

FOR THE MEN AT THE FRONT

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The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

The Balkan Situation

Copper Trust Patriotism

Music—The Elemental Art

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November 9, 1917

Volume XX
Number 1023

Published Weekly
NEW YORK

Five Cents a Copy
One Dollar a Year

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The Public

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Editorial

The allied world is dejected by the disaster to the Italian armies. Half of this discouragement derives from the memory of Serbia and Rumania. We look with apprehension upon these heavy blows of massed German troops delivered against industrially inadequate nations, for no one can be sure where they will end. But this case is in no way comparable to the former German successes. For success is the destruction of the enemy's army organization, and the Italian army has by no means gone to pieces. If the line fails to hold on the Tagliamento, the next step will reach comparative security. The loss of men and guns is more serious, apart from sentiment, than loss of ground. Meanwhile, the really significant factors in the situation are being eclipsed by the drama on the Isonzo.

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The war has provided its quota of surprises. Unless there is a failure of all the signs by which political interpretation becomes possible, one more surprise will come from Italy. The defeat in all probability spares Italy the throes of revolution; and it is a cheap price to pay. Every step taken by the Germans on Italian territory is a step toward that achievement of unity in the nation which had become the despair of Italian statesmanship, and with it a purification of national policy that will make Italy a true ally of the western democracies. To understand Italy is to grasp a political psychology in which extremes contest the field, and make of every question a struggle of complex setting and incalculable consequences. For the years immediately before the war, her political life was dominated by the arch-trickster Giolitti, and its tone and intent established and expressed in the Libyan adventure. The Italian aspiration was to become the Great Power of the Mediterranean according to the most approved model in *Weltpolitik*. German influence was di-

rect and powerful, penetrating every sphere of the nation's life. At the same time, some of the most vitally democratic forces in the world were consolidating in opposition. This normal political division did not maintain itself when the question of entering the war arose. Neutralists and interventionists were to be found in both camps. Although Italy had long been a restless and discontented partner in the Triple Alliance, her whole diplomatic center of gravity had to be shifted and brought into working relations with the West. And the West was suspicious of her intentions. Without doubt there is a body of opinion in Italy that favored intervention solely to free the world from kaiserism. But it could not hold itself free from the sentiment evoked by the possibility of recovering the lost provinces. Irredentism is anything but a simple doctrine. At one extreme, it is the most thoroughgoing idealism; at the other, it is unadulterated Prussianism. Sooner or later, these elements had to sort themselves. As the military machine became more effective, control centered in the group known as "Nationalists," frankly contemptuous of democracy, with an eye upon the displaced landlordism which Italians had enjoyed in Dalmatia, pledged to particularist ambitions in Africa and the Near East, screened as everywhere by the phrases and paraphernalia of patriotism. The people, as everywhere, carried the burden, censored and sullen. Genuine sympathy and support has never been given by the western democracies for the best of reasons.

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Then came the Russian revolution and America's entrance into the war, and the moral transformation of the whole allied cause. The smothered Italian democracy began to emerge, but could not array itself on any of the lines of po-

litical cleavage. At the Reform-Socialist convention of the first week in July, the discussion of policy was marked by tumult and counter-tumult. The conquest of Dalmatia was inconsistent with the new Yugoslavia that had been projected in the Compact of Corfu, and had become clearly a part of the allied intention. In subsequent months, democratic feeling consolidated itself in these terms. And the intolerable hardships which the proletariat was forced to suffer gave the situation a dangerous tension. But meanwhile the vision of conquest was broadened by one gain after another. Trieste seemed a certainty and Laibach a probability. Was nationalist ambition to be repudiated at the moment of achievement? Grip the people and force the thing to a conclusion. Suppress dangerous propaganda, make the proletariat work and fight and endure. Then came the battle of last week. The Italian army has been accused of cowardice. It is not cowardice, it is lack of a sufficient motive to bear the shock. The German army is not cowardly, and it will give way one day in the same manner and for the same reason. The imperialist dream of Italy is dead. Nationalist ambition expired on the banks of the Isonzo. From now on, the fight is against the universal menace, and from it Italy will emerge purified, victorious and great.

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A sign of the times is to be seen in the inclusion of Mr. T. A. Crerar in the new Union Cabinet of Canada. Mr. Crerar as president of the United Grain Growers of Canada, and leader of the organized farmers, has had much to do with giving a broader outlook to the people of that part of the country. For to him and to a few kindred spirits is due the fact that the farmers of western Canada have adopted the liberal policy of free trade, the taxation of land values, and the curbing of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. To make Mr. Crerar Minister of Agriculture, therefore, is much as though A. C. Townley of the Nonpartisan League were to be made Secretary of Agriculture in this country. The Canadian grain growers, unlike their American brethren, never have permitted themselves to be considered a silent partner in an industrial system in which they held the bag. High tariff profits for manufacturers, in order that factory employees might pay good prices to farmers, never appealed to the settlers of western Canada. They had seen

the trick turned at the expense of the farmers of the United States. They sold in the world's market, and they proposed to buy in the world's market. And, moreover, they early saw the folly of taxing their own industry for the relief of the land speculators, and demanded the taxation of land values. It is enheartening to see this political recognition of the progressive farmers of western Canada.

* * *

Free traders must be prepared for a drive by protectionists. The petty, irritating and indefensible clauses of the new revenue law make easy the spread of false doctrine. All who use the mails, patrons of theaters, commuters and other railroad travelers, senders of telephone and telegraph messages, shippers by freight and express, insurance policy holders and others compelled by the law to add a tax to payment for these services, constitute a promising field for tariff arguments. Official protectionist organs are saying that these taxes are due to "free trade," and that the way to get rid of them is to substitute import duties which "the foreigner will pay." They are not scrupling to take advantage of an opportunity for more or less successful misrepresentation. This opportunity would not exist but for the folly of Congress in refusing to levy heavier taxes on unearned wealth, or to impose a tax on land values.

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It would be difficult to fully appreciate the feelings of the Spanish sailor who quit his ship in the port of New Orleans and found refuge under the Seamen's Act. For when the Spanish captain appealed through the Spanish Consul to the American authorities to seize the man and return him in irons to the ship, as had been the custom time out of mind, the request not only was denied but the captain was held under \$1,000 bail. It is only thus that we can appreciate the fact that it is less than two years since seamen were bound to their ship like the serf to the soil; and that even now the sailors of other nations are still bound till they enter an American port. The provision written into the shipping papers by the vessel owners that the sailor must return to the port from which he shipped, and that gave the captain the right to call upon the authorities of any country to seize a deserter and send him back to the ship in irons

opened the way to untold tyrannies, and filled seafaring life with such cruelties and hardships that all who could left it. But when the La Follette Seamen's Act gave the American seaman, and not only the American seaman but the seamen of other nations entering the ports of the United States, the right to quit the ship as any other workman may quit his job, the sailor was able for the first time to walk upright and look his employer in the face as a man. If the Spanish captain wishes to take his crew back to Spain he can do so by the very simple expedient of treating the men as well as American ships treat them. In other words, the Seamen's Act, by enabling foreign sailors to ship from American ports in spite of contracts signed in foreign ports, tends to raise the standard of wages and living among all sailors to the level of this country.

The Crisis in War Policy

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the pacifist movement in this country would be entirely negligible were it not for the partial support of men and women who are not pacifists at all on the issue of whether or not this country should throw all its strength into the world struggle on the side of the Allies. They are men and women who were slow in seeing that hope for peace and democracy lies in the President's policy, but who do see it now, and who are only waiting for an assurance that his policy is to prevail before giving the Government their whole-hearted support. They belong with the President, not against him. THE PUBLIC believes that they are sincere enough, important enough, and numerous enough to make their further conversion decidedly worth while. Said Mr. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati in a statement to the *New York Evening Post* two days after the outrage upon him:

"To suppress peace talk is to prevent that balancing of extreme views which should support the Government in some moderate middle position. However, the Government may take a different view. It may think it is able to cope with the extremists on one side without the help from the extremists of the other side. If the Government thinks so and says so, then for the sake of teamwork in war, peace advocates should await a more opportune time for their propaganda."

Let the Government say so, in Mr. Bigelow's

phrase. Let us have a ringing and unmistakable assurance that we are not fighting to vindicate a national pride that is identical with mere pug-nacity plus the financial and commercial interests of our great corporations. The people know that the country's great capitalists have exhausted the American field of exploitation, and that before the war they were reaching out for natural resources in South America, Asia and Africa. The people know that there are very powerful financial and industrial interests in this country that hate the Russian revolution more ardently than they hate Germany, and who see as the chief benefit to be gained by this war a more commanding position in the world of international finance and trade. The people trust Mr. Wilson, but they do not trust many of the men in a position to influence public policy. And they are not sure that Mr. Wilson, alone and unaided, can resist the power of those who want an undemocratic peace, and who, in the meantime, are profiting from the war. THE PUBLIC wishes that Mr. Wilson would talk directly and outspokenly to the American people—to those true Americans who are keeping alive the democratic tradition, and tell them that he understands the danger, realizes the power and the activity of those in this country who hate democracy. If he would do this he would generate an enthusiasm among the plain people—the workers and the producers—such as does not now exist. He would become irresistible as the great world-leader of democracy. Until he gives such assurances as the people crave, many will continue to harbor misgivings, and to look kindly upon peace agitations not because they want immediate peace, but because they feel the need of counteracting the extremists in the militarist camp. If the tendency so apparent in the campaign should continue, Mr. Wilson may find himself deserted by many of the very men who most thoroughly understand, appreciate and sympathize with his policy. They will desert him in the belief that only by opposition can they create a public opinion that will permit him to carry through his plans.

Those American pacifists who are worthy of respect and consideration have come a long distance since April 6. Mr. Wilson's Note to the Pope dispelled much of their misgiving and gave them the opportunity to modify their position. Is it not worth while to follow this up with further

utterances that will assert even more clearly his mental and spiritual kinship with what is best in the American democracy? In France and England, as in America, it is becoming increasingly difficult, it will soon become impossible for statesmen who wish to maintain their leadership to ignore the issue that has arisen within the nations. Our leaders must frankly recognize the fact that, in Mr. Wilson's words, "the whole world now is witnessing a struggle between two ideals of government," and that "no settlement of the questions that lie on the surface can satisfy a situation which requires that the questions which lie underneath and at the foundation should also be settled, and settled right." Leadership in every Allied nation will pass into the hands of men who accept the spirit and substance of the President's Note to the Pope, and the morale of the Allied nations during the next year or two will be maintained or wrecked according as Mr. Wilson succeeds or fails in getting his conception of the war and its purposes accepted by the Allied governments. He must begin by getting it accepted by the American people.

It is too much to ask of human nature that American democrats read and re-read the Note to the Pope, hugging it to themselves for comfort, and remain quiet and serene when in every issue of every newspaper they see signs that both the public and private life of the nation is being dominated by cheap nationalist pugnacity, cheap national pride, cheap meannesses and hatreds—cheap spread-eagle patriotism of the sort that in every age has played into the hands of monarchs or bankers with selfish ends to gain.

THE PUBLIC disagrees with those democrats who believe they can effect their purpose by going over to the camp of the extreme opponents of this war. It fears they will only make Mr. Wilson's task the harder, that by thus joining the issue they will force all to abandon the middle ground, and that the popular reaction against the extreme opposition will indiscriminately reject the good and the bad in their program. Mr. Wilson's difficulty would then be great indeed. But unless he rallies American liberals and radicals to his support, as he so easily can with a little frank speaking, there is real danger that he will find himself abandoned by too many of them at the moment when he needs them the most.

Where Statesmanship Has Failed

Restlessness among American farmers has given a fresh start to the exodus into Canada. In a published interview the Denver representative of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, W. A. Smith, states that that corporation has put 1,500 American farmers upon western Canadian farms within the past year. That may not seem a large number, but it does not tell the whole story. The Canadian Pacific requires a payment of \$2,000 from those whom it settles upon its "ready-made farms." The proportion of those actually settled to those eager to go may be judged from the fact that out of 800 applications from tenant farmers of Texas and New Mexico only twenty were classed as good prospects, and of these only three actually bought.

In telling of the arguments used, Mr. Smith speaks as a salesman only. Yet if he were a propagandist of land value taxation, he could not put the case differently. In a published interview he said:

Two of our best talking points are the state hail insurance and the land tax system.

Instead of paying high rates to private insurance companies, a direct tax is levied on the land in Saskatchewan and Alberta to pay off all hail losses. In Alberta the rate is $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills.

There is no tax on personal property in Alberta. The farmer is not penalized for getting more stock and farming machinery, or for improving his property. This means that the speculator, who is holding land out of use, is taxed so heavily that he cannot afford to hold his land idle. It does not bear any more heavily on the man who is using the land, because he is exempted from other taxes.

Since the war has started there has been an additional "wild land tax" levied, running up to a maximum of \$40 a section on wild land held out of any use. This tax law was on the law books years previously, but was not enforced before.

It has been brought into use now to pay extra expenses caused by the war. But it does not interfere with the honest farmer who is using his land and not holding it for speculation. It lessens the tax on the real farmer by collecting the additional money from the speculator.

Alberta is helping the working farmer in a way that American legislators are reluctant to follow. Little is done here to restrict land speculation, while other belligerent nations are devising means to enable returning soldiers and other citizens to obtain homesteads without submission to extortion. It is not surprising, therefore, that

so competent an observer as Immigration Commissioner Frederic C. Howe should look for a reversal of the tide of emigration toward Europe, once peace has been declared.

This may not be the worst possible happening under existing circumstances, since it is not desirable that people should remain where they are denied the right to earn an independent living. But it is an indictment of American statesmanship nevertheless. As long as there are in this country unused lands, opportunities to work and to acquire homes should be open to all. Whenever it is clear that this is not the case, then it is also clear that American statesmanship has failed in its most important duty.

The exodus to Canada is an indication of such a failure. It would be well to remedy the matter before evidence becomes overwhelming.

Slacker Acres Again

Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, New York philanthropist, has written a letter to *The Times* urging a Federal survey of "all unoccupied lands all over the country, and a list of such as are suitable for planting." The suggestion is an excellent one, and the Department of Agriculture should have been about the task long ago. Of the total area of the country, only one-fourth was in improved farms in 1909. Only about one-half of our cultivable area is under cultivation. In the State of New York only 37 per cent of the agricultural acreage is under cultivation, as Mr. Frederic C. Howe has pointed out in his new book on "The High Cost of Living." But Mr. Lewisohn's further suggestions will appeal only to those who are prepared to adopt the German conception of government. He writes:

The Government should next ascertain from the owners whether they would agree to use the lands or any part of them, and then take over temporarily the best parts of such unused ground and use it for the kind of planting that will give the best results. Should it be impossible to get the needed labor, on a volunteer or paid basis, prisoners might be used for part of the work. If all this fails to supply the needed help, then such available labor as is suitable might be conscripted the same as we do now for the army and navy.

Could there be a stronger indictment of American agriculture than Mr. Lewisohn has here unwittingly drawn? Why should we be forced to go to our prisons and use compulsion to get men

for the most ancient and honorable of all the callings, and this at a time when the products of the farm are in demand and selling for unprecedented prices? What is wrong with American farming that free men will not go in for it? Why do thousands of acres remain uncultivated within twenty-five miles of the largest and richest of American cities? Why do men face the hardships and privations of industrial employment, earning scarcely enough to buy food for their families, when uncultivated acres lie all about them? They are questions that have been answered time and again in unequivocal language by United States Government reports. Land lies idle because we have exalted the possessive over the creative impulse, because we have richly rewarded the man who held land out of use to sell at a profit and have penalized the man who cultivated and improved his plot. Owners of unused land refuse to part with it on terms that will permit the farmer to earn interest on his investment, because their taxes are so low that they can afford to hold it at a speculative price, and finally dispose of it at a great profit. Not only are taxes low on slacker acres; they are correspondingly high on acres that have been cultivated and improved to the benefit and salvation of society. And the man who both owns and tills his land cannot pay taxes and freight charges and still retain enough to pay him for his labor. State-owned railroads and terminals and publicly owned marketing facilities would improve the lot of the man already on the land. They would do nothing toward opening up unused land to those who are willing and able to cultivate it. For the speculative owner would merely increase the price at which he would sell sufficiently to absorb the new advantages, and then sit back to wait until the ever-growing human need for products of the soil brought him a buyer.

Mr. Carl Vrooman, assistant secretary of agriculture, has already urged that idle land be brought into use through the operation of a surtax. This is only half the remedy. Taxes must also be removed from improvements, from the products of industry and enterprise. And the same remedy must be applied to land within the cities, so that landlords could not stand between urban populations and the benefits that would flow from an agriculture that had thus been emancipated from the paralyzing control of speculators and monopolists. Organized farmers

and organized wage earners are fast coming to realization that they are common sufferers from our system of land tenure. In California another strong coalition of farmer and wage earner has just been formed under the name of the California Union of Producers and Consumers. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Labor and a member of the State Immigration and Housing Commission, is secretary of the new organization. In an editorial in the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, of which he is editor, Mr. Scharrenberg points out that the new organization can serve both farmers and wage earners by working for "reform of taxation, exempting improvements from taxation and placing more of the tax burden upon privilege and big interests," and for "land for the landless; government aid and encouragement in opening land to any person able and willing to cultivate it; this to include taking land from speculators and the reclamation of uncultivated land."

Mr. Scharrenberg is one of the best executive officers serving state federations of labor in the country. And he is also the most ardent champion, among labor men, of the taxation of land values as a remedy for our economic ills and the best means of achieving economic freedom.

Commendatory Condemnation

A law as well as an individual may be commended for the enemies it has made. The new revenue law deserves that distinction. With all its faults it has the merit of being distasteful to the American Protective Tariff League. Congress having refused to increase the predatory profits of tariff barons, the organ of the League, *The American Economist*, complains that "only Americans will pay" the expenses of the American Government in conducting the war.

The American Economist's statement is substantially correct. It might have added that while Americans will pay all the expenses under the revenue act, they would have been called upon to pay very much more had Congress taken the advice of the American Protective Tariff League and imposed a number of new import duties.

"Hundreds of millions of dollars might easily be added to the revenues by an all-around increase of tariff duties," says *The American Economist*. Undoubtedly. But when the tariff

organ asserts that Americans would not have had to pay this increase, it states an absurdity. American consumers of the taxed articles would have been forced to pay prices increased to the extent of the tariff with a profit added. That the foreigner pays the tax is a fallacy which few protectionist politicians still have the hardihood to suggest to intelligent people. Moreover, if it were a truth, it would condemn rather than commend the suggestion with those who realize the dishonesty of a system which would put on foreigners the burden of supporting a government not their own. As it is, the statement is clearly intended to deceive Americans into increasing the predatory power of certain interests. The protectionist case must be desperate indeed when the official organ of its high priests can do no better than reiterate a claim long worn out. There have been some rather shabby arguments advanced in behalf of the new revenue law. But none of these so affront popular intelligence as this protectionist criticism. It is the kind of condemnation which commends the object at which it is aimed.

Testing Economic Theories

The present venture of the Government into the commercial field is likely to result in disappointments for the dogmatist, as well as surprises for the doctrinaire; but to the extent that the social and economic problems are brought nearer to the point of solution these results will be welcomed. Social experiments are necessarily slow, not only because of man's natural conservatism, but because of the difficulty of isolating a principle from conflicting forces and circumstances. Hence, in times of peace much discussion must precede each venture, and the result be many times repeated before doubters are convinced; but in time of war the necessity for immediate action compresses within a brief space of time thoughts and actions that otherwise might have required years.

The Government, in order to concentrate all its forces upon the war in the shortest possible time has entered into or assumed control over industrial activities that heretofore have been left to private direction. The authority granted by Congress to commandeer all industries necessary for the successful prosecution of the war has led to close supervision of railroads, and to fixing

the price of coal, copper, steel, wheat, and some other staples. It is safe to assume that to the degree that these preliminary regulations fail of their purpose the control of the Government over business will be extended. Should the limitation of the price of coal, for instance, lead to a decreased output the mines themselves will be taken in charge, and operated for the benefit of the public. The same will be true of railroads, steel plants, shipyards, and all industries that contribute directly to war strength.

It should, therefore, be possible for students of affairs to draw from these governmental activities valuable deductions. They should be able to determine to some degree how much truth there is in the Socialist's contention that all industry should be conducted by government; and how much in the individualist's claim that it should remain on a voluntary basis. To the extent that the various exponents of economic theories are sincere, and capable of considering questions on their merits, valuable lessons may be drawn from present conditions. As these essays of the Government into the commercial field may not be of long duration there should be the keener observation of their effect.

Is the Individualist right in advocating voluntary cooperation in all things? Is the Socialist economically sound in holding that the government should engage in general production? Or is there truth in the position of the Singletaxer who recognizes the necessity of government control of certain activities, and private initiative in others?

Manifestly there is a difference between businesses subject to competition, and those that are not. The grocer, for instance, conducts a business into which all who wish may enter without let or hindrance. The street-car corporation, however, has an exclusive right to operate on certain streets, and to a degree is free from outside interference. In the first instance, the competition of grocermen drives out the unfit, and secures for the public the best service at the least cost. Any person who knows a better way of handling groceries is free to try it, and if it be an improvement the other grocers will have to adopt it or go out of business. The street-car corporation, however, may be in charge of competent or incompetent men; and its service may be good or bad without interference from its patrons. There being no other corporation to offer competi-

tion it can within wide limitations do as it pleases.

Hence, the deduction that businesses or industrial activities that are from their nature subject to competition may safely be left to private control; while activities that are by nature monopolies should be controlled by the community. Merchandising and manufacturing may be duplicated and multiplied indefinitely, and any abuse of those in the field by rendering poor service or charging excessive prices will attract capital seeking investment till the new competition corrects the evil. Public utilities, however, such as street cars, railroads, waterworks, gas, electricity, telephones and other industries that are commonly found operating under franchises, cannot be duplicated or multiplied indefinitely because of physical limitation. A dozen companies might operate wagons in a street, but only one can, without obstructing the highway, lay car tracks. The difference between competitive and non-competitive business has long been recognized by government in the maximum rates permitted franchise monopolies. And it is apparent that still further restriction should be placed upon these enterprises, even to the extent of ownership and operation.

This separation of commercial activities along the line that divides industries that all citizens may freely enter, from industries that may be entered by only a few, rests upon the principle that all men have an equal right of access to the bounties of nature, and to the possession of fruits of their own labor. Since all men have as much right to operate the street cars as to run groceries, and since, because of physical limitations, only a few can do so, justice requires either that the few who are granted the exclusive privilege should pay to those excluded what the privilege is worth, or that the service should be performed directly by the community for the benefit of all. The same principle governs the ownership and use of real estate. Any number of men can build houses or make other things produced by human labor, but only a few can occupy the land in the central part of the city. Simple equity, therefore, requires that persons to whom the law gives exclusive possession of land should pay to those excluded what that possession is worth.

These basic principles underlie the rules man has made in his attempts to conform human conduct to nature's laws. Failure is attributed by

one school of economics to too much competition, and by another school to too little competition. Neither will be satisfied except by actual demonstration. Hence, the importance of close observance and dispassionate analysis of the Government's essays into the commercial field, in order to determine as far as possible the policy that should be pursued in time of peace. The greater efficiency of railroads under Government control lends weight to the argument for public ownership of roads. Ventures in price-fixing and the supervision of competitive businesses have not gone far enough to warrant conclusions. Should it be found necessary in marshaling the forces of war for the Government to take over the shipyards, steel mills, and similar enterprises, the results should go far toward making known the truth.

Care must be taken, however, in appraising

the value of these experiments to make sure of all the factors in the problem. In the steel business, for instance, the law of competition cannot operate if private individuals or corporations own the coal and ore lands. Should the action of the Government in taking over both mills and mines result in cheaper steel, it will be impossible, without further experiment, to say how much of the gain, if any, is due to operating the mill, which by nature is competitive, and how much is due to operating the mine, which is a natural monopoly.

These experiments in price fixing, cooperative buying, and government management of commercial enterprises may serve as a test of economic principles if they are dispassionately observed, not as a vindication of this or that school or party, but to determine the natural laws of human association.

The Balkan Situation

By David Starr Jordan

The woes of repressed nationalities spring mainly from wars of conquest. Every war has left an aftermath of oppression and injustice. Unrest is usually the result of some past effort to bring order by force. Political wrongs can be remedied in one of two ways, either by restitution or by conciliation. The one looks backward to causes, the other forward to effects. The first is not always possible, the second is not customary. But one or both are necessary to permanent peace. If old wounds cannot be healed, they may be forgotten in new tolerance and justice.

The "grim, raw races" of the Balkans have suffered from every conceivable wrong. Slaves to the Turk, "small change of the Czar," objects of intrigue by Austria, Russia and Germany, merciless towards one another, mismanaged and misunderstood by the Great Powers, their affairs are today in the most hopeless tangle. The only final way out is through federation, and yet every tendency toward federation is opposed by a multitude of conflicting interests.

Federation would settle race problems at one stroke by removing all questions of subjugation and domination. If all races came to have an equal stake in the common government, questions

of nationality, language and religion would cease to be of first importance and would pass into the background as in Switzerland and the United States. With the inextricable tangle of races in Macedonia and Thrace, no right of nationality, except equal right, can be made to apply.

The people of the United States are hoping for justice in Europe—for antagonists as well as for friends. On no other terms can our war have even an appearance of justification. And among the other states in question, some thought must be given to Bulgaria and her claims. Her Czar, foxy, audacious and avaricious, need not detain us. The days of his dynasty are numbered; as the first of the "House of Coburg" he may well be the last. The death of his fine-spirited Queen, Eleanor, removes his chief hold on the people's affection.

Moreover, Bulgaria has been by no means senseless. Her statesmen admit having committed every diplomatic blunder they found possible. But the Bulgarians themselves are not diplomats. They are a sturdy, earnest, self-reliant race, better educated than their neighbors, owning their own farms, having the making of a noble nation, if once old chains can be cast off.

The first Balkan war was ended with the

Treaty of London (1912), the ill-considered provisions of which made a second war at once inevitable. This came within a fortnight and led shortly after to the Treaty of Bucharest, in which Serbia, Roumania, Greece and Turkey united to skin Bulgaria alive. By this means was created on every side of Bulgaria a new "Alsace-Lorraine," a new "wound in the flanks" of Balkan freedom.

Because Great Britain had made no public protests against that treaty and no active remonstrance came from Russia, Bulgaria lost heart. Later with Germany still busy, financially and otherwise, in Sofia, "creating public opinion in her own inimitable way," Czar Ferdinand was able to bring his country into the Great War on the side of the Central Powers, which had promised restoration of the disputed territories. Meanwhile, it must be noted, that practically all news in Bulgaria was coming through the Vienna censor, who reported continuous German victories by land and sea, "the ridiculous British Navy" receiving special notice.

Of the disputed districts, the Dobrudja, comprising meadows of the lower Danube, with the city of Silistria, and inhabited almost exclusively by Bulgarians, had been seized by Roumania during the second Balkan War and had been assigned to her by the Treaty of Bucharest. At once all persons not holding land titles which conformed to Roumanian law were summarily evicted. There were, in the spring of 1914, over 100,000 Bulgarian refugees with nothing but what they could carry on their backs—60,000 in the city of Burgas alone. Roumania's avowed claims to this territory were twofold: First, by remaining neutral during the war against Turkey, in which all the other states concerned had gained territory, while she received nothing, she was therefore entitled to compensation. And, second, it was necessary to humble Bulgaria, said to be ambitious to become the Prussia of the Balkans. But if we recognize rights of persons or property, these claims must be disallowed and the Dobrudja returned to Bulgaria.

Macedonia had, until the evictions following the Treaty of Bucharest, a highly mixed population, more than half Bulgarian, with many thousands of Greeks, Turks and Serbians, some Roumanians, and the odds and ends of the seafaring nations. The seaports were largely occupied by

Greeks, though Salonica, the chief town, had an extensive population of Spanish Jews, refugees from ancient persecutions in Barcelona. If we accept the principle that race characters are to determine allegiance, then the greater part of Macedonia, having been occupied by Bulgarians, should be returned to Bulgaria. But Macedonia is a historic district of indefinite boundaries, shading off into Thrace on the east and Thessaly on the west. Among its peoples no sharp racial lines can be established. However, the predominance of Bulgarian elements is a matter of plain observation, though Serbian and Greek statistics deny it.

In these regions "race" is determined mainly by language. The people of northern Thessaly, largely Bulgarian in stock, speak the Greek language, and are therefore rightly counted as Greeks. After the Treaty of Bucharest, Greece took possession of the seashore of Macedonia, including Salonica. This town was soon ruined by the loss of the trade of the hinterland assigned to other nations, by overtaxation and by military severity. Bulgarians and Turks were driven out; about 40,000 Jews came to New York, and the place of all was taken by some 300,000 refugee Greeks, driven by Albanians and Turks from Turkey in Europe. These Albanians had been evicted by Serbia from the Novibazar. In May, 1914, there were over a million refugees in the Balkans, wandering with what they could carry on their backs, and living in tents, sheds and freight cars, on government allowances averaging four cents a day each.

The Aegean shore of Macedonia, Venizelos, then Premier, did not wish Greece to take. "It has no backbone," he said. But the German Kaiser interfered at Bucharest, and insisted that Kavalla, the only seaport of any value to Bulgaria, should go as "a present to his sister," the Queen of Greece. According to the current procedure the Bulgarians were banished from the coast east of the Struma. Meanwhile the Turks had crossed the "Enos-Midia line" to which the Powers had limited them, and recaptured Adrianople.

In seeking an ideal settlement the best plan may be "Macedonia for the Macedonians," as an independent state. But a full adjustment of the whole Balkan problem can come only with

equality before the law, a custom's union and some degree of federation.

Meanwhile let us not forget the strong ties binding the Bulgarian people to the United States. Their scholars are very largely products of the American Robert College at Constantinople. The Rector of the University of Sofia, Dr. Stephen Kyroff, is a graduate of Robert College. The leading poet of Bulgaria, the accomplished Stoyan Vatralsky, is a Harvard man; other Bulgarians of prominence owe their education to Princeton and Yale. The influence of

Robert College for democracy and enlightenment permeates the whole country. Queen Eleanor once said to me: "Robert College is the very heart of Bulgaria."

The United States has no grievance against Bulgaria. The thinking men of the Balkan regions generally feel the deepest gratitude for American Mission Schools. It is therefore to be hoped that we may not declare war against Bulgaria. Serbia is entitled to her just rights, but there are no rights which date from the ill-starred Treaty of Bucharest.

The Elemental Art

By Efreem Zimbalist

Although music is, without doubt, the popular art, and its dominance is increasing rather than diminishing, its appeal is of many gradations. For the average person who "likes music" that art seems to have very little bearing on the weighty aspects of life. He knows it as an accompaniment of restaurant food, dancing, or as an accelerator of thrills at the movies. It spices the physical pleasures and holds the function of sauce to meat. Of itself it means little. Literature and painting may be to him an expression of definite feeling, familiar emotion, or an embodiment of things he knows or has seen. Music holds no such definite position.

There is also a large class of "music lovers" who believe themselves on an intellectually higher musical plane than this average person. They revel in what may be termed the imitative side of music. For them, the imitations of well-known scenes or familiar sounds—those countless "murmuring brooks," "rippling waves" and "chapel bells," which are daily invoked on pianos in thousands of homes—represent the best that music is capable of. These people sometimes reach to an appreciation of the imitative side of many great composers: when indeed they feel they have struck the very rock-bottom of music. In reality, if analyzed, music to them is not an independent art at all. It is little more than a medium for the visualization of a picture. By hearing the imitation brook, waves or bells, they are enabled to form a mental picture based on familiar brooks, waves or bells. And in time this process of translating music into images becomes the only way

to gauge the merit of any music they may hear. If they are enabled successfully to visualize a piece of music they "understand it." Even among people of more advanced musical knowledge this tendency is general.

It is only to the comparatively few who have labored long and assiduously at it that music stands as the unique, independent, and satisfying expression of the human soul. Its relation to life, though not so apparent as with the other arts, is far deeper and more fundamental, for whereas in those other arts the feeling or emotion is evoked with the aid of memory, reason, imagination, music is the emotion. Furthermore, its subject matter is the vast ocean of elemental feelings, hardly definable but in all truth the basic motives actuating our lives. What music expresses—I mean, of course, the best music of the great masters—may be denoted by the words love, sorrow, joy, aspiration, but it invariably loses by definition. It makes audible the vague stirrings of the soul, but only to him who understands its own speech; for any translation into familiar terms robs it of its reason to be, the art that appears where words fail.

There is something in the nature of sound which differentiates it from other modes of communication, an element of directness and immediacy. Probably long before the evolution of language, communication between members of the higher species of animals, apart from suggestive action as in the herd, was limited to the call or cry and the song of birds. The meaning of both cry and song is that they give

intimation of states of feeling. This deep elemental character of sound expression has been maintained in the evolution of music. Other arts depend upon a machinery to mediate between person and person, and the emotional value given to this machinery had to come into being through long association. Persons, things, incidents must have their feeling values put into them before they can serve as means of emotional communication. It is different with musical sounds. There is something of the profundity of life itself even in the most elaborately formalized music.

It is this character which makes music the great democratic art. The materials of painting and of literature have been in the main specialized toward class supremacy. Princes and warriors, the great of the earth in terms of the dominant mode of evaluation, have been immortalized by art to the cost of the simple, profound and real. Folk songs express the life of a people far more adequately than monuments, pictures or even poetry. Music is a unifying and stabilizing element even when the institutions of civilization are being shattered, for that which is expressed in music is the eternally human.

Patriotism That Pays

By James H. Dolsen

While the working people of this country are being urged to do their "bit" to help the nation to win the war, the big corporations are also doing their "bit." They are doing it quietly, as is their custom, and on an immense scale, as might be expected.

This is a part of the story of what the copper companies are contributing toward our success in the war. It is an excellent illustration of the fact that patriotism, wisely applied, wins not only the plaudits of intelligent citizens, but huge financial returns as well.

Some years ago the American Smelting and Refining Company was organized under the direction of Barney Baruch and so astutely managed that it soon became one of the most formidable trusts. From his success in this venture and the wide knowledge gained during the accumulation of a fortune through speculations in mining stock, Mr. Baruch became a recognized expert in this branch of industry, especially in relation to the production of copper. After war was declared, Mr. Baruch became a member of the Advisory Committee on National Defense. By this committee in turn, he was assigned to supervise the handling of the government's needs for copper, becoming chairman of that sub-committee.

A short time after this appointment, the newspapers announced that the government had succeeded in buying 45,000,000 lbs. of copper at the remarkably low price of 16c. a pound through the patriotic co-operation of some big copper corporations with this committee. The market quotation

of copper was then over 30c a pound. The press had many pleasant things to say about Barney's patriotism. A financial weekly, however (Harvey Willis & Company's *Bulletin* for May, 1917), referred to the sacrificial character of the transaction in this way:

Initial amount of copper (in the contract) only about 2 per cent. of annual output. Farther than this, the price of 16.67c. a pound at which it was to be supplied would yield in some instances as high as 100 to 125 per cent. profit on the production cost.

The *Bulletin* naively adds:

From this, it will be seen that the beneficence of this offer did not exhibit as much liberality either in the sacrifice of profits or the extent of the quantity offered as originally considered.

An interesting comment is given by the financial expert of the *Chicago Evening Post* in the issue of May 4, 1917. In speaking of this same contract, he says:

When the great copper producing corporations offered to supply the government needs at a price equal to about one-half the current market quotations—an apparent gift of about \$7,000,000 by the mine owners—public interest was aroused in the matter of what it actually costs to produce copper.

Note the word "apparent." The patriotism of Big Business seems mostly of this sort. The article then goes on to quote the actual production costs for 1916 as given by the Boston News Bureau from reports of 25 of the largest companies. This statement shows that about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the copper was mined at an expense of from 5c

to 7c per lb., $\frac{1}{4}$ from 7c to 9c, and for only about 5 per cent of the output did the cost exceed 13c. The average was $9\frac{1}{2}$ c. It is now "apparent" that this "gift" was merely a cleverly designed profiteering scheme.

To be absolutely fair, however, it must be admitted that the cost of production was somewhat increased during the first six months of 1917. According to the same authority (*Bulletin*, July 26, 1917) the average cost for this period had risen to 12.3c, 70 per cent. of which represented labor expense. Despite this increase, the price of 16c was inordinate, as the government order had been placed with large producers whose costs were far below this figure. Moreover, the element of commercial risk is completely eliminated because such contracts are paid for by cash on delivery.

Meanwhile, the Allies had been buying enormous quantities of copper at the high market quotations. Now what happened? The United States floated a great Liberty Bond issue in order to loan the Allies money with which to pay their purchases, stipulating that such loans must be expended in this country. That bond issue represents a tax on every man, woman and child in the United States, a tax which will burden generations yet unborn. Much of the money thus loaned was turned over by the Allies to pay for their copper purchases. The exorbitant price exacted by our copper producers became an outright robbery of the American people. Nevertheless, nothing was done to stop it until the protests of other industries which also used copper in large quantities here at home compelled a readjustment.

In the meantime, the Government in July had placed another order for 60,000,000 lbs., the price to be set after investigation. It was understood that this would be followed by further orders of 300,000,000 lbs. for the United States and an equal amount for the Allies.

Mr. Baruch by this time had become a member of the committee which supervised the buying not only for the United States, but for the Allies as well. The authority thus entrusted to him makes him one of the most powerful individuals in the nation.

On September 20, (1917), it was announced that the result of the committee's investigation into copper costs had established $23\frac{1}{2}$ c as a fair price for the Government to pay. Copper pro-

ducers were exultant, openly admitting that the figure set was higher than they had expected. Very strangely, a representative of one of the largest copper companies is quoted by the *Chicago Evening Post* (September 21, 1917), as stating that "the findings of the Federal Trade Commission as to the cost of production will not be made public."

Why not? Because it is worse than highway robbery. Not only have the figures of the cost of production given shown this, but additional confirmation is at hand in the issue of the *Chicago Examiner* for September 24, where Boersianer, their financial expert, thus refers to the price decided upon:

Tho the copper companies are operating at a slightly increased cost—due to a higher wage scale— $23\frac{1}{2}$ c. for the metal before the war had been regarded as purely visionary. There is not a company (pace expert witnesses to the contrary) whose cost of production exceeds $14\frac{1}{2}$ c.; many, the more part indeed, mine the metal below 10c.

The *Chicago Evening Post*, in its financial column, presents indeed what it considers authentic information of the actual production costs per lb. of the leading copper companies, even naming the corporations. This quotation is from the issue of September 28, 1917:

A leading copper metal authority says that on account of labor troubles, cost of supplies and higher wages, with losses and ramifications not susceptible to calculation at present, it is impossible yet to arrive at accurate figures on the present cost of copper to the producing companies, but that the following table is fairly representative of what it is now costing the prominent companies approximately to produce a pound of copper:

Anaconda	13c.	Nevada	13c.
Chino	10c.	Miami	13c.
Inspiration	12c.	Ray	13c.
Kennecott	10c.	Utah	10c.

It would seem that the copper corporations should be satisfied with the price of $23\frac{1}{2}$ c a lb. in view of these statistics on the cost of production. But so confident are they of securing a further increase in their already exorbitant profits, that they are planning either so to curtail production as to make it appear that the price set is too low for securing the requisite production, or by refusing new orders to create a belief that higher prices are necessary. The quotation below in which this attitude is shown is taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of October 2, 1917:

Predictions are being made in mining circles that at

the end of four months' trial of 23½c. copper producers will be able to show the government that, notwithstanding their efforts, they have been unable to supply the demand because of the failure of that price level to stimulate high cost production. Then they expect to see a higher price fixed.

There is said to be no change in the important underlying features of the copper situation. The trade is waiting for further action by the government and is unwilling to sell at 23½c. per pound before it becomes imperative to do so. Business is confined to second hand transactions and the evening up of contracts!

Has there ever been a more scandalous and reprehensible attempt of the Big Business interests of a country to hold up the nation under stress of a terrible war crisis? Ordinary traitors are shot without much mercy and without wasting much time on formalities. It is disheartening to reflect that the copper industry is only one of those corporations, the heads of which are carrying on such practices while the working men and women of the nation are asked to give their lives to make "the world safe for democracy."

As might be expected, the profits being made by the copper companies are enormous. For an illustration, there is the Utah Copper Company, one of the largest, producing over 200,000,000 lbs. a year. It made over \$32,000,000 excess profits in 1916, due to demands created by the war. There is the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company, which made over 11½ millions, and the Ray Consolidated Copper Company, with over 10 million dollars excess war profits last year. Phelps, Dodge and Company made the neat little sum of 14½ millions profit over their average income for the two years prior to the outbreak of war. It is well known in Wall Street that almost every copper company is minting money.

The Chicago *Evening Post*, September 29, 1917, thus summarized the enormous profits of the copper producing corporations for the first nine months of 1917. It must be remembered that these figures are many times larger than the figures for a similar period before the war, thus showing that the earnings are largely excess war profits:

In September, the owners of leading American copper shares will have had in dividends an estimated total of \$27,232,000. This compares with disbursements in August of \$11,467,000 and of \$26,389,000 in September a year ago. In the first nine months of 1917 these copper companies will have paid to their stockholders the huge

total of \$140,437,443, compared with \$107,681,058 the same period last year.

Over \$4,000,000 in extra dividends was paid in July and August by a number of copper companies, these being designated as Red Cross disbursements.

This prosperity has not been shared with their workers. The story of the ways in which they have sought to reduce their employees to a state of virtual slavery is too well known and too long to be told here. It is sufficient to refer to the fact that strike follows strike on these properties, each apparently exceeded in atrocities by the next. So bad are conditions, in fact, that Miss Rankin, Congresswoman from Montana, is demanding that the Government take over the mines as the only way of ending an intolerable situation.

That is apparently the only way to treat those who are thus capitalizing the war for their own profits. The Government should seize their properties without further formalities and end once for all the opportunity which the private control of socially necessary industries affords for holding up a nation in a time like this.

Perhaps they may defy the nation as ex-Senator Clark of Montana is said to have answered the demands of his employees that he treat with their unions. He is stated to have replied that he would sooner flood his mines than yield the least iota of his right to run his property as he pleased. Very well. Treason is treason. Why should the law deal more harshly with workingmen seeking, though they may perhaps be misguided in their methods, to bring the possibility of a better living to the hosts of those borne down by grievous toil than it does with millionaires holding paper titles to vast resources needed by a whole nation and held out of use unless a great country meets their outrageous demands?

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending November 5

European War

Italy's reverse is still the chief event in military operations. The victorious Germans and Austrians have forced the Italian army back to the Tagliamento River where it is preparing to make a stand. The net result appears to be the loss of 180,000 men and 1,500 guns, together with 1,000 square miles of territory, including Gorizia, Cavidale, Udine, and the Bainsizza Plateau. The French and British are sending assistance in the way of guns and ammunition, and the United States has extended a loan of \$230,000,000 to the Italian

Government, and lifted the embargo on supplies to Italy. Professor Painlevé, Premier of France, and David Lloyd George, Premier of Great Britain, are on the way to Rome with a staff of military officials for a conference with the Italian authorities. The British and French forces on the western front have made several successful attacks on the German line. The British in Flanders have forced the Germans back more than a mile, and the French before Laon captured 12,000 prisoners and 180 guns, and compelled the Germans to withdraw their line to the north side of the Ailette River west of Laon. Little is reported from the Russian front. The British forces in Palestine captured Beersheba with 1,800 prisoners on the 31st. This brings them within 40 miles of Jerusalem, their immediate objective. [See current volume, page 1061.]

* *

An airplane attack on London was made the night of the 31st. Taking advantage of the moonlight 30 German planes in seven groups attempted to reach the city, but only three planes succeeded in breaking through the defences. Bombs were dropped in the tenement house district of southeastern London, killing eight persons and wounding twenty-one, but doing little material damage. British and French planes continue to bomb German munition factories and military depots.

* *

Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the British Admiralty, speaking in the House of Commons on the 1st, said that between 40 and 50 per cent of the German submarines operating in the North Sea, the Arctic, and the Atlantic since the beginning of the war had been sunk. During the last quarter the Germans lost as many submarines as they lost in 1916. He could not, he said, give detailed information as to the loss of British shipping without conveying useful information to the enemy, but he declared the German claim of 808,000 tons in August was more than twice the real figure, and that the 679,000 claimed for September was two-thirds more than the real amount. Not only are the sinkings decreasing but the output of shipping for the first nine months of 1917 is 123 per cent greater than for the whole of 1916. The tonnage of the British navy is 71 per cent greater than in 1914, when it was 2,400,000. The men on the fleet in 1914 numbered 146,000 as compared with the present number of 390,000. The loss of British merchantmen for the week was 14 vessels over 1,600 tons and 4 under that tonnage.

* *

Count von Hertling, formerly Prime Minister of Bavaria, has accepted the Chancellorship of Germany. Dr. Michaelis, the outgoing Chancellor, has been made Prime Minister of Prussia. The new Chancellor, who is seventy-four years old, is a conservative in politics, was leader of the Catholic party in the Reichstag before becoming Bavarian Premier in 1906. He is announced as one of Germany's greatest statesmen, a philosopher and scholar of international reputation, and as having a personality far above that of the retiring Chancellor.

The first fighting airplane made wholly in America and using the Liberty motor has successfully passed the preliminary test flights. By the first of the new year the aircraft plan will be well under way and by the first of July the Government expects to be able to supply any demands of the Allies. Machines needed by the American forces in the spring are being built abroad. The original requirement of the American program was 50,000 motors and 22,000 planes by July 1. The Shipping Board announces that it will turn out 1,000,000 tons of new ships by March 1, and 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons during 1918. In 1916 American yards turned out a total of 750,000 tons.

* *

General Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary forces in France, reports that on November 3, "a salient occupied for their instruction by a company of American infantry was raided by Germans. The enemy put down a heavy barrage fire, cutting off the salient from the rest of the men. Our losses were three killed, five wounded, and twelve captured or missing."

Russia

No decisive events are reported from Russia. The political struggle in the Provisional Council or Preliminary Parliament continues among the several parties. The votes on test questions indicate that the Socialists now lack a majority, though they comprise the largest party. Foreign Minister Terestchenko declared in addressing Parliament that a separate peace was impossible, and that defense of Russian territory was a fundamental duty. Premier Kerensky says that Russia can do little in the international struggle for the present, that she did her part earlier in the war, and that now the Allies must bear the burden. In response to his appeal the United States authorized on the 2d a loan of \$31,700,000. The money already paid to Russia by this country amounts to \$190,900,000. [See current volume, page 1061.]

Canada

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the opposition in Parliament, issued a manifesto to the Canadian people on the 4th, in which he outlined the platform on which the Liberal party will stand in the election that takes place December 17. Sir Wilfrid contends that "A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of conscription is that it conscripts life only and does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act." He promises not to proceed further with the act till the people have had an opportunity to vote on it by a referendum. As remedies for the economic situation he proposes a reform of the tariff, control of food supplies, and the stopping of profiteering. The two increases in the tariff made since the beginning of the war he would remove, and he would place agricultural implements on the free list, as demanded by the western farmers. Businesses that do not make satisfactory response are to be commandeered. [See current volume, page 797.]

The Bigelow Outrage

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker denounced the outrage on Herbert S. Bigelow in a public statement on October 30 as follows:

I am greatly shocked at the reported violence to my friend Mr. Bigelow. It is, of course, lawless; but it is also brutal and cowardly. The cause of the United States is not aided, but is hurt, by this kind of thing. It is alleged that those who beat him said something about avenging the Belgians, but the lynching of Belgium is not avenged by having lawless lynchings of our own.

The right of free speech is guaranteed by our Constitution, and abuses of that right are punished by law. No night riders are needed, and when the country is at war for liberty and justice they make a humiliating contrast to our national ideals and aims.

[See current volume, page 1060.]

* *

Mr. Bigelow, who is still confined to the hospital, has been flooded with telegrams and messages of sympathy from all parts of the country and from holders of various political views. Cincinnati papers have been perfunctory in condemning the assault. The New York *World* has treated it apologetically, while the *Evening Sun* has openly upheld the mob. The *Times* did not comment editorially, but like other reactionary New York papers made its headlines misleading. In marked contrast to this, the *Evening Post* was vigorous in its condemnation, accurate in its headlines and complete in its account. With the exception of *The Call*, it was the only local daily which reproduced Secretary Baker's letter.

* *

The National Civil Liberties Bureau, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City, is laying plans for dealing with the outrage on a national scale. The Bureau holds that an offense was committed against a Federal statute providing severe penalties for conspiracy to injure or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of his constitutional rights. A fund to aid the detection and prosecution of the guilty ones is being collected by the bureau. The officers are L. Hollingsworth Wood, president; Reverend Norman Thomas, vice-president, and Roger N. Baldwin, director. A reward for information concerning the perpetrators of the outrage is to be offered. Pledges for this are coming in.

Death of C. B. Kegley

C. B. Kegley, master of the Washington State Grange, died on October 29 of pneumonia. Under Mr. Kegley's leadership the Washington Grange became a pioneer among farmers' organizations in fundamental reform. It took a stand for Government ownership of natural monopolies, Presidential primaries and conservation of natural resources. It upheld the President during the Panama tolls controversy and endorsed measures in Congress for genuine conservation, such as the Alaska law for leasing of coal deposits. On the tariff question it declared for free trade, not only in commodities re-

quired by the farmer, but for all. It was the first farmers' organization in the United States to go on record "as favoring the adoption of a system of taxation whereby personal property and all improvements should be exempt from taxation and the burden be borne entirely by land values." The Grange has kept a watchful eye over the legislature and has cooperated with labor organizations in successfully invoking the referendum to defeat obnoxious legislation. It is now working with organized labor to obtain the constitutional initiative, recall of the judiciary and land value taxation legislation. One of Mr. Kegley's recent acts of general interest was a letter to Secretary Lane, urging that he recommend Federal taxation of land values as the best way to stimulate cultivation of idle lands and increase the nation's food supply. He was also an active worker in the national grange organization, and at the time of his death a member of its executive committee.

Testing the Texas Rent Restriction Law

A test is being made of the constitutionality of the recently enacted Texas law limiting the rent which may be charged for agricultural land. The law provides that a landlord may not charge a rental in excess of one-third of a grain crop or one-fourth of a cotton crop when he furnishes the tenant with nothing besides the land. Under no circumstances may the rent be more than half of the crop. The San Jacinto Rice Company is suing a tenant in the court at Houston for rent on the 50 per cent. basis, claiming that the law restricting it is confiscatory. Owners of rice lands, testifying for the company, claim that enforcement of the law will cause withdrawal of their lands from cultivation. [See vol. XVIII, p. 258.]

NOTES

—Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee vetoed on October 29 a resolution passed by the Milwaukee City Council appropriating \$50,000 for purchase of Liberty bonds.

—Announcement was made on October 29 that Senator La Follette and Alfred T. Rogers, Republican National Committeemen of Wisconsin, will shortly begin publication at Madison, Wis., of a daily paper.

—A large quantity of munitions and army supplies destined for the American army in France was destroyed by fire while awaiting shipment at the pier in Baltimore on October 30.

—Ben Tillett, British labor leader, running as an independent candidate for Parliament, defeated Sir Charles Mallet, coalition candidate in a bye election at North Salford on the 2d. Tillett, who is a vigorous supporter of the war, won by a majority of 1,227.

—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals on November 2 dissolved the injunction granted *The Masses* by District Judge Hand last August restraining the postal authorities from depriving it of mail privileges.

—A uniform minimum wage-scale for the Pacific Coast shipbuilding yards was announced on November 4

by the United States Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board. The scale effects an increase of 10 to 30 per cent over the old scale in San Francisco yards, but decreases wages in the Puget Sound district.

—Government seizure and operation of the Pacific Telephone Company, operating on the Pacific coast, was recommended to Secretary of Labor Wilson on November 2 by Verner Z. Reed of the Labor Commission. Mr. Reed holds the action necessary to settle a labor difficulty.

—Canada, which hitherto has prohibited the manufacture, importation or sale of oleomargarine has modified the Dairy and Industry Act to permit operations and transactions in these products. Dealers must be licensed, and oleomargarine conforming to the new regulations will be admitted free of duty.

—Prices of cattle in Holland, owing to the scarcity of fodder, are falling. A good milch cow now sells for about \$125, which is a decline of \$40 to \$50 in comparison with prices a few weeks ago. A cow not giving milk varies in price from \$50 to \$115; a calf for veal may be had for \$18 to \$35.

—Furloughs for German soldiers have been reduced one-half because of the crippled conditions of railroads. To the same end of relieving the roads, the fares for civilians have been doubled. Trains are reported to be unheated in order to save coal and discourage travel.

—The Supreme Court of California on November 1 dissolved an order of the Superior Court forbidding an election on the recall of District Attorney Fickert of San Francisco. The recall petition has been held up by the contention of the district attorney that some of the signatures were not valid. The Superior Court upheld him, but now the Supreme Court's decision assures a vote on the matter.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois on October 23 reversed the decision of the Circuit Court at Chicago, which declared illegal appropriations for certain sectarian institutions, to the care of which the courts have been committing delinquent girls and other juvenile offenders. The Supreme Court held it no violation of the constitutional inhibition of aid to a church or sect to pay such church or sect less than actual cost of the service it may render. [See current volume, page 112.]

—The total earnings of the 2,970 miles of Government railways in New Zealand, according to the Minister for Railways, amounted to \$23,363,142 for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, an increase of \$1,228,567 over the previous year. The expenditures amounted to \$14,243,584, leaving a net profit of \$9,119,558, or a return of 5.3 per cent on the capital the Government has invested in the lines, which amounts to \$190,000,000.

—The strike in the Clifton-Morenci copper district of Arizona was settled by the Secretary of Labor's commission on November 1. The men return to work on the assurance that a Federal administrator, Mr. Hywel Davies of Kentucky, will investigate the justice of their demand for higher wages. Should he find the demand

justified and the company unable to grant it without loss, at the present fixed price of copper, the commissioner will recommend to the President that the price be increased [see current volume, page 1061.]

—On the 400th anniversary of the Reformation, the German Evangelical League issued a manifesto from Wittenberg rejecting pacifism and condemning the Pope's peace proposals as being invested with no religious authority. The manifesto concludes: "We especially warn against the heresy promulgated from America that Christianity enjoins democratic institutions and that they are an essential condition for the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. As Luther said: 'The freedom of a Christian does not depend on the forms of government, which are shaped by historical developments and the accumulated experience of nations.'"

—The University Council of Columbia University, composed of faculty representatives, has selected as members of the committee of reference to act with the trustees in the matter of discipline affecting members of the faculty, the following men: F. J. E. Woodbridge, dean of the Graduate Schools; Harlan Stone, dean of the Law School; Professor E. B. Wilson, of the Department of Pure Science; Professor Ashley H. Thorndike, of the Department of Psychology; Professor John Dewey, of the Department of Philosophy, and Professor G. B. Pegrem, of the Faculty of Applied Science. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the university, is an ex-officio member of the committee. It remains for the Board of Trustees to decide whether or not it will recognize the committee.

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COAL PRODUCTION

EDITORS, THE PUBLIC:

I note in your October 5 issue that Congressman Robbins says that "61 coal operators in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, have closed their mines, rather than produce at the \$2 per ton price fixed by the Government." Whether Mr. Robbins' statement is fact or fiction I am unable to say. He does not say what kind of mines these were—large or small. Mines that have still large, or considerable tonnage in them, or mines that are worked out, or so nearly so as to make it unprofitable to mine at \$2, or even at \$3 per ton.

It is a fact, however, that none of the large operators, such as the Keystone, the Jamison, the Westmoreland, and many others that I could name, have closed or intend to close their mines. They are, in fact, opening new mines; and new companies are opening mines.

Mr. Robbins, I believe, is himself a coal operator, and attorney for coal companies (at least I have been so informed).

Mr. Robbins' statement is well designed, if not intended, to mislead the public rather than to furnish it with reliable information.

Greensburg, Pa.

J. B. B.

STRANGE GENEROSITY

EDITORS, THE PUBLIC:

Your issue of September 28 contains the following note:

"After a conference with the Food Administration Board on September 20, beet sugar producers agreed to make the retail price of sugar after October 15, 8 cents a pound. The price to wholesalers will be $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents."

What authority have the beet sugar producers to fix the retail price of sugar at 8 cents? There is no question about their intense patriotism. They are as self-sacrificing in this war as the late lamented Artemus Ward was in the Civil War, when he was willing that all his wife's relations should be drafted.

The Beet Sugar Producers, by their agreement with the Food Administration, to sell their sugar at $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound to the wholesalers, clinched a profit of over 100 per cent. on 2,000,000,000 pounds, the estimated out-turn of their present crop, which gives them a net profit of \$75,000,000. After the beet sugar manufacturers receive their $7\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound there is left of the proposed 8 cents a pound retail price but $\frac{3}{4}$ cent a pound. Of this the railroads will get $\frac{1}{4}$ cent a pound for transportation, leaving the munificent remuneration of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound, or \$10,000,000 to be divided between the wholesale and retail grocers of the whole country. There are thirty-three beet sugar manufacturers to participate in this \$75,000,000 net profit, while wholesalers and retail grocers of the United States are numbered by the tens of thousands, who will divide the \$10,000,000 gross profit.

The average yearly sale of the retailers is about 80,000 pounds. This includes both cane and beet sugar, averaging the retailer a gross profit of \$200 a year, at $\frac{3}{4}$ cent a pound. From this \$200 gross profit, the retailers must deduct rent, interest on investment, labor, paper bags, twine, losses, and he will be lucky, indeed, if he escapes without loss on his sugar sales.

Who are the sugar speculators denounced by Mr. W. L. Petrikin, president of the Great Western Sugar Co. and chairman of the Committee on National Affairs of the United States Sugar Manufacturers Association in his letter to Mr. Hoover? Are they the retail grocers whom the manufacturers are now generously allowing a $\frac{3}{4}$ cent a pound gross profit, or are they the domestic sugar producers who are paying as high as 150 per cent. dividends on their watered stocks?

J. REX ALLEN.

Chicago.

* *

There is only one method of curing the evils that spring from the unjust distribution of wealth, and that is by putting a stop to the injustice.—*Joseph Fels.*

* * *

Labor is a necessity to human existence; being such, it is obvious that under natural conditions it should be a pleasure, not a penance.—*Coast Seamen's Journal.*

BOOKS

The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions, by Sidney Webb. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price 50 cents.

The value and significance of this book must not be measured by its size or price, but by its author's well-known competence to write of the relations between labor and capital in Britain; as they stood before the war, as they are now, and as they may be after the curtain has fallen upon the great world-tragedy that is being played out on the continent of Europe. In America the exigencies of war have not yet necessitated any suspension of the usages, rules, and restrictions which the labor unions have set up, but that necessity may arise and the British experience if rightly interpreted, may then be of some use to us. It is probably little realized by the average commercial or professional man even in Britain, how infinitely complex was the net work of factory-laws, trade-union regulations, rules as to apprentices, demarcations of trades, limitations of output, etc., under which until the beginning of the war, industry was carried on. As little is it probably realized how completely these have been swept away,—made as inoperative as though they had never been dreamed of,—obliterated as by the sweep of a mighty sponge upon the slate on which they were written.

Most of us can remember that the production of munitions was seriously handicapped during the early months of the war by the union rules forbidding "dilution," and the strikes and general unrest that resulted. It will also be remembered that Messrs. Asquith and Lloyd George both appealed to the patriotism of the workers in begging them to allow all their union rules to fall into abeyance during the war, under the most solemn pledge that the entire system would be restored immediately on the declaration of peace. To the lasting credit of the British trade unions it is now a matter of history that they responded loyally, and have since been working under conditions that would have been considered unthinkable at any time prior to August, 1914,—though always under the assured conviction that the promise of the Government would be as loyally fulfilled.

All this Mr. Webb tells his readers in full detail; and, with a literary power that is reinforced by his strong sympathy with the cause of the workers, he gives a clear conception of the magnitude of "Labor's sacrifice" in removing the bulwarks and breakwaters it had laboriously erected for its own protection during many preceding decades; that so the war might be won. In the chapter entitled "The Nation's Pledge" is described the vast changes that have consequently taken place in the conduct of all the industries, including those remotely associated with war-supplies. These changes have now become so inextricably interwoven with the industrial life of the country that "an uneasy feeling is spreading among the trade unions as to whether the pledge of restoration so solemnly and so repeatedly made to them, is, after all, going to be fulfilled." The chapter that follows, "The danger of a sham restoration," opens with the startling declara-

tion that "we are face to face with the unpleasant fact that the nation has given a solemn pledge to labor which it cannot possibly fulfill. The pre-war conditions cannot be restored." This statement coming from one who knows of what he writes, will bring to labor leaders a painful and humiliating sense of having been trapped. The restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* as so unconditionally promised by the Government, would involve as Mr. Webb shows (1) the exclusion of women, unapprenticed men, laborers, and non-unionists from factories where they are now profitably employed; (2) total abolition of "dilution"; (3) scrapping of valuable automatic machines; (4) abandonment of "scientific management"; (5) in nearly all establishments, the abolition of piece-work. It will thus be seen that not only will "restoration" meet with violent opposition from countless workers who have stood valiantly by the country in its hour of need, and whose interests cannot now be disregarded, but will also encounter the resistance of employers who have tasted the economic advantage of freedom from union restrictions in general, and in particular from that insidious form of tyranny which affects the interests of the nation at large, the deliberate limitation of output. It is obvious then, that the interests of a large section of the workers, the consuming public, the employers, and the nation in so far as it becomes self-conscious, are all opposed to the fulfillment of the Government's promise, even though it were technically possible to redeem it. But it is, Mr. Webb argues, technically impossible, owing to the fact that though employers were ordered to keep records of the usages and customs prevailing in their respective factories prior to the war, few have done it with completeness, and many have failed to retain any records whatever.

The situation is therefore grave. A new settlement is required that will make such concessions to labor as will compensate for the breach of faith of which it has been the victim. These Mr. Webb summarizes. The Government must (1) protect labor from unemployment by placing its orders for public work only at such times as the labor market requires them. (2) It must maintain the standard rates of wages that now prevail. (3) It must "provide a constitution" or form of democratic control in every industry and, so far as possible in every factory. (4) Having made these concessions to labor, the Government must provide in the interests of the employers and the public, that there be no artificial limitation of output; and, (5) that employers be free to engage "any person whatever for any sort of work" provided the standard and minimum rates of wages are adhered to.

From such a "new settlement" those must find comfort who can. To radicals whose instincts prompt to an exploration of the fundamental causes of things, it will seem but a sorry attempt to repair a system that has collapsed because of its inability to hold together in times of strain. It induces indeed, a feeling of despair that a man of Mr. Webb's endowment and education, aided by the companionship of an equally gifted wife, should betray not even a suspicion that there is a more scientific way to solve the industrial

problem than this eternal tinkering, cobbling, buttressing and patching with rules and legislative enactments; or that perhaps the supreme psychological moment in the history of the world has arrived when it might wisely be attempted,—a moment indeed, when all the old-time standards of social justice are in the melting-pot and men are feeling out as never before for some guidance in the form of a fundamental economic truth. With dukes surrounding him on all hands, Westminster, Bedford, Portland and many others, levying immense tolls upon the laborers of London; with Lord Astor as a near neighbor drawing fabulous revenues from the toilers of New York, it suggests a strange intellectual blindness that the cause of labor's helplessness is not revealed to him. If the friends of labor, among whom Mr. Webb stands most highly honored, would advance their schemes of restriction and protection as tentative measures only, recognizing the possibility of a condition of society in which justice will become organic or self-enacting like physical health, then all those who stand for fundamental democracy would rally to their aid. But the good is frequently the enemy of the best, and those who have caught sight of all that is implied in the destruction of privilege and the liberating of labor at the base, must be pardoned if their interest in Mr. Webb's "new settlement" is only lukewarm.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

PAMPHLETS

County Machinery for Colored Schools in the South. By Dr. James H. Dillard. Reprinted from *School and Society*, September 8, 1917.

Fortunate is the reform that falls into the hands of a wise man. One of the sore needs in this country is the raising of the standard of the rural Negro school in the Southern States, where the means of education have been pitifully inadequate, and where there appeared to be no foundation upon which to build. Outside philanthropists gave money; native whites contributed service; but they could not work together. The few fine schools in cities did what they could; but the great, black lump in the rural districts remained unleavened. This was the condition when the Jeanes Fund of one million dollars was placed at the disposal of Dr. James H. Dillard, a Southerner by birth, an educator of renown, and a philosopher who understands human nature, both white and black. With far less means at his disposal than that of other well-intending men and women who had failed, Dr. Dillard has secured the cooperation of the local school authorities. A capable teacher trained at Hampton, Tuskegee, or some other school where home industries are taught, is sent among the rural schools of the county to introduce and supervise better modes of instruction, and to hearten the local teachers by keeping them in touch with the outside world. The secret of the remarkable success that has attended this work lies in the fact that instead of thrusting these teachers into the community in the garb of offensive charity, they are employed in the name of and are partly paid by the local boards, so that of the 189 supervising teachers now working in as many

counties, each one has come to the work at the invitation of the county superintendent. Dr. Dillard has not only done the Negro a service, but he has demonstrated anew the fact that the reformer can make better headway by working with those he would serve than by working against them, or in spite of them.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Present Day Europe:** Its national states of mind. By L. Lothrop Stoddard. Published by The Century Co., New York. Price \$2.00 net.
- Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace.** By George D. Heron. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York. Price \$1.25.
- Wisconsin Sonnets.** By Charles H. Winke. Published by Milwaukee Badger Publishing Co., 530 Oakland Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. Price \$1.00 postpaid.
- Books and Persons.** By Arnold Bennett. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York. Price \$2.00 net.
- Utopia of Usurers and Other Essays.** By G. K. Chesterton. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York. Price \$1.25 net.
- The Dwelling Place of Light.** By Winston Churchill. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.60.
- The Hazard of New Fortunes.** By William Dean Howells. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York. Price, 60 cents.
- Mary, Mary.** By James Stephens. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York. Price, 60 cents.
- Rothschild's Fiddle.** By Anton Chekhov. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York. Price, 60 cents.
- How to Make Your Will.** By William Hamilton Osborne of New York Bar. Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

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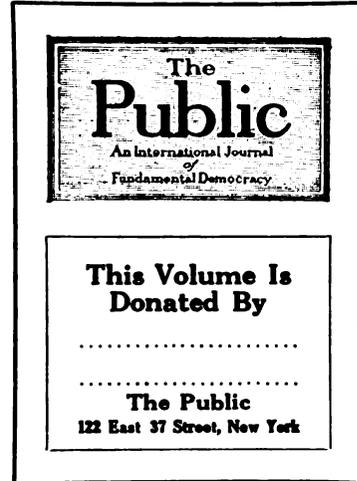
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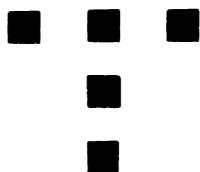
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