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of
Fundamental Democracy

The Scheme of Pangermany

The Decay of Agriculture

Zionism and the War

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

The probability of American representation in the Paris Conference opens an important field of conjecture as to the political effect of our point of view. It produces also a sense of our lack of preparedness. The fate of democracy is apparently to be always unprepared. Colonel House's mobilization of political effectives and munitions is a belated effort to remedy the defect. But if America has failed to obtain that intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of European politics that could result only from participation to safeguard national interests, which fortunately has not been the case, there is a compensatory advantage in the independent approach, the lack of complicating bias. The object of the Conference will undoubtedly be the completer integration of allied war activity, and the reformulation of purposes, the more effective distribution of economic and military effort, and the clearer definition of the ends of political strategy. That the democratic point of view has no part in the political situation is absurd; as a matter of fact, it involves a transformation. When the Russian revolutionists in the first flush of freedom proclaimed their demand for a peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities, some sections of allied opinion accepted the formula only with qualification, and even then with great reluctance. The difficulty is to escape from history. The end of every feudal war has been a feudal readjustment of territory and the feudal collection of punitive tribute. No one can for a moment doubt what Germany means to do if she is victorious. Her conception of war and her conception of victory fall within the same category. On the side of the Allies, there is always danger that a democratic war may issue in a feudal victory. The unity and high morale of western civilization may wage successfully the battle for its own defense only to go down in

humiliation before a resumption of degraded diplomatic bargaining. If it is a people's war, let it issue in a people's peace.

* * *

In more direct and immediate ways is the democratic purpose a political asset. The impatience daily exhibited toward Russia for military weakness is shortsighted and foolish, and ill becomes us, who have not yet sent a single battalion into action. Is there no room for humility in this country? Can we afford to speak with contempt of infantry that faced German guns without artillery support of its own, that cleared wire entanglements not with high explosive but with human flesh? And the political consequences of the Russian revolution are yet to be seen. Where would our enthusiasm be if we were allied to the old aggressive, imperialistic Russia? Her present position, with all its disadvantages, is one of the sources of our moral strength, and a challenge to the sympathy and loyal aid of every American who claims the proud designation of democrat. We have not yet earned the right that comes of sustained and sacrificing effort, to regard Russia, as our press does daily, as combined imbecile and slacker. Lord Grey, who surely ought to know, regards hers as the most notable contribution to victory yet made.

* * *

The Conference will probably face the problem of Italian war aims. It is a curious fact that unity has been achieved by the Allies just in proportion as the democratic ideal has emerged. A considerable part of the little that remains in this country of opposition to the war is rooted in our ancient antagonism to the British ruling class. Our way to the great heart of England

seems barred by such forms as those of Lord Milner and Sir Edward Carson. They are probably only very devoted public servants according to their lights, but they suggest an element that is undemocratic and therefore to be distrusted. In similar fashion, the feudal control of Italian policy, issuing in a war aim as pretentious in its way as Pangermanism itself, has robbed Italy from the beginning of the whole-hearted support of her allies. In spite of the publicity campaign to which some of our papers lent themselves, Americans can feel no overwhelming enthusiasm for the achievement of Italian ambitions. The problem the Allies may have to face is the choice between Italian domination of the Adriatic and German domination of Middle Europe. Apart from all questions of right of access to the sea, of regions and populations enormous in extent and importance, the mere problem of political expediency is looming always larger. Whether we like it or not, the solution of any general European question hinges, as always in the past, upon the status of Austria-Hungary. Any sign of her internal evolution is infinitely more significant than the inconsequential argumentation of the German Reichstag. Austrian possibilities may present only a choice of evils. Federation, however, keeps the way of development open; dismemberment would break a faggot into loose sticks which Germany would pick up at her leisure. The Allies' victory, no matter how complete, will not solve the problem of southeastern Europe any more than the concert of powers has solved it in the past hundred years, for it is a problem of internal evolution. A democratic point of view fails to appreciate the possible multitude of little nations, each a feudal principality with its little aristocracy founded on the same old abominable landlordism. The freedom of little nations may become nothing more than an obscurantist formula. The political objective of the Allies should be the breaking instead of cementing Middle Europe. As for Prussia, no revolution is going to relieve us of the necessity of military conquest. If the effort is too costly to carry through, the next best step is to isolate the menace. Political pressure may and should be applied along the ancient lines of cleavage. The crack and therefore the weakness in Middle Europe is the heritage of the Seven Weeks War, that kicked Austria once for all out of the western European affairs.

Outside menace to her national existence was the link that bound her to Prussia and made her take the risk of submergence. All the permanent outside danger was ended by the Russian revolution. But meanwhile a wedge is being driven into her from the south, and if the Italians constitute the wedge, the driving force is supplied by the Allies. If the Italian object were purely military, the matter would have a different aspect. But it is quite frankly the annexation of regions that can only by a stretch of imagination be regarded as Italian. It is complete Italian domination of the Adriatic. For what purpose? Surely the democratic point of view makes clear the attitude of Americans. If it is none of their affair—then the Italian army will not go very far.

* * *

Regardless of what instructions the President may give our representatives at the forthcoming Allied Conference, all will depend on the personnel—on the sincerity, enthusiasm and effectiveness with which they urge a democratic program. The press has been asked not to speculate on who the delegates may be. It is hinted that the State Department has available representatives already in Europe. It is a pity American liberalism has had no opportunity to insist that we be represented by men who are fundamental democrats—such men, for instance, as our Minister to Belgium.

* * *

In these days of "war necessities" when the nation's political, economic and moral standards are waived or altered to meet the imperative conditions of armed conflict, it is a relief to come upon such a sane proposal as that of the Public Ownership Conference to be held in Chicago, November 25, 26, 27. It speaks well for the democratic tone of our public life that such a program as that put forth by the National Public Ownership League in the midst of war should have met with the cordial response of the speakers and writers who are to treat of the public ownership of public utilities. Government, under the plea of necessity, is doing many things in furtherance of military operations that are ordinarily left to private initiative; but the Public Ownership Conference will discuss and set forth the principles that underlie public activities, and do what it can toward increasing the public sentiment that would

retain private business in private hands, and put public business in public hands. This question, always of great importance, is of special interest at this time.

* * *

We cannot believe that the Post Office Department will be fatuous enough to undertake the suppression of the Jewish Daily *Forward*, the great Socialist newspaper of New York's East Side. Although its editors were cited to appear before the Post Office authorities at Washington, and a hearing was held on October 12, surely more enlightened counsel will prevail before an order is entered withdrawing its mailing privileges. The *Forward* is more than a newspaper. It has been a great educational institution among the Russian Jews of New York. It is managed by an association, which controls its editorial policy, and the profits go to the advancement of the Socialist cause. It has been a powerful agency in advancing unionism in the needle trades. With a circulation of 175,000, its influence has been enormous. Through it many good causes have been financed. It has been the channel through which Russian Jewish immigrants have financed the Jewish bunds of Russia, and it is widely known in that country among thousands of the very men and women who are now influencing the course of affairs in the New Russia. The cables of its Petrograd correspondent have been widely reprinted by the American press. No American group is in closer touch with the New Russia. News of its suppression would create a profound and disastrous impression in Russia, confirming the distrust of this country already too prevalent there. In this country its suppression would do nothing to weaken the pacifism of the Russian Jews and everything to confirm them in their opposition to the war. No crisis exists which calls for summary methods. The draft has been applied on New York's East Side without serious opposition or rioting. Mr. Burleson would do well to let well enough alone. If he cannot understand this, superior authority in Washington should take the decision from his hands.

* * *

One of the favorite lines of attack among the less respectable pacifist and anti-English publications has been the picturing of Americans

bowing the knee to British lords and accepting their advice on how to achieve here the social distinctions and exclusions of English society. Even among more honest and less prejudiced people there has been some fear of English influence since we became England's ally. At this writing there is on tour of our principal industrial centers a British commission of employers and unionists, headed by Sir Stephenson Kent, one of the largest employers of labor in England and chairman of the labor supply division of the British Ministry of Munitions. They are meeting with our industrial leaders and answering questions as to how England met the labor question. Sir Stephenson's experience and prestige are such that he is eagerly listened to, and what he says cannot be lightly dismissed by those who question him. Washington is chuckling over stories of his meetings there with some of our foremost industrial magnates. Yes, he told them, he recognized the unions and employed union men in his own establishments. But did he maintain an open shop—that is, did he also employ non-union workmen? Yes, replied Sir Stephenson, now and then they took on a non-union man, but not when they could help it. His experience was that the man who did not belong to his union was an inferior workman and generally unsatisfactory. He much preferred to deal entirely through the unions. Sometimes they were a bit arbitrary and unreasonable, but on the whole it was the right way and the most satisfactory. The principle was firmly established in England. Sir Stephenson is also an advocate of the eight-hour workday, based upon England's experience during the war. The influence of a commission headed by such a man as this, even although there is a "Sir" before his name, can be viewed without alarm by American democrats. American employers who have combated the principle of collective bargaining and fought bitterly against the movement for industrial democracy are discovering that they have been living in the dark ages. There is reason to believe that the nation's war experience will effect a revolution in the attitude of American industrial managers toward the labor problem.

* * *

The loss by fire of 900,000 bushels of grain in Brooklyn elevators and 11,000 head of cattle in

the Kansas City stockyards makes it evident that the question of food conservation should be broadened beyond mere kitchen and table economy. Losses by sea are still unavoidable, but preventable accidents, such as fires in elevators and stockyards, are inexcusable at this time. Insurance may be cheaper in ordinary times than the cost of prevention; but it is not now a question of individual loss to the owner so much as the loss to society. Guards have been placed over city water supplies, gas works, and similar indispensable things. Like protection should be given to places where quantities of food are stored. If mills and elevators burn from spontaneous combustion of dust the Food Administration should insist upon proper cleaning. If they are burned by enemy emissaries the Administration should demand sufficient guards. Individual consumers are responding to the request for household economy, and they will cheerfully bear necessary deprivations; but there is no excuse for adding unnecessary burdens.

* * *

Putting responsibility for exorbitant prices on the retailer is a bit of injustice which the National Food Administration should avoid. If the average retail profit were unfair then more average retailers could retire with snug fortunes. It is true that, as compared with the percentage of ordinary wholesale or manufacturing profits the retailer's margin seems enormous. But retailing must be conducted at comparatively greater expense. Mr. Hoover has overlooked this fact. In a public statement on October 18 he put the blame for high prices upon the retailer. Yet in that same statement after telling that Congress has empowered him to regulate retailers whose annual business exceeds \$100,000 he said: "Of some 350,000 retailers in the United States there are not more than 1,200 who come within the provisions of this law." That is, little more than one-third of one per cent. do a moderately big business. And yet if Mr. Hoover can compel these 1,200 big retailers to reduce prices he need not worry about the others. Competition will force the little dealers to sell at the same price as their big competitors, unless the effort at price fixing should force the big ones out of business. It is not where competition is strong that Mr. Hoover should look if he would locate the cause of high prices.

The New York Campaign

New Yorkers are this fall grappling with one of the hardest political problems that good citizens were ever called upon to solve. Their choice in the mayoralty campaign that culminates November 6 is between a more than usually unfit Tammany candidate, backed by Hearst and Murphy, an able and brilliant Socialist who is avowedly opposed to the war and making that his campaign issue, and the present incumbent, an official singularly able and efficient, with a remarkable record of administrative achievement, but with a record and temperament also that have endeared him to Fifth Avenue and Wall Street, to the Union League Club and the Security League.

Mayor Mitchel insists that Hohenzollernism is the issue. He asserts that he is opposed because of his militant support of the war, and that the election of either Judge Hylan or Morris Hillquit would be hailed in Berlin as a German victory. There is enough truth in this to give pause to many who otherwise might vote for Hillquit without an instant's hesitation. But it is fundamentally and mainly false, and Mayor Mitchel in raising the patriotic issue has done his city and country a disservice. For while it is true that large numbers of pro-Germans will vote against Mitchel because they are disloyal, the result would be only a Mitchel landslide if these voters were the chief element of Hillquit or Hylan strength.

The sensation of the New York campaign is the unexpected strength of Mr. Hillquit. It has alarmed leaders in both the Mitchel and Tammany camps, and Mr. Hillquit's election is talked of as a possibility. The Hylan candidacy can be dismissed from the discussion, for in spite of a window-dressing of public ownership, it represents nothing but the evil old gang politics that has been Tammany for generations. If it wins in New York this fall, it will be only because intelligent and disinterested voters are divided between Mitchel and Hillquit.

That Mayor Mitchel is no common agent of toryism and privilege is obvious from the character of some of his supporters. They include such enlightened liberal journals as *The New Republic*, and such individuals as John Spargo and Charles Edward Russell. Social workers, economists and sociologists are for him almost to a man. For New York's government under

Mitchel has been a brilliant demonstration of what can be accomplished by the employment of trained intelligence and business methods in city administration. Experts from the universities and the settlements, executives from the best schools of efficient business, have been given a free rein in almost every department. Specialists, whose efforts to introduce scientific and economical methods had heretofore been rebuffed by "practical politicians" with friends to reward, have found in New York under Mitchel a great laboratory for the working out of their theories. Such institutions as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Charity Organization Society have come into their own. The result has been intelligent, efficient, and progressive government. It has been efficiency and intelligence of the kind we used to read and despair of in studies of German cities before the war. It has been government under the theory of noblesse oblige—government by men who were honest, capable, progressive, humane—men who were everything but democratic.

Mayor Mitchel himself is young, fearless, irascible, a hard-hitting business man, a born executive, impatient of stupidity, impatient of dishonesty, impatient also of theories, radical innovations, and sentiment. His instinct for pug-nacity is over-developed, and long before the war he joined those who urged universal military training and who actually forced it upon the school children of New York. He has also a strong instinct for form, a preference for the strong and the successful, a fondness for dancing, and therefore an assured position and popularity with the New York of upper Fifth Avenue ball rooms and Long Island country houses. He is capable of lashing out at the most powerful of corporations if its officers refuse co-operation in his plans for developing the city. But he will first have offered them a basis of co-operation that will have left little to be desired by beneficiaries of the established order. He recognizes in these beneficiaries men who are powerful and able, and his thinking probably goes no further than the realization that no big public enterprise can be effectuated in New York without their support. This frank recognition has stamped his administration. Judge Gary is appointed to head important committees, and at public ceremonials one need not look beyond the speakers' table or the reviewing stand for the most con-

spicuous of those financial and industrial overlords who make New York their headquarters while using their control of the nation's natural resources to plunder its people.

If Mr. Hillquit triumphs on November 6 it will not be a sign that New York's six millions are disloyal or pacifist in this war. It will be a sign that the six millions are tired of a press and a government conducted on the theory that New York is entirely inhabited by native Americans of large means who belong to the Union League or the Colony Club, shop on Fifth Avenue, spend week ends in Long Island or Westchester, and applaud Mr. Root at Carnegie Hall mass meetings. It will mean their opposition, not to Mr. Wilson's and the American people's war for democracy, but to the war that has been adopted as their personal property by New York's inner circle of leaders in finance and fashion; the war that makes of Fifth Avenue these autumn days a riot of color, gayety and extravagance, an orgy of wealth and display, while a few blocks away it forces the city's workers to pay prohibitive prices from slender purses or go without the milk and meat and sugar their children need.

That the exploited portion of New York's population sees the war as a leisure class diversion and a profiteer's game is not merely racial prejudice and pacifism. It is hard to see how a voter who had never been west of the Hudson River and whose experience was confined to the city could get any other view of it. And the men responsible for the prevalence of this attitude toward the war are not the Hillquits and their Socialist newspaper supporters. They are rather those publishers and politicians who bow the knee to wealth and power, filling news narratives and editorial columns with laudation of our foremost monopolists and giving them the place of honor at ceremonial dinners and in the reviewing stands. More potent still is the glaring and ever-present contrast between Fifth Avenue with its flaunting of wealth and the tenement districts just around the corner. No unrestrained soap-boxer could paint this contrast in colors as vivid as those that day by day assault the eyes of all who view Manhattan's living panorama. Extravagance and poverty are here raised to the nth degree and dramatized on the streets of this island that is a world to itself.

Mr. Hillquit's unforgivable offense is that he has accepted and exploited the East Side's con-

ception of this war. He has confirmed them in their belief that the voice of *The New York Times* and the Union League Club is the voice of Washington, that Mr. Gary of the Steel Corporation speaks as validly for the nation as Mr. Wilson, that patriotism is merely an attribute of those who attend dinners at the Waldorf or hang out silk flags over the entrances to magnificent shops on Fifth Avenue. We know, and Mr. Hillquit knows, that New York is not the nation, that the loudest patriots of Wall Street and Fifth Avenue have denounced Mr. Wilson as bitterly as they denounce the Kaiser, and will again, that the Government's purpose squares not with theirs, but with the purpose of the American people. And the American people, unlike Mr. Hillquit's followers, are not so blinded by junkerism at home that they cannot see the menace to freedom that lies in German's insane ambition to dominate the world. It is a pity that Mr. Hillquit has not used his gifts to awaken his people to this menace and to interpret for them the hope for a better order that is offered by the American Government's foreign policy. He is not blind to this hope. In his argument before the Post Office authorities at Washington on behalf of *The Call* he said:

When we say, on the other hand, that we stand for peace, we are likewise very often misunderstood. In a very reputable magazine recently that statement was interpreted to mean a desire for an immediate separate peace, for the withdrawal of the United States from the war. That is not what we mean.

The Socialists would be the last class of people to advise our government to withdraw from the war, now that it is in it, and to leave the rest of the nations in Europe to their own destinies. Socialism is an international movement; Socialism is not a narrow nationalist movement. What we do say is that we want a speedy and general peace, a negotiated peace, and we maintain our belief that the wisest policy for our government at this time, as well as the most effective policy of the government, would be to take the first move in the direction of such a peace.

We maintain that the terms of such a peace have been formulated by the pope of Rome; formulated, perhaps, most eloquently by the President of our own country on general occasions, and lately again in his reply to the pope of Rome. Our government does not think that this is the opportune time to negotiate such a move for peace. The Socialists believe it is. The Socialists believe that nothing good can be gained by delay.

If Mr. Hillquit and the Socialists are not now for withdrawing and leaving the nations of Europe to their own destinies, then why were they

for leaving the nations of Europe to their own destinies seven months ago? If we had no business in the war, then why does Mr. Hillquit say the Socialists would be the last class of people to urge our withdrawal now? "Their own destinies" is a convenient vaguery. Mr. Hillquit knows what those destinies would have been had we held aloof. Mr. Hillquit here surrenders so much of the Socialist ground that what there is left slips from beneath his feet. It is only a question, then, of what is precisely the right moment for beginning negotiations for a peace that will not leave the nations of Europe to their own destinies, but a peace that will discredit German militarism and aggression and leave the more democratic nations of Europe free to work out their highest development. It becomes for Mr. Hillquit a question then between his judgment and that of Mr. Wilson and the Washington Government as to the precise moment when these negotiations can be begun with promise of success.

Is this the ground taken by Mr. Hillquit in his campaign for the mayoralty? It is decidedly not, and the discrepancy convicts him of failing in intellectual honesty. The whole tone and tenor of the Hillquit campaign is "Stop the war on Germany's terms!" It is founded on denunciation of and opposition to the American government. The appeal is not only to class conscious Socialists and pacifists. It is to every element that opposes the nation's present enterprise, including the indifferentists and slackers who are attracted by the Hillquit campaign slogan of "safety first."

Mr. Hillquit will lose the election and deserves to lose it because he is running for Mayor of New York, not on the great issue of democratic rule against class rule, but on the issue of the war.

Steel Prices Again

To those having in mind the enormous profits of the Steel Corporation as announced for the first quarter of this year, and also the official announcement from Washington that the new steel prices represented reductions of from 40 to 70 per cent., there is nothing less than a national scandal in the apparently reliable reports from Pittsburgh that profits under the new prices are to be greater than profits under the old. The

Saturday financial page of the New York *Evening Post* has long been regarded in Wall Street as authority. Telegraphing on October 19, its Pittsburgh correspondent says:

Whatever Wall Street may do with the steel shares, Pittsburgh has now arrived at two conclusions of its own. First, nobody in the steel industry ventures to assert that the new schedule of prices for iron and steel will not bring out the maximum production possible under the limitations of physical conditions—these limitations being chiefly matters of transportation and labor. Second, given the prices now being fixed for steel products, a continuance of present output, and no change in costs from the present level, the steel industry as a whole will make larger profits in the future than it has in the past six months. The average prices at which deliveries have been invoiced in the past six months are lower than the prices lately fixed or about to be fixed by the Government. This is the common appraisal in the steel industry, and no serious question is raised as to its accuracy.

Excess profits of the Steel Corporation for 1916 exceeded the average of 1911, 1912 and 1913 by \$207,945,953. For the first quarter of 1917 its net earnings, after sinking fund and interest charges had been deducted, were reported by the Corporation as \$97,700,000, and its net earnings for the calendar year 1917 have been estimated at \$550,000,000. This is \$486,500,000 in excess of the average annual earnings for the three years preceding the outbreak of the war. Only 31 per cent. of this excess is to be taken in taxation. Mr. Amos Pinchot has pointed out that if we took 80 per cent., as England does, the Corporation would still retain \$160,800,000. "This tidy sum," says Mr. Pinchot, "which seems inadequate to keep the patriotism of big business in working order, would enable the Corporation to pay its bond interest, 7 per cent. on \$360,000,000 preferred stock, and 26.6 per cent. on its \$508,000,000 common stock."

We are entitled to an explanation from the gentlemen of the War Industries Board in whose hands the fixing of steel prices was placed. We are entitled also to a statement covering the whole subject of steel prices from the Federal Trade Commission, which has ascertained manufacturing costs and presumably is keeping silent only because no one has asked officially for the publication of its data.

On the same day *The Post* printed its illuminating dispatch from Pittsburgh, the secretary of the Building Materials Exchange of New

York City made public the result of an investigation into prices for building materials. He reported that private customers could secure steel for reasonably early deliveries by paying the so-called "premium prices," but that there seemed no hope that private customers could secure deliveries at the official government figures.

In the face of this situation, we are told by anonymous New York bankers interviewed in the press of that city that the sharp decline in stocks on the New York Exchange was due to the high excess war profits taxes provided by the revenue bill, and that a reduction of these rates must be effected at the next session of Congress! Governor W. G. P. Harding of the Federal Reserve Board promptly disposed of that amazing assertion by pointing out the inevitable effect on the securities market of the offering of from \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 of 4 per cent. Government bonds.

One Place to Halt Price-Raising

Again the railroad corporations come before the Interstate Commerce Commission requesting permission to increase rates. The request is based on increased cost of operation. For the present, at least, questioning of their reason may be left to experts, for even though their explanation be accepted it does not follow that the plea based thereon should be granted. Increase of prices should not be allowed to run around in a circle indefinitely. Increased railroad rates must cause further increase in prices of commodities, new burdens on labor and capital and, finally, further advances in the cost of railroad supplies resulting in further requests for increased rates. That way leads nowhere. The Interstate Commerce Commission can do the public a splendid service by calling attention to the hopelessness of an attempt to solve economic problems through such methods and by refusing to become a party thereto. Though that would be a merely negative move it would be as far in the right direction as the Commission has power to go. A negative move in the right direction is preferable to a positive one that is wrong.

To unravel the snarl that has brought the railroads into difficulties legislation is needed along lines which these corporations have heretofore opposed. But for plutocratic opposition, it may be stated with confidence, economic conditions

would be more satisfactory and there would now be no endless chain of price-boosting. The corporations have done their share in misleading the public through control of the press and other agencies, and are not entitled to help in order that they may evade their share of the consequences at the expense of the ultimate consumer.

If refusal of permission to increase rates should lead to government ownership of the railroads, let it be so. Private management of public functions has proven inefficient and costly. In considering the alternative of public ownership we need not blink the fact that the Government is by no means an ideal manager. But most of its failings can be traced to policies that fail to distinguish properly between private and public affairs. Such a policy is that which turns over to private corporations control of public highways. Government ownership would remedy that error. Moreover, it would eliminate one of the interests whose influence can almost always be found in opposition to fundamental reforms. So the public welfare requires that the Interstate Commerce Commission grant no request that may result in postponing nationalization of the railroads. Let the endless chain of price-raising be broken somewhere.

Protectionist Humor

In these sad days of destruction, carnage and death it is heartening to know that we still have the unfailing humor of the protectionist. Nations may clash, cabinets resign, and dynasties fall, but the irrepressible economist who would lighten his load by adding to its weight remains steadfast and unafraid. The *American Economist* quotes its companion in economic darkness, the *New York Journal*, to the effect that "no gold can go out of America now. It is our gold. We don't owe it to anybody. . . . Give foreigners coal, iron, silver, wheat, meat and promissory notes if need be, but no gold." To which the *American Economist* adds:

But the gold is going out by the hundreds of millions to pay adverse trade balances created by an excess of imports over exports. It is all very well to say that "no gold can go out of the country; we are going to keep it." We did not have to send our gold out of the country when we had a protective tariff, and we shall not stop sending away our gold until we have another protective tariff.

This is typical of the way protectionists stand

on their heads to view the rising sun and declare it is setting. This country has long been an exporting nation. From 1874 to 1916 there were four years only in which imports of merchandise exceeded exports, and the total excess did not amount to \$70,000,000. During the last twenty years our exports of merchandise, according to the United States Statistical Abstract, were \$37,252,660,156, and the imports were \$25,272,354,028, or an excess of exports over imports of \$11,980,306,128. We should, according to protectionist logic, have received a like amount of gold and silver. But we did not. During those twenty years—sixteen of them under tariffs made by protectionists—we also exported \$145,000,000 more gold and silver than we imported. Of gold alone we received \$600,000,000 more than we sent away. Six hundred millions to pay for more than twelve billions of merchandise and silver! Nor is this excess of exports all due to the war. Only three and a quarter billions come within the war period.

It ought not to be necessary to tell grown men and women that debtor nations export more than they import, and that creditor nations import more than they export. Ireland's and India's exports exceed their imports. England's imports exceed her exports. What becomes of the "favorable balance of trade" theory in the light of facts? This country, because of its incomparable natural advantages, has been growing in riches to such an extent that if not too much impoverished in the present war it will have money to invest in undeveloped parts of the world. As those investments mature, and the dividends come rolling in, our imports, like those of England, will exceed our exports. But will any one say this inflow of riches will mean our impoverishment?

What confuses our protectionist friends and leads them into such absurd positions is their failure to appreciate the element of legal privilege that enables some men to levy toll upon other men without rendering an equivalent in return. Men who buy a city lot or a farm for a thousand dollars and see it increase in value a hundred fold as the community grows may receive every year more than the original investment. If the purchaser happens to live in another country the statistics of imports and exports will show one thousand dollars coming into the country, and many thousands of dollars going out. But this

"favorable balance of trade" is far from indicating the enrichment of the United States. The New Yorker who invested in Illinois or Iowa farming land when it sold for five dollars an acre, and has seen it rise to a hundred and fifty dollars an acre, now receives every year more than he put into it; but the people of those States do not consider this excess of exports an evidence of their prosperity. Transfer the New Yorker to Europe—and not a few have gone abroad—and we have one of the items that make up the Commerce Department's statement of the "favorable balance of trade." When John Jacob Astor came to this country he brought in very little. When his great grandson, William Waldorf Astor, left New York to become a British citizen he took millions of dollars with him, and has drawn millions more every year. This is another item that goes to make up the "favorable balance of trade."

But there is a lesson in this for the so-called free trader, as well as for the protectionist. It might be possible to cancel our indebtedness to Europe, or even to throw the balance the other way by making investments in undeveloped territory; but that would not dispose of the question. There is a personal balance of trade as well as a national balance of trade. Had William Waldorf Astor remained in New York instead of going to London it would have made no difference to the other citizens of New York who have to pay him for the privilege of living on the island where his great grandfather appropriated such a generous portion. With the tenant paying rent to an American land owner, instead of to a Brit-

ish land owner, the national balance of trade would not be affected, but there would be the same balance against the tenant.

And this after all is the vital point of the whole question of trade. Men talk of unearned incomes. During the Congressional debates on the revenue bill there was mention of taxing unearned incomes at a different rate from earned incomes. But how can there be unearned incomes? If anyone has an unearned income it must be at the expense of some one who has earned an income that he does not get. Yet who would surrender his income except through force of law? It is this legal enactment that does the mischief. Government, by taxing industry and consumption, enables land owners and other privilege holders to retain the toll they collect for the use of the bounties of nature; and this legal privilege of collecting toll for the use of natural opportunities is the source of unearned incomes. The remedy lies not in taxing the income, but in stopping it. Little would have been accomplished toward aiding the slave had the state taken a part, no matter how large, of the master's earnings. Justice was done only when he received all his earnings. And justice will be done the producer only when he is left in possession of his full earnings. When every producer is able to retain the full product of his toil the individual balance of trade will be set right, and the international balance of trade will take care of itself. American labor and American business wants protection not against privilege-laden labor and business in other countries, but against the privilege holders in this country.

Zionism and the War

By Mrs. Joseph Fels

One of the unexpected developments of the war is the very considerable likelihood that it will hasten the settlement of the Zionist question—a question vitally affecting the interests of the fourteen million souls in Europe and America of Jewish origin. The American public has not yet heard much of a turn of affairs that in England has aroused general interest and even become the subject of discussions in the War Office and the Cabinet. A Jewish regiment is being raised for service in Palestine, and the Govern-

ment has been reported as on the point of formally espousing the cause of the Zionists.

Of all the claims now being urged upon the Allied Governments in behalf of small nationalities, none is more interesting than the proposal that Palestine be set apart as a Jewish state under Allied protection, with local autonomy and free opportunity for the development there of a distinctive Jewish nationality. The British Government's action in raising a Jewish regiment for the Palestine campaign amounts to an indorse-

ment of the plan. Its future course rests largely with the Jews themselves. Many of the most influential Jews in England oppose a revival of nationalism. These are largely men who have attained power and distinction as British nationalists, and who therefore are quite satisfied with things as they are. Opposed to them is the growing Zionist movement, representing men and women who personally may enjoy every advantage, but who are moved by pride and interest in their race to work for the emancipation of the great majority of Jews who remain poor and oppressed. Its aims were stated at the first Zionist Congress, held at Basle in 1897: "The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." The Basle program proceeds to point to the means by which this end is to be attained: "1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers. 2. The organization and binding together of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country. 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness. 4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism."

Within the past thirty years, between forty and fifty self-governing Jewish settlements have sprung up in Palestine, ranging in size from three or four thousand inhabitants to less than a hundred. There is room in Palestine for at least another million Jews, according to Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, writing in *The New Europe*. Another writer in the same journal says:

"The interests of Jewry are not identical with those of its millionaires or half-assimilated professors and politicians. The Jewish people counts at least fourteen million souls, most of whom are poor. Dispersion and eventual assimilation can never be the ultimate aims of any healthy people. Reunion and national self-affirmation are worthier objects. The great need of the Jews is sincerity towards themselves and towards others; and the value of Zionism is that it tends to bring the intense pride of the Jew in his own race into harmony with his public bearing. The bracing and invigorating effect of Zionism upon the Jewish masses can hardly be credited by those who have not witnessed it. With a Zionist Jew it is possible to discuss Jewish prob-

lems as French problems may be discussed with a Frenchman or Italian problems with an Italian. The existence of a Jewish State would certainly react, and react healthily, upon the position of Jews who might elect to remain in the Dispersion."

A more powerful motive than liberalism is at work in England to aid the Zionist cause. The Suez Canal and the routes of communication with India and the Far East must be protected against German intrigue and aggression. Germany has designs on Palestine as part of her coveted near-eastern Empire, and as a vantage point from which she could cut British communications with the Far East and establish direct lines of communication with Africa. Commander Wedgewood, M.P., has pointed out the danger in a recent interview published in *The American Hebrew*. He is one of the many non-Jews in England who are giving enthusiastic support to the project of a Jewish State of Palestine, under the protectorate of England or the United States. Says the writer previously quoted in *The New Europe*: "The Jews honestly desire freedom as a good in itself, and they recognize, in their heart of hearts, the immense superiority of the Anglo-Saxon over the German conception of political and social liberty. They are not proud of the Jewish international financier, and earnestly desire to rid Jewry of the stigma which he and his kind have branded upon it."

It is for American Jews to prove that they, too, desire freedom for their race as a good in itself. Commander Wedgewood in his *American Hebrew* interview voices his hope and faith in them while criticizing those English Jews who have protested against the Government's recognition of the Zionist movement. He says: "Now I hope that in America the 'Junker' class of Jew is absent, for he is not only a traitor to his own race, but he is also a positive danger to the State. And here let me add that it was my late master and friend, Joseph Fels of America, who, by his prophecy of the Single Tax System as applied to Land Reform, converted me to the belief that the American Jew has in him potentialities of a higher order than mere money-getting."

May the writer not be pardoned for quoting this tribute to one whose thought and effort were all for lightening the burdens of the oppressed of whatever race or nation? Surely, Commander

Wedgewood's faith in American Jewry is not misplaced. And from American liberals of whatever race may we not expect support for the

movement to restore, not only Belgium, but the nation longest and most grievously oppressed?

The Scheme of Pangermany

By David Starr Jordan

The Pangermanist League or Union (All-deutschtum Verband) is coming to be recognized in these days as the chief obstacle to World Peace, as it was before 1914 the chief promoter of World War.

This society was organized in 1891 for the general purpose of solidifying Germany as a military power, of promoting the interests of German exploitation and of expanding the boundaries of Germany by force, even at the risk of World War. It was made up of Junker landholding nobility, of the iron manufacturers, military leaders and especially of retired officers, with a large sprinkling of clericals, "intellectuals," travelers and titled gentlemen of leisure.

The efforts of the League were primarily directed against the German people, who had to be completely militarized and subdued before plans of outside operation could be made effective. While the general scheme was of the nature of a conspiracy, one could hardly call it a "secret plot," as its purposes were "shouted from the housetops." Its journalists, for example, Count Ernst von Reventlow and Count Westarp, with its military promoters, as Generals von Keim and von Bernhardt, were loud in proclaiming its activities as the final aim, duty and glory of Germany. The *Tagesszeitung*, the *Lokal Anzeiger* and other prominent newspapers, steadily voiced its propaganda and the Crown Prince furnished a persistent echo.

A typical Pangermanist publication, not often noticed, is a pamphlet issued in 1895, entitled *Gross Deutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950*." This paper was unsigned but it was officially endorsed by Hugo Grell, then a spokesman of the League, as "A sensation-making pamphlet . . . in which the Pangerman aims of the League were thoroughly set forth." It is cited in the "Handbook of the Pan-German Leagues," 1911, as "literature worth reading."

According to Dr. Gutmund Schütte ("Pan-Germanism and Denmark"), the author of the

above-mentioned pamphlet claims that he is "not prepared to advocate a policy of conquest, but merely cannot help forecasting the alterations in boundaries which may result from the future war." In his judgment in or about 1950, the Great German Confederation will comprise:

1. The "present little German Empire (*den jetzigen Kleindeutschen Kaiserreich*) to which will be added Luxemburg."
2. The Netherlands (Holland and Belgium).
3. German Switzerland.
4. The Austrian Empire.

The confederation will be effectively unified, and further expanded for commercial purposes by a generous Customs Union. This will contain:

1. The Great German Confederation.
2. The Baltic Provinces.
3. The Kingdom of Poland.
4. The Kingdom of Ruthenia.
5. The Kingdom of Roumania.
6. The Kingdom of Greater Servia.

The population of this domain is thus estimated:

In 1895: The Great German Confederation: Germans, 67 millions; non-Germans, 19 millions; total, 86 millions. German Customs Union: 70 millions; non-Germans, 61 millions; total, 131 millions.

In 1950: The Great Confederation: Germans, 122 millions; non-Germans, 15 millions; total, 137 millions. German Customs Union: 126 millions; non-Germans, 74 millions; total, 200 millions.

The unnamed author foretold a permanent distinction between genuine German citizens and mere subjects of the state, "Full German citizens are those who declare themselves German before the Higher Authorities and who are able to prove themselves masters of the German language both in speech and writing." Only German citizens were to have the franchise, active or passive, the right to serve in Army or Navy, to hold a

position as judge, or to acquire landed property by purchase or exchange, or in any other way except by inheritance. Thus greater Germany though not wholly German should be ruled by Germans only. "By allowing only Germans to exercise political rights and to acquire landed property, the German people will again regain the feeling which they had in the Middle Ages, that of being a ruling race." ("*Herrenvolk*.")

They would, however, gladly tolerate in their midst the presence of foreigners for the performance of lower manual labor ("*niedere Handarbeiten*.")

The Pangerman Association is another society with the general purpose of Germanizing the Germanic races. Its organ, "Haimdall," bore on its title page this inscription in runic characters: "From the Skaw to the Adriatic! From Boulogne to Narva! From Besançon to the Black Sea!"

In 1901, in a discussion of the objections which Denmark, Switzerland and Luxemburg might raise against incorporation within the Empire, the author observes:

"After they have been forcibly united with the Empire, the conquered will gradually acquire the spirit of members of the new Confederation and will cease to desire separation. We do not anticipate too much success in an attempt to establish the Pangerman Empire by peaceful methods."

In all publications of this kind, the need of *extension by force* of the "Great and Mighty Pan-Germany" is brought to the front. Plans for getting rid of French, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian and other wealthy land-holding intruders by enforced sale of their lands are given in detail. The "*lust of annexation*" is avowedly the moving spirit of the League.

The original aim of the Pangermanist groups as expressed at the beginning of the century, points toward the consolidation of "*Mitteluropa*" as set forth later by Dr. Naumann and other serious students of political history. Its great evil lay not primarily in the consolidation of Germanic elements, but in the use of force against all principles of freedom and justice.

Within the last decade the schemes took another form as indicated by the slogans "Berlin to Bagdad," "Hamburg to the Persian Gulf." Emphasis was laid on the control of Constantinople, and its two great railways, the one leading from

Vienna by way of Belgrade and Sofia, the other eastward towards the desert lands of Mesopotamia. The control of Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey now became strategically important, while the completion of the Kiel Canal made the acquisition of Denmark a secondary affair.

Much may be said for the plan itself except for its fatal combination of military force with exploitation, in utter defiance of rights of other peoples. It is a shame to civilization that it has left the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, the sites of Nineveh, Bagdad and Babylon, for centuries practically unoccupied. German industry would restore the waterways and German patience would expel the mosquito, making these deserts once more a "garden of the world." But the subordination of the whole scheme to military domination spoiled it all. No "dream of Empire" can be made reality, so long as it rests on irresponsible force alone.

Pan-Germanism, with its accompanying "*Weltmacht*," has been assumed to mean "World Dominion." This interpretation is hardly just, however. "*Weltmacht*" is defined as "world power," something to be shared with other powers, not absolute world control. Even the demand for "a place in the sun" was rather an afterthought. Bismarck's influence so long as it lasted was always for consolidation at home, rather than imperial expansion.

But the actual propaganda encouraged by military authority and militant patriotism with the sympathy more or less complete of the vain and vacillating Kaiser, and supported by a venal press, gained steadily in volume. The influence of sane men and sane journals was opposed to it, but sanity makes little headway against herd-instinct, when stirred by dreams of national glory. The war-makers had more and more their own way. The spirit of aggression is always fairly measured by the degree to which military affairs infringe on civil life. In Dr. Veblen's words: "A warlike organization is servile in character in the same measure in which it is military." "Another country," said an officer in 1912, "may possess an army; the army possesses Germany."

And yet, it is a mistake wholly to identify Pan-Germany with the German government. Pangermanist leaders have usually been in antagonism to the civil authority. Bethmann-Hollweg was the object of their special antagonism. It is said

that the chief function of the German Chancellor is "to have his hands forced." Almost every Chancellor from Caprivi down has had this humiliating experience at the hands of military Pangermanism.

The war has disclosed the abject futility of Pangermanism. The current of feeling against these "murderers of the state" (to use the words of a German editor) rises higher and higher in Germany as throughout the civilized world. But only the Germans themselves can suppress Pangermanism. The antidote to its machinations is

found in the theory and practice of democracy. The highest statesmanship of the hour will lie in bringing German democracy into harmony with that of the rest of the world. To this end it is vital that Germany shall never gain anything whatever, anywhere through Pangermanist aggression. It is equally vital that her present antagonists gain nothing through adoption of Pangermanist lust for annexation.

"Live and let live" is a homely proverb, but it indicates the condition on which civilization may revive in Europe.

The Decay of Agriculture

By Frederic C. Howe

In the two years between April, 1915, and April, 1917, the cost of dairy and garden produce shot up 84 per cent., and of food stuffs 105 per cent. At the same time wages increased only 18 per cent. This is the obvious fact that is confronting tens of millions of housewives, that is reducing the standard of comfort of the American people, and even impairing the vitality of our children.

But empty stomachs in 1917 is not the most portentous fact that menaces us. We can stand temporary privation if it is but temporary. Patriotism is carrying half the world to stupendous sacrifices on narrow rations. The most serious calamity that confronts us is the destruction of agriculture, a permanent reduction in our food supply, the driving of the American people from the land, and the creation of a peasant proletariat in the country, and an even larger proletariat struggling for a job in the city.

Each year we produce less food per capita than we did the year before, and the food supply of the United States is permanently diminishing. The statistics of agriculture show the rapidity of the decline. In the sixteen years between 1899 and 1915 the per capita production of meats fell from 248.2 pounds to 219.6 pounds; of milk from 95.6 gallons to 75.5 gallons; of cereals from 43.9 bushels to 40.2 bushels. The production of eggs and potatoes remained stationary. The number of dairy cows decreased slightly between 1900 and 1910, while the number of swine and sheep increased by about 14,000,000 head. The total loss in all cattle was five and three-quarter millions head.

The home owning farmer is disappearing in some states. He is becoming the exception. In 1880 25.6 per cent. of our farmers were tenants; in 1910 the percentage had risen to 37 per cent. In a number of western states tenancy has risen to 50 or 60 per cent., and in some counties in the west and southwest it is universal.

There are 400,000,000 acres of land in the United States enclosed in farms that are not cultivated at all. Worse than that, there are 200,000,000 acres, according to the census, dedicated to great feudal holdings whose average size is 4,230 acres. One-quarter of the acreage of the United States is owned by less than 50,000 persons. This is an area considerably greater than the combined area of Germany and Great Britain with a population of 110,000,000 souls.

Agriculture is being destroyed in the United States. It is being destroyed by land monopoly. It is being destroyed by inadequate transportation facilities on the railroads, by the packing monopoly, the warehousemen, the grain and food speculators, and by cold storage warehouses and endless middlemen. There is an embargo about farming that is drying up the production of food. The farmer is abandoning the farm because of the cordon of monopoly interests that are making agriculture unprofitable. The packing trust of Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha has closed out slaughter-houses all over the country. As a consequence, farmers no longer raise cattle for marketing. The grain speculators hammer down the price of wheat and corn when the farmer sells, and send it up to monopoly prices when the artisan buys. The food specu-

lators and middlemen in the cities kill off the local production of vegetables, fruit and other produce to prevent competition. In time the local farmer who previously made a living throws up his hands and goes to the city. That is why we have less cattle to-day than we had fifteen years ago. That is why food riots occur in New York while food is rotting on the farms fifty miles away, and is destroyed on the railway sidings in the very heart of the city.

Price-fixing will not solve these problems. Exhortation or prayers will not induce the farmer to labor if he cannot sell his produce. The farmer's boy will not stay on the farm if he has seen his father foreclosed, or has lived as a tenant under conditions such as described by the Industrial Relations Commission in Texas and Oklahoma, which suggest the conditions of Ireland. Land monopoly, transportation monopoly, credit monopoly, and marketing monopoly is changing America; just as similar agencies destroyed agriculture in Ireland and England; just as they destroyed it in ancient Rome. We are face to face with a bigger problem than the high cost of living, we are confronted with the decadence of agriculture.

How can this tendency be reversed and the stream of population be set toward the land again? How can we make agriculture attractive and profitable? How can the land of America, which has only 33 people to the square mile while the people of Europe are living at the rate of from 200 to 650 per square mile, be opened up to use? This is a problem for practical constructive statesmanship.

The farmer must first be protected from the distributing agencies that control the market. And the only possible means of control of distribution is through government ownership and operation of the agencies through which the food of the country passes to market. There should be publicly owned terminal warehouses in every city with a government official to whom the farmer can ship directly for sale. There should be a well organized system of municipal markets to which the housewife can go. The parcel post should be elaborated into a great marketing agency, as it is in all the countries of Europe. Cold storage warehouses should be publicly owned so that the farmer and retailer, and even the individual consumer, can store his eggs, poultry, meat and perishable products. The abattoirs

and stockyards must be publicly owned. To-day the United States is the only civilized country in the world in which slaughtering and food are in private hands. In Germany there are thousands of splendidly built municipal slaughterhouses. It is by such means as these that Germany feeds herself. It was by this program that little Denmark became the world's agricultural experiment station. It was through government protection of the farmer that Australia has become the great state that she is. Food can be shipped 12,000 miles from Australia to England for one-third the cost at which it can be transported across the American continent to the consumer.

But this is only the beginning of the redemption of agriculture. Tenancy must be abolished. The great feudal estates of the west must be broken up and hungry humanity permitted to go back to the land. The transportation agencies, and especially the railroads, must be in government hands. We can only end tenancy and land monopoly by two devices. One is the taxation of land values to bring land into use, to end speculation, to compel men to use land or permit someone else to do so. A fire built behind the land monopolist will break up the million acre estates of the west, it will automatically lure men back from the cities by cheapening land. This is the greatest reform of all. It is being tried in Canada and Australia. The other alternative is the farm colony planned by the state and protected by the state. The farm colony involves the sale of ready-made farms to would-be farmers, to be paid for by them on easy terms. It involves state credit to the would-be farmer, and the organization of marketing and purchasing. It involves also a new kind of education. But most of all it means the organization of agriculture along modern industrial lines. There are millions in America who would go to the land if they could do so with a fair hope of success. There are two and a half million tenants who would prefer to work for themselves rather than for an absentee landlord. And there are five million agricultural workers who might be converted into home owners in this rich land of ours.

Agriculture can only be redeemed by the State. It can only be redeemed by the use of a surgeon's knife on the monopoly interests that now fatten off the producer and the consumer. And if some such program is not developed we will

face a continuing increase in the cost of living, a continuous exodus from the farm, a growing congestion in our cities, and with it a destruction of agriculture and the impairment of the physical and moral life of the nation. We cannot drive men back to the land. We can make the land attractive to men. The farmer does not want free seeds. He needs a policeman to protect him from the monopolistic agencies that are destroying the foundations of our life.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending October 23

Favor Public Ownership

The Conference Committee on National Preparedness, headed by H. Wise Wood, a strong conservative, declared for public ownership of railroads on October 13. The resolutions say in part:

Not only is ship tonnage inadequate to the war's demand, but the whole transportation system of America is bending, and may break, under the strain of our first year at war.

With crops not yet moving freely, with only a fraction of our new army sent from home, with our whole national war effort yet unplanned and unmeasured, war production already is hampered by shortage of cars and locomotives, lack of ample terminal storage and other facilities.

Perhaps the only step that the railroad people could take to postpone government ownership for any length of time would be a very broad-minded and general attitude on their part in contributing their facilities to the community service (under conditions of sale or lease or, perhaps, pooling) where such facilities were needed to develop transportation facilities, which in the past would have been considered competitive to the individual road.

Nationalization of Shipping

An order to requisition all American shipping of over 2,500 tons was issued on October 12 by the United States Shipping Board. The order states:

The United States Shipping Board hereby gives notice to all owners of ships registered and enrolled under the laws of the United States that the requisition of all American steamers described below, and of which previous announcement has been made, will become operative and effective on October 15, 1917, at noon.

1. The ships affected by said requisition and included therein are:

(a) All cargo ships able to carry not less than 2,500 tons total deadweight, including bunkers, water, and stores.

(b) All passenger steamers of not less than 2,500 tons gross register.

2. (a) As to all steamers in or bound to American

ports on October 15, 1917, requisition becomes effective after discharge of inward cargo and ship is put in ordinary good condition.

(b) As to steamers which have started to load their outward cargo, requisition becomes effective at noon on October 15, 1917, and accounts as to hire and expenses will be adjusted from time steamer began to load.

3. Steamers trading to and from American ports that have sailed on their voyage prior to October 15, 1917, at noon, are to complete that voyage as promptly as possible and report for requisitioning.

4. Steamers that are occupied in trades between foreign ports shall be requisitioned as of October 15, 1917, at noon, and accounts adjusted accordingly.

5. (a) Owners whose steamers are operating in their regular trades are to continue the operation of their steamers for account of the Government as they have been doing for themselves until they receive further instructions.

(b) Owners whose steamers are chartered to others will apply to the Shipping Board for instructions regarding the future employment of said steamers.

Report on Washington Street Railway Strike

Municipal ownership is favored by the committee of the United States Senate which investigated street railway labor conditions in Washington. The report places the blame for the recent strike on the company and condemns the corporation for insisting on individual contracts with its men. The committee consisted of Senators Hughes of New Jersey, Pittman of Nevada, King of Utah, Jones of Washington and Johnson of California. They were unanimous in upholding the principle of collective bargaining.

Labor Trouble Brewing in Colorado

Under the State law which forbids strikes until an investigation has been made by the State Industrial Commission coal miners employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., a Rockefeller corporation, have been prevented for two months from quitting work. The Commission reported on October 21 declaring that there is not sufficient ground for a strike. A vote will nevertheless be taken by the local union of the United Mine Workers of America, on the question of striking. Their grievance is that, as union men, they are denied recognition in presenting grievances under the policy instituted by Mr. Rockefeller.

Suffragists Oppose Race Discrimination

A protest against instigation of race and class prejudices for political effect was made by the official board of the National Woman Suffrage Association on October 4. The resolutions declare:

Resolved, That the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, now in session in New York, urges unqualified loyalty to the Government in this crisis; protests as un-American those discriminations and injustices that set class

against class, race against race, sex against sex, and furnish opportunity for insidious alien propaganda that trades upon them to the internal disturbance of our country; maintains that all American men or women, white or black, in the trenches or in the home and the factory, who are giving their lives to uphold the ideals of democracy, shall share equally in the privileges and protection of democracy; and deplors all lawlessness based on race or sex or class prejudice; and, be it further

Resolved, That this Board set forth its belief in and its stand for that broad type of American democracy that knows no bias on the ground of race, color, creed or sex. To the end that Americans may stand united not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Negro-Americans, Slav-Americans, and "the women," but one and all as Americans for America.

Massachusetts Constitutional Convention

Only three amendments passed upon by the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention will be submitted to the voters at the coming election. One empowers the Legislature to authorize buying and selling to the public by state or municipal authorities of necessities of life. Another legalizes absentee voting. The third forbids grants of public money to sectarian or private schools.

Russia

Premier Kerensky opened the Preliminary Parliament on the 21st with a speech in which he took a positive stand on the war issue. After his address he called to the presidential chair Mme. Breshkovskaya, the "grandmother of the revolution," and the senior member of the Preliminary Parliament. In the course of her remarks as temporary chairman she declared that the people ought to be masters of the soil they cultivate. A just solution of the agrarian question, she said, would enable the country to avoid dangerous collisions; therefore, if the Council of the Republic sincerely desired to assist the country it should solve this problem in conformity with the exigencies of Russian history, and added, "Let the Russian intellectual classes not oppose such a solution." The formation of the Provisional Council, as a consultative body to the Provisional Government supersedes officially the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. But their influence is reported to be still strong, and they are likely to receive attention from the Government and the Provisional Council. [See current volume, page 1014.]

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The latest peace plan, as drawn by the central executive committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in the form of instructions to M. Skobelev, ex-Minister of Labor, who will be their delegate to the Paris conference, contains the following provisions:

First—Evacuation by the Germans of Russia and autonomy of Poland, Lithuania and the Lettish provinces.

Second—Autonomy of Turkish Armenia.

Third—Solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question by a plebiscite, the voting being arranged by local civil authorities after the removal of all the troops of both belligerents.

Fourth—Restoration to Belgium of her ancient frontiers and compensation for her losses from an international fund.

Fifth—Restoration of Serbia and Montenegro with similar compensation, Serbia to have access to the Adriatic, Bosnia and Herzegovina to be autonomous.

Sixth—Disputed Balkan districts to receive provisional autonomy, followed by a plebiscite.

Seventh—Rumania to be restored her old frontiers on condition that she grant Dobrudja autonomy and grant equal rights to Jews.

Eighth—Autonomy for the Italian provinces of Austria, to be followed by a plebiscite.

Ninth—Restitution of all colonies to Germany.

Tenth—Reestablishment of Greece and Persia.

Eleventh—Neutralization of all straits leading to inner seas and also the Suez and Panama canals. Freedom of navigation for merchant ships. Abolition of the right to torpedo merchant ships in wartime.

Twelfth—All belligerents to renounce war contributions or indemnities in any form, but the money spent on the maintenance of prisoners and all contributions levied during the war to be returned.

Thirteenth—Commercial treaties not to be based on the peace treaty. Each country may act independently with respect to its commercial policy, but all countries to engage to renounce an economic blockade after the war.

Fourteenth—The conditions of peace should be settled by a peace congress, consisting of delegates elected by parliament. Diplomats must engage not to conclude secret treaties, which hereby are declared contrary to the rights of the people and consequently void.

Fifteenth—Gradual disarmament by land and sea and the establishment of a non-military system.

European War

The German operations in the Gulf of Riga have been successful in all things except the capture of the Russian fleet, which is reported to have escaped to the Gulf of Finland. One battleship was sunk by German fire. The islands of Oesel and Dago have been taken, together with ten thousand prisoners, and a landing made on the mainland. Activities in Flanders, because of excessive rains, have been confined to artillery work and to scouting parties. On the 22d the British and French forces made a successful attack northeast of Ypres for the purpose of widening the wedge that has been driven into the German lines, and preparing the way for another drive eastward toward the Ostend-Lille line of communications. Activities are reported in Macedonia and in Mesopotamia, but details are lacking. [See current volume, page 1014.]

The Antilles, the first American transport to be lost, was torpedoed early on the morning of the 17th while returning from France. The ship was under convoy, but the submarine was not seen either before or after discharging its torpedo. Sixty-seven of the 237 on board were lost. Sixteen of those drowned were soldiers, the remainder were members of the ship's crew, and were mainly enginemen and firemen. On the same day two swift German cruisers slipped past the guards and came upon a British convoy of a dozen ships in the North Sea, sinking two destroyers and nine merchant vessels. Five of the vessels sunk were Norwegian, three were Swedish, and one was Danish. Most of them were small boats. The number of lives lost was 138.

* *

Air warfare appears to be growing in volume. On the night of the 19th a fleet of eleven or more Zeppelins crossed the British Channel, but it is not known just how many reached London. At least one succeeded in reaching the city. Twenty-seven persons were killed and fifty-three wounded in London and the southeastern parts of England. Five of the Zeppelins were brought down by French fliers while attempting to cross the northern part of France. One Zeppelin was forced to land at Bourbonne les Bains, France, and was captured before its crew had time to destroy it. This is the first Zeppelin to be taken intact.

* *

Subscriptions to the second Liberty Loan approach two and a half billion dollars, with four days more to run. Three billion dollars is set as the minimum, and five billion as the maximum. It is announced that the United States will be officially represented at the conference of the Allies soon to be held in Paris. The Federal Departments at Washington are searching out and tabulating the German supplies bought in this country prior to April when war was declared. It is expected that vast quantities of cotton and other war materials now held for German account will be taken by the Administration, and a settlement made later.

* *

Germany has completed her seventh loan amounting to \$3,107,500,000, and raising the total to \$18,104,075,000. The Belgian Government estimates its account against Germany for damages at more than a billion and a half of dollars. The chief items are:

War contributions levied up to August 10, 1917, \$288,000,000.

Private war contributions and fines up to the end of 1914, \$40,000,000.

Confiscation of machinery and requisitioning of raw materials to January, 1915, \$400,000,000.

Destruction of sources of economic wealth (not including destruction of private property, which is still continuing), \$1,000,000,000.

The Belgian statistics do not include claims for the enormous loss resultant from cessation of Belgian industries. Nor do they include damages for many German acts in stripping factories, which acts were reported in the last few months.

NOTES

—Senator Paul O. Husting of Wisconsin was accidentally shot and killed while on a hunting trip on October 21.

—October 28 was named as a day of prayer for victory by President Wilson in a proclamation on October 21.

—A fifty per cent reduction in rent to enable employes to invest in Liberty bonds and reduce the cost of living was announced on October 22 by the G. B. Markle Coal Company of Hazleton, Pa.

—As an indication of the interest of French children in their government the French Department of Education states that during the last two years the primary school of the Department of the Seine alone have subscribed 30,000,000 francs of the National Loan.

—Proposals have been made to the president of the Tokio Chamber of Commerce that Japanese weavers and textile operatives be sent to Paris to operate the mills that are idle for want of hands. The president promises to do all possible to grant the request.

—The executive committee of the Hotel Association of New York City has voted to have a meatless and a wheatless day each week. Tuesdays are to be meatless and Wednesdays are to be wheatless. Hotel chefs are devoting much attention in devising substitute dishes.

—Full returns from Iowa show that the election of October 15 did not result in a prohibition victory, as at first reported. On the face of the returns the prohibition amendment was defeated by a vote of 197,279 against 196,341. The prohibition committee has applied for a recount.

—A ministerial decree requisitioning all the shoe factories in France November 15 is announced to overcome the opposition of the manufacturers to make the new national shoe in quantities wanted by the government. It is expected that the unused portion of their time will be devoted to meeting private demand.

—Buffalo Socialists polled 14,341 votes for Franklin P. Brill, at the primary for mayor, on October 17, as against 14,695 for Mayor Fuhrman, Democrat, candidate for re-election, and 18,417 for George S. Buck, Republican. A recount has been demanded. The Socialist vote for President last fall was 2,700.

—American citizens and subjects of cobelligerent and neutral powers wishing to enter China must have passports with photographs attached and viséed by diplomatic or consular representatives of China. Travelers from the United States for Norway, Sweden and Denmark must have passports viséed by representatives of those countries.

—Adolf Germer of Chicago, secretary of the National Socialist party, and ten of his associates, indicted for conspiring against the conscription law, were acquitted by a jury in the Federal court at Grand Rapids, Michigan, on October 18. A trial on a similar charge at Okla-

homa City of 40 members of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union resulted in release of all but three.

—A record for biplane flights with a large load was made on October 22 by Captain Antonio Silvio Resnati of the Italian army who flew in a Caproni machine carrying eight passengers besides himself, 330 miles, from Norfolk, Va., to Mineola, L. I., in 4 hours and 25 minutes. The same trip was made in 2 hours and 55 minutes by Lieutenant Atilio Bodioli in a lighter machine without passengers.

—A six months' sentence for picketing was imposed on Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the woman's party at Washington, on October 22. She had been convicted on the same charge on October 4, sentenced for thirty days, then paroled, and had at once returned to the White House to picket again. The new sentence is in addition to the first one, making seven months in all. Six other pickets also released without sentence on a former occasion, who repeated the act, have been summoned to appear for sentence. Miss Caroline Spencer of Colorado Springs was sentenced to six months at the same time as Miss Paul.

BOOKS

Journal of Leo Tolstoi. Translated by Rose Strunsky. (A. A. Knopf, \$2.00.) Notes by V. S. Chertkov, his literary executor.

Miss Strunsky, this young Russian writer, has made a clear and sympathetic presentation of Tolstoi, through his journal. The copious notes at the end of the book must have involved immense labor in their identification of places, persons and periods; but those technical explanations are not the most valuable part of the notes. Wherever Tolstoi's words might be misunderstood, as when he speaks harshly of women, they are supplemented and explained by reference to other parts of his works.

The *Journal* is intensely interesting to anyone who knows and cares about Tolstoi's teaching and also to those who have a taste for looking into the intimate thoughts of the great. Yet the book increases rather our pity for that wonderful artist in words and teacher than our admiration for him. Russian-like, he thought apparently constantly about the state of his own mind and about his own manner of life, trying always to force them to conform to standards that he considered the highest. This he did without any confidence in his own or anybody else's natural desires as natural guides.

Perhaps the most vital as well as the most pathetic part of the book is that in which he sums up the message of his difficult book upon Life, of which most of his other writings are amplifications and illustrations.

He says:

"Remember how many times you have suffered before because in your consciousness you have connected yourself to your passion; [fear-B. H.] greed, desire, vanity, and remember how everything passed away and you have still not found that 'self' which suffered then. And so it is now. It is not you who are suffering, but that passion which you wrongly joined to yourself.

"Again when you suffer remember that the suffering is not something disagreeable which you can get rid of but it is the very work of life, that very task which you have been designated to do. In want—to get rid of it, you are doing that which a man would do who lifts the plough there where the earth is hard, just where, in fact, it has to be ploughed up. pp. 83-84.

"Once more I wrote to N. that she is wrong in thinking that it is possible for one to renounce oneself from the exploit of living. Life is an exploit. And the principal thing is, that that very thing that pains us and seems to us to hinder us from fulfilling our work in life—is our very work in life. There is some circumstance, a condition in life which tortures you; poverty, illness, faithlessness of a husband, calumny, humiliation—it suffices only to understand that this is the very work of life which you are called to do; to live in poverty, in illness [where it is unavoidable, or where it costs too much to avoid it-B. H.] to forgive faithlessness, calumny, humiliation—and instead of depression and pain there is energy and joy. p. 98.

"Twenty times I have repeated it, and twenty times the thought comes to me as new, that release from all excitement, fear, suffering, from physical and especially from spiritual, lies in destroying in one's self the illusion of the union of one's spiritual 'self' with one's physical. And this is always possible. When the illusion is destroyed then the spiritual 'self' can suffer only from the fact that it is joined to the physical, but not from hunger, pain, sorrow, jealousy, shame, etc. In the first case, as long as it is joined, it does that which the physical 'self' wants: it gets angry, condemns, scolds, strikes; in the second case, when it is separated from the physical, it does only that which can free it from the torturing union. And only the manifestations of love frees it. p. 120.

"Yesterday was a terrible day.

. . . At night, I hardly slept and was depressed. I just now found the prescriptions in my diary, looked them over and began to feel better; to separate one's true 'Self' from that which is offended and vexed, to remember that this is no hindrance, no accidental unpleasantness, but the very work predestined me. p. 88.

"It would be good to experience this in physical suffering, whether it will stand physical suffering. And here was a chance to experience it and I forgot and did not experience it. It is too bad."

Truly he who has learned that in his heart as well as in his head has risen above the limitations of life.

BOLTON HALL.

The Shield. A symposium on the Jewish question in Russia. Edited by Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreyev and Fyodor Sologub. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1917. Price \$1.25.

Russia—tyrannical Russia—hated its students, hated its Socialists, but most of all it hated its Jews. The Jewish youths, with but few exceptions, were barred from the high schools and universities. The mass of the Jews was confined within a few cities of the Pale. They were deprived of their rights in the courts and forbidden to engage in desirable business or professions. The Russian Government went as far as to organize the

Black Hundreds—gangs of ruffians and thugs. Aided by the army and shielded by the police these gangs arranged for the infamous pogroms—massacres of innocent Jews. Old men were murdered; women raped; infants wrested from their mothers' arms and torn in half before their mothers' eyes; nails were driven into the heads of young and old alike; pregnant women were "cut open" and filled with feathers. These are not tales but facts.

When the war broke out, in 1914, the Jews, in spite of all the injustice done to them, volunteered in large numbers to fight for "the Fatherland." And Russia took the wives and children and parents of these soldiers and deported them from their homes. Three million of them were so deported. And young and old were slain, starved, raped. Jewish soldiers could not be visited by their relatives, nor could they be buried outside the Pale.

Against these outrages Russian intellectuals protested; their protest appears in the remarkable series of articles contained in "The Shield." Not nonentities, but the leaders of Russian thought and Russian life, like Maxim Gorky, Prof. Paul Milyukov, Prince Paul Dolgorukov, Michael Artzibasheff and Count Ivan Tolstoy are the writers who, in the worst days of the reaction, dared raise their voices against the injustices that were being done to the Jews. In "The Shield" we find them protesting in the name of Russia, the Russian people, the Russian ideals, the Russian religion, for the sake, not of the Jews but of Russia. They wrote argumentative articles, stories, poems, and appeals. They pleaded and begged and argued and exhorted. But in vain. The Czar did not hear. His advisers would not listen.

Then came what many call the Miracle. On March 17 a combination of workingmen and intellectuals succeeded in sending the Russian Government to the Land of No Return. The radicals are now at the helm. The very men who wrote "The Shield" are now in control of Russian affairs. As a result, many of the injustices have been removed, and many more will follow. It is now only a question of a little time, and full justice will be done to the Jews of Russia.

HYMAN LEVINE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The History of Tammany Hall. By Gustavus Myers. Published by Boni & Liveright, Inc., New York. Price, \$2.50 net.
- Japan in World Politics. By K. K. Kawakami. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.
- Philosophy and The Social Problem. By Will Durant, Ph.D. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.
- Faith, War, and Policy. By Gilbert Murray. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. Price, \$1.25 net.
- Jean Jaures. (Socialist and Humanitarian). By Margaret Peace. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price, \$1.00.
- Mankind. (Racial Values and the Racial Prospect.) By Seth K. Humphrey. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.
- Beyond. By John Galsworthy. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.
- Women as Munition Makers. (A study of conditions in Bridgeport, Conn.) Munition Workers in England and France. By Henrietta R. Walter. Published by The New York Russell Sage Foundation. Price, 75c net.
- Nature's Invisible Forces. By Thos. H. Ellis, St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$2.50.
- The School Nurse. By Lina Rogers Struthers, R.N. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.75 net.

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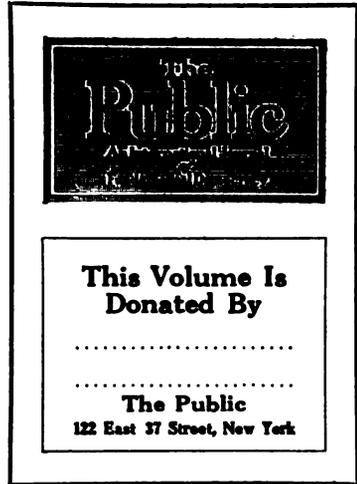
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