been given out with authority.

* *

Fourteen British merchantmen over 1,600 tons and three under that tonnage were sunk by mine or submarine during the week, according to the Admiralty statement. One French vessel of less than 1,600 tons was lost. The American submarine F-1 was rammed and sunk by the F-3 on the 17th while cruising on the surface in the fog. Nineteen lives were lost.

* *

The Russian officers in France have volunteered to serve in the American army since the armistice entered into by their own country. Shipbuilding is one of the chief concerns of the American Government. The keel of the first fabricated ship was laid in the new yard on Newark Bay on the 20th. This is the first of 168 steel 5,000-ton ships, whose various parts will be made in shops anywhere that can do structural iron work. All the ships will be exactly alike, and will be constructed with great speed. The Newark Bay yard, which is next to the largest in the world, was merely a swamp seventy-six days before the keel of the first ship was laid.

NOTES

—What is announced as a record price for shipping in Japan is the purchase of a new ship of 3,500 tons at \$350 a ton.

—A home-rule-in-taxation bill will be introduced in the New Jersey Legislature by Representative Close of Essex County, one of the twelve Republican members elected from that county on a home rule platform.

—The latest estimate of dead in the Halifax disaster is placed at 1,500. About three hundred are missing, and some have died in hospitals outside of the city. [See current volume, page 1219.]

—Boston elected as mayor on December 18 Andrew J. Peters, formerly assistant secretary of the treasury, over the present Mayor Curley by about 9,000 plurality. Congressmen Gallivan and Tague who also ran were third and fourth in the race.

—The strike of copper miners at Butte, Montana, ended on December 20 with surrender of the strikers. The strike had lasted five months and was marked by the lynching of the strike leader, Frank Little, as a means of intimidating union men.

—The effort failed to recall District Attorney Fickert of San Francisco at the special election on December 19. He won by 20,394 votes over his nearest opponent, Charles Sweigart. The total vote cast was about 75,000.

—In the referendum vote on conscription in Australia, the Government measure was defeated by a vote of 938,000 to 764,000 of the home population. The soldier vote, which is estimated to be equal to the home vote has not been announced.

—Beginning with the early spring, it is announced, Gulf and Atlantic shipyards will launch a wooden ship a day. The output of ship timbers by Southern pine mills is now more than 1,000,000 feet a day. It is hoped to double that output so that shipyards can operate on twenty-four-hour schedules.

—The Transvaal Provisional Council has adopted an order directing the Administrator to make provision in the Estimates for a land valuation roll for all the rural areas of the Province. Supporters of the motion urged that the towns bear at present the main burden of taxation.

—The Department of Rights and Customs of the Chinese Republic has recommended to the Minister of the Interior legislation to abolish early marriages by fixing a definite age below which Chinese may not wed. It further recommends prohibition of foot-binding and gambling and shortening of the period of the present three-year period of mourning now required of a son for his deceased father.

—The Japanese steamship company, Japan's largest maritime corporation, has increased its capital from \$27,000,000 to \$50,000,000, and will build 50 large steamers aggregating 400,000 tons as an addition to its existing fleet of 102 vessels, totalling 440,000 tons.

One of the after-the-war contemplations is direct service between Japan and Germany by way of the Mediterranean.

—Captain William H. Hardy, a seaman on the fleet of Commodore Perry at the time of its historic visit to Japan in 1853, and now eighty-two years of age, has been the object of much attention by the Japanese Government and civilians upon his recent visit to that country. He was received by the Emperor and Empress as a special mark of recognition of the cordial relations now existing between America and Japan.

—The vote cast by soldiers at the New York mayoralty election of November 6 was counted on December 18. It resulted Hylan, 15,722; Mitchel, 6,228; Hillquit, 3,717 and Bennett, 3,222. This makes the result on the complete vote as follows: Hylan, 313,004; Mitchel, 155,535; Hillquit, 145,895; Bennett, 56,900. On the suffrage issue the soldiers voted yes, 17,139; no, 8,753, making the total vote in New York City 351,150 in favor and 250,068 against.

—Care and training of small boys and girls at home is the theme of a series of articles issued weekly by the United States Bureau of Education. They deal with such topics as understanding children, outdoor and indoor games and occupations, playmates, plays, toys, books, stories, pictures, music and pets, and may be had by a request to be put on the mailing list for Mothers' Articles, Kindergarten Division of the United States bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

CORRESPONDENCE

Water Power Coup

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 15, 1917.

Three days ago I would have said that the long fought and often deadlocked public water power question was to be settled at this session of Congress in a people's victory, that for the sake of the war conservation at last was to win. Yesterday, however, the notorious Shields bill passed the Senate, the same bill almost exactly as aroused the country last year. Now the outlook is not so sanguine, though I consider the odds for success are yet on the side of the public.

December 4 in his annual message to Congress, President Wilson said, "It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country, and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government, should be immediately resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious." This suggestion in view of the desperate fuel shortage can be considered as nothing else than mandatory. The Government's "white coal" resources on the public lands and from navigable streams, it is recognized, have been locked up long enough while the water-power-electric trust on one

side and the Gifford Pinchot-conservation group on the other have engaged in death grapple.

The wasting water power is suddenly needed and needed badly. Action from this session of Congress to release it for use being recognized as imperative, the only question left is one of ownership.

Even before the President called public attention to it negotiations are understood to have been on foot to draft a water power leasing bill that would meet with united Administration backing. Following the message the Secretaries of each of the three Executive Departments immediately concerned, War, Interior and Agriculture, met quietly, I am told, and agreed to support a joint bill. This was at the President's suggestion, it is supposed. Hitherto the water power problem has come before Congress in separate measures, one dealing with navigable streams under jurisdiction of the War Department, another with streams on the public lands under control of the Interior Department, and a third with water on government forest reserves under direction of the Agricultural Department. Here was a plan to provide for the use of public water power in one bill, with a unified governmental administration and one system of rentals, rules and public safeguards.

Being unofficial and yet to be introduced in Congress the text of the bill has not been made public, but coming from Newton D. Baker, Franklin K. Lane and D. F. Houston, it promises to be much that the Shields bill is not. Instead of leasing with an impossible public "recapture" at the end of the fifty years, it is practically certain to exclude every element of charge for land value increment now included in the Shields bill and to make "recapture" for public operation easy. And, of still more importance in the minds of fundamental democrats, it will provide some sort of government rental charge to be revalued each ten years, based upon the water power available, whether used or not, and its relation to the rate charged for electricity. This rental charge, it is figured, will take to the public treasury some of the wealth that if measured in fixed low electric tolls would otherwise be absorbed by neighboring land values.

But to return to the Shields bill, its success in the Senate by a vote of 46 to 18 on December 14 undoubtedly was a coup on the part of the water power interests. Senator Shields, author of the bill and a party Democrat, had been sent word of the approaching unified bill. He had been understood to intimate that since the plan appeared to have the President's sanction he would not press his bill. Unfortunately the little group of conservation Senators were not informed of the three-Department unification program. The Shields bill was presented to the Senate Thursday for discussion and then suddenly on Friday pressed for passage. The Cabinet heads concerned, occupied with other war matters, were off guard and had no time to present their bill. The roll call was but a stereotyped repetition of the Senate vote of March 8, 1916.

The struggle in this Congress, as in the last, will

be between the Senate bill and the House bill. Its outcome is apt to be far reaching not only in its effect upon war and water power but upon the entire relation of the people to the world's natural resources.

SID EVANS.

PLEASING EVERYBODY

I suggest this plan for readers of *THE PUBLIC*: Let each one, instead of intermittently stopping his subscription, send one card to the Editor marked "Pounder" or "Pacifist" with his name.

Then when an anti-war article or a war-article, or a series of either like Louis F. Post's, or judicial one appears, let the mailing department either omit sending that number to him or tear out that page.

By that means, each will be saved from the pain of seeing anything he does not approve of—on the same principle that the truly modest put skirts on their Venuses. For surely no one would wish to deprive others of reading what they approve. Even the truly modest allow the unashamed to lift the skirts.

New York.

BOLTON HALL.

KREISLER.

BY ISABELLE PERCY WEST

Serene he stood, above our little selves,
And played sweet music to us—music our sad hearts
Had urgent need of in these troubled times,
Music both great and God-like, bringing peace
And knowledge of God's goodness back again,
Giving our souls, for one brief blessed hour
A magic surcease from life's sordid strain.
For one small moment we forgot the world—
The tortured, mad, war-mangled world outside,
And hate, and death, and all the lesser things,
That made our God seem very far away,
And love and beauty vanished from the earth.

He, with his gift of music, brought them back,
Giving us hope and faith and joy once more,
Sending us heartened into life again,
With a new courage, knowing Beauty lived,
And Love was somewhere, and God was not dead
This and much more he gave us, with his gift
God-given, beyond time or place or age,
The gift God only gives to a great few
Of his beloved—sending them to us
To keep our faith in Him alive and glad.

We heard God's messenger; within our hearts
We knew his message to be love and truth
And beauty come again. Then some arose
Accused him, silenced him, in "freedom's" name,
Waving their flags, and shouting "Liberty!"

BOOKS

Galsworthy Nods

Beyond. By John Galsworthy. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price \$1.50.

To the sensitive temperament there is something peculiarly painful in the sight of an artist who has fallen beneath himself—a Shakespearian actor in vaudeville, a landscape painter turned pot-boiler, or an interpreter of Beethoven playing rag-time. The temptation to such debasement of talent besets no one more sorely in these days than the author who has just achieved a name in the higher ranks of literature; and the reason for this is not far to seek. It is to be found in the enormous development of the fifteen-cent magazine with its backing of unlimited capital. What can more surely stimulate the circulation of a periodical than the announcement of a serial by a distinguished novelist? And why should a distinguished novelist refuse the offer of a liberal remuneration for such a contribution? But then comes the temptation. The distinguished novelist knows that "what the public wants" is not his best but something quite otherwise. He is perhaps exhausted by the strain of writing up to the extreme edge of his artistic inspiration, and finds it a relief to slacken the tension, to let himself go, to ignore for a time the canons of his art by which he had formerly bound himself, and to cover up what he knows to be the artistic defects of his work by the pungent seasonings which he also knows his audiences will enjoy. This is the kind of tragedy that is daily being played out in modern life, and which must be reckoned among the incidents of a civilization where work is monotonous, surroundings depressing, opportunity for leisured refinement at a premium, and the appetite for morbid sensationalism in full control.

Only thus can we account for the strange declension that strikes us painfully in the most recent work of John Galsworthy. The conscientious critic who has duly appreciated the fine characterization and artistic treatment of "The Country House" or "The Island Pharisees" and who has now dipped ever so lightly in the mud-bath of "Beyond," (republished in book-form from the *Cosmopolitan* magazine) will, after borrowing the words of the Ghost in Hamlet "What a falling off was there," feel it his duty to condemn utterly such a misuse of real gifts. A group of socially respectable characters among whom the marriage relation gets knocked out of shape, and where primitive passions surge upon the surface regardless of the conventional guide-ropes and hand-rails which the collective wisdom of humanity has provided for their regulation—such forms the framework of the story which is unredeemed by any discoverable sociological purpose, and unilluminated by philosophic thought or insight. The familiar argument of the Realist that such productions present life as it really exists, will not avail. To the eye of pure science the garbage pail and the refuse-heap may offer objects of abounding interest, but the "life" of a household will not be discovered by raking among them. The

real life of humanity will never be found in the mire of animality from which it may be proved to have sprung, but in its aspirations and upward reachings, and in its efforts to emancipate itself from the tyranny of its inherited nature. Remembering Ruskin's distinction between the "vital feelings of delight" of which Wordsworth wrote, and their opposites, the leadly feelings of delight that lure backwards to the inferno of lost souls, surely one may say with some degree of emphasis, that the only proper function of the artist with whatever instrument he works, is to stimulate the vital or life-giving feelings—and that with the other kind he has no legitimate business?

It is with deep regret that the present reviewer finds himself unable to say one good word for this book. Even as a piece of literary craftsmanship, it seems to fall far short of its predecessors, just as though by an edict of the Goddess Nemesis the skill of the author had failed him in proportion as his purpose became less idealistic. Neither the name of its author nor the eminent respectability of its publishers should

protect "Beyond" from a quick despatch to that oblivion in which many a better book has suffered premature burial.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

* * *

Why should the owner of land gain by the exertions and industry and the enterprise of other people without any corresponding effort on his own part? Let him pay his share. Let his land be taxed and help in meeting the expenditure, and assisting the prosperity of the nation by which he profits. This seems to me in itself perfectly equitable, and it will have the immediate effect of putting an end to the immunity of the landlord now enjoyed, and the circumscribing of national expansion, and driving away from the towns industrial development. Nothing short, in my opinion, of taxation of land values will suffice to get at the root of this great matter, so vitally essential to the health and prosperity of the country.—*Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Keighley in 1902.*

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