

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

The Russian Upheaval

Victor S. Yarros

Labor and Fundamental Reform

George P. West

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This Tariff Book

was written "to drive out and utterly destroy the most gigantic superstition that ever haunted the benighted mind of man—the superstition that a people can be enriched by their own taxation".

The Tariff:

What It Is, How It Works and Whom It Benefits

By LEE FRANCIS LYBARGER

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

David J. Lewis, William Kent and Edward P. Costigan on the Tariff Commission will not please the American Protective Tariff League. They know too much about the tariff. They understand fundamental principles of taxation. They cannot be fooled by the plausible fallacies with which tariff beneficiaries try to influence public sentiment. But they are the kind of men needed to make the Commission a useful body. A commission to investigate burglary would not be worth much unless it contained some members who know burglary to be wrong. The same applies to a commission to investigate any other form of robbery. So it is well that Lewis, Kent and Costigan are on the Commission.

* * *

The Senators who have been so vociferous in calling upon the country to uphold the President's hands should have stopped their clatter long enough to vote on the Colombian treaty. To rail at European nations for attempting to establish closer political ties with Latin American countries while permitting unredressed grievances to stand is like trying to heal a wound by tearing it open. Even if Colombia were not justified in all she claims, she nevertheless has been wronged, and she is entitled to redress. Party allegiance may cover many political shortcomings, but when to save the face of a President who boasted that he "took Panama" from Colombia, Senators refuse to ratify a treaty that makes amends, they should be held for what they are, narrow-visioned politicians.

* * *

The eight-hour day secured through bloodless methods by American railroad workers is a bigger gain by far than the working people of the victorious nations in the

European war will have to show, for all their suffering and bloodshed. It is a more substantial victory than workers anywhere may hope to gain in a foreign war. And one reason why some interests want war is to turn the workers' thoughts away from the securing of better conditions at home.

* * *

That some persons have taken too seriously the feverish imaginings of certain newspapers, and have worked themselves into an intolerant frame of mind is evident from the following letter:

As the press from day to day is reporting the discovery of bomb plots, the arrest of spies, plotters and paid agents of the German secret service, 2 men arrested in New York with large supply of bombs who admitted they intended to get the President. That the army, navy, our industries, transportation communication, and official life is honeycombed with the paid agents of Germany. That THE PUBLIC is working in the interests of these spies and plotters to secure the defeat of the Anti-Spy bill. I would ask what connection the editorial staff of THE PUBLIC has with the German Foreign Office. The editors have already along with the 12 traitors of the Senate qualified for the iron cross. Has Germany already got secret emplacements for big guns planted in the United States as they had in Belgium and Northern France before the war? If Germany wins is the plan to hand the southwest to Mexico, the Pacific coast to Japan and the balance to be made a German province under the iron heel of Prussian Militarism? From all appearance you should be in a position to know.

This letter from a subscriber is printed word for word, excepting the name and place of writing, which are withheld out of kindness to a man intoxicated with anger. We hope he will write us again, when he has had time to cool off.

* * *

In the Prussian Diet, Socialist Deputy Hoffman, according to a press dispatch of March 17, spoke such truths as these: "Force

of arms will not lead to a decision and peace." "The German submarine warfare is opposed to the laws of humanity." The statements, it is reported, provoked commotion, and the House voted not to hear him. It is easy to see, from this distance, that the suppression of Hoffman's views was unwise, unjust and unpatriotic. And while it is safe and popular here to denounce German war policies, as they should be denounced, is it as safe or popular to speak as one should about American policies that are leading us into war, or that are meant to impose German militarism upon us? If the accident of birth had made Americans of the Prussian jingoes who suppressed Hoffman's speech, they would to-day be numbered among those who repeat his remarks with disapproval, and demand suppression of anti-war sentiment here. If a similar accident had placed in the Prussian Diet some of our leading militarists, it is easy to see what their position would be.

* * *

Shall the American people be led into war blindfolded? That is evidently the desire of those daily papers which refuse to publish, even as paid advertisements, the protests of anti-war organizations. It appears even more clearly the design of municipal officials who have abused their authority to the extent of preventing peace meetings. If war comes under such circumstances, those who have suppressed discussion will have furnished justification for the suspicion that the people were deceived and misled.

* * *

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has seen fit to explain that his father's fortune, so far from being two billion dollars, "does not approach half that amount." It need not approach half that amount to exceed the entire wealth, according to census figures, of any one of a list of more than half a dozen States. The combined wealth of the States of Delaware and Wyoming, like Mr. Rockefeller's fortune, "does not approach half that amount." There is no discredit to Mr. Rockefeller in this. Although he could not possibly have performed any service for society entitling him to that much wealth, he is not to be blamed for taking advantage of laws that let him reap where others sow, as long as the people insist on retaining such laws on the statute books. It may be said, with truth, that it is his duty as a citizen to work for repeal

of these laws, but the same applies to all other citizens as well.

Russia and America.

Russia overthrows despotism while American Tories are working hard to fasten the discredited Russian system upon the United States. Russia announces liberty of speech and of the press while here there is a growing police interference with speech and postal censorship of the press; and the Senate has actually adopted a measure to make censorship more sweeping under cover of a fear of spies, that is foolish if genuine and worse if pretended.

Russia announces universal suffrage while the New York State Senate has declared in favor of limiting it. She announces general amnesty for all political and agrarian offenses, while some of our district attorneys busy themselves with trying to distort the meaning of statutes to make them cover propaganda of unpopular ideas to which they were not intended to apply.

Russia announces freedom for alliances, unions and strikes, while our labor organizations must keep a watchful eye on judges ready to interfere with such freedom through abuse of their power to issue injunctions. And at the same time Assemblyman Welsh in the New York Legislature openly admits the purpose of his military training and State Constabulary bills to be suppression of dissatisfied workers. His exact words were:

We are not going to permit any set of individuals to stir up industrial strife in this great country of ours.

A standing army maintained through universal compulsory military service has been essential to upholding of the power of the old regime. American Tories are trying to fasten this iniquity upon us. Governor Whitman of New York has just signed a law forcing into involuntary military servitude boys who are even too young to participate in the government that demands their services.

Russia has long held the unenviable distinction of being the nation to be cited as a typical example of tyrannical despotism. She now relieves herself of this disgrace. Let Americans beware of the Tories who would fasten upon us the evils which Russia has cast off.

Russia still has far to go before she attains real freedom. "It is not enough that men

should vote. It is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life. They must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounties of nature. Either this or Liberty withdraws her light!" When Henry George issued that warning to the United States many rights and liberties of American citizens now endangered seemed absolutely secure. Government by injunction was not dreamed of. The most unpopular opinion could be expressed in public without fear of incurring a legal penalty. The man would have been laughed at as an incurable pessimist who would have predicted that we should ever be in danger of universal military service. But even then Henry George saw that "in our time as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty." These forces have now advanced far, much further in fact than may have seemed probable in so short a time to Henry George. But both Russian and American democracies should take note that far as these forces have gone it is not too late to turn them back. "If while there is yet time we turn to Justice and obey her, if we trust Liberty and follow her, the dangers that now threaten must disappear."

S. D.

Autocracy to Democracy.

It is one of the anomalies of this strangely distorted world that at the very time when autocracies are giving way before democracy, democracies should be yielding to autocracy. The Russian revolution was the logical sequence of recent events. The ruling class did not see the gathering storm. Like true Bourbons, they believed autocracy was to be because it had been. They did not understand human nature. They thought the leaven working in the lump could be stopped by Imperial Ukase. And so the end came when they had least reason to expect it.

But the leaven of liberty in the lump of privilege has not been confined to Russia. It has been working in Germany, in Austria, in Greece, and throughout Asia. It may burst forth upon all sides at any moment, or it may be delayed for brief periods, and break out in the various countries as the time ripens. But it is certain to come at an early day in all lands.

All thoughts turn immediately to Germany because to the minds of the outside world that country furnishes the most striking example of a progressive, enlightened, liberty-loving people bowing abjectly before the presumption of an autocrat. The world feels that for such a people as the German nation to permit one man, by the accident of birth, to declare war and make peace is a stupendous contradiction that will be set right as soon as they grasp the truth.

The German people have not submitted to the Hohenzollerns through a love for autocracy. They have tolerated them of late years because of their desire to profit by material conditions in spite of political tyranny. The spirit that broke out in the revolution of '48 still lives; but the remarkable industrial transformation of modern Germany distracted public attention, so that liberty-loving Germans have held in abeyance their desire for political equality, while striving for economic freedom. They are coming to see, however, that they cannot enjoy the one without having the other; and when this idea permeates throughout the country there will be swift action.

Russia has been credited with serving this country a good turn by sending a fleet to our shores when Great Britain was thought to be preparing to recognize the Confederacy; but she has done us a far greater service by turning against autocracy at this time. For, at the very moment when the Duma asserted the rights of the Russian people our Congress was setting aside American traditions, and trying to enact a compulsory military service law. While this country rests under the ominous shadow of the Spy bill, which suspends rights of person and freedom of speech, the Russian revolutionary committee declares unqualifiedly for liberty of speech and press.

The Russian revolt will also profit England. The democracy that has been reared in that country at such cost of blood and tears has been subverted during the war to a degree that has made democrats the world over question the possibility of its survival. But Toryism in England and militarism in America, no less than Junkerism in Germany have been struck in a vital spot. If Russia, the perfect example of absolutism, turns to democracy, what possible hope of survival can there be for the reactionaries in other lands? It is possible that we shall yet see the fulfill-

ment of Napoleon's prophecy that in a hundred years Europe would be Republic or Cosack.

The divine right of kings, like the sacredness of privilege, prevails while the people sleep. When the people wake, kings and privilege disappear. No people can long remain in the twilight sleep of indifference, with good kings and regulated privilege. Once autocracy has been abandoned there is no stopping place short of democracy; and when any people arouse themselves they help to arouse all others. Success to democracy.

S. C.

Defending American Rights.

Mayor Mitchel of New York has appointed a "Committee on National Defense." This committee has published full page advertisements in the daily papers assuring President Wilson of their support "in protecting American rights." It is interesting to note such zeal for American rights on the part of some of those whose names are mentioned in this advertisement. It is sincerely to be hoped that they mean all American rights, the very important ones as well as the comparatively minor one involved in the present dispute with Germany.

It is to be hoped that these patriotic signers will be as eager to oppose any infringement on the constitutional provision forbidding involuntary servitude, and will not tolerate the suggestion of compulsory military service. It is equally to be hoped that they have no sympathy with any of the efforts to do away with the American right of trial by jury, freedom of speech and of the press, and other constitutional rights not receiving the respect that they should.

It is even more to be hoped that they will see their way clear to defend the fundamental right of all Americans to access to the land of their country. This right, though not yet recognized by law, is the most important of all. Without it economic freedom is impossible and political freedom insecure. Without it the right of landless Americans to earn a living must depend on the permission of others. Legally they are made "trespassers in the land of their birth." It would be interesting to know whether Elihu Root, George W. Wickersham, Martin Littleton and others on this committee are as willing to be counted among the defenders of such important American rights. Or are they still to be

numbered, to use their own words regarding pacifists, among "the disloyal," or "the misguided ones who believe that perpetual yielding is the solution" of this difficulty?

S. D.

Gathering Tariff Data.

The appointment of the Tariff Board should be followed as quickly as possible by an examination into the labor cost of production, and an authoritative statement on this much disputed point. The apology for the protective tariff rests upon the supposition that labor is cheaper in other countries than it is here; therefore, the amount of the duty laid upon imports should be sufficient to cover the difference in the cost of labor here and abroad.

That low wages means cheap labor is as evident to the unthinking as that the earth is flat; and when there is added to this the pecuniary incentive of the beneficiaries of protection to misrepresent and color the facts, it may be imagined how much error prevails. The claim is made by a protectionist organ that a silk manufacturing company operating mills in Germany and in this country pays \$7.50 per week in the former country where the operative tends two looms, while it pays \$30 per week in this country where the operative tends but one loom. That is, the labor that costs \$60 in this country can be had for \$7.50 in Germany.

This is a sample of the misinformation that is circulated by many thoughtless people, and by a few designing rogues, for the purpose of putting commercial business in the hands of Congress, instead of leaving it in the charge of individual citizens. That such statements are untrue and absurd is evident to any one who will give them a moment's reflection. Investigations heretofore made in any industry naturally adapted to this country have showed that the higher wages paid here mean cheaper labor because of greater efficiency. When the Congressional Committee during the Taft Administration investigated the cost of manufacturing paper it was found that the best managed mills in this country made it cheaper than the Canadian mills, while the poorest mills were nearly twice as expensive.

It is evident, therefore, that since the public is at present not inclined to consider the tariff from an ethical basis, but insists upon treating it from the fiscal standpoint only, it should be put in possession of reliable data

as soon as possible. When both American and Hindu manufacturers of cotton cloth demand protection from Manchester mills, it must be apparent that there are other elements than labor to be considered. Since the protectionist insists upon disregarding his neighbor's rights as long as it pays to do so, he should be shown as quickly as possible that even in a commercial sense the tariff is a disadvantage to the country. S. C.

Protecting American Labor.

The only excuse given by protectionists for interfering with man's natural right to trade is that by keeping foreign-made goods out of the country employment at higher wages is given to American labor. An example of the sugar duty is seen in Porto Rico, where *The Outlook* says "there is great poverty" in spite of its fertile soil and tropical climate. The account continues:

A large part of the food of the people, which could be perfectly easily raised on the island itself, is imported. This is partly because so much of the land is planted to sugar-cane and is becoming more and more controlled by what are called the larger "sugar centrals." As the ownership of the land has become more and more centralized, there are, of course, correspondingly fewer and fewer small landowners. There is thus a very large class of people in this island who, instead of being economically independent, are dependent upon others for their income, which they get in the form of wages.

Of conditions in Hawaii, Professor Tausig, the recently appointed head of the Tariff Board, says:

The political and social conditions resulting from this unexpected industrial development are obviously not consonant with the ideals of democracy. A great mongrel mass of sugar plantation laborers, Chinese, Japanese, the wasting Hawaiians, a very few Portuguese; above them an oligarchy of rich planters, with their bankers and shipping agents and other associates, and a few hangers-on; all dependent on a single industry puffed to unnatural dimensions by legislative favor, this is not a welcome addition to the American commonwealths.

And of conditions in the heart of Nebraska's beet sugar industry a school teacher writes:

Would you care to present the case of the "beet children"—the youngsters, most of them of German and Russian parentage, who are being exploited by the Great Western Beet Sugar Company? As a teacher of retarded children I meet daily the shocking results of this exploitation—physical, mental and moral—and I am hoping to get the facts before the public. The exodus begins in May—the early part of the month; and the chil-

dren are not back in the school-room until the middle of November. The very babies are set to work to "thin" the beets, and many cases of spinal curvature may be traced to the hours of bending the work entails.

It is the old, old story. Consumers of cloth were taxed to give high wages to American labor. But the mill operatives had to strike repeatedly to get wages enough to live on, and it took two generations of hard work to secure laws to keep the children out of the factories. Is it not a strange coincidence that strikes and child labor laws become necessary wherever a protective tariff is established? By its fruits ye shall know it. S. C.

Aiding Cotton Planters.

The gentle art of aiding the donkey by adding to his load is set forth by the *American Economist* in answer to THE PUBLIC'S inquiry as to how Mr. Farwell, a Louisiana sugar grower recently elected to the Presidency of the American Protective Tariff League, had helped the cotton growers of his State. The duty on cotton fabrics, says the *Economist*, has "enabled the spinner to pay a higher price for raw cotton, just as the duty on sugar enables the mill to pay a higher price for cane or beets."

Mill owners *can* pay more, but *do* they pay more? As to sugar, the statements of the mill owners and Sugar Trust giving their profits for the past year sound like Standard Oil earnings, rather than ordinary business; while the protests of the beet-growing farmers of Michigan, and their threat to put their land to other uses unless the mill men divide more evenly are painfully suggestive of the division between master and slave before the Civil War.

We are not, however, as to sugar, an exporting but an importing nation. Whether the mill owners and the beet owners divide fairly the cent a pound that a paternal government permits them to charge their fellow countrymen over and above the world price of sugar is a matter for them to decide. We do export cotton, and its price is fixed not by what the protective tariff enables American mill owners to pay, but by the competition of all competitors in the world's market. Will the *Economist* venture to claim that the American cotton grower receives a higher price for his cotton from our mill owners than from European manufacturers?

If it be urged that American mills have

increased the demand for cotton, and so have tended to raise the price, it may be asked whether high prices or low prices increase consumption. American-made cotton cloth is either higher than English cloth, or it is not. If it is not higher there is no need of the tariff. If it is higher consumers can not buy as much of it as they could at a lower price. And if less cloth were consumed there would be less demand for raw cotton, and the price to the planter would tend downward. The price of sugar in this country is the world's price plus the tariff. The price of raw cotton in this country is the world's price. The only effect of the protective tariff is to lower the world demand for raw cotton to the extent that it has transferred the manufacture of cloth from favorable to unfavorable points. A tariff is a burden upon industry; and no matter how cunningly the pack be shifted, the donkey still carries the burden. S. C.

Voluntary Censorship.

The agreement between the heads of the State, War, and Navy Departments and the managers of the newspapers and press agencies regarding news of the movements of ships that should not be published during the pending crisis looks very much like real self-government. After the meeting at which the matter was discussed, Secretary Daniels said:

The representatives of the press associations stated that they would willingly and gladly and voluntarily subject themselves without law to the same censorship which might be imposed by law. They were willing to abide by any regulations of the departments of news in connection with any movements of ships or armies that the Government felt might be prejudicial to the carrying out of Government policies. They desired to be informed of the wishes of the Government so that there would be no doubt of the character of the news which ought not to be printed.

An appeal to men's honor is often more effective than a threat of fine and imprisonment. Sneaks and cravens who think to escape discovery may betray a trust; but men who work in the open, as newspaper men do, will be quick to observe any rules the Government finds necessary, without the supervision of an official censor. The greatest handicap suffered by democratic government is lack of trust of the people. The superintendent in charge of Yellowstone National Park, where fires can do so much damage to timber, did

not threaten campers with heavy fines and imprisonment for neglecting to put out their fires. Instead the signs read: "Be a woodsman. Put out your fire." And a party spending three weeks in the Park last summer did not see a single fire unattended. Secretaries Daniels and Baker and Mr. Harrison of the State Department have made a valuable contribution to self-government and censorship. S. C.

A Difference in Libels.

Charles Baker, an editor in Hamilton, Ohio, was indicted last summer for speaking of enlisted men as "poor weak-minded, deluded-brained dubs." He happened to be acquitted by a jury, but his indictment and prosecution indicate that the court holds the statement to have been as criminal as it was otherwise inexcusable. However, Baker happened to be a Socialist. Now there appears in the *New York Evening Post* of March 16 an unsigned advertisement making the following sweeping and unprovable assertion:

The only men who are willing to hold positions in unions as they are now managed are men of criminal instincts.

Patrick Quinlan served two years in the New Jersey penitentiary for speaking less severely of Paterson's Chief of Police. But Quinlan was a strike leader. It does not follow from this that those responsible for the advertisement should be molested. The wrong done Baker and Quinlan would not be righted by a similar wrong to others. But the fact that such an attack on one class may be published with impunity is evidence of unfair discrimination in the other cases. In the meantime it is well to bear this advertisement in mind to be quoted the next time a District Attorney attempts to base the prosecution of an unimportant person upon a statement of a similar nature, but concerning some class other than labor union officials. S. D.

Let the People Decide.

The courage of his convictions is displayed by Senator Norris of Nebraska. As a democrat he would not remain in a public position if the people do not want him there. So he has asked the Governor of his State to call upon the Legislature to authorize a recall election. But Senator Norris does not ask enough. If there is to be a recall election in Nebraska it should apply to his colleague, Senator Hitchcock, as well. Norris and Hitchcock have taken opposing sides on im-

portant issues. If there is doubt whether Norris's position meets with the approval of his constituents there must be doubt about Hitchcock's also. If the people should refuse to recall Norris, there would be good ground for assuming that they might want to recall Hitchcock. So why not give them a chance to pass on both? And why should not Senator Hitchcock ask it?

Incidentally such a recall election would give the people of at least one State the opportunity to register their views on pacifism and militarism. They could pass on Hitchcock's endorsement of compulsory military service and his vote for the Spy bill as well as on Norris's stand for democracy and peace. It would be somewhat like a referendum on issues which militarists object to submitting to the people. The referendum would be advisory merely, but would have some moral influence even upon the hardened Tories.

And there is no reason why the recall election should be confined to Nebraska. There are other states where Senators have tried and are trying to take advantage of their lease of power to put over militarist and war policies regardless of the will of their constituents. It would be well if these Senators could be forced to enter a recall election before proceeding further. If they possess the moral courage of Pacifist Senator Norris they will follow his example by asking for one.

S. D.

If a Brute Attacks One.

Militarists expose their own inconsistency in putting to pacifists their favorite question, "What would you do should a ruffian attack you or your wife?" No positive answer to that question is possible unless one has actually passed through such an experience. But any one may state with confidence his belief in what he considers to be proper action under such circumstances. The answer of the pacifist, who is not a non-resistant, would be the same as that of the law-abiding militarist. He would adopt whatever measure of defense would seem best, pending the arrival of the police whom he would try to summon.

Knowing the object of the question, the pacifist would not stop with that. He would show that although the possibility or probability of a violent assault by one individual upon another far exceeds the likelihood of attack by one nation upon another, he would not be justified for that reason in going about

armed. Although the police cannot be everywhere, he would not on that account urge that the voluntary police system be replaced by universal conscription of citizens for police duty. Although an unjust economic system turns some men into brutes in spite of all laws for suppression of crime, he would not demand universal police conscription even pending the establishment of economic justice. Nor would the militarist make such a demand, although, to be consistent, he ought to do so if he is sure that his question regarding a ruffian's attack presents a parallel to an existing or probable international situation.

The militarist's question helps to make more clear the unreasonable nature of the position he occupies.

S. D.

DESTROYING ENEMIES.

By Ellis O. Jones.

The Man From Mars came upon a soldier who had a machine gun which he was firing furiously.

"What are you doing, may I ask?" said the Man From Mars.

"Trying to get rid of my enemies?" replied the soldier.

"How many enemies have you?" asked the Man From Mars.

"A whole bloomin' nation full of them," answer the soldier.

"What headway are you making?"

"Oh, I'm picking off a few of them now and then."

"I should think it were a very slow and inefficient way to get rid of enemies if you have as many as you say," observed the Man From Mars thoughtfully.

"Perhaps so," admitted the soldier, "but it is the only way I know."

"In fact," went on the Martian, "I would be inclined to think that a man acting as you are would really be making enemies faster than you are getting rid of them. And besides your method involves the peril that your enemies may get rid of you, while you are trying to get rid of them."

"You may be right," said the soldier with some hesitation, "but what else can I do? These enemies simply must be got rid of. That's all there is about it."

"Why not try converting your enemies into friends?"

"Oh, pshaw!" said the soldier, "that's such a lot of bother. It's much easier to turn the crank of this machine gun."

"Yes," said the Man From Mars sadly as he turned away. "It has always been much easier to shoot than to think."

The Russian Upheaval

By Victor S. Yarros.

The terrible and "idiotic" world war is by no means over, but already its by-products or consequences are tremendous. The least expected and the most marvellous of these is the Russian revolution.

What several decades of agitation, toil, sacrifice, terror and heroic warfare failed to accomplish, thirty months of autocratic and bureaucratic blundering and incompetence, coupled with a certain amount of official treachery and disloyalty to the nation, appear to have accomplished with unprecedented neatness and dispatch.

The upheaval is the result of two major causes. One is the pro-Germanism of many of the Russian courtiers, high officials and bureaucratic chiefs—a pro-Germanism which has affected the conduct of the gigantic war and needlessly wasted Russian blood and treasure, and which has been responsible for the persistent and alarming talk of a separate peace between Russia and Germany. The other cause is the collapse and disorganization of the governmental fabric at home, and the hunger and misery caused by the inefficiency, selfishness, corruption and moral isolation of the bureaucracy and its representatives in the several successive ministries that have held office since the outbreak of the war.

It is impossible to say what the developments would have been in Russia if the national assembly, the Duma, had not been in existence during this period. The military and the ordinary censors would, of course, have suppressed all criticism of the Government and all information concerning local riots, strikes, attacks on bakeries and shops, etc. Troops would have fired on intelligent and unintelligent rioters alike. Perhaps the Government would have succeeded in crushing all disaffection.

But the Duma, weak and impotent as it has been under the legal restrictions and the autocratic powers of the Czar over it, has nevertheless served as a channel of national expression and national energy. The Duma represents the people, in spite of the repeated attempts of the autocracy to manipulate the suffrage laws and disfranchise the working classes, the professional and educated elements suspected of excessive "liberalism," and the disaffected races of the Empire. The Duma has seen and felt the inefficiency, the insincerity, the obscurantism of the ministers and their agents and colleagues outside.

Little by little the various parties or groups

in the Duma have been forced to sink their political and economic differences and to form a fairly solid "bloc." This bloc has vainly tried to reason with the government and to obtain moderate reforms. It has repeatedly protested against the appointment of ministers whom the liberal elements of the country neither respected nor trusted. It has begged and demanded the appointment of able, fit and progressive men—true leaders and representatives of the people. It has vainly pointed out that the nation—the provincial and urban assemblies, the civic and industrial organizations of the empire—were only too anxious to serve the Government and aid it in the mobilization of all the resources of the country for a vigorous prosecution of the war. It has warned the Government again and again that the lack of co-operation, of harmony, of confidence in the Government, meant disaster in the field and discouragement and pessimism at home.

Whenever the Duma and its supporters in the press or in liberal circles evinced too much independence, too much boldness, too much determination to force the hands of the autocracy, the Czar, using his power of dissolution and prorogation, suspended its sessions and sent the deputies home. The deposed Czar may be a blind and poor fanatic, but he had plenty of disinterested advice, and he sinned against the light.

Finally, when in the midst of bread riots and widespread popular discontent another decree was issued dismissing the Duma and leaving feeble and incompetent ministers in control, the Duma decided to defy the Czar and continue in session. This was "treason and rebellion," but the overwhelming majority of the Duma knew that the conditions of the Empire were ripe for such a coup d'etat. Trade unions, student bodies, industrial organizations, even local councils of the nobility and the landlords were counted upon to rally to the support of the Duma and the cause of National Unity and Reform.

After the Duma's revolutionary action, the only serious question was as to whether the army or the garrisons stationed in the capital and the principal cities would join the Revolution or continue to take orders from the reactionaries and beneficiaries of the autocratic regime. The strength of the autocracy and bureaucracy is not to be underestimated. Many of the generals, majors and colonels are doubtless in sympathy with the bureaucracy

and regard its interests as their own. Apparently, however, even the army chiefs in Petrograd and Moscow had become hostile to the discredited government and were ready to overthrow it. This may seem to many to be "too good to be true," but if it is true, we can only say that, once more, history has repeated itself, Bourbonism has committed suicide, and the Russian autocracy and bureaucracy, which might have saved much of their bad regime by timely concessions, resisted too long and lost everything by blindly and stupidly refusing to read the lurid handwriting on the wall.

In short, hunger and suffering, together with well-founded suspicions or charges of treachery, of ministerial intrigues with Germany in the interest of autocracy and reaction, had so inflamed and enraged the popular mind that, at the right moment, when the Duma decided to take charge of affairs and overthrow the effete and isolated autocracy, the task proved easier than any one could possibly have imagined.

But the leaders of the Revolution will need much wisdom, sagacity and self-restraint to insure the success of their splendid work. The peasants, the unskilled and unorganized laborers, the soldiers and sailors are still too superstitious, too ignorant, too credulous to warrant premature celebrations. Too violent a break with the past would be perilous and perhaps fatal. This is not the time to think of ultra-radical steps. Moderate constitutionalism should be sufficient unto the day. Amnesty, a democratic suffrage, greater powers for the Duma, freedom of speech and publication may well be insisted upon. Other reforms may be postponed. The army and the

masses should be led, not driven. The war is popular with the Russian masses, for they hate Germany and attribute much of their misery to the influence of the Teuton element in the bureaucracy. Nothing is more certain than this—that the first duty of the revolutionary government is to reassure the Allies and the Russian masses as to the impossibility of a perfidious separate peace with the German autocracy and junkerdom.

Fortunately, the men now at the helm in Russia are practical, moderate, able and thoroughly disciplined. They are neither narrow-minded Chauvinists nor Utopian radicals. They are loyal Russians, and they will be zealous and energetic organizers of victory in the field. They are also progressives and sane constitutionalists. They are not likely to deceive themselves as to the chances of a counter-revolution. They know that the black hundreds and the dark forces of the empire have not been completely disarmed. They have not forgotten the revolution of 1904-5. They know that pogroms, "holy crusades" for the "white czar" and the orthodox church, malicious and venomous slanders of the revolutionary leaders may be resorted to with some hope of success. If they succeed in thwarting their enemies and averting a reaction, the Revolution will mean a new and bright era for Russia, an era of great, if cautious, social, economic, political and religious reforms.

All that is unselfish, progressive, truly patriotic, generous-minded in Russia is with the Revolution. Its triumph will constitute the most brilliant achievement of democracy and republicanism in the history of the world.

Labor and Fundamental Reform.

By George P. West.

Nothing is more common among proponents of fundamental economic reform than a tone of disparagement and of indifference toward the organized labor movement. And the purpose of this article is to challenge such an attitude as one that loses them the cooperation of the political force most readily available for forcing the adoption of the reforms on which their hearts are set.

Those who have this attitude may be roughly divided into two groups. One is composed of persons who started with a realization of labor's potentiality as a political force capable of vitalizing a program of change, but who became discouraged when rebuffed in efforts to secure labor's co-operation. In the other group are those who never have

recognized the organized labor movement as worthy of any especial attention, because they regarded its philosophy as fallacious and its efforts as largely short-sighted and futile.

We can all agree that organized labor will never accomplish its purpose until it has adopted and put through a program of fundamental economic reform. We must also agree that, having once adopted such a program, labor has the political power necessary for carrying it out. And what the writer seeks to demonstrate is, first, that the organized labor movement is destined to remain and flourish because it fills a fundamental need, and, second, that its co-operation can be obtained if the right methods are used.

Most of the indifference felt toward the labor movement among middle class and intellectual radicals is predicated on the assumption that higher wages, shorter hours and similar concessions furnish the unions with their primary reason for being. If this were true, the labor movement could rightly be condemned as short-sighted and futile, so far as the attainment of fundamental reforms is concerned.

But in spite of what leaders in the trade union movement may say to the contrary, higher wages and shorter hours are not the primary objects of union organization. The primary impulse and the primary need generating unionism is that of reducing the arbitrary power of the employer over his employes' lives. It is the impulse to self-expression, the need of fostering self-respect by winning a voice in determining the conditions of labor.

In other words, unionism is the beginning of industrial democracy, and there is in the labor movement the same irresistible life-impulse that has given us freedom of thought and action in the religious and political fields. And because this is so, the labor movement is today the great democratic movement of our times, great out of all proportion to and in spite of its inadequate immediate professed aims.

The following extract from the testimony of an important soft coal operator puts in a few words the function of unionism that is its primary reason for being. Said Francis S. Peabody of Chicago before the Commission on Industrial Relations:

"I think the whole standard of the miner has improved greatly. I have been very much interested with my friend Mitchell in going to miners' houses to see his picture hanging there rather enshrined. He is rather typical of a higher being. I am not joking in this. I am very serious. I am very fond of Mitchell, and I think his work and the work that has been done has elevated the whole standard of their lives. He has done wonders for the men socially and in every other kind of way. They are no longer beasts, as many of those miners were, but they are becoming intelligent, argumentative, distinct human beings."

Commissioner Weinstock: Has not that been brought about largely through the development of their work in the unions?

Mr. Peabody: Yes—these debating societies; and the unions are debating societies.

All very well, some Singletaxers may say, under a system of land ownership that permits exploitation and absolutism on the part

of the employer. But where is the Singletaxer who would say that large-scale industrial organization will ever be abandoned, or that there will not always remain the problem of organizing such production on a democratic basis? Yet we can agree that unionism would be unnecessary under the Singletax and still insist that it is necessary in order to get the Singletax. Bertrand Russell is not the first to realize that the most feasible and simple programme of social reform involving fundamental changes is impotent unless associated with a strong political organization, representing the pressing human needs of its members, and to realize further that the force most available is Labor.

As to the possibility of obtaining Labor's co-operation, there is every reason to be confident of success if the right methods are used. The first mistake to be avoided is to tell the unionist that his work through the union for better wages and shorter hours is futile. Higher wages follow higher prices: they do not precede them. Wage increases are a substantial and respectable benefit, worthless as they may be as a step toward full justice, and completely as they may be cancelled by increases in prices. The task of organizing workmen is extremely difficult. And before they can discover their common interest with regard to programs of political reform such as the Singletax, they must first discover a common interest in the workshop. The tyranny of a foreman, the inadequacy of the weekly pay envelope, the length of the work day must furnish the first impulse toward acting together. Movements and organizations designed to affect these things should be spoken of with the respect to which they are entitled. These things must remain for a long time to come among the most immediate objects of union organization. They have been too often antagonized and belittled by those anxious to interest unionists in other things.

The Singletax movement should make a particularly strong and ready appeal to the men and women of organized labor. They can take part in it without diverting their efforts or their allegiance. It does not involve a divided allegiance, a dissipation of energy. It does not require acceptance of a theoretical super-state. It does not discourage by proposing an elaborate and intricate reorganization. Yet it appeals to the hunger for fundamental change felt by those who are tired of half-way measures and snail-like progress. There is not the slightest reason why antagonism should exist between the two movements, and every reason why they

should work in harmony and full co-operation.

To say these things is to say nothing new. It is to urge a policy that has been followed successfully by many of the most effective workers for the Singletax. A long roll might be called of Singletaxers who have worked in co-operation with labor and of unionists who have lost no opportunity to propagate the Singletax philosophy among their fellows. But it is a field for co-operation the possibilities of which have by no means been fully developed.

This is a particularly favorable time for interesting labor in the Singletax movement. Wage increases have been general and wages are now at their highest point. Yet the cost of living presses hard, and wage earners in and out of the unions have grown skeptical of progress through the approved trade union methods. They are in a mood to listen to anyone who comes to them in a sympathetic spirit with a simple, practicable plan for ending injustices which they know to exist, and yet which they feel themselves powerless to combat.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending March 30.

Russian Revolution.

The mysterious and ominous silence that has brooded over Russia for more than a week was broken on the 15th by the announcement from Petrograd of a successful revolution. Too little is yet known to the outside world to admit of a detailed and connected story, but enough has been given out to warrant the belief that a democratic government has displaced an autocratic rule. It is charged by the new government that German influences working through the Court and the officers of the army have paralyzed both the civil and military forces. By systematic and intentional misdirection the army has been rendered impotent, the supply of munitions has fallen short, and food withheld from the people. All this was done with a view to breaking the war spirit of the soldiers and forcing a separate peace. Protests from the leaders of the Duma were disregarded by the men in power, until finally the popular assembly was dismissed. But the Duma refused to yield. Taking advantage of the bread riots that had been going on in Petrograd, in which the soldiers fraternized with the strikers, the Duma, under the leadership of such men as Paul Miliukoff, able democrat, and Michael Rodzianko, president of the Duma, and army officers acting with

them, seized the government, imprisoned the former ministers, and caused the Czar to abdicate for himself and son. The Czar abdicated in favor of his younger brother Michael, who has in turn waived his right till a constitutional Assembly shall settle the form of government, as well as the question of succession.

The Executive Committee has named the following as members of the new Cabinet: Prince Georges E. Lvoff, Premier; Professor Paul N. Miliukoff, Foreign Minister; Professor Manuiloff of Moscow, Public Instruction; A. J. Guchkoff, War and Navy; M. Ichingareff, Agriculture; M. Tereschtenko, Finance; Deputy Kerenski, Justice; N. V. Nekrasoff, Communications; M. Godneff, Controller of State.

* *

The following declaration of principles has been issued:

First.—An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.

Second.—Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and strikes, with the extensions of these liberties to military officials within the limits admitted by military requirements.

Third.—Abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

Fourth.—To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional Assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental régime.

Fifth.—The substitution of the police by a national militia, with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the Government.

Sixth.—Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

Seventh.—The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

Eighth.—While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

"The Provisional Government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned."

* *

The army so far as is known is in sympathy with the Revolution. Amnesty for political offenses has been declared, exiles are returning from Siberia and from abroad, and there is rejoicing among the peasants, the Jews, the Poles, the Fins, and other nationalities that have felt the heavy hand of autocracy. Madam Catherine Breshkovskaya, known as the "grandmother of the Revolution," who is 73 years old, and who has spent thirty years in exile, has been invited by the new minister of Justice to return to Petrograd. There is

ardent hope on the part of the populace that the new Government to be established by the constitutional assembly will be a Republic.

Speculation is rife as to the effect of the Revolution on the fighting spirit of the nation, and the influence it will have upon the people of other autocratic Governments. Such news as has come to the outside world indicates increased devotion of the people and soldiers to the cause of the Entente Allies, and a renewed determination to fight on to victory. The press censorship in the Central Powers prevents discussion of the Revolution, but there are indications of unrest among such of the people as have heard of the Russian overthrow of absolutism. The Entente leaders expect increased support from the new government.

European War.

The German withdrawal on the western front is the conspicuous fact in military activities. The guarded retreat from their positions west of Bapaume, which rested for a time at the ridge before that place, has been resumed upon a more extensive scale, until it includes a front of about ninety miles, extending from Arras to Soissons. The territory surrendered approximates 640 square miles, and includes both Bapaume and Peronne, together with many smaller towns and villages. The retreat is said to be for the purpose of shortening the German line and avoiding the salients on the western front. The Allies have engaged the retreating forces, and are moving forward their heavy guns. This advance, which in places covers a distance of fifteen miles, puts the Allies upon higher ground where they will not be so much hampered by mud and water. Full reports of the movement are not yet at hand. [See current volume, page 255.]

* *

The British forces in Mesopotamia continue their advance north of Bagdad. The Turkish forces, estimated at 60,000 men, after being defeated by the British, are reported to be making their way in great disorder toward Samara, seventy-five miles northwest of Bagdad. The Russian forces in western Persia and in Armenia continue their advance, but owing to the mountainous condition of the country their progress is slow.

* *

Berlin claims that the submarine campaign for February resulted in the destruction of 368 merchant ships of a tonnage of 781,500, of which 292 with a tonnage of 644,000 were enemy ships, and 76 with a tonnage of 137,-

500 were neutral. London official reports put the February losses at 490,000. It was announced on the 19th that the American steamships City of Memphis, Illinois, and Vigilancia had been torpedoed. The Vigilancia is said to have received no warning. Fifteen lives were lost, some of them American.

* *

China has severed diplomatic relations with Germany, withdrawing her representatives in Germany, and dismissing the German Minister and Consuls in China. German ships at Shanghai have been seized, and their crews interned. It is expected that China will enter actively into the war on the side of the Entente Allies, supplying laborers and materials. It is reported that 100,000 skilled laborers have already been sent to Europe. Late estimates show about 3,000 German civilians in China. Their internment has not been announced, but the action already taken by the Government is expected to have a pronounced effect upon the trade between the two countries.

* *

The French Cabinet headed by Premier Briand resigned on the 18th, following the failure to reach an agreement with the Deputies on the technical handling of the war. The Briand Ministry succeeded the Viviani Cabinet October 29, 1915, and was reorganized December 12, 1916. Minister of Finance Ribot has formed a new Cabinet, with himself as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mexico.

President Wilson, replying to General Carranza's proposal to form a league of neutral nations to urge peace in Europe, and to withhold supplies in case peace overtures fail, declined the invitation. The President said he had already made such a proposal to the belligerents. He instanced the plot to embroil Mexico and Japan with the United States, but stated that he would put no obstacle in the way of neutrals in their efforts to bring peace. The Mexican Government has issued in reply a declaration of absolute neutrality, and a purpose to continue its efforts to secure peace. The American Department of State has ordered a number of American Consular officers to return to their posts in Mexico and report on conditions. John R. Silliman returns to Guadalajara; Thomas Dickinson to San Luis Potosi; Randolph Robertson to Monterey; Thomas D. Bowman to Frontera, and Williar E. Chap-

man to Mazatlan. [See current volume, page 255].

* *

In order to meet the heavy expenses of the newly established government a decree has been issued increasing the tax on saloons and hotels and on foreign and domestic tobacco. Electric lights will be taxed ten cents a light. Taxes on native and foreign liquors have been doubled. Church property, which hitherto has been exempt, will be subject to taxation.

Cuba.

The rebellion is apparently under control. President Menocal's forces at Santiago have routed the rebels in that vicinity. The American marines who had been landed for police duty in the city when the rebels took their position outside are being withdrawn to their ships. April 19 has been set as the date for a special election in Victoria de las Tunas, Oriente Province. It is announced that President Menocal's election will be decided by this vote. [See current volume, p. 255].

Strike Averted.

After several days of uncertainty a strike of the four railroad brotherhoods was averted through a surrender on the part of the roads on March 19. A committee of the Council of National Defence had endeavored to induce the men to postpone any strike action while international difficulties were pending. The committee consisted of Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane; Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson; Daniel Willard, president of the B. and O., and Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor. The brotherhoods refused to postpone their demands, holding that should war come concessions would not be granted, and therefore a strike must be called before a declaration of war, or not at all. Finally they granted 48 hours' delay from March 17, the date originally set for a strike, until March 19. On the latter date the railroads conceded the demands of the men in the following letter to the committee of the Council of National Defence:

Gentlemen—In the national crisis precipitated by events of which we learned this afternoon, the National Conference Committee of the Railways joins with you in the conviction that neither at home nor abroad should there be fear or hope that the efficient operation of the railways of the country will be hampered or impaired.

Therefore, you are authorized to assure the nation that there will be no strike, and as a basis for such

assurance we hereby authorize the Committee of the Council of National Defense to grant to employees who were about to strike whatever adjustment your committee deems necessary to guarantee the uninterrupted and efficient operation of the railways as an indispensable arm of national defense.

Yours very truly,

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF THE RAILWAYS. By ELISHA LEE, Chairman.

[See vol. xix., p. 848].

Adamson Law Upheld.

By a 5 to 4 vote the United States Supreme Court upheld the Adamson eight-hour law on March 19. The decision was not announced until the threatened railway strike had been settled. The Justices upholding the act were Brandeis, Clarke, Holmes, McKenna and White. Those dissenting were Pitney, Van Devanter, Day and McReynolds. The majority opinion upholds the right of Congress to fix the length of a working day, to prescribe rates of wages in interstate commerce when the parties in interest do not agree, to arbitrate disputes as to wages compulsorily, to compel operation of their properties by the roads in a national emergency, regardless of their private interests, subject to "the beneficent and ever-present safeguards of the Constitution"; to compel in a similar way railroad employees to remain at work when their failure would destroy interstate commerce, and further states that public rights are superior to the interests of either employer or employee. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Day held the act to be an "arbitrary and unreasonable taking of property." Justice McReynolds declared it to be a wage-fixing act and therefore beyond the powers of Congress. Justices Pitney and Van Devanter concurred in Day's opinion, and said further that the act "is not a proper and legitimate regulation of commerce."

Senate Adjourns.

The Senate confirmed on March 15, the nomination of Dr. Cary T. Grayson as Rear Admiral by a vote of 37 to 26. On March 16, Senator Stone of the Foreign Relations Committee announced withdrawal of the pending treaty with Colombia providing compensation for seizure of the Panama Canal Zone. The Senate thereupon adjourned until the meeting of the extra session of Congress on April 16. [See current volume, page 252.]

The Tariff Commission.

The President sent to the Senate on March

14, the following six nominations to the Tariff Commission: Professor Frank William Taussig of Harvard University, chairman, an independent in politics; Daniel C. Roper of McCall, South Carolina, Democrat; ex-Congressman David J. Lewis of Cumberland, Maryland, progressive Democrat; ex-Congressman William Kent of Kentfield, California, progressive Independent; William S. Culbertson of Emporia, Kansas, Republican; Edward P. Costigan of Denver, Colorado, progressive Progressive. The President had tendered a place on the Commission to Patrick H. Callaghan of Louisville, a progressive Democrat, who, however, declined. [See vol. xix, p. 633.]

Query on Postal Censorship.

In behalf of the Socialist party of New York County, L. A. Malkiel, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, sent on March 14 the following letter to Postmaster-General Burleson:

My attention has just been directed to a news item in the New York *Evening Sun* stating that you have directed that all postal cards in opposition to the war addressed to the president and to members of Congress be sent to the dead letter office.

I know of no law authorizing such action unless the postal cards in question contain obscene or insulting matter or matter that constitutes a crime.

As a large number of members of the Socialist party of New York county have circulated and signed postal cards protesting against the war and requesting that no war be declared without the question being submitted to the people of the United States, I am very much interested to find out whether you have given any such orders, preventing these postal cards from being delivered to the persons addressed and, if so, by what authority.

Senator Norris Asks Recall Election.

In a letter to Governor Neville of Nebraska on March 18, Senator Norris asked that he request the Legislature now in session to provide a special election to vote on his recall. Should the vote be against him he agrees to resign at once. The letter is based on criticism of his opposition to the ship arming bill. Senator Norris said, in part:

The denunciation I have received at the hands of the press and the condemnation of my course by organizations and individuals indicate to me that there is a strong probability that the course I have pursued is unsatisfactory to the people whom I represent, and it seems, therefore, only fair that the matter should be submitted to them for decision. I will not, however, even at the behest of a unanimous constituency, violate my oath of office by voting in favor of a proposition that means the surrender by Congress of its sole right to declare war, and the placing of that power in the hands of the President. Our

forefathers fought to take this power away from the King. I will not vote to return it to him, even though he is designated by a milder name. I am opposed to making a Czar or a Kaiser out of the President. If my refusal to do this is contrary to the wishes of the people of Nebraska, then I should be recalled and some one else selected to fill the place.

I am not unmindful, in making this proposition, that against me will be the greatest combination of wealth and political power that was ever known in the history of our State. In such a contest the expenditure of even millions of dollars to control the election would be a small item and would require but little exertion on the part of my opposition. I am, however, so firmly convinced of the righteousness of my course that I believe, if the intelligent and patriotic citizenship of the country can only have a fair opportunity to hear both sides of the question, all the money in Christendom and all the political machinery that wealth can congregate will not be able to defeat the principle of government for which our forefathers fought and for which I stood in my opposition to the legislation demanded by the Executive.

If I am wrong, then I not only ought to retire, but I desire to do so. I have no desire to hold public office if I am expected blindly to follow in my official actions the dictation of a newspaper combination, controlled and influenced by stock jobbers of Wall Street, who desire to coin the lifeblood of my fellow-citizens into dollars for their own private benefit. I much prefer to be a private citizen, rather than to be a rubber stamp even for the President of the United States.

[See current volume, pages 228, 253].

Illinois to Vote on Constitutional Convention.

The Illinois House passed on March 15, the Senate resolution putting to a popular vote in 1918 the question of calling a constitutional convention. [See vol. xix, p. 1196].

Bouck White Convicted.

After a trial lasting several days a jury convicted Bouck White, pastor of the Church of the Social Revolution of New York City, and two members of his congregation of flag desecration. On June 1 last in connection with a ceremony in Mr. White's church, representatives of different nationalities deposited in a melting pot to be burned the flag of their respective nations. Among these was an American flag. The ceremony was designed to represent the amalgamation of all peoples in a universal brotherhood. In convicting the prisoners the jury recommended mercy. Nevertheless Judge McIntyre gave White the maximum sentence of \$100 fine and 30 days in jail. The others received jail sentences but were not fined.

* *

Age is a manner of feeling, not of years.—George W. Curtis.

NOTES

—A limited woman suffrage bill passed the Missouri House of Representatives on March 7.

—Governor Whitman of New York signed on March 15 the Slater law requiring military training of working boys from 16 to 19 years of age. About 200,000 boys are affected.

—The official count of the Chicago primaries finally shows the defeat for renomination by 3 votes of Alderman Merriam, leader of the Republican and independent opposition to Mayor Thompson.

—China, according to press dispatches, on March 31st took the last step in suppressing the opium trade. By an agreement with the Shanghai opium combine, the remaining stock has been purchased and will be destroyed.

—Reports from Addis Ababa, capital of Abyssinia, announce the crowning of Raisalwadi Georgis, a cousin of the late King Menelik. The deposed Emperor, Lidj Jeassu, is at Magdala, a fortified town on the Talanta Plateau, which he holds with government troops. [See vol. xix, p. 1146.]

—By a vote of 31 to 13 the New York State Senate passed the resolution introduced by Republican leader Senator Brown, providing a literacy test for voters. Two Democrats voted with the majority. Otherwise the division was on party lines. The resolution must still pass the House and be re-passed by the next legislature before going to a popular vote.

—The New York State Senate rejected on March 19 the Gilchrist bill authorizing the Mayor of New York City to purchase food and other necessities of life at the city's expense to sell to needy consumers. In opposing the measure Senator Brown, the Republican leader, declared that charity organizations were amply able to take care of all cases of distress.

—A memorial meeting for Henry George, Jr., will be held Thursday evening, March 29, in the Lenox Avenue Unitarian Church, Lenox avenue and West 121st street, New York City. Speakers will be Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Don Seitz of the New York *World*, Lawson Purdy, Dr. Walter Mendelson, and Charles Frederick Adams. Vocal selections will be by Miss Helen McCarthy.

PRESS OPINIONS

Militarism Bad at All Times.

Duluth (Minn.), *Tribune*, March 16.—The "Universal Military Training League" sends out a copy of the Chamberlain bill for compulsory universal military training, and accompanies it with this appeal: "In view of the country's peril can you do a greater service than to insist urgently, continuously and vociferously that Congress shall reassemble and pass this bill immediately?"

In view of the country's peril, this is of all times the worst to urge this highly controversial departure from the nation's traditions. . . . It would be as though a householder, discovering that a burglar is breaking through his back door, should call in a physical culture artist to give him five years of physical training to enable him to cope with the intruder. One would be as silly as the other. We are well aware that the propaganda for this system

of militarism has succeeded in working up a pretty formidable sentiment for it; but we are also aware that there is an even more formidable opposition to it among the people, even though it takes some courage to oppose openly what seems to be so red-blooded and rambunctiously patriotic a scheme. If war comes, we shall have plenty of work to do, and plenty of controversy and confusion to meet, without adding further confusion and controversy by taking on this panic-supported scheme of militarizing the American people.

No War Without a Referendum.

Capper's Weekly (Topeka, Kan.), March 17.—The tremendous power to make war has not been delegated to the President, and the nation is not left—as the European nations were left before the war—at the mercy of a ruler, however far-sighted and trustworthy, and his small group of advisers to plunge the country into war. Declaring a war is too serious a matter to be delegated to one or to half a dozen men, so fateful a decision should be referred to the nation, itself; at least to a majority vote in Congress.

If war must come it will come when a majority of the Congress shall decide on that course and not at the will merely of the President.

CORRESPONDENCE

GOVERNOR YAGER'S REPLY

To The Public's Inquiry concerning Free Speech Prosecution in Porto Rico, referred to on Page 198, current volume. A part of the letter containing personal matter was omitted.

All of the men concerning whose prosecution and imprisonment you inquire, had, among others, made application to me for pardon, which application was referred to the Attorney General of Porto Rico in the usual manner for investigation and report, and his report dated February 27 reached my office only a few days after your letter was received, so I shall only copy for your information the report made by the Attorney General concerning the crime, prosecution, trial, etc., of the five men mentioned in your letter, making only such comment as seems pertinent to the questions that you have asked.

In the first place, I wish to state that so far as I know, and I am sure that I do know, none of these charges against the men were merely technical, and they were convicted absolutely and solely on the charges preferred. Nothing was done under the surface.

In every case they appealed from the lower court to the Supreme Court of Porto Rico, and the judges of this latter tribunal, as you know, are all appointed by the President of the United States. Three of them, including the Chief Justice, are Porto Ricans, and two are Americans. All are appointed for life and after a most careful investigation as to character, legal ability and fitness for the position. Only one of them has been appointed during my administration, and some of them have been judges of this court practically since the American occupation, and one of them at least even before.

Upon examination of the record, you will observe that comment is called for only in case of the first two men,—Nicomedes Rivera and Felix Colberg. All the others were convicted for ordinary crimes—assault and battery, carrying concealed weapons, etc., and their cases have no bearing upon the matter which you seem to have particularly in mind.

The first case, that of Nicomedes Rivera, was tried and he was convicted of slander, but inasmuch as he was not charged with slandering any official, I think that this also is of no importance in the light of your question. I take it that you would not advocate the repeal of the law for slander or failure to enforce that law in so far as it protects one private citizen against another. There remains, therefore, only one case requiring any comment or explanation and that is the case of Felix Colberg.

Personally I had not heard of the latter case until the publication in THE PUBLIC was brought to my attention, so I had nothing whatever to do with his prosecution. But I find that Felix Colberg was prosecuted and convicted upon the charge of slandering the Governor. He was tried first in the District Court on February 18, 1916, and he appealed from the sentence received in that court to the Supreme Court of Porto Rico which confirmed the sentence on December 21, 1916; and, of course, in the intervening ten months he was out on bail. The language which he used is given in the report of the Attorney General, and the Associate Justice who handed down the decision of the Supreme Court—Mr. Adolf Wolf—is the same Justice who had previously rendered a strong decision in a similar prosecution: that the expression of an opinion, by a speaker, of the Governor of Porto Rico, however offensive it might be, and the application to the Governor or other high officials, of any epithet, however opprobrious it may be, was not a crime under the laws of Porto Rico but simply the exercise of his right of freedom of speech.

In the case of Colberg, however, the Judge held that the speaker, in the language quoted, had charged the Governor with a crime under the laws of the Island, namely, that he had accepted a bribe in connection with his official duties, and that was slander, and so the sentence was confirmed.

Now I submit to you the whole matter, and whether or not you should agree with the Judge in the opinion rendered, I am sure you will recognize the fact that in this whole case there is not the slightest evidence of any effort on the part of the Governor to interfere with freedom of speech or freedom of the press.

I suppose we will all admit that in every country some responsibility goes along on the part of the speakers with freedom of speech, and that it is necessary to hold public speakers and writers in the press to some sort of accountability for what they say and write. This is perhaps more necessary in Porto Rico than in the United States, because of their Latin-American antecedents and because of their inexperience in the use of their liberties. The old Spanish traditions still persist

in ways that modify seriously the problems of government. The widespread ignorance and low standards of life amongst the masses of the people, which of course we have not been able to overcome in the brief period that has elapsed since the American occupation, intensify all the social and political problems and make their solution more difficult. Nevertheless, we are now making an earnest effort to develop the political, economic and social life of the Porto Ricans as rapidly as we can along American lines and according to American models, and I think that the record in all the cases to which you refer proves, if read aright, that we are not making any exception in the matter of allowing freedom of speech even though it may result in savage and undeserved criticism of the government officials:

ARTHUR YAGER.

Government House, Porto Rico.

THE WORLD IS MOVING.

Last year the city council of Toronto appointed a committee to consider the methods of assessment and also amendments in the assessment act. Fortunately the members of the committee were friendly to our cause. Some of our members were invited to attend their meetings for deliberation. Mr. A. B. Farmer, our president, recommended the adoption of the Somers system. In spite of the strong opposition of the assessment commissioner, the committee decided to recommend a partial trial thereof.

Then came a recommendation to ask the Provincial Parliament for power to be granted to this city to tax improvements, incomes, business and income at a lower rate than land. After some discussion the committee decided unanimously to recommend that to the Council, and now the bill is before the Parliament.

We are watching with some interest the result; for a remarkable change has come over the spirit of the Tory party. So long as Sir James Whitney was the Premier, he was as immovable as a petrification. But since Mr. Hearst has succeeded him the parliament has passed a Prohibition act, and has also given the franchise to women. The Liberals had fought for years for these principles, in vain. Now that the City of Toronto has asked for Local Option in Taxation, it would not be surprising if the Tories would pass that and thus try to deplete the measures and policy of the Liberal party. The leader of the Liberal party brought in a measure of this kind more than once but the Tory vote was solid against him.

The farmers are moving in this country in a manner truly surprising. To some of us who can remember the beginning of this movement in this country, when we could count our friends with the fingers on our hands, the number who now publicly declare their faith in the taxing of land values and the abolition of other taxes is enough to take our breath away.

The United Farmers of Ontario had their convention in this city last week. There were present some of the farmers of the West who must have travelled fully two thousand miles to be present. It was by all odds the best farmers' meeting that I have ever seen in this country. The platform adopted at the farmers' convention in Winnipeg

was discussed and adopted with practical unanimity. This document is too long to quote, so that I will confine myself to a mere synopsis.

It calls attention to the amazing financial strength acquired by Britain through her free trade policy, and the wisdom of Canada to give greater freedom to the mother country to sell her goods in this dominion.

Then it denounces the tariff as "fostering trusts, combines . . . by which the people are shamefully exploited . . . by the advancement of prices on practically all manufactured goods to the full extent permitted by the tariff. The tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising public revenue because for every dollar that reaches the public treasury, three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests. . . . It has been and is a chief corrupting influence in the national life."

Then follows a declaration of principles. First, that the tariff against Britain be reduced to one-half and such further reductions be made as to remove the duty wholly in five years. Second, that the Reciprocity offer made by the United States be accepted, and that all the food stuffs named in that agreement be placed in the free list. Third, that agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber and cement, etc., be placed in the free list.

In recommending methods for taxation they begin with the following: A direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources, a sharply graduated income tax on all incomes over \$4,000 a year, a graduated inheritance tax on large estates; and a gradual income tax on all corporations whose profits are over ten per cent.

Other reforms proposed are, 1st, nationalization of railroads, telegraph and express companies; 2nd, that natural resources be not alienated from the crown, but leased for short terms; 3rd, Direct Legislation, the initiative, referendum and right of recall, the publicity of campaign funds, the abolition of the patronage system, power to the Provinces to prohibit the sale of liquor, its manufacture, export or import; and the franchise to women.

This Farmers' Union now includes Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The leaders are now planning to extend it to the other provinces as quickly as possible, from ocean to ocean.

Should they succeed in this, and should the united farmers of this Dominion declare in favor of the land tax, it will not be many years till that will become the law of the land.

The Labor party has had this plank in their declaration of principles and have on several occasions asked this concession from the government.

With the unanimity of the labor unions, with the unanimous votes of some of the church councils, and with this vote of the united farmers of four Provinces, can we not see the approach of the day when "we shall see the fruit of our labor."

The city of Edmonton, the capital of Alberta, has passed through an extraordinary boom, and is now down in the doldrums. During the ten years from 1904 her population increased about nine times. The average increase for cities on this continent is to double every ten years. Although all taxes on build-

ings, incomes, personalty, and business had been abolished, the speculation ran riot. The limits of the city included enough land for a city of ten times the population. Street car lines were run out to vacant lots to help the speculators. Other services were built in an extravagant manner, causing a rapid increase in the civic debt. The wheat crop was not much more than one-half that of the previous year, though the increased price made some compensation. The speculation has come down like a house of cards. So long as the speculators were making fortunes, they paid very little attention to the land tax; but now, when they find themselves the owners of some vacant land that brings no income, but is subject to pretty heavy taxes, and possibly to a good sized bill of interest on the mortgage, they are feeling the pinch. A year ago they applied to the Legislature to restore the old taxation on buildings, personalty, business and incomes; but when a deputation of the citizens waited on the Government in opposition the bill was dropped. In the meantime the hightaxers succeeded in getting the Council filled with their own creatures. This new Council passed a resolution to ask the Legislature to restore the old taxes. Councillor Kinney was the only member who voted nay. He wrote to our Secretary for assistance to fight the bill before the House. Our valiant secretary, Mr. Sydenham Thompson, at once raised a fund of fifty dollars, which he forwarded with a copy of a tract to be distributed among the citizens. We trust this will rouse the friends to a fight for victory. The Germans are not our only enemies.

Toronto.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

DE MASSA OB DE SHEEPFOL'

Anonymous.

De Massa ob de sheepfol'

Dat guards de sheepfol' bin,
Look out in de gloomerin' meadows,
Whar de long night rain begin—
So he call to de hirelin' shepa'd,
"Is my sheep, is dey all come in?"
Oh, den, says de hirelin' shepa'd;
"Dey's some, dey's black and thin,
And some dey's po' ol' wedda's;
But de res', dey's all brung in.
But de res', dey's all brung in."

Den de massa ob de sheepfol'

Dat guards de sheepfol' bin,
Goes down in de gloomerin' meadows,
Whar de long night rain begin—
So he le' down de ba's ob de sheepfol'
Callin' sof', "Come in. Come in."
Callin' sof', "Come in. Come in."

Den up t'ro' de gloomerin' meadows,

T'ro' de col' night rain and win',
And up t'ro' de gloomerin' rain-paf',
Whar de sleet fa' pie'cin' thin,
De po' los' sheep ob de sheepfol',
Dey all comes gadderin' in.
De po' los' sheep ob de sheepfol',
Dey all comes gadderin' in.

* *

BOOKS

THE LAND QUESTION AGAIN.

The Principles of Natural Taxation, by C. B. Fillebrown. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.60.

The object of this book, says its author, is to trace the transformation of the land question into the rent question; "of the equal right to land into the joint right to the rent of land; of the common use of the earth into the collective enjoyment of ground rent; of the nationalization of land into the socialization of its rent; of private property in land, including the private appropriation of its rent, into the public appropriation of that rent without disturbance of the private ownership of land."

In the furtherance of this object Mr. Fillebrown devotes the first eight chapters of his book to The Authorities, that is, to those who have seen the overwhelming importance of the land question, have called attention to it and have offered solutions that involve taking economic rent, in whole or in part, by the state through taxation. Thus far Mr. Fillebrown has rendered a distinct service to students who desire to have collected in one book arguments which otherwise they would have to dig out of many. Following this symposium, Part Two of Mr. Fillebrown's book is devoted to "Side-Lights," the first chapter (IX) being a defence of the single-tax as a burdenless tax, chapter X an exposition of the Rent Concept together with the Property Concept, and chapter XI to Taxation and Housing. The three remaining chapters are devoted to Henry George with the record of his services, his relation to the Economists and the attitude of the Professors towards the Singletax. A Catechism of Natural Taxation follows and an appendix closes the book by giving an "analysis of the real views" of the Physiocrats, Thomas Spence, William Ogilvie, Tom Paine and Herbert Spencer.

Incidental to the object of the author in writing his book, he gives expression to his own interpretation of Henry George's doctrines.

"A score of years ago," he says, "it was my privilege, under criticism, to make public the avowal that in the long run I would prove myself Henry George's most friendly critic and vindicator. Thus I have frequently found myself standing between him and many false and harmful impressions that have operated to his prejudice and to that of his cherished reform. Among these are the insistence upon a full 100 per cent rate, and the abolition of private property in land as Henry George's standard measures for sound doctrine."

This and similar reflections by Mr. Fillebrown, together with his criticism of the methods, practices and manners, even, of Henry George's followers and their failure, in his opinion, to make any headway in the United States, will reveal to the casual reader the existence of disagreement among the followers of Henry George—at least a disagreement between them and Mr. Fillebrown—while many Singletaxers who read the book will feel that Mr. Fillebrown's main object in writing it was to justify his own belief that Henry George did not really mean to do away with private property in land; that in this

respect the great majority of Singletaxers misunderstand him and that in advocating the abolition of landlordism they are hindering the acceptance of a plan for Natural Taxation.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that Mr. Fillebrown, in calling attention to the mistakes and failures of George's followers, antagonizes the class from which he can expect most support and, supposing him to be wholly right, he thus fails to become the Paul of the Singletax movement. Those who take interest in such matters claim that there never has been a more monstrous imposition perpetrated than the imposition of the limitations of Paul's soul upon the soul of Jesus. The reason Paul was successful was because Jesus had not committed his doctrines to writing. People did not really know what Jesus had said and they took Paul's word for it. Fortunately Henry George has written his doctrines and written them large. Moreover, Henry George's books will continue to be read and he has such a long start that the task of overtaking him now is well-nigh impossible. Indeed, if it is ever done it will only be done by a greater genius than George was. Nevertheless, all honor should be given Mr. Fillebrown for trying. His book may provoke discussion and arouse thought. Everything that is written and said about the land question and the appropriation of rent by the community is a boost, anyway. Silence is the only thing the land reformer has reason to fear. Hence all contributions to the question should be welcomed. True they may be called fantastic, grotesque, illogical, irrational, impossible; but that does not make them so and in such a distracted world as this one is at present, who shall say positively what is wise, sane, practical and right and what is not?

C. F. SHANDREW.

PERIODICALS

Land Values.

Land Values for February, published by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 11 Tot-hill street, London, is an extraordinarily good number. Devoted to the task of restoring to man his heritage, the land, and published in a country that has been drained and bled for more than two and a half years by the most merciless war known, the paper makes its appeal for social and economic justice with all the dignity and sweetness of temper that marked it before the war began. One would not know from a perusal of its columns that a war was in progress. On the contrary, its pages are filled with the news of the great land movement, and with articles, sketches, and editorials that tend to stimulate and inform its readers. *Land Values* is worthy of the attention of all Singletaxers in the United States who can spare a few hours a month and 50 cents a year. Always a good magazine, it grows better with each issue. So clear is the vision of its editors that even the great war has not diverted their attention from the truth that the land of England belongs to the people of England; and while her troops are fighting at the front *Land Values* is teaching the nation how the people may acquire the land when the war is over.

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SAMUEL DANZIGER STOUGHTON COOLEY
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 JAMES H. DILLARD, Virginia HERBERT QUICK, West Virginia
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How Christ Would Organize the World. By Ralph W. Nelson. First prize 1916. Hattie Elizabeth Lewis Memorial. Essays in Applied Christianity. Published by the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

International Morality and Exchange.

By Henri Lambert.

INTERNATIONAL MORALITY AND EXCHANGE

By Henri Lambert, of Charleroi, Belgium

Harmony and peace among nations can be the outcome only of knowledge and practice of true international ethics. No alliances, no "ententes," no hegemony, no balance of power, no diplomacy, no treaty, no league of nations, no peace "organization" or "machinery" whatever, will successfully take the place of morality in international relations.

I. The Economic Fundamentals of International Morality.

The economic interests of men are their primordial interests. Their economic relations are their fundamental relations. It is so in the life of individuals and of groups within national collectivities. It is equally so in the life of nations in the international society. Economics are necessarily at the base of all politics. National economic policy is the fundamental national policy. International economic policy is the fundamental international policy.

To bring into line harmonious relations of peoples, international politics should be inspired, primarily and positively, by international economic morals. These must be manifested by the practice of justice in the economic relations of peoples—that is to say, in the political administration of international economic interests. It has not ceased to be so, and will never cease to be more and more so with the increasing advance of physical sciences, technical arts, as well as of industries, commerce, and means of communication, advances which tend to render economic interests of peoples more and more interdependent.

What must be the characteristic of justice in the administration of international economic interests?

Justice, in itself, is considered as undefinable. This, we think, is because its definition has always been sought in the ideal or the abstract. Let us seek it in the nature of things.

In order to be successful, first in conceiving, and secondly in defining justice, it is necessary to begin by inquiring what was its origin among men. Now, the conception of justice cannot have entered and gradually taken shape in the human brain until men came into a relationship other than that of force—that is to say, until the dependence of man on his

fellow began to be satisfied by exchange of things and services. The origin of the sentiment and notion of justice in human intercourse lies in the natural and divine phenomenon of division of labour and exchange of products and services. Justice was born of the necessity of evaluating things and services that had to be more or less freely exchanged and of accepting their approximate equivalent. As division of labour, as well as exchange of things and of intellectual and moral services, has become more complex and free, so have the sentiment and conception of justice been developed, perfected, and raised. Justice is directly functional to—justice is freedom of rendering mutual services by labour and exchange.

Justice in the administration of international interests must be characterized by freedom in the relations of exchange between peoples.

The first and fundamental manifestation of justice and morality in these relations is freedom to exchange material things necessary to physiological needs.

The politics of peoples adequately adjusted to the natural conditions of their harmonious intercourse will be those which, inspired by international economic justice and morality, establish freedom of industries and commerce in international society.

II. International Law.

There cannot be a true conventional written law, save that which derives its motive and value from a natural law. There will never be a solid and stable international law except it be the outcome of a natural international law. If the constitution of humanity in national groups is a natural fact, there must necessarily exist a natural international law. It is only a question of discovering it.

Certainly one cannot conceive of the existence of a natural law except between entities—individuals or groups—whose relations are natural; it is, therefore, only between nations enjoying natural relations that there can be a natural international law; and it is economic relations which, being fundamental, must above all and by sheer necessity be natural.

Now, those fundamental relations between peoples which exclude and isolate each other are artificial: the diversity with which riches are scattered in the different regions of the globe, in such fashion that every nation has in abundance, or sometimes even in superabundance, things and natural advantages of which others have an insufficiency or lack totally,

and the *natural solidarity* which results therefrom—does this not demonstrate that it is in the very necessity of the natural plan of progress that peoples should render mutual services by exchange? The accomplishment of the phenomenon of division of labour and exchange cannot be stayed or hindered “naturally” by political frontiers. Must human laws not limit themselves to sanctioning “relations having their origin in the nature of things?” The establishment of artificial economic frontiers (political frontiers being necessarily justified by the fact of nationalities), is an attack against natural international order and law, and will be penalized by the impossibility of building up between peoples a definite and sovereign law capable of assuring to them mutual harmony and peace. The international judicial edifice will crack and crumble if not built on the true, concrete foundation of unified economic interests of peoples living under the régime of the natural international law of freedom of exchange.

III. Disarmament and Freedom of the Seas.

Armaments, even competition in armaments, do not *cause* wars. They are but the consequences of the danger of war—that is to say, of international insecurity. It is evident that their disappearance will only be made possible by international security—in other words, by the intervention of international morality.

Man in danger and unprotected can only arm himself. It is the same with nations. Surround an individual with the blessing of security and he will desire nothing so much as to drop his weapon; soon he will let it rust; he will even end by not knowing where to find it. The disarmament of nations can only come about in the same way—voluntarily, gradually, as a natural result of an increased feeling of international security. In proportion to advancement in the direction of industrial civilization, based on co-operation and exchange, this feeling will more and more merge itself into that of stability in international economic relations—stability which identifies itself with freedom of these relations. To be truly desirable and *final* disarmament can and must only come about as the result and the blessed gift of the advent of international economic liberty, justice and morality.

Navalism has the same cause as militarism: international insecurity. It will not disappear save by means of international morality. *Ablata causa, tollitur effectus*. Gradual disarmament on land will then be accompanied by gradual disarmament on sea. Naval disarmament and freedom of the seas will be natural consequences of liberty of international commerce. They are problems which will never be solved if considered apart from the general problem of permanent peace.

Freedom of the seas shall not be liberty of maritime commerce *in times of war* guaranteed by agreements between nations. How curious and contradictory is the conception that enterprises of war should by international convention be favoured and preparation therefor be given countenance! Vain effort, indeed, that would seek to deduce the principle of liberty and security of the “nations’ highway” from a morality of war! The only possible morality of war is that seas as well as lands must belong to those who are capable of seizing them by force and of maintaining their domination by the same means,

as pirates and tyrants do—that is to say: the “morality of war” can only be the “morality of international brigandage.”

From such a state of things neutral peoples must legitimately suffer; no efforts, no conventions whatever will prevail against the superior law of natural solidarity, which condemns all men alike to suffer from the failure of progress wherever it takes place—a just law indeed, since it tends to promote rapid and general progress, and since that failure has proved that no peoples have given to others a sufficiently constant and powerful example of progressive international morality. (Without doubt, certain great protectionist non-belligerent nations have a large share of direct and active responsibility in the conservation of international immorality.)

For more than a century the seas have been permanently open to the trade of nations in times of peace. The fact strikingly confirms the theory according to which the problem of the real freedom of the seas is but one with that of permanent peace, and finds its best solution—its only one—in the policy of international commercial liberty.

Certainly, humanity has no interest in having the freedom of the seas assured to—nor the domination of the seas exercised by—imperialist, conquering, and protectionist nations. There is no more potent interest than the prevention of such. There is therefore clear evidence that this question could not be solved, justly, completely, definitely, except by means of liberty of international trade. Liberty of trade cannot be the *consequence* of freedom of the seas; it must be its means, its *cause*.*

It is also as clear as it is rational that naval disarmament and freedom of the seas must depend on an equitable adjustment of colonial ownership, and *above all* on the establishment of the régime of the Open Door, or at least of equal opportunities *in all colonial possessions, present and future*. (The logical corollary of this being ultimate free trade between the Mother Countries.)

Let us remark, in conclusion, that *freedom of the seas necessarily implies liberty of communication between lands and seas, and also liberty of ports*. By recognition of this principle several most difficult questions of international politics could be solved with extreme ease and to the great advantage of all interested.

IV. The “Nationalities.”

As long as international insecurity exists it will confirm the peoples in the entirely just idea that national might and great empires are necessities. They will, by force, form compact national blocks and incited by vital interests, they will refuse to listen to the pleas of sacrificed and wretched subjected nationalities. The constitution of great economic and political units is but the logical consequence of the illogical system of refusing international co-operation. And it is, moreover, extremely doubtful whether, under the régime of reciprocal economic exclusions, the small nationalities would have a true interest in their segregation.

*We may safely and usefully add that freedom of the seas in time of war cannot be a factor or *cause* of peace (on the contrary it can only cause continuation of wars). But true freedom of the seas would be the natural and inevitable outcome of peace founded on liberty and morality. This would immediately result in an agreement for international guardianship of the seas.

tion from great empires and in an economic and political isolation which for them would signify misery and decadence as well as, in the main, increased exterior insecurity.

Had all nations lived, if only for a quarter of a century, under the régime of freedom of exchange and intercommunication (following on a like period of preparatory tendency towards absolute Free Trade), they would clearly recognize that all the advantages which formerly accrued to them as the outcome of territorial aggrandizement, of domination and of centralization were obtainable—without the evils consequent on these, and in much increased measure—by international freedom of intercourse. The idea of association and co-operation would substitute itself for that of "power." Peoples would purge themselves of the madness of "Empires." And gradually even the great acquisitive nations would no longer find it detrimental to their interests and progress to accord to the various nationalities of which they are composed governmental autonomy—which under the régime of general free exchange and "open-door" would prove for all, great and small alike, a great boon.

The difficulties of interior politics would be singularly lessened, for it is infinitely easier to discover and practice methods and rules of government appropriate to increasing liberty and to progress when political groups are restricted and homogeneous (one of the reasons of the absurdity of the idea of a United States of Europe). The internal,—civil, moral, and political—liberty and prosperity of nations can be largely influenced by the freedom of their external economic relations. They are perhaps definitely dependent upon this. It is also certain that, were political collectivities more circumscribed, their external relations, inspired by a healthier spirit, would be smoother: by very reason of their scantiness and of the consequently necessary increment of their external relations the sentiment of nationalism would, gradually, under a régime of liberty and security, yield to the spirit of internationalism, and "patriotic" passion and savagery to humanitarian reason. True human progress—moral, social, national, and international—depends, without doubt, on the possibility of constituting and of *preserving* circumscribed political groups, economically federated in a co-operative unity.

We would like to remark here that to deal illogically with the problem of nationalities is extremely dangerous. It is simply impossible to pacify the world through the freeing of nationalities. But it is possible to gradually free nationalities by creating international security through a moral and therefore stable peace. Freedom of nationalities cannot be a *cause* of permanent peace; it can only be the *consequence* of this, the beneficent and blessed *result of international morality*.

V. Modern Wars and Peace.

The most primitive wars were expeditions of hunger or of brigandage. In the main all wars have had as their objective territorial increase and acquisition of economic advantage. After having passed the period of wars which apparently had as their causes dynastic or personal ambitions and rivalries of kings, and of those wars in which religious fanaticism was the apparent primary cause,

humanity is entering upon a period—which *must* rapidly be brought to an end—of wars of which the underlying causes are distinctly economic. Race hatred, national passions, inferior "ideals" of peoples no longer intervene as influential factors except in so far as they second the rivalries of the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of powerful groups—syndicates, cartels, and trusts.

The great nations urged by these interests covet "assured markets." They desire to secure them after conquest, by protectionist privileges and monopolies (by "Imperialism")—that is to say by international injustice. Their "great politicians" give zealous support to those debased enterprises, relying, if need be, for opposition to adverse interests, on "alliances" or "ententes." Their governments are then induced to impose on nations from whose interests competition is feared terms as disadvantageous as possible. Of commerce and in industry, sole platform of international *rapprochement* for practically all individuals, *sole actual possible platform of international morality*, governments make a terrain of exclusion, discord, hate, and international immorality. No statesman has the courage, or even perhaps the wisdom, to cry to Humanity: Stop! Through the mouth of their leaders (a few excepted), the masses equally show the measure of their incapacity. And so through ignorance of the many, and by artifices of some, the causes are brought about and the conditions developed of modern wars. Thenceforth will fatefully arise the catastrophic phenomenon. Those most benefited by injustice will be condemned to defend "*par le fer et par le sang*" (through iron and blood), against those less favoured, the portions of the globe which they have conquered, and even those territories which they have possessed immemorably. So long as there exists the general desire and prejudice in favour of economically closed and monopolistic empires, so long will the catastrophic phenomenon repeat itself and increase in gravity. The ignorance and injustice of conquerors will, unfailingly, bring their own retribution in ultimate attack by other would-be conquerors.

At our epoch the problem of peace consists in substituting for the causes of war, which are economic, the natural economic condition of peace. Modern peace must be a *Pax Oeconomica*. Such will be the fruit of knowledge and practice of an international morality inspired by that economic justice which is comprised in liberty of international co-operation and exchange.

It is incumbent on men to recognize that this is the only natural and solid moral basis of a universal and permanent peace.

The economic activities and utilitarian progress of men are the necessary means and material support of their moral progress. They form the *base* of civilization. Moral progress is its *consummation and end*, because it alone is capable of response to Finalities. Material progress and enrichment not followed in due time by corresponding and "compensating" moral progress will become a cause of corruption and perdition. Persistent retardment of advance in morality entails the annihilation of the works of men and the disappearance of their civilizations.

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